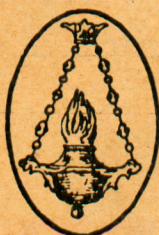


INSTITUTUM
HISTORICUM POLONICUM
ROMAE

SOCIETAS
POLONICA SCIENTIARUM
ET LITTERARUM IN EXTERIS
LONDINII

XII

ANTEMURALE



NON EXSTINGUETUR

ROMAE

LONDINII

1968

INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM POLONICUM ROMAE
VIA DEGLI SCIPIONI 284 - ROMA

IAM PRIDEM ROMAE PRODIERUNT HAEC VOLUMINA
(continuatio *Studia Teologiczne* — Wilno, vol. I-X):

- XI — MEYSZTOWICZ V., *Repertorium bibliographicum pro rebus Polonicis Archivi Secreti Vaticani*. Vaticani, 1943.
- XII — MEYSZTOWICZ V., *De archivo Nuntiaturae Varsaviensis quod nunc in Archivo Secreto Vaticano servatur*. Vaticani, 1944.
- XIII — SAVIO P., *De Actis Nuntiaturae Poloniae quae partem Archivi Secretariatus Status constituunt*. Romae, 1947.
- XIV — MEYSZTOWICZ V., *Prospectica descriptio Archivi Secreti Vaticani*. (Ed. chirotypica, exhausta).

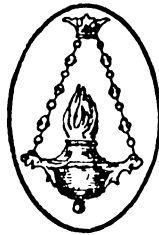
ANTEMURALE, I-XII, Roma, 1954-1968

**INSTITUTUM
HISTORICUM POLONICUM
ROMAE**

**SOCIETAS
POLONICA SCIENTIARUM
ET LITTERARUM IN EXTERIS
LONDINII**

XII

A N T E M U R A L E



NON EXSTINGUETUR

ROMAE

LONDINII

1 9 6 8

SUMPTIBUS
FUNDATIONIS
LANCKOROŃSKI
FRIBURGI HELVETIAE

EDIDIT:
INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM POLONICUM ROMAE
VIA DEGLI SCIPIONI, 284 - ROMA

EDITIONEM CURAVERUNT:
CAROLINA LANCKOROŃSKA
HENRICUS PASZKIEWICZ

INDEX RERUM

I. FONTES

<i>Le testament de Marie de Hongrie</i> , ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ . . .	Pag.	3
<i>Antonii Martinelli relatio de Hippolyti Aldobrandini legatione in Polonia</i> , ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ	»	29
<i>Caeremoniarii anonymi relatio de Cardinalis Georgii Radziwiłł legatione ad Sigismundum III Regem Poloniae</i> , ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ	»	43
<i>Relatio Burgravii Abraham de Dohna, oratoris Regis Hispaniae, de missione, quam a. 1612 ad Regem Poloniae absolvit</i> , ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ	»	77

II. DISSERTATIONES HISTORICAE

J.T. MILIK, <i>Imiona zakonne św. Świerada</i>	»	91
J.T. MILIK, <i>Chrześcijaństwo w państwie Gotszalka</i>	»	105
GRANIEWSKI H., <i>The Mission of General Chrzanowski to Turkey</i>	»	115

III. DISSERTATIONES LITTERARIAE

TESLAR J.A., <i>Poland in the Poetry and Life of Thomas Campbell</i>	»	267
TERLECKI T., <i>A Critical Reappraisal of Mickiewicz's Lecture about the Theatre</i>	»	311
DELANEY J., <i>A Polemical Plagiarism: « Two Early Critiques of Edgar Allan Poe in Polish and in Russian »</i>	»	315



Marie Reine de Hongrie
par Leone Leoni
(Bronze, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien)



Anna Regina Poloniae
Museo del Prado

I
F O N T E S

LE TESTAMENT DE MARIE DE HONGRIE

(*Ex Archivo Generali in Simancas, Patronato Real, Leg. 31, f. 25, cat. 3022.*)

INTRODUCTION

1. La reine Marie de Hongrie était une Habsbourg d'Autriche; elle était née le 15 avril 1505 à Bruxelles. Elle appartenait à la grande famille de princes; ses deux frères aînés, Charles Quint et Ferdinand I furent successivement empereurs d'Occident, comme l'avait été, avant eux, leur grand-père Maximilien I et plusieurs de leurs ancêtres; les soeurs de Marie eurent les trônes de France, du Portugal, du Danemark et de Norvège; tous étaient des enfants de Philippe le Beau d'Autriche et de Jeanne de Castille. Ils eurent pour grands-parents du côté paternel Maximilien de Habsbourg empereur d'Occident et Marie de Bourgogne fille de Charles le Téméraire; et du côté maternel ils étaient les petits-enfants de Ferdinand d'Aragon et d'Isabelle de Castille, ces « rois catholiques » qui, en prenant Grenade aux Maures, ont terminé, après sept siècles de croisade, la reconquête de l'Espagne. (V. table généalogique I).

Marie avait donc de qui tenir: la beauté de ses parents était fameuse, comme l'intelligence de son grand-père Maximilien et celle de sa grand-mère maternelle, Isabelle la Catholique. Il y avait en elle le sang bouillonnant d'énergie de cette même grand-mère et de l'aïeul téméraire bourguignon. Sa grand-mère castillane était connue pour la vivacité du sentiment qu'elle avait pour son mari aragonais. Et leur fille Jeanne avait pour son bel époux autrichien un amour qui pourrait paraître excessif.

Heureusement ni Marie, ni aucun des enfants de Jeanne de Castille n'ont hérité de sa folie (on pourrait peut-être en retrouver les traces chez son arrière-petit-fils, le malheureux Don Carlos). Ajoutons encore, entre parenthèses, qu'on a voulu douter de la démence de Jeanne; les historiens qui le firent n'eurent pas beaucoup de succès, vu que les documents sont là pour témoigner des terribles accès de fureur de la reine et des périodes d'une complète aboulie. Quant aux causes de cette maladie, il faut noter d'abord que Jeanne était née d'un père et d'une mère qui étaient liés d'une très proche parenté; elle fut ensuite tourmentée par une jalousie extrême, à laquelle la conduite de son mari donnait bien des raisons. La mort de sa mère Isabelle la Catholique priva Jeanne du soutien qu'elle trouvait chez elle (1504). Très vite après vint la mort inattendue de son jeune mari (1506). La naissance d'une fille posthume, Catherine, ne contribua point à la calmer: les angoisses provoquées par la peste de 1508 lui firent changer constamment de résidence. On ne pouvait plus avoir aucun doute qu'elle ne soit aliénée, malgré des intervalles de lucidité; enfin son père Ferdi-

nand le Catholique se décida, en 1509, d'enfermer Jeanne au chateau de Tordesillas, près de Valladolid.

Marie, au moment de cette catastrophe de sa mère, avait à peine quatre ans. Jeanne vécut encore dans sa réclusion plus de quarante ans, sans jamais guérir; elle mourut en 1555 à l'âge de 76 ans, trois ans seulement avant sa fille.

2. Marie d'Autriche passa sa vie au milieu de la Chrétienté. On donna ce nom à l'union des états de l'Europe.

Les origines de cette union remontent aux temps des Croisades. C'était une institution de droit international public; sa constitution n'a pas été écrite, comme ne le furent point les autres constitutions du Moyen Age; mais elle était bien définie. L'union était essentiellement une union défensive, et l'obligation principale de ses membres consistait dans la solidarité des peuples chrétiens de l'Europe contre l'agression, musulmane ou autre; à cette obligation correspondait le droit des associés au concours des autres membres en cas d'agression de la part des ennemis communs. La fin des Croisades au XIII^e siècle correspond à peu près au terme, depuis lequel la Chrétienté, au sens que nous lui donnons ici, était définitivement établie. Les frontières de cet organisme international, malgré certains flottements, sont pourtant assez nettes; elles ont été établies par une série de faits: par la défaite des Chrétiens devant Warna en 1444 et la chute de Constantinople en 1453; par la prise de Grenade en 1492, qui établissait l'autre point final de la frontière méridionale de la Chrétienté. La frontière orientale fut plus lente à s'établir; la poussée des Mongols et l'établissement de leur tyrannie sur les princes Rurikides des terres slaves, avec Kiev (1242); la conversion de la Lithuanie au catholicisme (1386); la défaite des Chrétiens sur la Vorskla (1399), qui laissait le bassin du Volga aux Tartares; enfin à la formation du grand-duché de Moscou. Ce duché, sous Ivan IV le Terrible (1547-1584), qui fut Khan de Kazan et d'Astrakhan, fut mongolisé: tout en restant chrétien-orthodoxe, la Moscovie acceptait le système d'organisation mongole: l'«oukaze» au lieu du droit et le «samodierjavie» au lieu de la monarchie. Ainsi vers la moitié du XVI^e siècle, la Moscovie se range du côté des ennemis de la Chrétienté; la frontière de la langue et de l'alphabet latin, des principes romains d'équité et de justice, la frontière de l'église catholique fut ainsi établie de la Mer Noire à l'Océan Glacial.

La Chrétienté pouvait être dès lors comparée à une place forte, dont les remparts allaient du Portugal à travers la Méditerranée, les Balkans, le long des frontières de la Hongrie, de Pologne, de Lithuanie, de Livonie, de Finlande et de la Suède. Cette Chrétienté était contrainte à se défendre contre l'orient musulman mongol ou mongolisé pour conserver ce qui était son patrimoine commun: la foi catholique, la sagesse grecque, les principes fondamentaux de justice et d'équité romaine.

Nous avons déjà dit que la fin des Croisades en Terre Sainte était la date approximative de la fondation de la Chrétienté, en tant qu'organisme de droit international. On peut prendre la date de la défense de Vienne (1683) ou, plus exactement encore, la date de la paix de Karlovitz (1699) comme terme auquel cet organisme tomba en désuétude. C'était alors que le danger turc cessait d'exister, et que le danger du côté de Moscou, qui allait bientôt devenir «l'Empire de toutes les Russies», était encore bien loin d'être compris en Europe.

Mais nous sommes éloignés de ce XVI^e siècle, quand avait vécu Marie

d'Autriche. A cette époque, dans cette Chrétienté, la famille de Marie occupait une place très marquante. Depuis 1438 les Habsbourgs étaient empereurs d'Occident. Cela leur donnait une primauté parmi les autres souverains. Mais cette primauté n'était pas très clairement définie. Il semble que Charles Quint, le frère de Marie, voulait considérer tous les rois de la Chrétienté comme ses vassaux; et c'est ce que ni les Valois de France, ni les Jagellons de Pologne, ni les Tudors d'Angleterre, ni les autres rois de la Chrétienté ne voulaient admettre. Les prétentions de la maison d'Autriche à l'Empire Universel — A.E.I.O.U. - (*Austriae Est Imperare Orbi Universo*) — devenaient ainsi un élément de désagrégation de la Chrétienté.

Notons que les dates de la vie de Marie de Habsbourg — 1505-1558 — enferment la période au cours de laquelle l'Europe — ou comme on disait encore la Chrétienté — perdait l'unité de sa foi religieuse et de son organisation ecclésiastique. Les Habsbourgs étaient les maîtres d'une grande partie de l'Italie, de l'Allemagne entière, de la Bourgogne et des Pays-Bas, de l'Espagne avec ses colonies outre mer; ils ne virent qu'un seul moyen d'éviter la désagrégation de l'Empire et de toute la Chrétienté: ce moyen, c'était, à leur avis, l'extirpation des hérésies. Charles V y consacra sa vie entière, et finit par reconnaître d'avoir perdu la partie. Son fils, suivant son exemple et sa volonté, continua la même politique. La Chrétienté en était déchirée et affaiblie.

On pourrait observer ici, non pour justifier, mais pour expliquer l'intolérance des Habsbourgs, leur traditions espagnoles. Les grands-parents maternels de Charles V avaient reconquis l'Espagne, mais ils avaient parmi leurs sujets des nombreux Maures qui avaient conservé leur attachement à la foi musulmane, et qui restaient des alliés fidèles de leurs coreligionnaires, refoulés outre mer. Ils étaient en tout avec eux — ils leur servaient d'avantgarde, ils les aidaient dans leurs incursions en Espagne qui ne cessaient point. On comprend bien les difficultés des rois catholiques. Ces Maures pour rester en Espagne feignaient de devenir Chrétiens: le contrôle de leurs sentiments religieux, exercé par les pouvoirs royaux, ne pouvait se faire que par des méthodes policières, et celles-ci ne pouvaient qu'être révoltantes. Plus la lutte durait, plus elle devenait acharnée des deux côtés, hypocrite du côté des persécutés, cruelle de la part des persécuteurs. Et l'intolérance, formée dans la lutte contre les Maures, se dirigea ensuite, très naturellement, aussi contre les protestants.

3. Marie d'Autriche était orpheline depuis sa quatrième année, lorsque sa mère fut cloîtrée à Tordesillas. Sa soeur cadette, qui venait de dépasser à peine une année de vie au moment de la réclusion de sa mère, resta auprès de Jeanne la Folle, dans le triste château sur le Duero; elle y demeura jusqu'à l'âge de 18 ans, quand elle sortit de cette prison, en y laissant sa mère, pour épouser en 1525 Jean III de Portugal.

Le séjour auprès de sa mère aliénée fut épargné à Marie d'Autriche. Elle resta sous la tutelle de son grand-père paternel, l'empereur Maximilien I. Celui-ci confia l'éducation de sa petite-fille à Anne de Beaumont. Plus tard, comme il était d'usage, il s'en servit pour ses fins politiques. Elle fut promise, en 1515, au traité de Possony-Vienne, à l'héritier du trône de Hongrie, Louis Jagellon. « *Bella gerant alii — tu felix Austria nube* ».

Mais avant de nous occuper de ce traité, il nous faut rappeler à la mémoire les faits de la dynastie des Jagellons.

Cette dynastie commence par Giedymin, Gedyminas (1316-1341), grand-duc de Lithuanie, encore païen, qui sut tenir tête aux ordres des Chevaliers Teutoniques de Prusse et à ceux du Glaive de Livonie. Son fils Olgierd, Algirdas (1341-1377), en partant du territoire national restreint dans le bassin du Bas Niemen, reprit aux Tartares Kiev et une partie importante des terres des anciens Varègues du bassin du Dnieper. Le fils de Olgierd, Jagiełło, Jogaila, ayant hérité le grand empire des bassins du Niemen et du Dnieper, reçut le baptême à Cracovie, baptisa ses sujets païens, et, en épousant (1386) Hedvige d'Anjou, devint roi de Pologne et fondateur d'une dynastie remarquable. Cette dynastie, régnant dans le vaste grand-duché de Lithuanie et dans le royaume de Pologne, créa bientôt en Europe Orientale une grande puissance, qui depuis 1471 comprenait les états indépendants de Pologne, de Lithuanie, de Bohême, et bientôt aussi de Hongrie. Ce n'était point une de ces unions réelles ou personnelles, qui sont classées par les théoriciens du droit public: c'était une union qui mérite le nom d'union « dynastique », dont la communauté n'était ni dans les institutions d'état, ni dans la personne du souverain, mais dans l'unité des membres d'une même famille de rois. Entre la Mer Baltique, la Mer Noire et l'Adriatique régnerent les princes formant une seule famille. Leur empire n'avait naturellement aucune constitution écrite, mais les fréquentes réunions des chefs d'état établissaient une unité qui, non sans danger et sans frictions internes, formait une grande puissance.

Les Jagellons étaient surtout puissants en comparaison de l'empereur. Maximilien I n'avait de fait en propre que l'Autriche: dans le reste de l'Allemagne, s'étaient des vassaux souvent rebelles à leur suzerain, toujours en lutte entre eux et contre les villes libres, toujours en quête d'argent; les jacqueries (« Bauernkriege ») et les chevaliers-bandits (« Raubrittern ») rendaient l'Allemagne presque inhabitable. Seule la couronne impériale ornait de son lustre une puissance de beaucoup inférieure à celle des Jagellons.

Maximilien avait tout intérêt à s'assurer l'amitié de ses grands voisins d'Orient, ne fut-ce pour la défense contre les Turcs.

Les Jagellons à cette date étaient trois: Sigismond I, dit plus tard le Vieux, roi de Pologne et grand-duc de Lithuanie; Ladislas, dit le Bon (Rex Bene), roi de Bohême et de Hongrie et le fils de ce dernier, Louis II, âgé de 9 ans, mais déjà couronné, en 1509, des deux couronnes de son père.

Les Jagellons étaient conscients des dangers des Tartares, de Moscou, et de la Porte Ottomane fortement assise à Constantinople, pesant sur les frontières de la Hongrie. Une entente avec les Habsbourgs d'Autriche, autant dire avec Maximilien, qui avait déjà essayé des dialogues dangereux avec Moscou, donnait aux Jagellons l'assurance de ne pas être pris dans le dos au moment d'une lutte contre les ennemis de la Chrétienté; et ce fut là le vrai sens de ce traité de Vienne qui fut conclu en 1515.

La rencontre des quatre souverains eu lieu d'abord dans les terres des Jagellons à Bratislava (Pressbourg, Possony).

Au fond, ce fut Sigismond I de Pologne qui menait du côté de sa famille des négociations; son frère « le bon roi » Ladislas était manifestement moins doué; mais, comme Sigismond n'avait pas encore d'enfants, ce furent les enfants du roi de Bohême et de Hongrie qui devinrent l'objet du pacte. Anne Jagellonne avait 12 ans et le roi Louis n'en avait que 9. L'empereur Maximilien fiançait son petit-fils Ferdinand, qui avait 12 ans avec Anne Jagellonne, il promettait aussi au jeune Louis sa petite-fille

Marie, âgée de 10 ans. Les fiançailles eurent lieu avec grande pompe à Vienne où fut transférée la conférence de Bratislava.

La cour autrichienne offrait, dans la cathédrale de Saint-Etienne, un cadre de splendeur suffisant pour souligner l'entente de deux grandes dynasties chrétiennes; cela faisait voir aux ennemis que la Chrétienté était bien unie pour se défendre.

Une clause du traité établissait qu'en cas que l'un des couples ne laissât point d'héritiers, l'héritage revenait aux enfants de l'autre. Cette clause était le produit typique des juriconsultes désireux de tout prévoir, même l'imprévisible. De fait, selon toute vraisemblance ce paragraphe devait rester inopérant: les deux couples étaient jeunes, provenaient de familles nombreuses; et rien ne présageait encore que les Jagellons étaient proches à s'éteindre. Le jeune roi Louis avait eu du côté paternel 5 oncles et 7 tantes, et ses cousins germains étaient au nombre de 51; Marie, elle-même, avait deux frères et quatre soeurs. Cette même considération pouvait s'appliquer à l'autre couple, où Ferdinand était exactement de la même souche que Marie, et Anne Jagellonne avait la même hérédité prolifique que son frère Louis.

Comme tous les souverains de la Chrétienté, les deux couples, réunis par le traité de Vienne, étaient apparentés entre eux, mais cette parenté était trop lointaine pour qu'elle puisse causer la stérilité (voir tables III et IV). La stérilité d'un des deux couples aurait réuni l'Autriche à la Bohême et la Hongrie, soit sous le sceptre des Jagellons soit sous celui des Habsbourgs. Mais au moment de la conclusion du traité ce cas était en dehors de toute prévision raisonnable; et pourtant il se réalisa, et aux profits des Habsbourgs.

Après les fiançailles Marie et Louis restèrent chacun de son côté: Marie sous la tutelle du grand-père, Louis sous celle de son père; et quand celui-ci mourut un an après, ce fut Sigismond de Pologne qui de loin veilla sur le sort et l'éducation de son neveu. Ce n'est que le 13 janvier 1522, donc sept ans après les fiançailles, que Marie arriva à Buda, où son mariage avec Louis fut célébré; elle avait 17 ans, il en avait 16.

4. Quel était cet adolescent avec lequel Marie d'Autriche commençait sa courte vie conjugale? Comme elle-même, il était d'une grande race royale. Son père, le bon roi, avait mérité le surnom de « Rex Bene ». Ce surnom, dans certaines bouches, avait un sens double et pouvait signifier aussi « le roi toujours consentant ». Ce serait une allusion ironique à son caractère conciliant, et peut-être à son esprit de tolérance; il en fit preuve dans son édit pour les « utraquistes » de Bohême (1485, renouvelé en 1513).

Les Jagellons, comme les Habsbourgs, eurent à résoudre le problème de leurs sujets non-catholiques; mais si cette expérience portait les Habsbourgs vers l'intransigeance, elle poussait les Jagellons à la tolérance: et cela à cause de l'attitude des mauresques d'Espagne qui restaient fidèles aux Maures et étaient des ennemis des rois catholiques, et de la fidélité à toute épreuve des schismatiques de Pologne et de Lithuanie envers les Jagellons; ces rois n'avaient point à craindre que leurs sujets orthodoxes les trahissent pour passer du côté des Tartares, ni même du côté de leurs coreligionnaires moscovites. Ces sujets savaient très bien qu'au moment où ils devenaient sujets du Khan ou du « Samodierjetz » ils passaient du fait même d'un régime de monarchie absolue, fondé sur le droit et reconnaissant les droits des citoyens, à un régime tout différent basé sur l'oukaze, où personne sauf le Khan ou le tzar n'avait aucun droit,

et sous lequel tous les habitants du territoire étaient réduits à l'état d'esclavage (« *mancipia sunt quorum nullum est ius* »). Les souverains de Pologne et de Lithuanie pouvaient non seulement compter sur leurs sujets orthodoxes: ils en avaient impérieusement besoin; car comment pourraient-ils défendre la frontière orientale sans les grands capitaines orthodoxes, tels que les Chodkiewicz et les Ostrogski et sans ces nombreux simples chevaliers non-catholiques de Lithuanie? Et s'il fallait être tolérants envers les orthodoxes, comment refuser cette même tolérance aux hussites, aux utraquistes et plus tard aux luthériens, aux calvinistes, aux sociniens et à d'autres? Le dernier des Jagellons, pressé de sévir contre les protestants, dira: « Je ne suis pas roi de vos consciences ». Cette attitude était bien différente de celle qui était généralement admise en Europe. Elle était opposée à l'attitude des Habsbourgs, à celle de tous les fauteurs de l'Inquisition. Mais sans persécuter les hérétiques, les Jagellons restaient eux-mêmes fortement attachés à la foi et à l'Eglise. Leur conception du souverain chrétien ne leur imposait pas le devoir royal d'exterminer leurs sujets mécréants: elle exigeait de leur part la défense de toute leur population devant l'oppression du tzar, du khan, du sultan. C'est cette tolérance qui était l'héritage paternel du jeune Louis, lui venant de son père et de son grand-père, Casimir de Pologne.

Du côté de sa mère il était Français: la reine Anne de Bohême était née comtesse de Foix, fille de Gaston II de Foix-Grailly de Candalle. C'était le sang des vaillants princes français qui lui venait de ce côté de ses ancêtres. (V. table généalogique II).

Mais la généalogie de Louis II de Hongrie n'est pas seule à nous expliquer sa personnalité. Il eut comme précepteur le savant Jean Bornemissa, grand humaniste, un homme pour lequel le jeune roi avait gardé une confiance illimitée. Il y avait aussi parmi les éducateurs du jeune roi son cousin germain, Georges de Hohenzollern-Ansbach (1484-1543), qui plus tard devint protestant (1528); comme tous les Hohenzollern de sa génération, il cherchait à s'introduire dans toutes les cours de la Chrétienté. On l'accusait d'avoir des mauvaises influences sur son élève; mais il semble plus prudent de reléguer cette information parmi les nombreuses légendes qui sont nées après la défaite de Mohacs.

Le jeune époux de Marie avait un an de moins qu'elle, ce qui compte pour les « teen-agers »: il était un adolescent. Voilà comme nous le présente un contemporain, un familier témoin de ses gestes, Stephan Brodericus:

« Louis... était de stature plus belle que celle de ses égaux, il était de nature singulièrement bon et avait tant de vertus, que s'il avait continué à régner nous aurions en lui le meilleur et le plus éminent des princes. Il était doux et sans la moindre cruauté, facile à être dirigé vers tout ce qui est juste et honnête et porté vers ces choses spontanément; en outre, il aimait l'exercice des armes, l'équitation, la chasse, et les autres choses de ce genre; il était véridier, constant, et très tenace à tenir les secrets qu'on lui confiait ». Un autre contemporain, Pierre Renzani, nous dit: « Louis... était de stature puissante, de bonne santé, plutôt brun, fait pour tous les exercices, ne faisant de mal à personne, généreux; mais quoique adolescent, il avait une mèche de cheveux blancs; il était aimable et agréable, d'un esprit très éveillé,... moins expert en commandement ».

Nous savons bien comment la défaite attire la calomnie, avant tout sur ceux qui ont succombé en luttant pour une juste cause, et surtout de la part de ceux qui ne les ont pas suffisamment aidés. Déjà en 1524, le

nonce Giovanni Antonio Puglioni di Bargio, n'arrivant pas à mobiliser les princes chrétiens pour la défense de la Hongrie, rejette la faute de son insuccès diplomatique sur Louis: « malheur au pays où règne un enfant », dit-il. C'est ce nonce qui commence la série des détracteurs: elle sera longue et il y aura parmi eux, et à la première place, les Habsbourgs, qui en rejetant la faute sur Louis croiront disculper Charles V et Ferdinand de n'avoir donné aucune aide à la Hongrie. Il y aura aussi d'autres, et c'est à eux que nous devons les nombreuses descriptions calomnieuses du moral et du physique de Louis Jagellon, contraires aux témoignages de ses contemporains. Ces médisances se répètent jusqu'à nos jours. Voyez par exemple *Freiherr Ludvig von Pastor*, *Ign. Anr. Fessler*, et d'autres.

En héritant de ces pères, Louis Jagellon était sûrement un homme pieux, avec cette teinte de néophytisme qui caractérise les familles récemment converties; n'oublions pas qu'encore l'aïeul de Louis, Ladislas Jagello, grand-duc de Lithuanie, était païen jusqu'en 1386; devenu catholique, il le fut avec zèle; ses enfants l'étaient aussi; parmi ses petits-enfants il y eut Saint Casimir, l'oncle paternel de Louis. Tous les Jagellons avaient cette simple forme de piété, qui est plutôt celle des chevaliers et des croisés, que des théologiens et des inquisiteurs: cela s'accorde très bien avec cette douceur du caractère des rois dont nous témoignent leurs contemporains.

Les quatre ans passés ensemble à Buda par Louis et Marie devaient être heureux; ils avaient les mêmes goûts pour les chevaux, pour la chasse; le bon caractère du roi devait rendre à Marie la vie agréable. Il ne manquait qu'un fils; mais les jeunes époux n'étaient qu'à l'âge de 20 ans et tout était encore possible. Nous concevons très bien que la reine avait une affection profonde pour son mari; nous en avons la preuve dans son veuvage prolongé et irréprochable. Cette affection apparaît dans les paroles de son testament, écrit 32 ans après la séparation, et elle est encore une preuve en faveur de ceux qui ayant connu Louis Jagellon nous ont transmis un portrait flatteur. Elle démentit les diffamations des posthumes.

5. Ces quatre ans, auraient pu être des années de calme; ils étaient troublés par un orage qui grondait à l'horizon.

Soliman, dit le Magnifique, était devenu, après la mort de son père, sultan de Turquie. Intelligent, vaillant, cruel, déjà en 1521 il prenait Belgrade sur le Danube et menaçait de remonter le fleuve pour prendre Buda. A Belgrade il fit un massacre exemplaire, et changea l'ancienne cathédrale en mosquée. Vassili, tzar orthodoxe de Moscou, père d'Ivan le Terrible, l'en félicita. Un an après, en 1522, Soliman prenait Rhodes aux chevaliers de l'ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem et obtenait ainsi la maîtrise de la Méditerranée. Le grand maître, Villers de l'Isle-Adam, vint à Rome, où naissait la terreur du nouvel Hannibal qui semblait déjà être aux portes de la ville.

Le pape Adrien VI depuis la prise de Belgrade pensait à la défense de la Hongrie plus qu'à autre chose; il voulait organiser tous les rois de la Chrétienté contre Soliman. Il adressa des lettres aux rois de France, d'Angleterre, de Pologne, du Portugal; la diète allemande réunie à Nuremberg en 1522 promettait des renforts à la Hongrie; en 1523, le pape proposa un armistice pour la Chrétienté: il devait durer trois ans. Charles V y avait consenti, mais François I envoya au pape une lettre pleine de menaces, où il faisait allusion au sort de Boniface VIII. Adrien VI envoya le card-

nal Caetani comme légat en Pologne, Bohême et Hongrie (ce qui était une reconnaissance implicite de l'union dynastique jagellonienne); il se proposait de former une ligue contre les Turcs, quand il mourut le 14 septembre 1523.

Clément VII Médici devint pape à sa place. En 1524, les préparatifs pour l'invasion de la Hongrie sont en plein cours de la part de Soliman; pourtant les Hongrois obtiennent quelques succès locaux; l'évêque de Colocsa, Paul Tomorri, remporta une victoire sur un détachement de plusieurs milliers de Turcs et envoya au roi 46 bannières et la tête de Ferhad pacha; la forteresse de Jaicsy se défendit heureusement sous le commandement de Christophe Franghipani; mais dans cette année Ibraïm pacha, un des plus doués des capitaines turcs devint grand-visir.

Dans la Chrétienté, c'est la lutte entre Charles V et François I pour la maîtrise de Milan. Le roi de France est battu devant Pavie le 24 février 1525 et fait prisonnier. Mais avant encore d'être pris il eut la possibilité d'envoyer son anneau à Soliman. Ce fut le signe visible de cette « alliance sacrilège des lys avec la demi-lune »; du point de vue de la Chrétienté c'était un acte de félonie. François I, en dépit de la fameuse phrase qu'on lui attribue, n'avait perdu à Pavie rien « fors l'honneur ». Charles V le relâcha sous les clauses du traité de Madrid un an plus tard, en janvier 1526, et déjà le 2 avril François avait conclu la Ligue de Cognac avec l'adhésion rénitante de Clément VII; cette Ligue était dirigée contre Charles V. C'est ainsi que celui-ci eut les mains liées et ne pouvait ni courir au secours de sa soeur et de la Hongrie, ni même permettre que Ferdinand d'Autriche y aille. Il n'était évidemment aucune question de remplir les promesses de la diète de Nuremberg.

Sigismond I de Pologne, oncle et jadis tuteur de Louis de Hongrie, avait aussi les mains prises. Un soulèvement eut lieu à Dantzïg; cette ville, qui tenait tout le commerce du bassin de la Vistule, avait attiré beaucoup de marchands allemands. Ceux-ci venaient s'établir sur les bouches de la Vistule où le commerce leur apportait de beaux bénéfices et où ils étaient à l'abri du désordre qui régnait en Allemagne. Le soulèvement de Dantzïg, malgré qu'il eut la teinte d'une lutte contre le conseil de ville, était mené par une partie de riches bourgeois désireux de faire de leur ville une « ville libre » comme Hambourg ou Lubeck. C'était un mouvement purement politique visant à rendre Dantzïg indépendant du royaume. On sut pourtant donner aux troubles une certaine apparence de lutte religieuse, en faveur du luthéranisme. Sigismond était de fait très libéral envers les Luthériens; il venait de concéder le fief de la Prusse ducale à son neveu, le défroqué grand maître de l'Ordre Teutonique, qui était passé au luthéranisme et s'était marié. Le roi considérait la situation de son seul grand port si grave et si délicate qu'il fut obligé de s'y rendre personnellement. Dans une lettre à Henri VIII, roi d'Angleterre, datée de Dantzïg le 15 mai 1526, quand Soliman était déjà en marche contre la Hongrie, il se plaint de ce que les difficultés créées à Dantzïg l'obligent à négliger la lutte contre les infidèles. Mais l'affaire de Dantzïg n'était pas la seule qui empêchait le roi de Pologne de faire une grande expédition en faveur de la Hongrie: ce qui le rendait impuissant, c'était la Horde des Tartares de Crimée. Cette horde était depuis 1475 vassale du sultan. Soliman y nommait le khan. En 1524 les Tartares firent une incursion en Pologne que le grand général Firley repoussa, avec l'aide de la levée de la noblesse, devant Prądnik. L'année suivante, en septembre 1525, une ambassade polonaise obtint à Constantinople certains termes de paix; mais on pouvait être sûrs qu'en

cas d'une grande expédition contre Soliman l'armée polonaise aurait dans le dos toute la Horde de Crimée. Entretiens, déjà en 1526, Nicolas Firley était mort et ce fut Jean Tarnowski qui vint le remplacer. Il brûlait d'envie de secourir les Hongrois, mais il était bien obligé de tenir le gros de ses troupes du côté des steppes tartares. Et ce ne fut qu'un petit détachement de cinq, trois ou deux mille hommes (on n'est jamais sûr du nombre des armées au XVI^e siècle) qui fut envoyé à Louis de Hongrie. Léonard Gnojeński le commandait. (Notons une autre graphie de ce nom: Gnoiński).

La Ligue de Cognac fut conclue le 2 avril 1526. Trois semaines plus tard, Soliman se mettait en marche contre la Hongrie.

Il avait à son appui non seulement ses vassaux tartares mais aussi la Ligue de Cognac et les protestants de Dantzic. Avait-il activement organisé cet isolement de Louis Jagellon? Une réponse à cette question se trouvera peut-être un jour dans les archives de Turquie.

6. Le 23 avril 1526, Soliman le Magnifique était à la tête d'une immense armée. Comme d'habitude, le nombre de ses soldats reste incertain: 300 mille disent les uns, 200 mille disent les autres. Devançant les principes napoléoniens, les troupes marchaient séparément; elles ne se réunirent qu'à Belgrade.

Le 9 juin, quelques jours après que Soliman eut repris sa marche vers le Nord, le roi Louis, ayant encore pris part à une dernière chasse, quittait Buda et se portait avec ce qu'il avait de ses forces à la rencontre de l'ennemi. Il avait appris par tradition de famille, que la défense du peuple devant la domination des infidèles était le premier devoir d'un roi chrétien. Il connaissait les gestes de son grand-oncle paternel, Ladislas Jagellon, roi de Pologne et de Hongrie, tué en 1444 devant Warna, dans une bataille contre le sultan Murad II. Une copie de la relation sur cette bataille, écrite par Philippe Callimachus (« le manuscrit de Budapest »), avait probablement appartenu à la famille royale; et il serait fort improbable que la première édition imprimée de cette oeuvre, « l'édition Augustana », lui ait été inconnue: il avait 12 ans quand elle parut.

Au moment de monter en selle, le roi eut un chagrin: son cheval favori était mort. Les superstitieux y virent un mauvais présage.

La reine accompagnait son mari dans la première étape; elle dut se séparer de lui « à la hauteur de l'île de Csepel », nous dit le chroniqueur; c'était probablement ce même 9 juin 1526 et ce fut la dernière fois que les époux se virent. Louis emportait sur lui comme souvenir de sa femme un coeur en or qui ne devait plus l'abandonner de son vivant. Marie revint à Buda; par précaution raisonnable, tellement caractéristique pour les Jagellons, elle était accompagnée par l'ancien précepteur de son mari, Jean Bornamissa; avec lui il y avait l'évêque Szalahazy de Vesprim et Alexandre Thurn: ils étaient chargés, en cas de malheur, de reconduire la reine dans les terres de son frère Ferdinand d'Autriche. A Buda Marie attendit pendant trois mois la nouvelle du sort de son mari.

Soliman, ayant laissé Belgrade, remontait lentement sur la rive droite du Danube. Après avoir dépassé la Drave, le sultan fit brûler les ponts. Le 28 juillet il avait pris Petervardeim et le 26 août il était sur la plaine de Mohacs. Louis, avec son armée, y vint le lendemain. Le roi d'Hongrie avait marché de Buda par petites étapes pour rencontrer l'ennemi dès qu'il était pénétré dans le royaume; mais on pourrait se demander si la marche de Louis n'était pas ralentie par un dernier mirage d'un secours

de la Chrétienté. Celui-ci ne vint jamais. Même ses propres sujets — ceux de son royaume de Bohême — ne l'ont pas suivi. Il n'avait avec lui que les Hongrois et le petit détachement polonais.

Le nombre écrasant des Turcs contre les chrétiens ne faisait aucun doute. Rien d'essentiel n'est changé par la marge d'incertitude qu'il faut laisser aux statistiques militaires de ce temps. Même en prenant les chiffres les plus favorables, si nous acceptons qu'il y avait 30 mille chrétiens contre 200 mille Turcs; ou si on s'en tient à ceux qui comptent 20 mille contre 300 mille, on reste toujours entre les proportions de 1/7 à 1/15; et Soliman avait une fameuse artillerie de beaucoup supérieure en nombre et en qualité à celle de Louis. Les Turcs connaissaient l'art de tirer des canons avec des chaînes.

Stéphane Brodericus, chancelier de Louis, et Léonard Gnojeński voulaient temporiser. Ce dernier était « maître de camp » ce qui signifiait, dans l'organisation militaire de Pologne, qu'il était préposé à la construction des retranchements; il conseillait donc de creuser une fosse et de construire une palissade en attendant les renforts. Mais il n'y avait point de renforts en vue, sauf ceux que pouvaient amener Bethyany et Zapolya; ils n'étaient pas assez nombreux pour changer le sort de la bataille. On ne pouvait non plus reculer. Une retraite poursuivie par les masses de la cavalerie turque risquait de devenir une fuite effrénée. On ne pouvait compter que sur l'imprévu toujours présent à chaque opération militaire et sur l'aide de Dieu, qui, quoi qu'on dise, n'est pas toujours du côté des plus gros bataillons. Louis décida, en suivant le conseil de l'archevêque Tomorri, de combattre. On chanta les prières. La chronique note la pâleur du visage du roi au moment où il abaissait la visière.

Le roi mena personnellement deux attaques. « Jésus, Jésus » invoquaient les Hongrois. Il y eut un moment où ils semblaient tenir la victoire. Le combat ne fut pas long. Le nombre eut bientôt raison de la bravoure des Chrétiens. Le roi, avec plusieurs compagnons, fut repoussé vers un marécage, où il s'enfonça avec son cheval. Ce n'est que quelques jours plus tard, quand les Turcs étaient déjà partis vers le Nord, qu'on retrouva son corps. Les dépouilles de son grand-oncle Ladislas Jagellon, roi de Pologne et de Hongrie, tué devant Warna en 1444, ne furent jamais retrouvées.

Huit des descendants du grand ancêtre qui, en 1386, avait réuni la Pologne et la Lithuanie, ont porté des couronnes royales (voir table V). Ils ont monté la garde de la Chrétienté devant l'invasion orientale. Deux d'entre eux sont morts à cette tâche en combattant contre les Turcs. Quelle autre dynastie peut revendiquer un honneur semblable?

Le nombre des victimes de la bataille de Mohacs est aussi incertain que les autres statistiques du temps. Il y eut beaucoup de prisonniers que Soliman fit décapiter le lendemain de la bataille; c'était justement le 29 août, jour consacré à la mémoire de la décollation de S. Jean-Baptiste. Il y eut parmi les victimes sept évêques hongrois qui se trouvaient dans l'armée du roi. Il paraît aussi que plusieurs des chevaliers polonais ont eu le même sort; on cite les noms de leur commandant Léonard Gnojeński, dont la tête aurait été envoyée à Constantinople, de Jean Maciejowski et de Jean Pilecki. Le corps d'André Trepka aurait été retrouvé plus tard, près du corps du roi, dans le même marécage. Les décapités auraient été quatre mille selon les uns, deux mille selon les autres.

Les Turcs reprirent la marche; ils étaient déjà loins quand on trouva le corps du roi; il fut enterré dans le tombeau royal d'Alba Julia. On envoya à la reine le coeur en or qu'il avait au cou.

Cependant Soliman marchait vers Buda. La nouvelle de la défaite le précédait. Zapolya, qui avait pris le commandement de la ville, capitula le 10 septembre. Bornemissa, Szalahazy et Thurn purent encore s'acquitter de leur promesse, et ramener, « non sans difficulté », la reine à Presbourg. Elle avait perdu un mari qu'elle aimait, un pays auquel elle était attachée. Aucun appui ne lui restait que celui de ses frères.

Pour l'Europe la défaite de Mohacs marquait le commencement de l'extinction de la dynastie jagellonienne: le cousin germain de Louis, Sigismond Auguste, n'avait alors que six ans; plus tard, en 1548, quand son père mourut, ce prince, qui avait été couronné encore enfant des deux couronnes de Lithuanie et de Pologne, restait le seul, et le dernier de sa race, à gouverner les deux nations. Il dut lutter, pendant tout son règne, contre Ivan le Terrible de Moscou, tzar de 1547 à 1584. Les nombreuses lettres de Sigismond Auguste aux souverains de toute la Chrétienté font preuve d'une prévoyance géniale. Il mourut, sans laisser d'enfants, en 1572. Il appartiendrait aux eugénistes d'expliquer pourquoi cette race, tellement prolifique dans la génération précédente, vint à s'éteindre au XVI^e siècle.

Pour la Hongrie la défaite de Mohacs signifiait le passage du pays, avec la Bohême, à la maison d'Autriche. Mais la majeure partie de la Hongrie restait occupée par les Turcs, et ce ne fut que la Transylvanie et une bande étroite du territoire hongrois, longeant les Carpates, qui fut libre de Musulmans. Un pacha avait sa résidence dans la capitale de Saint Etienne pendant plus d'un siècle et demi; il en fut chassé en 1683 par un successeur électif des Jagellons, Jean III, roi de Pologne et grand-duc de Lithuanie.

7. La reine Marie fit un bref séjour à Vienne, chez son frère Ferdinand, futur empereur; elle demeura un certain temps à Linz et à Passau. Mais Soliman, dix mois après son entrée dans la capitale de la Hongrie, venait d'assiéger la capitale de l'Autriche et n'en leva le siège que parce qu'il fut obligé d'aller en Asie. Marie, suivant les termes du traité de 1515, reconnut Ferdinand pour roi de Hongrie (1528).

*Des lors Charles Quint s'occupa de Marie; il devait avoir pour elle un sentiment de grand frère; et il avait peut-être aussi, envers cette veuve, « pas un remords, mais un gêne obscur » de ne pas avoir aidé Louis contre Soliman. Il n'avait pas envoyé Ferdinand d'Autriche à son secours, il n'avait pas su obtenir des états allemands l'aide promise. Il avait évidemment pour son explication la guerre contre la Ligue de Cognac qui l'amena au sac de Rome; il y avait aussi l'excuse de l'éternel désordre allemand. Pourtant, dans une note ajoutée au brouillon d'une lettre adressée à Sigismond I de Pologne et faite très probablement de la main propre de Charles, il explique, sans clarté ni précision, avec une certaine confusion qui frise le gêne, les raisons de la défaite et de la mort de Louis (voir *Elementa ad fontium editiones*, VIII, Rome, 1963, doc. 19).*

En 1530 Marguerite d'Autriche, la propre tante de Charles V et de Marie, régente des Pays-Bas était morte. Charles confia le gouvernement de cette province à la reine Marie de Hongrie. Elle y resta pendant 24 ans de 1531 jusqu'à la cession des Pays-Bas par Charles V à Philippe II. Ce fut la grande oeuvre de la vie de Marie: elle remplît cette tâche avec intelligence, énergie, fidélité; et ce n'était pas une tâche facile.

Il fallait faire la guerre: d'abord, au temps du conflit du Danemark, de la Norvège et de Lubeck, les Pays-Bas soutenaient les Danois; plus tard, en 1537, il fallait défendre le pays devant François I; et à la fin de la

régence, en 1556, il fallait le défendre contre Henri II, qui brûla les résidences de la régente à Mariemont et à Binche.

Marie fit tout ce qui lui était possible pour soutenir le prestige de son frère; le lustre qu'elle sut donner à ses demeures, les objets d'art qu'elle sut rassembler, les vitraux de Sainte-Gudule +) y ont servi. Elle recueillit des livres magnifiques, des manuscrits illuminés par les meilleurs artistes; cette collection fait encore la gloire de la « Bibliothèque de Bourgogne ».

Erasme de Rotterdam dédia à la reine Marie son livre intitulé « La veuve chrétienne » dont elle sut être l'excellent modèle, au milieu d'une cour éclatante des splendeurs de la Renaissance; cette cour attirait à elle les riches et raffinés Flamands de ce siècle; et en même temps la reine n'abandonnait ni la chasse ni l'équitation.

La question religieuse était la grande difficulté du gouvernement des Pays-Bas. La régente fit tout ce qui fut possible pour adoucir l'intolérance de Charles V. Celui-ci avait édité en 1529 les terribles « placards », qui punissaient de mort toute transgression contre le catholicisme. Il vint bientôt lui-même au Pays-Bas et exigea l'application de ses lois. Il se heurta à l'opposition de la régente. Marie, selon l'opinion très juste de Pirenne, n'avait aucune « sympathie pour les nouvelles doctrines religieuses ». Elle avait pourtant des « idées de tolérance, professées par les humanistes » et, nous pouvons y ajouter, par les Jagellons. Elle s'efforçait d'adoucir les lois draconiennes de son frère et elle y réussissait; nous en avons un indice dans le fait que ces lois étaient renouvelées beaucoup de fois, ce qui arrive de règle aux dispositions qui ne sont pas appliquées selon la volonté du législateur.

Vers la fin de sa régence, en 1555, Marie écrivait à Charles V: « Il n'est guère possible de satisfaire à la fois la conscience et les sujets de son souverain » (cité par Pirenne). Elle savait bien qu'avec son neveu, Philippe II, il serait encore plus difficile de concilier sa propre conscience tolérante avec l'esprit inquisiteur du nouveau souverain. C'était apparemment la cause principale de sa démission, contemporaine de l'abdication de Charles V. Elle revint en Espagne. Elle ne vit point la ruine de tous ses efforts de réconciliation: ils se sont effondrés quand le valeureux et implacable duc d'Albe gouvernait au nom de Philippe II les Pays-Bas (1567-1573).

8. Il n'y a pas beaucoup à dire sur les trois dernières années de la vie de la reine Marie. En 1555 elle avait dépassé la cinquantaine; pour ce temps c'était déjà, même avec sa santé robuste, la vieillesse; elle fit alors un testament, annulé, qui nous est inconnu. Comme son frère, l'empereur Charles, s'était établi au couvent San Juste pour se préparer au trépas, Marie prit demeure à Cigales, à 15 km. environ au nord de Valladolid. Elle y passait son temps dans des exercices de piété. Elle écrit de sa propre main, le 22 septembre 1558, un testament, dont l'original est conservé aux Archives de Simancas (Patronato Real, Leg. 31, f. 25). Il est daté le lendemain de la mort de Charles V, mais la reine semble encore ne pas en avoir eu la nouvelle. Il est sûr que ce décès fut profondément ressenti par Marie; depuis plus de 30 ans elle vivait sous le sceptre et la protection de son frère, pour lequel elle avait gouverné les Pays-Bas, qui fut son protecteur et son maître.

Le testament est écrit en français. Il appartient aux spécialistes de la langue française de se prononcer sur l'orthographe et sur les provin-

cialismes qui doivent s'y trouver. Il est intéressant de marquer qu'en cette moitié du XVI^e siècle, où le latin régnait encore incontesté dans les chancelleries, la reine de Hongrie avait écrit un testament officiel en français; cette langue était sa langue paternelle.

Dans le fragment qui se rapporte à son mari on voit bien la profondeur de son sentiment envers cet homme qu'elle n'a plus revu depuis les adieux de Csepel, en 1526; elle y parle d'affection, d'amour, d'amour juste, de longue séparation; et elle fait fondre le coeur en or qui a été retrouvé sur le corps de son mari et qu'elle avait depuis constamment porté. Elle veut « qu'il change d'espèce » et serve aux pauvres. Il nous semble entendre les échos des poètes de la Pléiade et de leurs contemporains, surtout de Jacques Peletier. Il écrit, dans son poème « Le coeur »: « puisque tu m'as à toi fort lié jamais de moi tu ne seras oublié ».

Après avoir dressé ce testament la reine ne vecut même pas un mois. Elle mourut d'une mort instantanée, le 18 octobre 1558 *).

Qu'il nous soit permis de remercier ici Mlle Marie Odile Garrigues qui a copié le manuscrit très difficile du Testament, ainsi que M. Edouard Borowski, et tous les autres pour leur précieux concours à notre travail.

*) Nous citons ici plusieurs des recueils et des travaux qui ont servi à la compilation de la présente introduction.

Acta Tomiciana, I-XVI, 2, Kórnik-Wroclaw, 1852-1961 (surtout vol. VIII).

Biographie Nationale de Belgique, I-XXVIII, Bruxelles, 1866-1944 (plus suppl. I-IV, 1957-1964).

Bibliotheca Belgica, I-V, Bruxelles, 1964.

BORCHGRAVE, Emile de, Marie d'Autriche, Reine de Hongrie, in *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, XIII, 673-685.

BRANDI, Karl, *Kaiser Karl V*, München [1942].

BRODERICUS, Stephanus, *De conflictu Hungarorum cum Turcis ad Mohacz*, in *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. VIII.

CALLIMACHUS, Philippus, *Historia de rege Vladislao*, edit. Varsaviae, 1961.

Coleccion de documentos ineditos para la historia de España, I-CXII, Madrid, 1842-1895.

DWORZACZEK, Wladimirz, *Genealogia* (1 vol. 17×24 cm. et *Tablice*, 24×30 cm.).

ERASMUS (Desiderius de Rotterdam), *Vidua Christiana. Per Des. Erasmus Roterdanum ad Sere-nissimam pridem Hungariae Bosesniaeque reginam Mariam*, Basileae, 1529.

FESSLER, Ignác Aurél, *Geschichte von Ungarn*, I-V, Leipzig, 1867-1883.

FRAKNOI, Vilmos, *Ungarn von der Schlacht bei Mohacs...* Autorisierte Übersetzung..., Buda-pest, 1886.

GACHARD, Louis P., *Analectes belgiques*, Bruxelles, 1830.

GIARDINI, Cesare, *Don Carlos (1545-1568)*, Milano, Rizzoli, 1956.

HAMMER-PURGSTALL, Joseph v., *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, I-X, Pest, 1827-1835.

HENNE, Alexandre, *Histoire du Règne de Charles-Quint en Belgique*, I-X, Bruxelles, 1858-60.

HOUTSMA, M.Th., *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, I-IV, Leyde-Paris, 1908-1934.

HUBER, Alfons, *Geschichte Österreichs*, I-V, Gotha, 1885-1896.

HUBERT, Leopold, *Gnoiński Leonard*, in *ORGELBRAND*, X, 106.

ISENBURG, *Stammtafeln zur Geschichte europäischen Staaten*, Marburg, 1965.

JUSTE, Théodore, *Les Pays-Bas sous Charles-Quint. Vie de Marie de Hongrie*, Paris, 1885.

KATONA, Stephanus, *Epitome Chronologica rerum Hungaricarum...*, I-III, Budae, 1796-1798.

KRAMERS, J.H., *Soliman I*, in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, IV, Paris, 1934, 543-548.

LEFAIVRE, Albert, *Les Magyars pendant la domination ottomane en Hongrie*, I-II, Paris, 1902.

- NIESIECKI, Kacper T.J., *Herbarz Polski*, edid. BOBROWICZ, J.N., Leipzig, 1839-46.
- ORGELBRAND, *Encyclopedyia Powszechna*, I-XXVIII, Warszawa, 1859-1868.
- PASTOR, Ludwig v., *Geschichte der Päpste*, I-XVI (1-22), Freiburg-Rome, 1955-1961 (surtout B.IV A, B).
- PAZ, Julian, *Catalogo de la Coleccion de documentos ineditos para la historia de España*, I-II, Madrid, 1930-1931.
- PIRENNE, Henri, *Histoire de Belgique* (vol. III, *Charles-Quint et Marie de Hongrie*), Bruxelles, 1923.
- Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, edit. *Polska Akademia Um.*, I-VII, Kraków, 1935-1948.
- RANZANI, Petrus, *Epitome rerum Hungaricarum*, in SCHWANDTER, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, vol. I, Vindobonae, 1746, 322-412.
- RÉVAL, *Nagy Lexikona*, I-XXI, Budapest, 1911-1935.
- SACHER-MASOCH, Dr. Leopold Ritter v., *Ungarns Untergang und Maria von Oesterreich*, Leipzig, 1862.
- SCHWANDTER, John G., *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, I-III, Vindobonae, 1746-1748.
- THEINER, Augustinus, *Vetera Monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, I-II, Romae, 1859-1860.
- VERTOT, René A. de, *Histoire des Hospitaliers*, I-V, Amsterdam, 1780.
- WÓJCICKI, Kaz. Wł., *Firlej Mikołaj*, in ORGELBRANDT, VIII, 926-933.
- WÓJCICKI, Kaz. Wł., *Tarnowski Jan*, in ORGELBRANDT, XXV, 5.

+) *Ces vitraux sont heureusement conservés dans l'église de Sainte Gudule (actuellement Saint Michel) à Bruxelles.*

Le grand vitrail du transept droit a au centre Saint Louis de France, dont la figure, sceptre en main, domine le groupe; il a sur sa droite Louis Jagellon et sur sa gauche sa veuve, la reine Marie. On y lit:

Ludovico Dalmatiae Croatiae Bohemiae Hungariae Regi qui pro fidei catholicae defensione in bello contra barbaros fortiter pugnando occubuit et Mariae eius uxori Caesaris semper Augusti sorori 1538.

L'autre vitrail se trouve dans le chœur et fait partie de ceux, qui représentent les frères et les soeurs de la reine de Hongrie, avec Charles V en tête; on y voit les mêmes personnages; la légende est semblable à celle du premier vitrail:

Maria soror Caroli V Caesaris semper Augusti vidua Ludovici Dalmatiae Croatiae Bohemiae Hungariae Regis qui pro fidei catholicae defensione in bello contra barbaros fortiter pugnando occubuit poni iussit 1547.

Il y a donc neuf ans de différence entre les dates des deux vitraux. En conséquence, le seul personnage, qui peut représenter les traits originaux du modèle — celui de la reine Marie — a les traits d'une toute jeune femme sur le premier, et ceux d'une femme de plus de quarante ans sur le second.

Les écus de Louis Jagellon, qui se trouvent dans les deux vitraux, semblent ne pas se conformer aux règles héraldiques, car ils portent, outre le lion de Bohême et les bandes de Hongrie, aussi, et au centre, l'aigle blanc du Royaume de Pologne. On s'attendrait à y voir plutôt les triples tours des Jagellons.

TABLE I. QUARTIERS DE MARIE D'AUTRICHE

MAXIMILIEN D'AUTRICHE
empereur 1493, m. 1519

MARIE DE BOURGOGNE
(FILLE DE CHARLES LE TEMÉRAIRE)
m. 1482

FERDINAND D'ARAGON
m. 1516

ISABELLE DE CASTILLE
m. 1504

PHILIPPE LE BEAU D'AUTRICHE
m. 1506

JEANNE DE CASTILLE « LA FOLLE »
m. 1555

MARIE D'AUTRICHE
m. 1505

(frères et soeurs):
ÉLÉONORE, REINE DU PORTUGAL ET
DE FRANCE

CHARLES V, EMPEREUR

FERDINAND I, EMPEREUR

ISABELLE, REINE DE DANEMARK ET
DE NORVÈGE

CATHERINE, REINE DU PORTUGAL

TABLE II. QUARTIERS DE LOUIS JAGELLON

CASIMIR JAGELLON
GR. DUC DE LITHUANIE
ROI DE POLOGNE, m. 1492

ÉLISABETH D'AUTRICHE
m. 1505

GASTON II DE FOIX-GRAILLY
DE CANDALE, m. 1500

CATHERINE DE FOIX
INFANTE DE NAVARRE

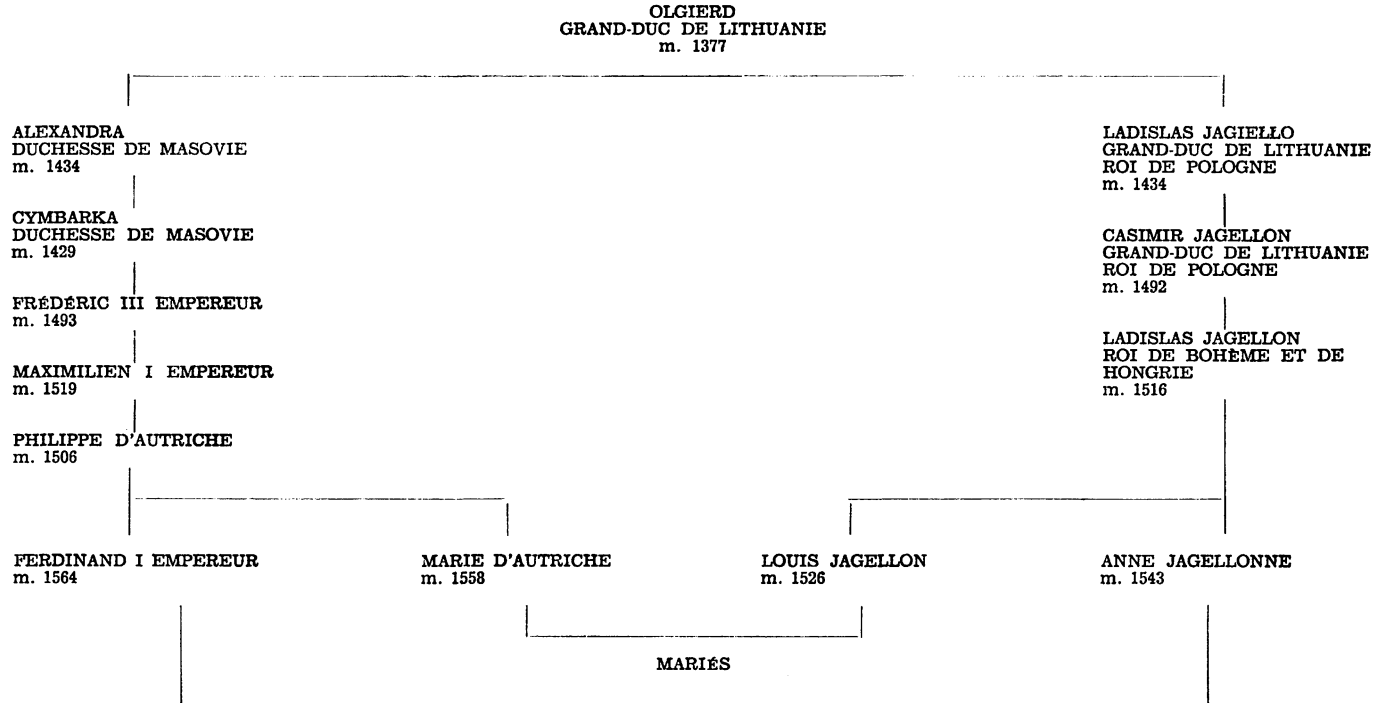
—
18
—

LADISLAS JAGELLON
ROI DE BOHÈME
ROI DE HONGRIE
m. 1516

ANNE DE FOIX-GRAILLY
m. 1506

LOUIS II
ROI DE BOHÈME ET DE HONGRIE
m. 1526

III. TABLE DE LA PARENTÉ JAGELLON-HABSBOURG PAR OLGIERD (4^e degré collatéral touchant le 6^e)



IV. TABLE DE LA PARENTÉ HABSBOURG-JAGELLON PAR ALBERT II D'AUTRICHE (6^e degré collatéral)

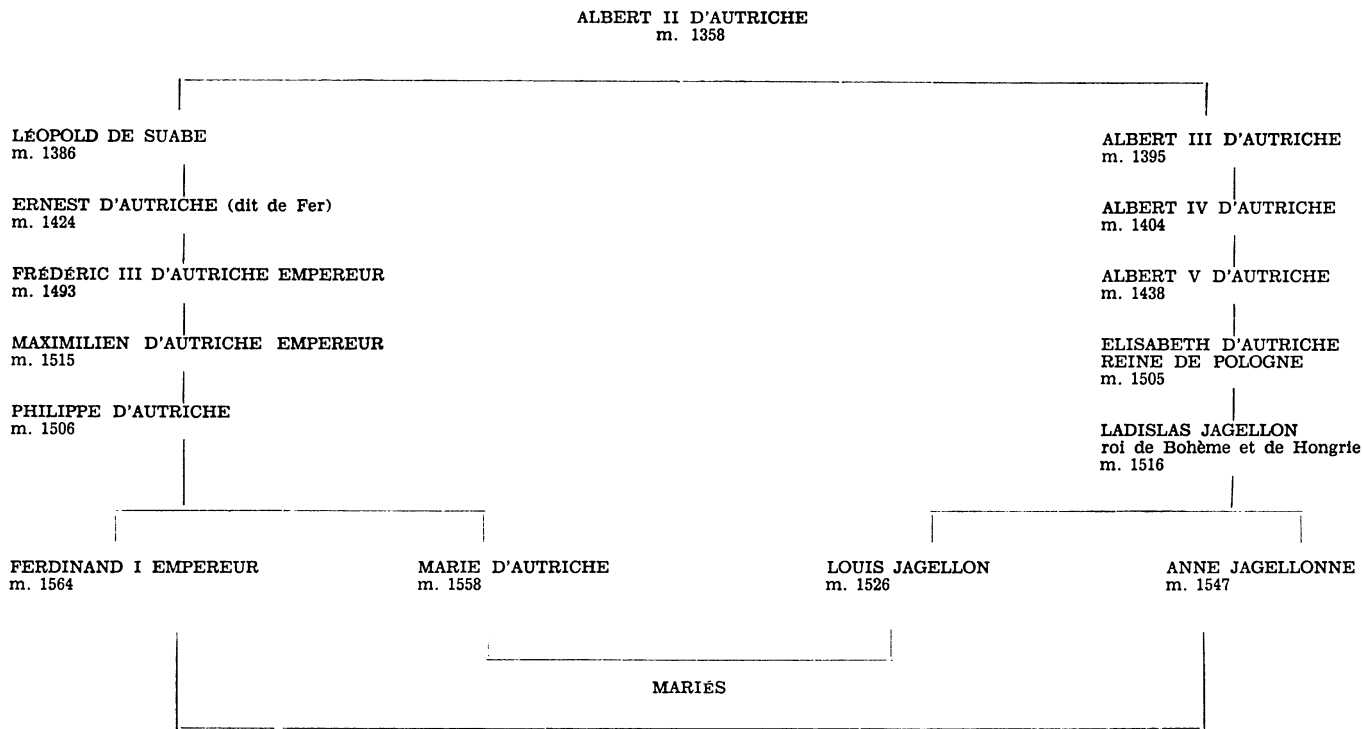


TABLE V. LES ROIS DE LA DYNASTIE DES JAGELLONS

LADISLAS JAGIELLO
(JOGAILA)
grand-duc de Lithuanie
roi de Pologne
m. 1434

LADISLAS,
roi de Pologne
roi de Hongrie
tué à l'ennemi devant
Warna 1444

CASIMIR,
grand-duc de Lithuanie
roi de Pologne
m. 1492

LADISLAS,
roi de Bohême
roi de Hongrie
m. 1516

(SAINT CASIMIR,
m. 1484)

JEAN ALBERT,
roi de Pologne
m. 1501

ALEXANDRE,
grand-duc de Lithuanie
roi de Pologne
m. 1506

SIGISMOND I,
roi de Pologne
grand-duc de Lithuanie
m. 1548

LOUIS,
roi de Bohême et de Hongrie
tué à l'ennemi devant Mohacs
1526

SIGISMOND II, AUGUSTE
grand-duc de Lithuanie
roi de Pologne
m. 1572

TEXTE DU TESTAMENT

Au nom du pere du filz et
du Saint Esperit. Amen.

Nous estant lessé par le peché de nostre premier pere Adam la mort perpetuelle, delaquelle il a plut a Dieu tout puyant par sa divine misericorde nous exempter et moienant l'envoy en chere humaine du Secont Adam son Benoyct filz notre Seigneur Jesus Christ et nous adotter ses enfans par le merite de sa pacion et faire ses coheritiers ceulx quy par vraye une et cooperante foy ce font capables de ces interets ceulx qu'ilz est converty ceste mort adamique et perpetuelle a mort corporelle et somme doux et suave en atendant la resurexcion générale et vie eternelle.

Considérant donques que nous sommes tous asubgestis a ce somme ou mort corporelle et que nostre fragilité et structure nous admoneste d'estre vigilants non sachant l'heure ny le moment cant nostre bon père de famille nous pellerà, nous désirant en ceste heure autant qu'en moy est et il plaist a Dieu mon doux Seigneur estre occupé en chose de ce monde, Je, Marie, par la grace de Dieu Royne douariere de Hongrie etc... Sans délibérer, estant en pleine santé et entiere de sens qu'il a plut a Dieu me donner, faire mon testament et derniere volonté.

Et premierement, protestant de vouloir vivre et mourir en sa sainte foy catolique et espérance qu'il a révélé a sa sainte Eglise pour nous, instement je supplie la benoiste Trinité me donner la grace de diriger ma vie et conclure une fin quy puisse estre capable nonobstant mes péchés (de quoy je demande misericorde et pardon par le mérite de Nostre Sauveur Jesus Christ de luy rendre l'ame qu'il luy a plut me doner pour estre coloquier en la celeste compangnie des saints et des saintes du paradis) laquelle myenne ame je délègue à la main de mon Dieu, priant à la benoiste Vierge Marie et a tous les saints d'en estre envers luy mes intersseurs.

Je pardone aussy et a ung chacun les faultes et comptes (sy aucune en i a) et prie a Dieu mon créateur et a tous ceulx quy je porois avoir ofenser me pardonner les myennes.

Le corps quy est venu de la terre y doit retourner en atendant la resurexcion future (je le délègue à son naturel et que il soit mis et enterré ou le corps de la feue Royne tres chrestienne Madame et seur l'estoit) auquel enterrement et obseques quy ce feront.

Je prie mes excecuteurs et leur enjoinct expressement de eviter les pompes quy sont pleines de vanités et qui ne servent à l'ame et que cy ceste miene requete ne peult entierement avoir lieu de quoy bien instament je retourne à prier que pour le moins la despens qu'il faudra pour ce faire ne disturbe les paiemens de mes debtes, salaires et dons fais à mes serviteurs et a ce proseder pour le destage de ma conscience et que le plus grant de la despence des obsèques se convertise en prieres et en avoir.

Item, Je ordone que toutes mes deptes soient païées (cy aucun en i a) quy se trouveront par mes comtes et livres d'obligation ou par quelque autre maniere que se poroist estre, comandant a mes testamenteurs et executeurs de mon testament cy apres dénomés, qu'ilz égalent, verifient, destagent et paient ce que sera trouver estre redevable [.....¹⁾] le paiement des gages de mes serviteurs, servantes et officiers de ce qu'il leur sera deu jusques à l'heure de mon trespas et ce le plus tost qu'il leur sera posible et mesmes devant l'expiration de l'eur de mon trespas sy faire se peult. Et en cas quedevant le dit evenement ne se puise point acomplir et satisfaire a tout mon testament, que mes dicts testamenteurs et excécuteurs le facent le plus tost que faire se pora avant l'expiration de l'eur, a quoy faire je veulx qu'ilz aient lemesmes pooir come ilz avoient de faire en dedans l'heure de mon trespas. Non obstant coy je leur enseigne sur leur conscience de user de toute breve excecution a la destage de la miene, affin que avec efect icelle deviene destage.

Item, Je ordone et veult que tous les dons que par mandement especial que avoy fait et poroy faire sortent leur entier efect selon leur contenu.

Je supplie au Roy mon seigneur et neveupt et a la princesse de Portugal Madame et niepce qu'ils veulent avoir cy favorable recommandation et prendre en leur protexion tous mes serviteurs et servantes, se servir d'eulx et les favoriser autant que faire se pora.

Et pour estre chose deue et selon Dieu de pourveoir ses bons serviteurs et servantes affin que par la mort de leur mestre ou mestresse apres avoir consumé leur eage en leur service ne tombent en nessessités et mes éritiers sont princes tout puisants qu'ilz ne jenent apres le petit bien que puis delesses, veulx par codicilles ordoner ce que leur lesse, considérant que en ce jour ay plus d'ocasion de faire saigement que au principal du testament, lequel codicille ou aultre, et aultres que poroy plus cy apres faire et veulx qu'il aye le mesme efect et valeur ^{a)} de mon testament. Et que la mesme valeur ayent tous aultres billés que poroy adjoindre et singner de ma main et cacheter de mon petit cachet, quy se trouveront joins a mondict ou a mes dicts codicilles.

Item, Je delesse a toutes mes dames et filles de ma chambre toutes mes robes fourées soit de fourures ou de felpres pour les departir entre elles également. Aulxdictes femes et varles de chambre je delesse semblablement celles quy sont symples ou doublées ensembles les corselestes et aulxdictes femes de chambre sont tous les cousins, linges et aultres meubles de coy je me sers journellement hors mis la vasselie d'or ou d'argent.

Item, Je delesse a mon grant escuyer si jen ay ung a l'heure de mon trespas ou a l'escuier sy cy trouves [.....¹⁾] tous mes chevaux aquenées, mules, chaises, litieres avec toutes les harnashures et acoustrements ordinairement y servant et ayant court sans en ce comprendre ceulx quy servent en mes ecuries ou sentes.

Item, Je delesse a tous les chefs d'office a chacun ce quy est de sa sarge tous meubles, linges, ustensilles de coy ordinairement et cotidiennement je me sers hors mis mes vaseles d'or et d'argent ou meubles precieulx dont je ne sers que peu fors, sans en comprendre les tapiceries dosiers, tapis, velets, quy sont de drap de soie ou de tapiceries de laisnes, ou tapisier seulement et quy sont de drap.

Item, auxdits varlés de chambre je delesse les deux lis de coy ordinairement je me sers avec tous leurs acoustrements et aulx aides les deulx en bufet et les cheysieres quy servent en ma chambre.

Item, Je veulx et ordone que ceulx qui ont de mes biens ou meubles a l'enseigne par inventaire soient destager en declairant les pieces et s'ilz eussent resut quelques choses depuis inventaire faict et qu'il ne soit l'enseigne sur iceluy, mon intention est que ung chacun en son endroit ayent deux vestements, et donne outre auxdicts testamenteurs pour en faire ce qu'il conviendra pour l'acomplissement de mon testament et veulx qu'ilz soient creus sur leur serment de se surplus, en default de aultre probation.

Item, Veulx et ordone en cas que a mon tresorier ou mestre de la chambre ou aultre quy par mon comendement aura eu quelque sarge de deniers leurs defaillissent aucunes ordonnances escriptes de ma main estant prevenu de ce faire par mon trespas que en usufruit par mon bureau les questes qu'ilz sont acoustumés de verifier devant ma singnature et des aultres que [. . . . ¹⁾] deuvent aparoir, de mon ordonnance verballe que cela leur soit paié et aloué en leurs contes come sy je l'eust singné en donant outre telz aqués que les parties requeront.

Item, Je ordone et delesse a la princesse de Portugal Madame et Niepce en cas qu'elle me survive tous mes meubles pour meson, come tapiseries dosieres linges ouvrés et non ouvrés et toute chose de semblable calité pour en user franchement et librement sa vie durant et apres sa mort retourner a mon eritier principal cy-aprés dénomé.

Item, Je delesse a l'empereur Ferdinand mon seigneur et frere tous les drois et actions que par titre quelconque je peulx avoir ou quereler sur tous ses roihaulmes ce qu'il a resté de mon dot et douaire quy auront esté asingnés sur luy, et entens que le traicté que ay fait avec luy par intervention de l'empereur Charles mon Seigneur en la ville d'Ausburg en date de septieme jour de mars de l'an mille cinc cens carante huitc soit entierement et inviolablement observé, quitant toutes aultres actions, que ne seroient comprises audict traicté prosedant de mondict dot et douaire. Et sy quy en despent et puis avoir contre luy et ses eritiers, a son profict passé ²⁾ et son principal héritier en ses royhaulmes. Et cant oudict deux centz mille florins de Hongrie lesquelz par ledict traicté est obligé de paier après mon descés à mes heritiers ou aiant cause, Je cogens et ordone que s'il soit besoing pour acomplir mon testament de se servir d'une partie de ceste somme, non povant complir avec ce que pour ce faire ay ordonné, en ce cas mes testamenteurs aprehenderont de ceste somme des dicts deux cent mille florins de Hongrie ce que sera nessesaire pour y servir. Aussy sy j'ay fait ou peust faire quelque aultre asingnation ou constitution de deptes j'entens et ordonne que ce doit avoir lieu et estre acompli. Ce fait, ce qu'il restera de la dicte somme je le delesse a Monseigneur l'archiduc Ferdinand mon neveupt, a condision que ledict archiduc ou ledict empereur son pere ne fassent ou mestent par eulx mesmes ny par aultres imposites personnes en quelque manière que ce soit directement ou indirectement quelque empeschement ou aucune difigulté au paiement de ce que je ordone sy desus sur lesdicts deux cent mille florins hongrois en cas qu'ilz les conveingne prendre en partie d'iceulx pour l'acomplissement et satisfaction de mondict testament et entens qu'ilz paient et accomplient ce que desus. Item es cas que audict paiement et acomplissement se face quelque difigulté refus ou empeschement de fait ou de droit ou en quelque manière que ce soit, en tel avènement je revoque, annulle et declare nulle et de nulle valeur et efect le susdict legat fait en faveur dudict archiduc. Et semblablement revoque rapelle et anulle ce que en faveur dudict empereur Ferdinand ay cy desus desclaré et quité a son prouffit, voullant et ordonant que tout cela soie

de nulle valeur et que se tout viengne au profit de mon universel eritier que cy après soit desclaré.

Item, Je veulx et ordone a mes testamenteurs que pour servir au paiement de mes deptes et satisfaire a l'exécution de mondict testament, codicilles et derniere volonté que ay fait ou poroy faire, l'on prengne en premier lieu de l'argent contant sy il en i a et apres les ariérages que l'on me pora devoir a l'heure de mon trespas et en cas que aye obtenu du roy de pooir jouir apres ma mort de deux années de la rente de douse mille ducas carlins que ay en Naples et de celle que j'eu en compte ^{c)} toutes deux à ma vie, ilz poront icelles antisiper avec ans que ce soit a quelque damage pour [...^{b)}] plus tost acomplir et satisfaire cest mien dict testament tous sy [...^{b)}] devant mon descés obtenues les dictes deux années et qu'il n'y eult bien soufisant et ce que denomé sy desus pour ledict accomplissement poront hapehender toute ma vasselie d'or ou d'argent et au surplus pour tout au mieulx furnir auxdictes rentes ou pensions que ordone et délègue, poront pareillement hapehender les rentes que ay en ses roihaulmes d'Espaigne aquis au rachat dudict catorziesme et aultres telles rentes en quelque part que se soit, en rachat ou en fons de terre que poroy aucunes aquerir jusques a l'heure de mon trespas et se ancores ne soufissent, en prendront le restant sur lesdicts deux cent millé florins de Hongrie, donant plei pooir a mesdicts excecuteurs de hapehender de leur auctorité tous les susdicts mes biens pour l'efect que desus est et de pooir poursuivre en jugement ou hors jugement toutes mes deptes quy me seront deues de manière qu'il n'y aye faulte aucune a l'excecution de mon dict testament et codicilles encores qu'il exsède les neuf parties de mesbiens et l'esedra, qu'il ne fust trouvé de reste pour mon heritier ou les dicts seigneurs empereur Ferdinand et archiduc son filz comme légataires les aultres pars et que cela fust contre la disposition du droict et lois sur ce faictes et escriptes.

Item, J'ay, tout qu'il restera, mes deptes paiées, mon testament et codicilles fait ou que encores poroys faire, parfaire et acomplir, tant de meubles et inneubles que presentement j'ay ou poray aquerir ensemble de toutes pretensions de successions paternelle et maternelle, n'ayant droict en aucune maniere estre satisfaite ou autre quelle qu'elle soit en lingne directe ou colaterale que poroit estre escheut ou a escheoir jusques à l'heure de mon trespas, de quelle calité ou grandeur que ce poroit estre, je fais et institue mon seul et universel eritier l'empereur Charles mon seigneur et frere et en cas que le dict seigneur ne puisse (ce que Dieu ne veulle) je lesse pour mon heritier universel en la mesme maniere le roy Don Philippe son filz mon seigneur et neveupt [...^{d)}] et après luy ses legitimes successeurs en la courone d'Espaigne.

Item, Je requetes et ordone que mes testamenteurs et excecuteurs de ce mien testament et dernière volonté soient les après nommés a savoir l'esvesque de Palence [...^{e)}] de Lagasque, Jan de Vége président de [...^{e)}] l'abé de Seaux Jan, Frere Gilles Siment mon premier aumonier, Charles de Poitiers seigneur de Verdun, mon maistre d'ostel Nicolas Micault et le licencié [...^{e)}] Aezes, conseillers du roy et miens, et pour administrateur de mes biens et deptes Roger Patyur mon tresorier pour entendre a la dicte exécution et tenir conte devant lesdicts testamenteurs chaque fois que requis en sera et que celui quy sera controleur de ma meson a l'heure de mon trespas tiene le controle; lesquelz testamenteurs en la plus grant part d'eulx, asavoir les cinc, catre ou pour le moins trois quy mieulx y poront vaquer, en cas que aucun d'entre eulx ²⁾ eult ²⁾ au-

cune difigulté d'estre présent, poront acomplir ce que en iceluy est contenu, que je veulx estre aussy valable et ferme come sy tous ensemble fusent presens et en cas qu'ilz fusent discordans en opinion, je veulx et est ma volonté qu'il ce fase ce que la plus grant part des presens determineront et que cela ce acomplise et execute devant a mesdicts testamenteurs ou la part en nombre que dit, en plein et entier pooir selon que mieulx est et plus eficacement faire ce peult, avec entiere fagulté et generale et libre admonestation affin que de leur propre auctorité ilz puissent aprehender et prendre de mes biens ce que pour l'efect [. . . . ¹⁾] j'ay consenti et dénomé et que de ce, ilz executent et acomplissent ce mien testament et dernière volonté et prennent d'iceulx tout ce quy sera de besoing et nessesaire et especialement requiers et veulx qu'ilz acomplissent ce que touche aulx deptes et destages affin que de mon mieulx ma conscience soit destagée et que ma dernière volonté sorte son entier efect, priant et enseignant a chacun d'eulx qu'ilz ayent et tiengnent le mesme soing de acomplir ce mien testament come sy a luy seul ceste sarge fust commise. Et ordone et veulx que jusques a ce que mon testament soit du tout accompli, on ne peult entrer ny hapehender mes biens et heredies ny prendre d'icelles. Auxquelz executeurs de mon testament desus només ou ceulx d'entre eulx quy en iceluy vaqueront, pourleur peine et labeur et pour memoire je leur delesse ce qu'il s'ensieult: A l'esvesque de Palence le milleur hornement de chapelle avec sa sieulte, asavoir chasuble, tuniques, cape ou capes, drap d'autel, deu chandeliers d'argent et d'or et calice a son chois, a Jan de Vège pourla mesme cause une ou plusieurs pieses de vasselie jusques à la valeur de huict cens ducats, à l'abé de Seault, Jan, ung des milleurs ornemens d'esglise de drap de soie brodé d'or avec sa sieulte come devant et deux des plus petits chandeliers de coy me sers a la chapelle, ledict ornement a son chois. Aulx seigneurs de Verdon Aezes, Micault et Patyer a chacun d'eulx, soit en vasselie ou argent à leur chois pour quatre cens ducas et au controleur deux cens. Et bien pensant que les trois premiers dénomés ne vodront acceper aucunes vacations, ordone auxdicts trois aultres derniers que se servent au lieu des vacations ¹⁾ des pensions que leur delesse a vie et entiere affin qu'ilz ayen ocasion de plus asélérer le dict testament et en cas que quelcun des devants només testamenteurs vient à déseder ou que aucun ne puisse vaquer a la dicte execution et qu'il samble Requis et nessesaire auxdicts superintendens sy après denomés d'en eslire aultres ou aultres en leur lieu, ilz leur poront ordonner telle reception et vacation que selon la calité des personnes trouveront convenir.

Semblablement je suplie audict seigneur Roy et a la dicte princesse en considération de la singnalée affection et entiere amour que je leur ay tousjours porté et porte et la grande confiance que j'ay en eulx, de voloir acceper d'estre superintendens pour l'entier acomplissement et satisfaction de ce mien testament et a ceste cause doner toute la force qu'il sera requis pourle bon efect d'iceluy a mesdicts testamenteurs; auxquelz roy et princesse et a chacun d'eulx pour le tout et insolidaire je donne pleigne libre et entier pooir affin que ilz puissent executer ou avec lesdicts testamenteurs ou chacun d'eulx ilz puissent acomplir ce dict present mien testament codicilles et dernière volonté ou ce que par cy après ancores poroy faire. Et en lieu de ceulx quy sont morts devant l'acomplissement en tout ou en partie ou de ceulx quy porront estre absens ou empesché en aucune maniere poront audict seigneur roy et princesse ou chacun d'eulx denomer et mestre aultres en leur lieu, donant a iceulx le mesmes

et aussy soufisant pooir come a ceulx que j'ay icy dénomés: Et s'il sur-venoit quelque difigulté sur l'entendement des paroles de ce present testament et codicilles et sur l'interprétation du sens de ma volonté, ilz le puisent interpreter et desclairer eulx deux par ensemble cy faire et parler sans difigulté et sinon que ung d'eulx et celuy quy avec moins de delay y pust entendre, le puisse faire, à l'interpretation et desclaration duquel je veulx que on ce tiengne et areste, et que cela ce acomplise sans aucun empchement.

e) Ayant porté depuis la mort du feu roy mon mari a quy Dieu face paix, ung ceur d'or qu'il a aussy porté jusques à sa fin je ordone que ledict ceur avec la cheneste ou il pent soit fondu et donné ce quy en viendra aulx povres car puisqu'il a tenu compaignie jusques au dernier aulxdictes personnes (que hores et sy longtemps ont esté separées de presence come l'ont esté d'amour et affection) c'est reson qu'ilz sanche d'espece et ce conforme come les corps des justement amans ont fait et feront h).

Et par ce present mien testament je revoque et anulle tous aultres testamens et codicilles que je puis ou pavois jusques a maintenant avoir fait et nomement celuy que dernièrement ay fait en la ville de Bruxelles lequel je fis passer en l'an de grace mille cinc sens cincante cinq le troisieme de desembre.

Et finalement je veulx que ce present testament soit par voie de testament de codicilles et dernière volonté et en la meilleure voie, forme et maniere que peult et doit de droit valoir, soit après mon trespas inviolablement observé en tous ses poins et articles et par tous roihaulmes, provinces, sités, trones, jugements cours tant esclésiastiques que séculieres. Et je desclare que sy par diversités des coutumes et solennités requises aucunes choses fuesent obmises par ou on podroit innalterer et inpanchier iceluy mon testament en tout ou en partie, que ce non obstant mon entier voloir et intention est que sans avoir requis a icelle obmission ou aultre faulte ceste miene ordonnance de dernière volonté, donne, sorte son plein et entier efect; et en tesmoing et aprobaton de ce icy escript et fait ce jour de ma main le XXII^o de septembre an 1558^o.

u) Marie Reine v)

Au revers: De main différente. Testamento original de la Reyna Maria de Ungria de 1558, es autografo? De main plus récente: Copiado por Mr. Gachard el 4 de Enero de 1854.

a) et valeur souligné et répété

b) ici un mot rayé

c) compte leçon incertaine

d) plusieurs mots rayés, illisibles

e) blanc

f) au lieu des vacation en marge

g-h) cet alinéa a été déjà cité en traduction allemande, inexacte, par SACHER-MASOCH, op. cit.

t) illisible

u-v) de sa propre main. La parole Reine se pourrait aussi lire « Reyna »

z) ainsi dans le manuscrit.

VALERIANUS MEYSZTOWICZ

ANTONII MARTINELLI RELATIO
DE HIPPOLYTI ALDOBRANDINI LEGATIONE
IN POLONIA

(Ex Archivo Secreto Vaticano, Fondo Pio, 15 f. 1-7.)

(Diarii di varie Legazioni - Indice - Diario del Viaggio del legato Cardinale Ippolito Aldobrandini 158^a) in Polonia - del Cardinale Radivilio in Polonia nell'anno 1592^b.)

INTRODUCTIO

Est-ne opus dicendi, quantum valorem pro fatis Reipublicae Christianae pax illa habuerit, quae inter Domum Austriacam et Rempublicam Polono-Lithuanam conclusa est anno 1589, et ad quam concludendam multum contulit Cardinalis Hippolytus Aldobrandini, a Sixto V deputatus, ut inter Sigismundum III Regem Poloniae et Rodulfum II Imperatorem inchoata negotia ad felicem adduceret finem?

*Qui tractatus Polono-Austriacus anni 1589 a duobus oppidis, in quibus nuntii pacis residebant, vocatur polonice « pax de Bytom et Będzin », germanice vero solet solo primo nomine « de Bytom » *) indicari.*

Diario itineris Cardinalis Aldobrandini in Archivo Vaticano invento, id typis mandare statuimus.

Ad momentum pacis anno 1589 conclusae melius intelligendum iuvat res anteactas memoria tenere.

Aemulatio enim, quae inter Poloniam et Imperium a multis iam annis existebat, radices habuit in aemulatione duarum dynastiarum ineunte saeculo XVI, quando Jagellonides intime et indissolubiliter seinter uniti regnabant a mari Baltico usque ad mare Nigrum et Adriaticum, coronas Lithuaniae, Poloniae, Bohemiae, Hungariae tenentes, dum Domus Habsburgiana, ducatum Austriae adepta, gloriosum, sed vanum titulum Imperialem obtinuit. Jagellonides, ut scitur, anno 1526 paenultimum, anno vero 1572 ultimum filium perdidit. Extincta igitur dynastia, aemulatio erga Austriacos in tota fere nobilitate Polono-Lithuana manebat.

Propositum unum e principibus Domus Austriae, ut Habsburgiani tunc vocabantur, in Regem Poloniae et Magnum Ducem Lithuaniae promovere iam anno 1572 ortum est, quando ultimus ex stirpe Jagellonica rex

Sigismundus Augustus obiit nullo relicto herede. Tunc primum Domus Austriaca Ernestum, filium Imperatoris Ferdinandi et Mariae, sororis Philippo II, ad coronam Poloniae proposuit. Elegerunt tamen Poloni Henricum Andegavensem. In nova electione, quae anno 1575 locum habuit, ipse Imperator Maximilianus II elegi voluit. Attamen Poloni vota sua pro Stephano Battorio dederunt, qui legitime electus, proclamatus et Cracoviae coronatus est (die 15 decembris 1575). Sed Maximilianus II ius ad coronam Poloniae se habere firmiter credebat et, non obstantibus intestinis in Imperio discordiis, bellum adversus Poloniam parabat. Mors inopinata Imperatoris res Polono-Austriacas pacifice pro tempore componere permisit; quod maxime toti Christianitati profuit et rex Poloniae incursus terribilis Ivani IV Moscovitici repellere potuit.

Anno 1586, post Stephani Regis praematurum obitum, nova electio Regis Poloniae et Magni Ducis Lithuaniae peracta est. Elegerunt Poloni in regem Sigismundum Wasa, principem et heredem Sueciae, Catharinae Jagellonicae filium. Haec electio pacifice facta, et quasi unanimiter acceptata, legitime et sollemniter a Primate - Interrege, Archiepiscopo Stanislawo Karnkowski, promulgata erat (die 9 Augusti 1587).

Sed aliqui nobiles Poloni, Domus Austriacae amici, die 22 Augusti pseudo-electionem instituerunt, Maximilianum Archiducem ad regnum vocantes; quae electio manifeste illegitima erat, et promulgationem Interregis - Primatis numquam obtinuit. His tamen non obstantibus, Archidux Maximilianus mense Novembri cum exercitu Cracoviam capere inaniter conatus est. Sigismundus III iam mense Decembri in Ecclesia Cathedrali Cracoviensi sollemniter ab Archiepiscopo Primate coronabatur. Maximilianus tamen a proposito suo recedere noluit atque novis cum exercitibus in Poloniae fines ingressus est.

Sigismundo adstabat, praeter alios et fere omnes proceres, etiam Joannes Zamoyski, Supremus Dux Exercitus Coronae, defuncti Regis Stephani Battorii fidelis adiutor et amicus, victoriis super hostes, praesertim moscoviticis, clarus, atque maximam apud Polonos auctoritatem habens; tenebat etiam Zamoyski et sigillum Regni; fama eius totam pervadebat Europam, et communiter ab exteris vocabatur, omisso nomine, « le Chancelier », « the Chancellor », « el Canciller ». Hic congregato exercitu copias Maximiliani expulit, ipsumque Archiducem die 24 Ianuarii 1588 ad oppidum Byczyna (Bitschen vel Pitschen a Germanis dictum) captivum fecit.

Nec mirandum est Summum Pontificem ad hoc bellum fratricidum inter principes Christianitatis praeveniendum maximae experientiae et ingenii cardinalem misisse: Hippolytum Aldobrandini. Nec facilem Legato suo provinciam committebat.

Ter iam in spatio quindecim annorum Domus Austriaca thronum Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae obtinere tentavit: post Sigismundi II mortem, post breve regnum Henrici Valesii, et nunc post Stephani Battorii obitum. Unio dynastica, Lithuano-Polono-Austriaca, quae et Hispaniam comprehenderet, apparebat nonnullis maximae utilitatis pro tota Republica Christiana; unum, vel ad minus concordatum, esset militare imperium Christianorum. Sed unio talis, cum Poloni Austriacos de collusionem cum Moscovia suspectarent, nullatenus ad effectum deduci poterat, eo vel magis quod Poloni et Lithuani, sub optimo expertissimoque Jagellonum regimine ad ordinem et pacem internam consueti, timebant ne reges e Domo Austriaca illam secum afferrent incessantem rerum perturbationem, quae

Germaniam infestabat quaeque nomine « confusionis germanicae » vocabatur.

De unione dynastica vanum erat somnare, sed bellum inter Poloniam et Imperium, quod facile ex Archiducis Maximiliani expeditione oriri potuit, vitandum erat, ne lucrum ex eo traherent christiani nominis hostes, Turcae, Tartari, Moscovitae. Atque pacem inter Christianos procurare Hippolytus Aldobrandini pro missione habuit.

Itaque Legatus, hibernali tempore, Cracoviam profectus est, ubi cum Polonis rem componere eorumque conditiones cognoscere studuit; deinde ad Rodulfum Imperatorem Pragam festinavit, ubi cum eo collocutus, quam maximis itineribus, per nives, saepe mutatis equis, celeriter vectus, in Poloniam reversus est, elementa ad pacem componendam secum afferens. Et ita iam die 9 Martii 1589 de praeliminari pace conclusa Sixto V Pontifici nuntium mittere potuit.

Hoc modo Maximilianus Archidux libertatem recuperavit, sed quod maius est, Christianitas a bello intestino, periculis pleno, incolumis remansit. Erant vix pauci elapsi menses a die, quo Catholici Regis Philippi II classis, quae « invincibilis armada » dicebatur, cladem accepit in Occidente ad maximum Sultani Muradi III gaudium.

Pax inter Rempublicam Polono-Lithuanam et domum Austriacam, iuvante Legato Pontificio, feliciter conclusa proficuos pro tota Christianitate edidit fructus. Summus Pontifex Sixtus V de felici successu missionis Legati in Concistorio laetatus est.

Non est fere locus dicendi de auxiliis, quae Polonia et Imperium per totum saeculum XVII sibi invicem dederunt contra acatholicos invasores, Turcas scilicet et Suecos. Inferius dicendum est nobis de maximo eventu, qui pacem anno 1589 institutam uno tantum elapso lustro secutus est, de unione scilicet illa Brestensi, quae inter Christianos ritus latini et Christianos schismaticos ritus orientalis, id est Ucrainos — vel ut tunc vocabantur Ruthenos — anno 1595 in oppido Brest conclusa est.

Non possunt hic omitti aliqua saltem maioris momenti data, quae ad Cardinalem, mox Papam Aldobrandini spectant. Natus itaque anno 1536, Patavii Bononiaeque studia perfecit. Pii V speciali protectione semper gavisus est; Sacrae Romanae Rotae auditoris munere junctus, atque Cardinalis creatus est; dein datarius et paenitentarius maior nominatus. Post Cardinalis Aldobrandini ex Polonia reditum incipiunt illi quindecim menses, quibus tres Summi Pontifices coronantur atque tres sepeliuntur: Urbanus scilicet VII, Gregorius XIV et Innocentius IX. Itaque die 30 Ianuarii 1592 ipse Aldobrandini in Summum Pontificem eligitur nomenque sibi Clementis VIII assumit. Nec hic est locus historiae huius pontificatus scribendae. Sed vix obliviscendum est Papam Clementem VIII, praeter fideles nepotes, quibus Secretariatum Status affidavit, Cynthium et Petrum Aldobrandini, inter consiliarios suos habuit Sanctum Philippum Nereum, et Cardinales Bellarminum et Baronium. Versio quoque Scripturae Sacrae, cui « Vulgata Clementina » nomen datum, ei debetur. Scivit edictum Nantense, quod anno 1598 in Francia libertatem aliquam acatholicis concesserat, contra oppositionem multorum praelatorum et laicorum tolerare.

Sed in Germania, in Flandriis, in Anglia nulli vel pauci notantur Ecclesiae progressus. Romae autem crudelis mors Iordanis Bruni memoriam Clementis VIII offuscavit. Nec fuit sufficienter notatus, nec uti decet glori-ficatus actus, qui inter omnes huius pontificatus res gestas maximum pro

Ecclesia Christi habuit valorem. Ad unionem scilicet illam alludimus, inter catholicos ritus latini et schismaticos ritus orientalis anno 1595 contractam, quae nomine unionis Brestensis nota est. Anno igitur illo episcopi Rutheni, Hypatius Pocioj et Cyrillus Terlecki, nomine totius hierarchiae ritus graeco-rutheni in Polonia Romam sunt profecti, ut Summo Pontifici oboedientiam afferrent. Unio ita conclusa hucusque in rebus gestis Ecclesiae inter maximas computatur, et non modo immensum numerum novorum fidelium ritus graeco-rutheni Ecclesiae attulit, sed multis etiam martyribus eam glorificavit, inter quos imprimis nominandus est Sanctus Episcopus et Martyr, Iosaphat Kuncewicz, cuius corpus in Basilica Sancti Petri Romae custoditur.

Nec tamen unio illa, cui Clemens VIII ipse, ut Summus Pontifex praefuit, in effectum deduci potuisset, nisi Polonia illius temporis prosperitate et pace cum tota Christianitate gavisa esset; est quodammodo unio Brestensis anni 1595 fructus pacis Bytomiensis anno 1589 conclusae.

Obiit Clemens VIII die 5 Martii 1605 anno. In monumento, quod super eius sepulturam a Paulo V in ecclesia Sanctae Mariae Maioris Romae erectum est, inter praecipua sui regni facta tabula marmorea eum praesentat in actu, in quo — uti Legatus — inter Poloniam et Imperium pacem facit. Et eadem pax, in eadem Basilica in monumento Sixti V, repraesentata apparet.

Quod hic typis praesentatur manuscriptum, desumptum est ex codice, qui in Archivo Secreto Vaticano sub signatura « Fondo Pio, 15 » custoditur. Est hoc volumen chartaceum, in pergamena alba ligatum; 158 folia, quae circa 20/30 cm mensuram habent, continens (secundum numerationem novam, machinalem; numeratio antiqua, manualis ab ea aliquantum differt). In dorso volumen habet inscriptionem: « Diaria Legatorum Apostolicorum a 1527 ad 1580 » (patet hic evidens error, nam nostra legatio ad annos 1588-1589 refertur). « Diarii di varie legazioni » inscribitur in f. 1 v. Continet in foliis 2 v. usque ad 7 v. descriptionem itineris Cardinalis Aldobrandini in Poloniam. Auctor eius est quidam Antonius Martinelli, probabiliter sacerdos, qui Cardinalem in itinere secutus est. Manifestum est eum inter minores legationis socios fuisse, neque enim in aliis relationibus et litteris nominatur. Non est propriae suae manus scriptura; quoniam aliarum legationum relationes, quae in hoc codice continentur, eadem facta sunt manu. Apparet aliquem scriptorem totum textum transcripsisse unumque ex eo volumen confecisse, probabiliter ad eruditionem futurorum legatorum; inter alia, et quidem primo loco, exemplar Diarii Antonii Martinelli collocavisse. Scriptura tamen originalis manet hucusque ignota.

Habetur et aliud exemplar relationis Antonii Martinelli, posterius, forsitan ab eo ipso, vel ab alio scriptore conscriptum. Reperitur in Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana sub sigla Vat. Lat. 3661 (PASTOR, XII, 400, minus recte citat « Vat. 3661 ») parvus codicillus, pelli rubra ligatus cum stemmate Clementis VIII, 21 paginis membraneis constans (15/21 cm). In hoc codice invenitur supplicatio, sine data, pro Antonio Martinelli ad Summum Pontificem (Clementem VIII), ab ipso Antonio Martinelli evidenter scripta; sine data, « anno prope quarto pontificatus » (id est 1595-6). In ea auctor commemorat suam devotionem « in aliis temporibus » manifestatam erga Sanctam Sedem « in tribus Nuntiaturis Septentrionalibus »; in fine dona sollicitat. Sequitur textus, in quo narratur de legatione, quam Hippolytus Aldobrandini perfecit anno 1588. Textus hic est fere identicus

cum illo, qui in Archivo Secreto Vaticano, Fondo Pio, 15 invenitur; apparet exemplar ornatius, paucis annis post autenticum conscriptum ab eodem auctore, Antonio Martinelli; ille enim aliqua mutavit, praesertim ad bonum grammaticae et ad Hippolyti Aldobrandini captandam benevolentiam, qui interea Clemens VIII factus est. Variationes textus, litteris maiusculis notatas, in nostra editione adducere constituimus.

Omisimus ex consulto nonnullas variationes secundarias, praesertim vero mutatum ordinem verborum (e. g. Contulit se Oenipontem - Oenipontem se contulit), vel differentias mere orthographicas (e.g. causa - caussa).

Multi rerum gestarum scriptores de legatione Cardinalis Aldobrandini scribebant. Nec desunt fontes hanc rem illustrantes. Aliquos eorum citat L. Pastor, Geschichte der Päpste XII, ed. Freiburg 1958, pp. 399-404. Adest quoque Voltolini-Matthaus L. opusculum La legazione del Cardinale Ippolito Aldobrandini in Polonia (in eph. Bessarione, A. IX, Serie II, vol. 8, Roma, 1905, pp. 294-310). Quod tamen opusculum erroribus plenum est. Relationem Antonii Martinelli Pastor ex exemplari posteriori, (Vat. Lat.) sumpsit. Ex fontium editoribus Augustinus Theiner, Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae... ex tabulariis Vaticanis, quorum aliqua, quae ad Legationem Aldobrandini spectant, typis mandavit (vol. III, Romae, 1863, pp. 65-84, 124-199). Item Rykaczewski Relacje Nuncjuszów Apostolskich... o Polsce (II, 4-38), aliam relationem, maximi quidem momenti, sed ex parte tantum et in polonicam linguam versam, e manuscripto in Bibliotheca Vallicelliana N. XXXIV, pag. 220 sgg. et 164 sgg. servato, lectoribus praesentavit. Nullibi tamen relatio Antonii Martinelli, ne ex parte quidem, hucusque typis edita apparet.

*) Beuthen

TEXTUS

^{A-}) Antonii Martinelli ^{-A)} — de Hippoliti Aldobrandini Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalis ^{B-}) Legati Apostolici itinere in Polonia, eiusque Cracoviam et Pragam introitu ^{-B)} narratio.

Castris ad Cracoviam locatis a Maximiliano Austriae Archiduce ¹⁾ anno a Christo nato 1558 ^{c)} ^{C)} res infelicitè geri ^{D)} coepta ad ^{E-}) tristiorem calamitosiorem ^{-E)} exitum perducta est; nam ^{F)} amisso milite obsidionem solvere coactus Archidux, dum collectis exercitus reliquiis in Silesia se recipit, ipse ad fines interceptus ^{G)} superatusque in potestatem hostium ^{H)} venit ²⁾. Itaque curam cogitationemque summas, aequae ac necessarias, Sixtus V Pontifex Maximus continuo suscepit de Maximiliano in libertatem vindicando, paceque inter Germanos et Polonos ¹⁾ concilianda.

Cum decernenda legatio videretur Hyppolitum Aldobrandinum Patrium Florentinum, quem ille pietate ^{d)} doctrina clarissimum ad cardinalatus dignitatem sponte erexerat, legatum a latere ad Rodulphum ²⁾ Imperatorem ³⁾ et Sigismundum ⁴⁾ ^{J)}, qui iam tunc rebus in Polonia potiebatur, designat Kal. Iunii ^{e)}. Quo item die Hyppolitus in senatu amplissimae legationis acceptis insignibus a Palatio ad Angelicam Portam solemniter more Patribus comitatus est. Coeterum difficillimi itineris quo is in Germaniam Poloniamque longinquas et remotissimas regiones celerrime contendit ^{f)} descriptione omissa, mihi propositum est honores ab eodem Rodulpho Caesare ac Sigismundo Rege Hyppolito Legato

f. 2 v exhibitos quam ^{g)} brevi narratione percurrere; neque inter hasce interiectos illos, quos Rodulphus patris fratribusque archiducibus ad se Pragam convenientibus detulit, praeterire; quippe extitere illustres memorabilesque omnes ^{h)}, ac cum ab eisdem causis et initiis fere perfectis iis quoque qui interfuerunt, nisi sint et observatione et memoratu digni, neque inapte coniungi, et eorum narrationem absentibus interdum ^{k)} non iniucundam puto fore.

^{L)} Urbe Roma excedens Hyppolitus caloribus maximis, quales sunt Iunio mense, terrestri continuatoque itinere, nullo vel labore vel periculo deterritus, Tridentum, inde contulit se Oenipontem, ⁵⁾ quod oppidum in Tirolensi Comitatu insigne est, atque in primis cultu et habitatione Ferdinandi Arciducis ⁶⁾ celebre; Oeniponte digressus Halae navigium conscendit et Oeni ac Danubii fluminum ^{M-}) secundo cursu Viennam navigat ^{-M)}, ubi ad Ernesto Arciduce, ⁷⁾ sicut antea fuerat Oenipontis a Ferdinando honorificentissime excipitur. Paucis Viennae diebus necessario positus, dum Ernestus de Legati adventu Caesarem ⁸⁾ certiore facit, Caesar Legatum salutatum mittit, Cracoviam versus profectus est; ad propinquos 12 ¹⁾ Kalendis Augusti subsistit in Tignoccensi coenobio ⁹⁾ quingentorum ²⁾ passuum Polonicorum intervallo hoc Cracoviae distat, remoto in loco situm, et ut Coeli Regno fere perameno. Ibi ut aliquot dies Hyppolitus subsideret

f. 3 Sigismundo Regi visum est suadere et hortari specie quidem cupientis illum ab itinere fessum refici et recreari atque illud ^{N-} praecipue spectanti ^{-N} quo pacto protraheret tempus donec cuncta instruerentur pararenturque. Ita enim occurrere instituerat, ut tum quanta veneratione Sanctam Apostolicam Sedem prosequeretur, tum quanti ipsum Legatum faceret Rex, nullus omnino relinqueretur dubitandi locus. Principio abnuit Hyppolitus, sive qua est animi moderatione, sive quod ^{O-} rei publicae ^{-O} interesse duceret quam primum cum Sigismundo congredi Senatorumque explorare voluntates: ac postremo quaecunque sibi manendi commorandique causa necessitasque praetexeretur, hortationi praesertim adiunctis a Rege praecipibus cedendum indulgendumque est ratus.

Interdum cum sorore ¹⁰⁾ et Anna Regina ¹¹⁾ e Neapolomicis ¹²⁾ reversus Sigismundus V Kalendis Augusti, constituta die ad recipiendum Legatum, Cracovia exivit praemissis duobus e principibus Senatus qui in Tignoccio expectantem deducere inciperent; ipse cum reliquo senatorio ordine, innumeris nobilibus equitibusque et pedestribus copiis subsequutus etiam amplius duorum millium passuum Italarum ante progressus est quam obviam haberet Hyppolitum; qui iam accepto nuncio regem adventare equum phaleris ornatum poscit, togam ^{P)} mutat, pontificiamque induit, subinde e regione properanti ad se Regi occurrit. Praemeditata oratione usus Sigismundus ei primum de ^{Q-} incolumi ^{-Q} ad-

f. 3 v ventu gratulatur, deinde quod ipsius Regnique Poloniae in Sixtum Pontificem Sanctamque Apostolicam Sedem studium cultusque sit, paucis complectitur. Ad ea dixit Hyppolitus breviter ex gratulatione facile se intelligere quantus esset Regis in se amor et benevolentia; hoc se nomine et laetari plurimum et gratias Regi ipsi agere; quam quidem in Summum Pontificem eandemque Sedem profiteretur suis Regnique verbis observantiam eam multo ante perspectam cognitamque efecisse ut Rex ac Regnum in fide et clientela Sixti et Sedis Apostolicae modo existant futurae sint perpetuo. Sigismundus haec audita grata vehementer et iucunda se habere respondit. Mox agens circumducensque equum Legato dexteram concedit. ^{R-} Ita ^{-R} ad portam usque Civitatis processisse ^{S)} ambo; ^{T-} praestolabatur ad eam universus Clerus Cracoviensis coeteris Poloniae praestantior ^{-T}. Hunc cum perventum esset dimissus a Legato Rex ad Regiam divertit. Legatus praeunte Clero et nobilibus deducentibus ad templum maximum accessit, ubi omnia solemnia summa cum ceremonia servata, peracta fuere.

Postero die mane coactus Senatus magna Senatorum frequentia, tum rursus missi a Rege Principes nobilitatis qui Hyppolitum ad Curiam deducerent. Dexteram Regi sedit Legatus. Deinde Litteris Sixti Pontificis re-

f. 4 signatis lectisque a Vicecancellario ¹³⁾ Hyppolitus ex suo loco orationem habuit loculentam; summa eius fuit: Regem, Senatum Populumque ^{U)} nihil dignius honestius utiliusque facturos quam si primo quoque tempore Maximiliano libertatem darent, pacem cum Caesare caeterisque Principibus Austriis ²⁾ conficerent; ad quam rem postquam accommodata multa protulit, perorans inquit, id Sixtum Pontificem, pro suo in Regum Regnumque Paterno amore, proque ^{k)} sua in universam Christianam Rempublicam cura hortari, petere, rogare.

^{AA)} Dum haec in Polonia geruntur, indicti a Principibus Austriae conventus agendi dies adest. Quare Ferdinando ¹⁴⁾, Carolo ¹⁵⁾, Ernesto ¹⁶⁾ et Mathia ¹⁷⁾ Arciducibus patruis ac fratribus advenientibus prodiit obviam

3 Nonis Augusti ¹⁾ Rodulphus Caesar ab arce quam inhabitabat excelso loco sita. Inito ^{m)} itinere, per mediam urbem, quod nemo multos annos ante viderat, vectus est aperto et detecto curru ab equis albis triiugis ducto; comitabantur illum Vulfangus Romfius ¹⁸⁾ et Octavius Spinula ¹⁹⁾ alter cubiculo alter equili Caesareo praefectus ⁿ⁾. Paululum extra portam, qua Viennam itur, progresso Ridulfo ²⁾ Arciduces adfuerunt, qui eum conspicati, nec iam magno intervallo distantes. Aurigas sistere currus iubent; et erecti cum discensuri viderentur erexit se quoque Rodulphus; moxque eos descen-

f. 4 v disse inspiciens, ipse idem fecit, seposuitque se a viae latere quae illa erat addictior ^{o) AB)}; Arciduces non se commovere loco in quem prius desilierant nisi ubi Rodulphum stetisse animadverterunt. Tum natu omnium maximus Ferdinandus eum adiit, quem ad humum venerationis causa dimittere se nequaquam passus Rudulphus extulit et excepit humanissime, blandis verbis affatus. Post Ferdinandum Carolus et Ernestus ac postremo Matthias ^{AC-)} eodem officio ^{-AC)} functi, Mathias percitius ad fratris genua ^{AD-)} fere ^{-AD)} procubuit. Ferdinandi uxor ²⁰⁾ ea quoque ex suo vehiculo delapsa adversus Rodulphum tetendit, cui ille quasi occurrere vellet loco parum cessit et correcta dextera amplexatus vultum admovit in osculantis modum. Hoc facto Rodulphus ^{AE)} denuo conscendit currum et una cum eo Ferdinandus Carolusque. Currus eam partem quae ad equos vergit, Germani secundam sessionem atque adeo nobilioremque existimant: hanc Ferdinandus dextrum aditum Carolus, sinistrum Octavius Spinula tenere; cuius Octavii ^{AF)} fuerunt, ut equili Caesareo praefecti extra urbem et in agro versante Caesare summum esse gradum et auctoritatem.

At iam curribus CL, quibus Rodulphus ^{AG)} comitatus Praga progressus est retractis longoque agmine intra civitatem receptis incaeperat patere iter iis qui sequebantur. Itaque e vestigio Ernestus et Matthias Romphio secum abduc-

f. 5 to in raeda ipsi itidem sederunt Rodulphique currum antecesserunt una atque altera rheda in qua erant Aulae Principes antevectae equitumque ala ^{AH)} praeunte et monstrante iter. Currum Rudulphi proxime subsequutus est uxoris ^{P)} Ferdinandi vehiculus ac post illud septuaginta ferme alia numerata matronis ac nobilibus pueris et impedimentis onusta, quae magis sibi usu fore principes crediderant nam Pragae minime diu futuros se arbitrati, sed adeo multos a cubiculo, unum ad summum a secretis abduxerant, paucis exceptis viris bellandi arte et consilio claris. Hoc ordine cum currus ipsi tres Rodulphi, Principum et uxoris Ferdinandi undique satellitibus stiparentur, revertit Rodulphus Caesar ad Regiam; digressi hic ab eo Arciduces ad sua secessere cubicula imminente iam caenae tempore.

A1) Principum Austriacum ²⁾ peracto conventu ipsisque domum reversis, quamquam ferebatur eam fuisse omnium sententia et decreto ut denuo ^{AJ)} tentaretur res, tamen Rodulphus Caesar non obscure postea visus est optare dare sibi cum Hyppolito Legato colloquendi facultatem. Quare Legatus occasionem quae bene gerendae rei ultro se offeret minime aspernatus omnino ad Rodulphum venire constituit. Hoc Rodulphus ut mire expetebat et libenter intellexit ^{AK)}, et iussit statim expedita et in promptu esse omnia quae opus essent tanto hospiti quam honorificentissime excipiendi ad-

f. 5 v hibenouque; AL) Andreae Episcopo Vratislaviensi in Silesia AM) et universae eius provinciae prefecto per rescriptum daret r) operam Legato comitatuique ut copiose suppeditaretur, itineris securitas praestaretur; quod ipse per se ministrorum Apostolicorum studiosissimus praesul s) ac diligenter curavit.

Verum sine ulla mora et quam maximis poterat itineribus Legatus praeparans VIII Idus Decembris 1) AN-) ad 4 um lapidem Bohemicum -AN) Pragam prope concedit, postera die recta u) in Brandaisam 21) deductus; villa ea est Rodulphi Caesaris magnifice edificata in loco ad omnis generis venationes et aucupia peralto. Ibi Hyppolitus totum diem traduxit hilariter consuetudine maxime oblectatus Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum et procerum, qui frequentes illius invisendi assectandique causa convolarant.

Sacram rem operatus VI Idus Decembris aa) a Brandaiso discessit, Antistitibus ab) proceribusque quos pridie una secum habuerat, comitatus. Ad Moldam, sive Voltaviam (amnis est qui ac) in via non integro milliario bohemicum ad Pragam praeterlabens in civitatem influit eamque sub arce secat AO) cum prima a meridie hora pervenisset conspici coeptae turmae quae ad) Rodulphum obviam subsequentem praebant equites fere mille, recensiti plerique nobiles torquati ac) AP) binaque tormenta parva ad epiphis af) AQ) pendentia singula gestantes. Paulo post occurrens Paulus Trauxenius 22) AR)

f. 6 Aulae Magister nuntiat ag) Rodulphum non longe abesse; quodque salvus et incolumis advenerit Hyppolito Rodulphi etiam nomine gratulatur. Tum is pontificia amictus in equum phaleratum ascendit et praelata cruce lentius equitat.

Angusta, et acclivi ah) AS) via, qua iam Rodolphus prodierat extra civitatem ad duo passuum Italorum millia paulatim AT) exeunte, substitere procedentes thurmae equitum, mox succedentes Reguli proceresque cunctis in girum z) disponentibus satellitibus et scipatoribus a tergo excubantibus. Ad constitutum congressioni locum (ai) is area erat coequata in ambientium medio relicta) uno eodemque tempore devenere Caesar et Legatus, atque ex equis descendentes iunctis dexteris, ut mos est, pauca inter se collocuti AU), dum mutuis humanitatis officiis alius cum alio certant, quisque gaudii sui iudicia dare adnititur.

Deinde rursus insidentes BA) Pragam ire pergunt Caesare a dextra obequitante, ac, rarum in ipso, sermone conferente. Equitantium post Ridulphum z) ordo et series haec fuit: incedebant primi Nuntius Apostolicus 23) ac Principum Legati; secundo praelati Legato adiuncti; loco 2o praefecto cubiculo Caesaris assignati honoris causa recepti fuerant; praecipui alii, e quibus erat Cinthus BB-) ex sorore Hyppoliti -BB) nepos 24) BC) inter consultores Caesaris collocati praebant; proxime praelatis erant hasta ti ak) milites centum; hos turba paene infinita subsequuta est

f. 6 v quae e civitate suburbioque ad Legatum expectandum confluerat.

Erat iam diei serum cum Caesar et Legatus ad eam urbis partem appulerunt, quam BD-) sapiunt domus caeteraque ob populum qui se e civitate Pragis z) vicisque effuderat, -BD) adeo conferta erant multitudine, ut admirationi essent. At cum iis omnia haec intuendi contemplandique aequa esset facultas, cunctis tamen non eadem laetandi et gaudendi causa: moleste ferentibus et dolentibus haereticis BE) delatum iri, haud unquam putarent; quae res sane voluptatem duplicabat a catholicis perceptam Le-

gati Apostolici adventu eius qui veterem Patrum pietatem sanctimoniamque maxime referret ^{ai)}.

Ventum est tamen ad Archiepiscopi Pragensis ²⁵⁾ aedes; eos Rodolphus multo ante iusserat parari instruique rebus omnibus ut nihil prorsus deesse ad elegantiam splendoremque hospitii Legati: auleis auro et serico contextis obtenti parietes, singulo quoquo cubiculo appensa umbella ^{BF)}, importatusque habitus abacus ingens, variis ^{am)} ^{BG)} plenus argenteis. Iuxta aedes, in ipso fere vestibulo, Rodolphus equum substituit, salutatoque Hyppolito deflectit iter ad arcem. Ille ut erat in equo recte ad maximum templum se vertit et iam salutatus et invitatus a clero. In templi atrio Archiepiscopus Pragensis ei occurrit habitaque longa oratione salutem praecatus est, suum clerique studium erga Pontificem,

f. 7 erga Romanam Ecclesiam testatus; postremo vitas, fortunasque pro eis fundere paratis ^{BH)} se clerumque esse ostendit. Ad singula capita ex tempore apte prudenterque respondit Legatus, commemoratione adhibita earum rerum omnium, quae Pontificis Sedisque Apostolicae benignitatem declarare, ipsos multo magis animare et confirmare possent; mox in templum intrat, et ad aras ^{BI)} accedit, ubi reliqua ex Pontificio libro recitata, ^{BJ-)} ac delictorum venia proposita atque impertita ^{-BJ)}. Perfectis his Legatus ad paratum hospitium profectus est iisdem proceribus et regulis comitatus, Caesarisque pueris ^{an)}, cum nox esset, nudatis capitibus proferentibus faces.

Qui Hyppolito ad omnia praesto essent, iussi Gregorius Popelius appellationum in Regno Bohemiae Praeses ²⁶⁾ et Antonius ex Comitibus ab Arce ²⁷⁾ ^{BK)} Rodulphi pocillator, Trichesiis ^{ao)} ^{BL)} quod nobiliorum servientium Caesari genus est, mandatum ut Hyppolitum assectarentur, caeteris multis quos domus Caesaris nobiles dicunt, impetratum gestare ferula mensaeque adstare. Simul ac parum quievit Hyppolitus illico visere eum proceres Regni, Caesarei Ministri atque Legati Principum.

Consecuto die ad Rodulphum adiit Hyppolitus ^{BM-)} adventusque extra Conclavia omnia ^{-BM)} in media maioris Aulae ^{BN-)} ab obvio Caesare acceptus ^{-BN)} fuit ac recedens ulterius ^{ap)}, deductus usque ad

f. 7 v eiusdem Aulae ianuam cui palatii scalae quasi proxime coniunguntur. ^{BO-)} Bis iam ^{-BO)} inter Hyppolitum et Rodulphum gravissimis de rebus colloquio habito, Rodolphus equo vectus illum in ipsis aedibus convenit, dumque visitat honorificisque verbis prosequitur dimidiata certe abiit hora.

Decimo quinto ipsarum Kalendarum ^{ar)}, qui dies Domini sacer fuit ^{as)} Hyppolitus et Rodolphus sacrum solemne una audierunt. A prandio dixit ei salutem Hyppolitus, postera die prima luce discessurus in Poloniam. Popellio autem et Antonio ab Arce prius dedit munera, caeteris Caesaris familiaribus pecuniam viritum dividendam persolvit ad aureos ^{BP-)} centum quinquaginta ^{-BP)}. Ob haec cum ea quoque quae ad reliquam Provinciae procuracionem, foedusque ipsum inter Germanos et Polonos sancientium attinet ^{BQ)}, strenue prudenterque consequutus fuisset, praeclaro etiam ad imitandum exemplo perhibuisset, quidquid nequidem per diplomatum scriptionem ^{at)} per suos exegit, eae consensu omnium Hyppoliti Aldobrandini Legati prudentiae, moderationi et liberalitati tributae fuere laudes quas nulla umquam posteritas conticescat ^{ba)}.

- 1) *Maximilianus archidux Austriae, n. 1558, m. 1622. Maximiliani II imperatoris filius Rudolphi et Matthiae imperatorum frater, Ordinis Teutonici B.M.V. magister. Die 22.VIII.1587 putative electus rex Poloniae (cfr. Elementa ad Fontium Editiones XV, N. 138) post anteedentem, legitimam electionem Sigismundi principis Sueciae, die 15 Augusti facta et promulgata (cfr. ibidem N. 157). De eodem Maximiliano archiduce v. insuper indices nominum in: Elementa ad Fontium Editiones IV, VI, XI, XII, XIII, XV, XVI.*
- 2) *Prope villam Byczyna (Pitschen) in Silesia 24.I.1588. Cfr. Elementa ad Fontium Editiones XVI.*
- 3) *Rudolfus II imperator filius Maximiliani II imperatoris, n. 1552, imperator 1576, m. 1612.*
- 4) *Sigismundus III filius Ioannis III regis Sueciae et Catharinae Iagellonicae, n. 1566, rex Poloniae 1587, Sueciae 1592, m. 1632.*
- 5) *Innsbruck.*
- 6) *Ferdinandus archidux Austriae, Ferdinandi I imperatoris filius, comes Tirolis, n. 1529, m. 1595. V. Elementa ad Fontium Editiones XVI.*
- 7) *Ernestus archidux Austriae, Maximiliani II imperatoris filius in electione a. 1573 ad coronam Poloniae reiectus, n. 1553 m. 1595. V. indices nominum in: Elementa ad Fontium Editiones VIII, XI, XII, XIII, XV, XVI.*
- 8) *i.e. Rudolfum: v. nota 3.*
- 9) *Abbatia O.S.B. in Tyniec.*
- 10) *Anna Waza, filia Ioannis III et Catharinae Iagellonicae, Sigismundi III regis Poloniae soror, nata a. 1568, m. 1625. Acatolica. Cfr. Elementa ad Fontium Editiones XV, N. 33, XVI, N. 46.*
- 11) *Anna Iagellonica regina Poloniae, Sigismundi I regis Poloniae et Bonae Sfortiae filia, Stephani regis Poloniae uxor n. 1523, m. 1596. V. indices nominum in: Elementa ad Fontium Editiones VIII, XI, XII, XIII, XV, XVI.*
- 12) *Niepolomice.*
- 13) *Vicecancellarius Regni erat a. 1588 Adalbertus (Wojciech) Baranowski, ab a. 1585 eps. Premislien., 1591 Plocen., 1607 Cuiavien., ab a. 1608 archieps. Gnesnen. et primas Poloniae, m. 1615. V. index nominum in: Elementa ad Fontium Editiones IV, VI, XIII, XVI.*
- 14) *V. n. 6, Rudolphi imperatoris patruus.*
- 15) *Carolus archidux Austriae, in Styria et Carintia, Ferdinandi I imperatoris filius, Rudolphi imperatoris patruus n. 1540, m. 1590. V. indices in: Elementa ad Fontium Editiones III, VIII, XI, XII, XIV, XV, XVI. Sedulo distinguendus ab archiduce Carolo eps. Vratislaviens., n. 1590 - 1608 - 1624.*
- 16) *Rudolfi II imperatoris frater, v. nota 7.*
- 17) *Matthias, Maximiliani II imperatoris frater, ab a. 1612 imperator; v. indices nominum in: Elementa ad Fontium Editiones VI, XI, XII, XIV, XV, XVI.*
- 18) *Rumpf Wolfgang ab a. 1563 Rudolphi archiducis cubicularius, a. 1574 Maximiliani II in Hispania orator, cubiculi Rudolphi II praefectus (Oberstkämmerer) 1576-1599, m. 1606. V. indices nominum in: Elementa ad Fontium Editiones XI, XII, XV, XVI.*
- 19) *Octavius Spinula equili Rudolphi praefectus (Hofmarschal).*
- 20) *Anna Catharina, Guilelmi Gonzaga, ducis Mantuae filia, n. 1566, Ferdinandi archiducis uxor ab a. 1582, m. 1621.*
- 21) *Brandaisa, nunc Brandys nad Labem, oppidum ca. 10 km. a Praha distans, cum palatio a. 1562 aedificato.*
- 22) *Paulus Trauzenius, recte Truchsess, Rudolphi II aulae magister, (vel curiae magister, Oberhofmeister); forsitan idem ac Trauzes « mayordomo mayor » an. 1573, v. Elementa ad Fontium Editiones XI, N. 64. V. ibidem, XII, N. 41 « Trauzen, mayordomo », a. 1576 et XV, N. 175, a. 1587; XVI NN. 18, 22, 104, 121 (a. 1588) vel. Trauthsonius N. 145, a. 1589.*
- 23) *Nuntius apostolicus Pragae erat hoc anno Antonius Puteo, archieps. Barenensis, cui 15 Aprilis 1589 successit Alphonsus Visconti.*
- 24) *Cinthius Tasseri v. Passeri, n. 1560, Hippolyti Aldobrandini ex sorore nepos, ex privilegio cognomine materno utens, a. 1593 cardinalis et secretarius Status, a. 1604 legatus Avinionis, m. 1610.*
- 25) *Archiepiscopus Pragensis erat ab a. 1581 Martinus Medek, m. 1590.*
- 26) *Gregorius Popelius, appellationum in Regno Bohemiae praeses (Königl. Obergerichtscammer).*
- 27) *Antonius e comitibus ab Arce (von Arco) Rudolphi pocillator (Schenk, vel Oberschenk), v. Elementa ad Fontium Editiones XVI, N. 40.*

NOTAE LITTERALES

- a) *Ultimus numerus datae scriptus indistincte. Legatio facta est annis 1588-1589. Cfr. etiam notam c) et C).*
- b) *sequuntur in ms. notae de aliis legationibus.*
- c) *iterum indistincta scriptura ultimi numeri datae; ut supra, nota a).*
- d) *in ms. omissum et.*
- e) *1.VI.1588.*
- f) *in ms. contemdit.*
- g) *lectio incerta.*
- h) *abhinc syntaxis non clara.*
- i) *indistincte scriptum; forsitan 22.*
- k) *hic verbum in deletum.*
- l) *3.VIII.1588.*
- m) *in ms. in hito.*
- n) *in ms. perfectus.*
- o) *vix legitur.*
- p) *in ms. uxori*
- r) *sic in ms., in modo coniunctivo.*
- s) *in ms. pesul*
- t) *6.XII.1588.*
- u) *in ms. indistincte.*
- z) *sic in ms.*
-
- aa) *8.XII.1588.*
- ab) *in ms. Antistibus.*
- ac) *in ms. quia*
- ad) *in ms. qui*
- ae) *in ms. vix legitur.*
- af) *sic in ms. (forsitan deformatio verbi « epitezis »? quod significat « catapultum illud, cui imponitur sagitta » (Thesaurus totius latinitatis, 5, 2, pag. 693) et uti quoddam pheretrum intelliigi potest?*
- ag) *in ms. nunciat.*
- ah) *in ms. vix legitur.*
- ai) *parenth. ab editore adiuncta est.*
- ak) *in ms. astati.*
- al) *syntaxis incerta.*
- am) *indistinct escriptum, vix legitur.*
- an) *in ms. puris.*
- ao) *indistincte scriptum.*
- ap) *in ms. nulnerius, indistincte.*
- ar) *in ms. Chalendarum., i.e. XV Kal. Ianuarii; scil. 18.XII.1588.*
- as) *Dominica IV Adventus.*
- at) *in ms. scriptione.*
- ba) *hic signum finale, quasi litteras F et S simul compositas praesentat.*

NOTAE

DE LECTIIONIBUS EX Cod. Vat. Lat. 3661 QUAE A MS. BIBLIOTHECAE AP. VAT.

Fondo Pio 15 DIFFERUNT

- A)-A) *omissum*.
B)-B) Pontificique Legati Cracoviam Pragamque Poloniae ac Bohemiae Urbes adventu introituque
C) MDLXXXVIII (1588).
D) *geri omissum*.
E)-E) *tristem et calamitosum*
F) *additur*: illata oppugnatione eaque vi a praesidiariis militibus propulsata ipse primum accepta clade
G) *additum*: a Polonis
H) *loco hostium legitur* eorum
I) *praecipuas Christiani orbis nationes*
J) *Suecum*
K) *legitur*: imposterum
L) *additur quasi capituli titulus*: Discessus ab Urbe et introitus Cracoviam.
M)-M) *Viennam delatus*
N)-N) *attendi*
O)-O) *permagni*
P) *vestem*
Q)-Q) *omissum*
R)-R) *legitur*: Crebris spectantium rumoribus exceptam, traditamque rem non absurdum erit hic recensere; narrant enim quo tempore rex legatusque conveniebant, visum est affulgere de caelo sydus compositae pacis et adepti pontificatus portentum. Coequitantes
S) *correctum*: processere
T)-T) *omissum*.
U) *additum*: Polonum
AA) *Hic additur per modum tituli*; Principum Austriorum (*sic*) introitus Pragam.
AB) *acclivior*
AC)-AC) *munus hoc erga Caesarem*
AD)-AD) *prae ceteris*
AE) *Rudolphus*
AF) *omissum*
AG) *Rudolphus*
AH) *Cohorta*
AI) *additum per modum tituli*: Hippoliti introitus Pragam.
AJ) *additum*: bello
AK) *intelligere*
AL) *additum*: igitur
AM) *additum*: Principi
AN)-AN) *quarto milliario Bohemico quod fere Italis quinque constat*.
AO) *dividit*
AP) *torquati*
AQ) *ephiphis*
AR) *Paulus Sixtus Trauzenius*
AS) *acclivi*
AT) *additum*: in planicem
AU) *additum*: sunt
BA) *additum*: equis
BB)-BB) *omissum*.
BC) *additum*: ab Hippolyto in laborum et consiliorum partem vocatus

BD)-BD) Radzinium vocant. Hic quoque subsidentes equites dextrorsum sinistrorsum viam
sepiunt, domus aedificia ceteraque, ob populum qui se e civitate, pagis, vicisque proripuerat.

BE) *additum*: tantos a Rudolpho imperatore Hippolito Legato Apostolico delatos honores
quantos certe

BF) *additum*: cum solio

BG) vasis

BH) paratum

BI) aram

BJ)-BJ) riteque peracta fuere

BK) ab Arcu

BL) Truchesiis

BM)-BM) quem adventantem

BN)-BN) obuius Caesar accepit

BO)-BO) XVI Cal. Ianuarii (7.I.1588)

BP)-BP) D (500)

BQ) attinebat

VALERIANUS MEYSZTOWICZ

CAEREMONIARII ANONYMI RELATIO
DE CARDINALIS GEORGII RADZIWIŁŁ LEGATIONE
AD SIGISMUNDUM III REGEM POLONIAE (A. 1592)

(*Ex Archivo Secreto Vaticano, Fondo Pio, 15, ff. 8-38*)

INTRODUCTIO

1. *Quod hic typis editur manuscriptum, in Archivo Secreto Vaticano « Fondo Pio », vol. 15, folio 8 - 38 invenitur.*

Quoad rationem vel finem ad quem documentum hoc conscriptum erat, certe affirmari potest eiusmodi relationem futurorum legatorum apostolicorum utilitati servire debuisse.

Est etiam verisimile auctorem eius unum ex magistris caeremoniarum pontificalium - confratrum suorum, caeremoniariorum pontificiorum, usui eam destinari voluisse.

Valde probabiliter documentum est originale, ab auctore scilicet si non singulis itineris diebus, saltem iuxta adnotationes quotidie factas conscriptum. Ne minimum quidem exoritur dubium quoad itineris tempora vel nomina oppidorum, per quae legatus comitesque eius transierant.

Temporis periodus, relatione comprehensa, maxima cum certitudine stabiliri potest: relatio incipit 22.II.1592, missionem suam auctor perficit 24.VI.1592, Romam revertitur 30.X.1592, eademque est ultima dies, quam commemorat.

Documentum redactum est lingua latina « curiali », quae nullis vel minimis utitur styli ornamentis, vocabulorum paupertate et uniformitate quadam distinguitur, est tamen satis correcta, non obstantibus quibusdam syntaxeos erroribus, quos notavimus; immo orthographia saepe incerta est. Loquacitati auctoris haud limes ponitur. Titulis, dignitatibus, epithetis honorificis personarum delectatur. Scriptum eius typis edituri, brevitatis causa, omnes fere titulos, utpote: Dominus, Excellentissimus, Reverendissimus, Illustrissimus, Serenissimus, omnino abbreviandos duximus, non nisi litteras eorum initiales relinquentes; similiter nimis profusam datarum descriptionem ad simplices reduximus numeros (sic tres vel quattuor lineas unicuique paginae adimere potuimus atque evitare, ne lectoris patientia nimis abuteremur). Ceterum, manuscriptum fideliter sumus secuti, nulla re prorsus in modo scribendi auctoris mutata.

2. *Nostra sponte desistendum putavimus, quo nomen auctoris cognosceremus. Quod si in archivis magistrorum caeremoniarum diligentius*

quaereretur, forsitan inveniri posset, eiusmodi enim archiva in Vaticano conservantur. Sed tanti laboris exitus minor certe esset, quam ut eum suscipiendum censuerimus. Itaque nos sufficit scire auctorem membrum fuisse Collegii Caeremoniariorum; commissum ei erat cardinali Georgio Radziwiłł assistere. Ille caeremoniarius muneri suo maximum tribuebat pondus, quod vel ex eo videri potest, quanta cum diligentia, quotidie, cardinalis vestimenta describit: vestem talarem violaceam vel rubram, laneam vel sericeam, amiculum (« mozzetta »), pluviale, mitras; ceterum, simili cum profusione et aliarum personarum vestes describere solet. Locus, qui unicuique in conviviis, processionibus aliisque pompis, vel ad mensam assignatus est, res maximi momenti auctori nostro esse videtur. Non raro eo usque pervenit, ut contra mores ususque a Romanis discrepantes, quos in Polonia nactus est, vehementer indignetur. Quae tanta diligentia ac prolixitas, cum de rebus officii sui agitur, cum totali fere ceterarum rerum neglegentia coniungitur. Nihil enim aliud perspicit in personis quas nanciscitur, nisi earum vestes ac rituales actus; attamen plures hebdomadas peregit in vicinitate archiducissae Mariae Carinthiacae, quae « Europae regum socrus » cognominata erat; per menses quotidianus socius erat unius ex celeberrimis cardinalibus saeculi XVI; de quibus multa dicens, perpauca dicit. Venetiae, Viennae, Cracoviae nulla notat architectonicae artis opera, nulla aliarum artium monumenta (exceptis duobus « gigantibus marmoreis » in scala Palatii Ducalis collocatis). Nullum publicae vitae perspicit eventum, nullum religiosae; ac tamen, ut de relationibus Polono-Suecicis taceamus, tot aliae res maximi momenti tunc eveniebant: pax Będzinensis nonnisi ante tres annos conclusa erat; caeremoniarius noster multos negotiatorum cognovit, sed de negotiationibus nihil omnino scire videtur; unio ecclesiastica, quae tres annos post Brestiae concludi debebat, fervide praeparabatur; caeremoniarius procul dubio principales saltem eius auctores videre potuit, at ne verbo quidem uno de eis dicit. Id solummodo notavit: Villacum eiusque vicinitates populationem protestanticae religionis habere.

In simili se gerendi modo « deformatio » quaedam professionalis videnda est, quae omne lectoris studium erga auctorem extinguere potest. Animo solummodo concipere possumus, quae eius tristitia fuerit eo die, quo solus, modeste in equo sedens, cum uno curru Romam iter susciperet. Cruminam ducatum plenam, cardinalis legati donum, secum asportabat. Ne raedarii quidem sui personam animadvertit, nec nomen eius memorat.

3. Sed quod nostra ante omnia hic interest, est persona ipsius viatoris, cardinalis Georgii Radziwiłł.

Imprimis de maioribus suis pauca dicenda videntur. Pater Georgii, Nicolaus (1515-1566), « Niger » dictus, erat unus ex intimis collaboratoribus regis Sigismundi Augusti. Reginae Barbarae Radziwiłł proximus cognatus, post mortem eius, in tertio matrimonio Sigismundi Augusti personam regis a. 1553 Viennae gerebat, cum is Catharinam Austriacam, Ferdinandi I filiam, uxorem duceret. « Niger » erat fautor ac protector calvinistarum; Polonico idiomate edidit versionem protestanticam Sacrae Scripturae. Fungebatur munere magni mareschalci et cancellarii Lithuaniae; quod erat unum ex tot illius tolerantiae signis, quam rex, ipse Romanae Ecclesiae fidelis, in re religiosa observare voluit. Nicolaus « Niger » mortuus est quinquagesimum vitae annum agens. Uxor eius erat filia Christophori Szydłowiecki, magni cancellarii Regni; ille viris doctis ac rebus pulchris

se circumdabat, quod vel ex conservatis castellorum ruinis ac magnificis codicibus, quae adhuc in diversis bibliothecis exstant, videri potest. Membranae regiae cancellariae, temporibus Szydłowiecki scriptae, adornant tabularia totius Christianitatis.

Inter germanos Georgii notatu dignus est maior, septem annis ante eum natus Nicolaus Christophorus « Sierotka » dictus; item, notare oportet fratrum minorem Albertum mareschalcum Lithuaniae, de quo saepius est sermo in documento nostro.

Georgius Radziwiłł, Nicolai « Nigri » filius, natus est in castro Łukiszki, prope Vilnam, a. 1556. In universitate protestantica Lipsiae binos annos studiorum causa versatus est. Anno 1574 a patribus Societatis Iesu, Petro Skarga et Stanislao Warszewicki edoctus, a. 1574 ad catholicam conversus est fidem et mox die 18.XII.1574, vix annum decimum octavum agens, a rege Henrico Valesio creatus est coadiutor episcopi Vilnensis, Valeriani Protasewicz; quam nominationem Gregorius XIII die 18.XII.1574 ratam habuit. Iam episcopus nominatus, Georgius Radziwiłł simul cum fratribus Romam venit, ibique ad studia theologiae se contulit (1575-77). De hoc suo primo in Italiam itinere manet fragmentum exemplaris relationis, quam ipse scripsisse videtur (cfr. BARYCZ Henryk, Dziennik podróży do Włoch biskupa Jerzego Radziwiłła w 1575 r. in Kwartalnik Historyczny XLVIII, Kraków 1935). Sedes Vilnensis a. 1579 vacavit ob obitum episcopi Protasewicz; nominatus episcopus in eam ingressus est, et ita locum in Senatu Regis Stephani Batorei obtinuit. Curam in dioecesi regenda ab initio magnam demonstravit; fidei catholicae addictus non dubitavit editionem haereticam Scripturae Sacrae, quam pater eius Nicolaus « Niger » edendam curavit, destruere: pauca quae relicta sunt huius libri exemplaria inter libros rariores recensentur, quorum unum in Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana habetur. A Stephano rege a. 1582 Livoniam gubernandam obtinuit; die 12.XII.1583 cardinalis tituli Sancti Sixti ab eodem Gregorio XIII est creatus. Post obitum regis Stephani, cardinalis Radziwiłł operam dedit eligendo in regem Poloniae et magnum ducem Lithuaniae Maximilianum Austriacum; sed electo (1587) Sigismundo III fideliter ei servivit. Anno 1591 a Gregorio XIV a sede Vilnensi ad Cracoviensem translatus est, dum Romae manebat et in conclaviis Gregorii XIV, Innocentii IX et Clementis VIII partem habuit. Ab eodem Clemente VIII ad occupandam sedem Cracoviensem, in quam nondum erat ingressus, missus est; simulque legationem pro celebrando matrimonio regis Sigismundi III cum archiducissa Anna, Caroli archiducis filia, obtinuit; quae legatio a caeremoniario in relatione hic edita describitur. Cracoviensis dioecesis administratione suscepta, non obstante infirma valetudine, multum ad rectum huius ecclesiae regimen adlaboravit; synodum ad clerum in spiritu concilii Tridentini reformandam a. 1593 celebravit; etiam anno 1594 et 1597 synodos convocavit. Visitationes in civitate Cracoviensi et in ecclesiis collegialibus, atque in monasteriis ipse perfecit; in visitandis parocciis, praesertim ruralibus, a vicario suo Christophoro Kazimierski (qui postea episcopus Kiowiensis fuit), adiutus est. Iterum ad iubilaum Romam ivit, ibidem Clemente VIII regnante die 21.I.1600 obiit. In ecclesia Societatis Iesu (« al Gesù ») sepultus est, ubi sub lapide commemorativo corpus eius iacet (cfr. tabulam in Elementa ad Fontium editiones XVI, Romae 1966). De eius vita maius opus adhuc desideratur; ultimo scribebat de eo BAZIELICH Antoni, Kardynał Jerzy Radziwiłł, in Studia Historyczne I, 163-264, Lublini 1968.

4. Notandum est in fine documentum, quod hic edimus, ad pleniorē imaginem efformandam publicae illius « nationum societatis », quae tunc « Christianitas » vocabatur, multum conferre.

Clemens VIII vigilabat, ut tractatus pacis Będzinensis, a. 1589 conclusus, in quo, uti cardinalis legatus personaliter magnam habuit partem, bonos ederet fructus. Missio cardinalis Radziwiłł, utpote legati ad matrimonium regis Poloniae cum archiducissa Austriaca missi, foedus inter Poloniam et domum Austriacam initum adhuc corroborare debebat. Soror Annae Austriacae, Poloniae reginae, mox regina Hispaniae futura erat. Matrimonium Polono-Austriacum toti Christianitati prodesse debebat, illi videlicet civilium gentium communitati, quae tot aliarum incursionibus exposita erat. Cui tamen matrimonio contrahendo non deerant obstacula. Tractatus enim Będzinensis ex parte Austriaca non integre observabatur. Clausula quadam constitutum erat, ut archidux Maximilianus, a Polonis in pugna ad Byczynam captus et ab eis post pacis conclusionem liberatus, coronae Poloniae, quam appetebat, sollemniter renuntiaret. At archidux, vix liberatus esset, recusavit. Poloni tamen vanis vindicationibus eius minimum tribuerunt pondus atque tractatum matrimonio dynastico confirmare studuerunt. Eventus, qui inde secuti sunt, maximi erant momenti, utrique nationi contrahenti totique Christianitati. Ut alia iam taceamus, commemorandum est refugium, quod in ditionibus imperii Ioannes Casimirus, Sigismundi III filius, invenit tempore « diluvii » Suecici; commemorandae sunt copiae imperiales, quae, Arnim duce, exercitibus Polonis ad victoriam de Suecis reportandam validum auxilium tulerunt; commemoranda imprimis auxiliatrix opera a Ioanne III Sobieski Viennae, a Turcis oppugnatae a. 1683 apportata. Relationes amicales inter Rempublicam Utriusque Nationis et Imperium duraverunt per saecula et finaliter abrupta sunt a. 1772, quando Maria Theresia partem in divisione terrarum Poloniae sumpsit.

5. Ab uno ex iunioribus Archivi Vaticani exploratoribus cognovimus relationem ibi custodiri itineris, quod cardinalis Georgius Radziwiłł, Clementis VIII legatus, a. 1592 in Poloniam perfecerat. Quod documentum hic publici iuris facimus. Eheu, adsunt rationes, nihil omnino ad doctrinam vel studium habentes, quarum causa nomen istius collegae nostri silentio praetermittere cogimur. Quae res tamen minime nos prohibet, quominus gratias ei quam maximas agamus, quod eiusmodi documentum nobis indicaverit.

TEXTUS

f. 8 r.

1592. ITINERARIUM POLONIAE LEGATIONIS ILLUSTRISSIMI ET REVERENDISSIMI CARDINALIS RADIVILII AD SIGISMUNDUM TERTIUM REGEM POLONIAE.

Sabbato die 22 februarii 1592, Illustrissimus Dominus Legatus, qui a die quo crucem in Concistorio habuit, semper in Urbe secrete sederat, extra menia in vinea Illustrissimi Salviati, deinde per diem ante ivit ad Monasterium Sanctae Mariae de Populo, et eadem die de mane, audita Missa, et ego simul cum eo, discessit Roma a dicto monasterio, in quo dormierat nocte praeterita, et ego secum discessi. I.D. Cardinalis Radivilius Legatus ascendit carroziam seu currum; familiares sui et ego equitavimus, et facto ientaculo in Hospitio Buccani, ivimus omnes ad Caprarolam, in qua de nocte pervenimus; quod oppidum est I.D. Cardinalis Farnesii, in quo laute et commode hospitati fuimus, expensis I.D. Cardinalis Farnesii, more Farnesiorum.

Dominica secunda Quadragesimae, die 23 februarii 1592, I.D. Legatus permansit Caprarolae, et in mane dixit Missam lectam in Ecclesia principali dicti oppidi, quae est sub invocatione et titulo Sancti Angeli, et nos omnes secum permansimus.

F. II, 24.II.1592 I.D. Legatus audita //

f. 8 v. Missa in habitu itineris rubeo discessit simul cum suis familiaribus et me in lectiga vectus a Caprarola et ivit ad Montem Faliscum, facto ientaculo Viterbii, in quo pernoctavit, et nos omnes pernoctavimus.

F. III, 25.II.1592 I.D. Legatus audita Missa, in habitu itineris rubeo discessit a monte Falisco in lectica vectus; facto ientaculo in oppido Bubenae ivit ad Aquam Pendentem, ubi, propter malum tempus frigoris et nivis pernoctavit et hospitatus est.

F. IV, 26.II.1592, I.D. Legatus audita Missa in Ecclesia Beatae Mariae Virginis Fratrum Conventualium Sancti Francisci oppidi Aquae Pendentis, in habitu itineris rubeo de lana, in qua Missa osculatus est librum Evangeliorum, et Instrumentum Pacis, a me sibi oblata et portata, ivit ad Hospitium prope oppidum Sancti Quirici, ubi pernoctavit, et hospitatus est facto ientaculo in hospitio Aradicofani, seu in Caupona.

F. V, 27.II.1592 I. Legatus audita Missa in Ecclesia Sancti Francisci oppidi Sancti Quirici, in lectica vectus arripuit iter versus Senas, quo pervenit hora 24, et in itinere obviam I. Legato venit gubernator civitatis Senarum cum Equitibus Cathafractis, et descendit ad Palatium Domini Gubernatoris, qui D. Legatum invitavit et hospitatus est. In itinere fecimus ientaculum in Bonconvento et introivimus Senas simul cum //

f. 9 r. D. Gubernatore in curru ductus et non in lectica propter D. Gubernatorem.

F. VI, 28.II.1592 I.D. Legatus audivit missam in Ecclesia Parrochiali Senarum, quae est prope Palatium D. Gubernatoris Senarum, et huic Missae etiam adfuit Dominus Gubernator, cui fuit data pax post Dominum Legatum. Audita Missa, I.D. Legatus associatus a D. Gubernatore in curru ductus usque extra portam et menia civitatis Senarum, et factis ceremoniis ascendit in lectica, et ivit ad oppidum Sancti Cassiani, facto ientaculo in oppido Pogibonzii. In missa librum Evangeliorum et Instrumentum Pacis ego tuli, et dedi, ut semper feci in aliis missis, cum non sit praelatus ullus cum Legato.

Sabbato 29.II.1592 anno bisextili I.D. Legatus audita Missa lecta discessit a Sancto Cassiano in lectica vectus, ivit Florentiam, quo pervenit hora prandii, et in itinere obviam venit I.D. Legato Praefectus Domus Serenissimi Magni Ducis Hetruriae ¹⁾, qui nomine S. Magni Ducis invitavit cum maxima instantia D. Legatum. Deinde obviam venit R. Episcopus Viterbiensis Nuntius Apostolicus Florentiae ²⁾, qui erat sine mozzetto pro reverentia I.D. Legati, et ita ei monitum fuit. I.D. Legatus permansit tota die Florentiae et pernoctavit, et hospitatus fuit cum omnibus suis familiaribus expensis S. Magni Ducis qui non erat Florentiae. //

f. 9 v. Dominica 1.III.1592 I.D. Legatus, audita Missa in capella privata Palatii ducalis de Pittis nuncupati, ascendit in currum seu carotiam cum D. Nuntio Apostolico Florentiae residente; deinde invicem salutatis ascendit in lecticam et ivit Pratolinum versus, in quo loco pransus est expensis S. Magni Ducis, uti hodie, mane et heri.

F. II, 2.III.1592 I.D. Legatus audita missa lecta discessit ab oppido Parpariae ²⁾ in lectica vectus et ivit ad Scarcalasinum ²⁾ in quo loco pernoctavit; et fecimus ientaculum in oppido Florenzuolae.

F. III, 3.III.1592 I.D. Legatus audita Missa in Ecclesia Monasterii Monacorum Montis Oliveti in Scarcalasino, in quo Monasterio hospitatus fuit et diversatus ascendit lecticam, et facto ientaculo in Pianorio ivit Bononiam, in quam civitatem ingressus est circa horam ³⁾. Uti in lectica vectus, et in itinere obviatus fuit a multis viris nobilibus Bononiensibus per duo miliaria extra civitatem cum multis curribus; et etiam obviatus fuit a D. Vice Legato Bononiae, et a Reverendissimo Coadiutore Reverendissimi Episcopi Bononiensis ³⁾ per quartum miliaris, cum quibus factis debitis ceremoniis sequutus est suum iter, et hospitatus fuit in domo D. de Facchinettis cum omnibus suis familiaribus expensis I.D. //

f. 10 r. Caesaris Facchinetti ⁴⁾, Nepotis felicitis recordationis Innocentii Papae IX ⁵⁾; et lautissime I.D. Legatus cum omnibus suis familiaribus tractatus et honoratus fuit.

F. IV, 4.III.1592 I.D. Legatus permansit Bononiae in domo Dominorum de Facchinettis expensis I.D. Caesaris Facchinetti cum omnibus de sua familia et lautissime tam I.D. Legatus, quam alii omnes tractati fuerunt et verbis et factis.

F. V, 5.III.1592 post prandium I.D. Legatus discessit in lectica vectus Bononia et ivit ad oppidum Canti sub dictione S. Ducis Ferrariae ⁶⁾.

F. VI, 6.III.1592 I.D. Legatus, audita Missa, in lectica vectus, habitu solito rubeo de lana, itineratio, ivit ad Finale, ubi descendit et commedit, et postea per flumen Padus cum omnibus suis familiaribus in tribus navigiis ivit ad Bondinum, ubi pernoctavimus.

Sabbato 7.III.1592 I.D. Legatus audita Missa in Bondino transivit flumen Padus cum omnibus de sua familia, ubi nos expectabant quidam no-

biles viri missi a S.D. Duce Ferrariae cum octo curribus sive carroziis; et in unam ingressus est I.D. Legatus, et in aliis omnes sui familiares, et ivit Ferrariam, invitatus ab heri a nobili viro misso praecipue a S. Duce Ferrariae, qui obviam venit I.D. Legato usque ad Portam Angelorum dictam Civitatis, in quo loco I.D. //

f. 10 v. Legatus descendit de curru, quia iam S. Dux descenderat, et ibidem factis debitis cerimoniais inter ipsos, simul in eadem carozia, in qua I.D. Legatus a Bondino venerat, ascenderunt, et ad Castrum sic appellatum Palatium Ducale iverunt; et I.D. Legatus cum S.D. Duce associatus fuit usque ad suas Cammaeras, in quibus D. Legatum reliquit; et hospitatus fuit simul cum omnibus de sua familia expensis S.D. Ducis Ferrariae lautissime et abundanter.

Post prandium hora 22 S.D. Dux Ferrariae venit ad I.D. Legatum, qui erat indutus rochetto et mozzetta rubea de lana cum veste subtana eiusdem coloris, et simul in curru iverunt ad Ecclesiam Beatae Mariae Virginis, in qua demorant fratres Congregationis Scopetinatorum ²⁾ sub regula Sancti Augustini, et S.D. Dux ostendit in una Capella eiusdem Ecclesiae miraculum unius hostiae consecratae, quae cum Sacerdos qui celebrabat, et illam frangeret, nec vere credens quod in ^{b)} illa hostia consecrata esset Corpus verum Christi, in fractione exivit magna copia ^{c)} Sanguinis et Capillam a parte superiori circumcirca sanguine aspersit, et adhuc videntur expressae guttae sanguinis; et hoc miraculum fuit ab annis citra 430 ^{d)}; deinde ad Palatium redierunt, et I.D. Legatus simul cum S. Duce visitavit Ducissam Urbini ^{6a)} sororem S. Ducis; postmodum S. Dux associavit I.D. //

f. 11 r. Legatum usque ad suas Cammeras.

Dominica 8.III.1592. I.D. Legatus audita Missa lecta in Capella Secreta Palatii Ducalis Ferrariae, simul cum S.D. Duce, a quo associatus fuit in curru ductus extra Portam Angelorum, et ibidem factis debitis ceremoniis, I.D. Legatus introivit in Navigium Serenissimi Ducis dicto Bucentoro ²⁾, et ivit per flumen Padus cum suis familiaribus intus aliis navigiis ad locum nuncupatum Loren sub dominio Reipublicae Venetorum, et ibique pernottavit intus Bucentorum in aqua, et in eodem Bucentoro pransus est et caenavit.

F. II, 9.III.1592 I.D. Legatus summo mane ductus in dicto Bucentoro per flumen Padus iter arripuit Venetias versus, et in itinere per flumen obviatus fuit I.D. Legatus a Potestate Chiozzae, et associatus usque ad parvam insulam, in qua est Ecclesia et monasterium Sancti Spiritus, in qua Ecclesia Missam lectam audivit; deinde pransus est intus Monasterii, in quo demorant Religiosi Canonici Ordinis Sancti Augustini Congregationis Lateranensis, et post prandium indutus veste subtanea, rochetto et mozzetta de lana, fuit Dominus Legatus visitatus a multis Senatoribus Reipublicae Venetiarum indutis vestibus rubeis de raso et ab eisdem Senatoribus associatus intus navigium versus Venetias, cum //

f. 11 v. multis navigiis vulgo dictae Gondola, et aliis navigiis vulgo dictis Piatta, quibus usus non fuit quia Illustrissimus Dominus Legatus ante tempus discessit ab Ecclesia Sancti Spiritus, et dicti Domini Clarissimi Senatores ex improvise adventu I.D. Legati de certo sciverunt. Fuit hospitatus in Monasterio Sancti Georgii Maioris Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, expensis Reipublicae Venetiarum.

Pro ingressu I.D. Cardinalis Radilivii ²⁾ Legati de latere, Senatus Venetus misit duos senatores et duos equites, ut illi obviarent D. Legato et conducerent, et Senatus etiam deputavit ut illi obviam irent navigio dicto Piatta, sed quia citius quam credebant I.D. Legatus Venetias applicuit, ideo non omnes Senatores deputati obviam iverunt, et ex duobus equitibus unus tantum fuit, qui fuit Clarissimus Sorantius ⁷⁾; et alius deputatus, qui erat Clarissimus Baduerus ⁸⁾, non fuit, quia infirmus erat et male se habebat in lecto iacens et quia totus honor, uti voluerant, non fuit adhibitus, eis multum displicuit, et male sentierunt de Clarissimo Erimano Potestate seu Praetore Chiozzae ⁹⁾, quia non retinuit I.D. Legatum Chiozzae et ita tempus habuissent omnes ad se parandos ad illum recipiendum.

F. III, 10.III.1592 I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam in capilla privata monasterii Sancti Georgii //

f. 12 r. quae est prope suas cameras, et fuit visitatus a D. Nuntio Apostolico Venetiarum ¹⁰⁾, qui propter reverentiam I.D. Legati deposuit mozzettam, et etiam a multis Senatoribus Venetis et aliis visitatus fuit.

F. IV, 11.III.1592. S.D. Dux et princeps Venetiarum ¹¹⁾ indutus habitu Ducali cum cornu de mane venit ad monasterium Sancti Georgii, discedens a Palatio Ducali Sancti Marci suae solitae residentiae, ductus in Piattis, et associatus a Consiliariis, a Senatoribus de Praecaio ¹²⁾ et ab aliis solitis Serenissimum Principem associare, indutum esse longa veste cum magnis manicis de raso rubeo, et cornu similiter de raso rubeo, et visitavit prius I.D. Legatum, qui indutus veste subtana rubea de lana, rocchetto et mozzetta rubea ivit obviam Serenissimo Duci usque ad primum claustrum de novo fabricatum monasterii, et factis simul debitis ceremoniis, ascenderunt superius ad Cammeras I.D. Legati, quae Cammerae sunt sitae in Galleria Monasterii, et in Cammera I.D. Legati, in qua audientiam dedit, fuerunt collocatae duae sedes cammerales super solio alto unius palmi, in quarum una a dexteris sedit I.D. Legatus, et in alia a sinistris sedit S. Dux Venetiarum; et in eadem Cammera circumcirca erant aliae sedes in plana terra, //

f. 12 v. in quibus sederunt Senatores, alii ^{e)} Consilarii, Senatores de Praecaio, Sapientes de terra firma, et alii secundum ordinem ipsorum, et ibique longum spatium temporis steterunt simul loquentes, deinde surgentes discesserunt, et I.D. Legatus associavit S. Ducem a dextris incedens, et tenens Serenissimum extra primum claustrum novum dicti Monasterii, quamvis prius S. Dux rogavit I.D. Legatum ne antea procederet; et discesso S. Duce cum suo comitatu Senatorum, I. Legatus recta via per claustrum ivit ad Ecclesiam Sancti Georgii, in qua audivit Missam lectam in altari maiore, librum Evangeliorum et instrumentum pacis ad osculandum dedit R.D. Episcopus Torcellensis ^{f)} Venetus ¹³⁾ Venetiis demorans. Absoluta missa ascendit superius ad suas Cammeras, et hora competentis pransus est cum aliquibus praelatis et Nobilibus viris Venetis. Consilarii erant induti vestibus rubeis, Senatores de Praecaio, et alii qui officium habent vestibus violaceis, alii vestibus nigris cum amplis et magnis manicis.

Eadem die post prandium I.D. Legatus fuit visitatus ab I. et R. Domino Patriarcha Venetiarum ¹⁴⁾, qui deposuit mozzettam, quam supra mantelletum deferebat; fuit etiam visitatus ab Oratore Serenissimi Ducis Sabaudiae, ac deinde a Residente pro Rege Hispaniarum, //

f. 13 r. ab Episcopo Patavino ¹⁵⁾ et aliis clarissimis Venetis.

F. V, 12.III.1592 I.D. Legatus audivit Missam lectam, in qua Librum

Evangeliorum et Instrumentum pacis deosculandum dedit R.D. Episcopus Patavinus.

Post prandium visitatus fuit ab Oratore Serenissimi Ducis Mantuae ¹⁶⁾, hic Venetiis residente. Deinde Dominus Legatus privatim cum veste camerale indutus ivit spaciatum per Civitatem ductus in Gondola seu Phaselo.

A feria VI, 13.III.1592 usque ad feriam III, 17.III, I. Legatus in lecto cubavit dolore podagrae detentus, qui eum valde vexavit.

F. IV, 18.III.1592 de mane hora 15^a I.D. Legatus veste subtana rubea de lana, rocchetto et mozzetta, precedente cruce a Monasterio Sancti Georgii Maioris ductus in navigio cooperto dicto Piatta, associatus a 20 Senatoribus Reipublicae Venetiarum indutis vestibus longis ^{s)} cum amplis et magnis manicis, pellibus suffultis, de raso rubeo, et damascino rubeo, et secutus a duobus similiter navigiis Piattis nuncupatis, in quibus Senatores cum aliis venerunt ad Monasterium Sancti Georgii ad I.D. Legatum associandum, qui ivit ad visitandum et reddendam visitationem Serenissimo Principi et Duci Venetiarum, qui obviam venit I. Legato in fine scalarum Superiorum Palatii Sancti Marci, et factis debitis ceremoniis simul superius ascenderunt, stans a dextris I.D. Legatus, et in aula Consilii Secreti sederunt ultimo I.D. //

f. 13 v. Legatus a dextris et S. Princeps a sinistris; cum quibus sederunt in locis suis Senatores Consilii Secreti ubi ^{h)} I.D. Legatus, solitis coeteris omnibus exeuntibus, et ibidem per longum spatium temporis steterunt negotiantes quae erant tractanda, et in eadem aula in loco deputato fuit relicta Crux I.D. Legati. Absoluto sermone I.D. Legatus abiit, et fuit associatus a Serenissimo Principe in descendendo in capite scalarum, ubi sunt duo gigantes marmorei, deinde a Senatoribus, qui D. Legatum associarunt et conduxerunt, fuit associatus D. Legatus, in Piattis ductus, ad Monasterium Sancti Georgii Maioris suae habitationis, usque ad suas Cammeras, et illis abeuntibus I.D. Legatus illos honoravit et associavit extra Cammeras, et remansit cum aliquibus Praelatis Venetis qui D. Legatum associaverunt, a dextris Senatoribus incedentibus. Demum I.D. Legatus audivit Missam lectam, in Capilla privata Monasterii, in qua Missa Librum Evangeliorum et Instrumentum Pacis osculandum tulit et dedit R.D. Episcopus Csorcelli ¹⁷⁾. Eadem die post prandium I. Legatus discessit a Monasterio Sancti Georgii Maioris, in quo his diebus elapsis stetit, cum omnibus suis familiaribus, expensis S. Reipublicae Venetiarum, et ivit Domum Clarissimi D. Caroli Ruzini ¹⁸⁾ sui Amici, in qua incognito stetit et fuit hospitatus cum aliquibus suis familiaribus, inter quos ego fui.

F. V, 19.III.1592 I.D. Legatus audivit Missam lectam in Ecclesia Sanctae Mariae Gratiarum extra civitatem, //

f. 14 r. quae Ecclesia est in insula, in qua fratres Ordinis Carmelitani manent, et ivit incognito ductus in gondola.

F. VI, 20.III.1592. I.D. Legatus incognitus in gondola ductus fuit ad Ecclesiam Sancti Christophori ubi manent fratres Augustiani; quae Ecclesia est extra civitatem in insula in qua dixit missam lectam.

Sabbato 21.III.1592 I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam in Ecclesia supradicta Sancti Christophori, deinde rediit domum Domini Caroli Ruzini, et pransus est. Post prandium I.D. Legatus in gondola Ducis discessit Venetiis, et pervenit ad locum dictum Megera, associatus ab aliquibus praelatis Venetis et aliis, deinde ascendit in lecticam et Cruce praecedente sequentibus et praecedentibus ⁱ⁾ suis familiaribus, et Domino Carolo Ru-

zino qui cum D. Legato voluit venire in Poloniam, ivit Tarvisum, et antequam ad civitatem Tarvisinam perveniret, in itinere obviam ei venit R.D. Episcopus Tarvisinus de familia Corneliorum ¹⁹⁾ absque mozzetto cum mantelleto in curru seu carrozia ductus, associatus a multis nobilibus viris Tarvisinis in carroziis ductus, et invitatus a R.D. Episcopo hospitatus est in Palatio Episcopali cum omnibus de sua familia, expensis R.D. Episcopi, ubi etiam pernoctatus fuit; et lautissime nos tractavit et libenter vidit.

Dominica Palmarum, 22.III.1592 I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam in capella privata Palatii Episcopalis, et hora competenti pransus est, et //

f. 14 v. similiter omnes de sua familia, expensis R.D. Episcopi Tarvisini, ex antiquissima familia Corneliorum. Post prandium fuit I.D. Legatus a R. Episcopo Tarvisino, ac Praetore Civitatis et aliis nobilibus viris Tarvisinis cum carroziis associatus extra Civitatem per duo milliaria in suo discessu, deinde in lectica vectus Cruce praecedente ivit ad Cornelianum, in quo pernoctavimus.

F. II, 23.III.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit Missam; in lectica vectus, praecedente Cruce, discessit a Cornegliano, et ivit ad Savilum, quo pervenit ad horam prandii, et ibidem permansit tota die, et pernoctavit in nobili Palatio et Hospitio familiae Ragazonorum ²⁰⁾.

F. III, 24.III.1592. I.D. Legatus audita missa discessit a Savilo in lectica vectus. Cruce praecedente ivit ad Sanctum Vitum, et hospitatus est in domo D. Martii Malacredi sui secretarii, expensis eiusdem, cum tota sua familia, et ibique pernoctatus fuit. In itinere fuit obviatus ab aliquibus viris Sancti Viti equitantibus, et in ingressu loci fuerunt pulsatae campanae, et exoneratae aliquae bombardae, alias mortalia appellata.

F. IV hebdomadae Sanctae, 25.III.1592, in die festo Annunciationis Beatae Mariae Virginis, I.D. Legatus indutus veste subtana rubea de lana, rocchetto et mozzetta, Cruce praecedente, a domo Malacredorum,

f. 15 r. ubi hospitatus fuit in Sancto Vito, ivit ad Ecclesiam principalem dicti loci Sancti Viti, in qua missam lectam audivit, rediit domum, et pransus est, et similiter omnes sui familiares expensis Domini Martii Malacredi ²¹⁾ sui secretarii. Post prandium I.D. Legatus habitu solito itineris, in lectica vectus, Cruce praecedente, discedens a Sancto Vito ivit ad Spilingerbum, et ibique pernoctavit ac cenavit.

F. V in Coena Domini, 26.III.1592, I.D. Legatus habitu rubeo de lana itineris, audivit missam lectam in Ecclesia principali sub invocatione Beatae Mariae oppidi Spilimbergi, in qua missa fuit communicatus Corpore Christi per manus celebrantis, et missa audita ascendit in lecticam, et Cruce praecedente ivit ad Vemonum, in quo loco coenavit et pernoctavit.

F. VI in Parascevae, 27.III.1592 I.D. Legatus indutus habitu itineritio violaceo de lana, in lectica vectus discedens a Vemone ivit ad Malburghettum cum aliquibus suis familiaribus, reliqui vero, qui erant in carroziis seu curribus, remanserunt in Pontebba, in quo loco ego etiam remansi cum Domino Secretario, et habuimus pessimum iter pro carroziis seu curribus. In hoc loco Pontebba, quae est chiusura ²⁾, transacto quodam Ponte statim introitur //

f. 15 v. in Provinciam Charintiae, sub dominio Serenissimorum Dominorum Archiducum Austriae.

Sabbato Sancto 28.III.1592, I.D. Legatus, sine Cruce praecedente quia per loca haereticorum transiebat, in lectica vectus, discedens a Malburghettum ²⁾ ivit ad Villaccum, et nos, qui in curribus ducti sumus, remansi-

mus ad Herbestainum, et summo mane, ante diem Paschatis Resurrectionis, ivimus ad Villacum, in quo oppido sunt omnes haeretici.

Dominica Paschae Resurrectionis, 29.III.1592, remansit in oppido Villacchi, quod est oppidum lutheranum; sed nihilominus est in dicto oppido una pauca Ecclesia Cattolica, in qua manet unus frater tantum ordinis Sancti Francisci Conventualis, qui asseruit in Villaccho non esse aliquem hominem catholicum. De mane vero eadem die Paschatis I.D. Legatus, indutus veste subtana rubea de serico, rochetto et mozzetta, ivit ad dictam Ecclesiam Catholicam, et ibidem dixit Missam lectam, et in Missa communicavit de Corpore Christi omnes suos familiares. Deinde absoluta missa redivit ad Hospitium, et pransus est cum omnibus qui sunt de sua mensa, inter quos sum ego.

F. II Paschatis, 30.III.1592 I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam in eadem ecclesia Cattolica Villacchi, et missa audita redivit //

f. 16 r. ad hospitium, et pransi sumus. Post prandium, in lectica vectus sine Cruce, eo quia transeundus est per loca Haeticorum, ivit ad villam nuncupatam Feldkirchen, quae distat a Villacho per spatium trium leucarum, et ibidem coenavit et pernoctavimus. Inter Villachum et dictam Villam est unus lacus, et apud lacum in fine seu in radice montis est unum Monasterium in quo sepultus est Rex Borrislaus ²⁾ Poloniae, qui occidit Sanctum Stanislaum Episcopum Cracoviae, qui post perpetratum homicidium ac martirizatum Sanctum Stanislaum, discessit a regno Poloniae, et ivit ad dictum monasterium, in quo servivit in servitio coquinae, pro sua poenitentia, per spatium decem et octo annorum, et in obitu suo manifestavit se esse regem Poloniae interfectorem Sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis, monacis praedicti monasterii; et iam sunt anni 500 quod ibi sepultus est.

F. III Paschatis, 31.III.1592. I.D. Legatus discessit a villa dicta Feltkirchen, et lectica vectus ivit ad prandium ad oppidum Sanfayt, latine ad Sanctum Vitum, et post prandium ivit ad oppidum dictum Frisacchum in quo hospitatus fuit, coenavit, et pernoctavimus.

F. IV Paschatis, 1.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus, audita missa in oppido Frisacchi, quod est I. et R.D. Archiepiscopi Salzbrugensis ²⁾, in lectica //

f. 16 v. vectus ivit ad prandium ad oppidum nuncupatum Neimarch, in quo hospitatus fuit, et coenavimus, et pernoctavit.

F. V Paschae, 2.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus in lectica vectus discessit ab Neimarch, et ivit ad prandium ad Judemburgum, et post prandium similiter in lectica vectus ivit ad oppidum nuncupatum Chinikilfelt, in quo coenavit et pernoctavit.

F. VI Paschae, 3.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus audita missa lecta in oppido Chinikinfelt in Provincia Styriae, in lectica vectus ivit ad prandium ad oppidum nuncupatum Sanctus Michael, et post prandium similiter in lectica vectus ivit ad Bruch, ubi coenavit et pernoctavit.

Sabbato in Albis, 4.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus remansit in oppido Bruch.

Dominica in Albis, 5.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus, audita missa lecta, pransus est, deinde discessit ab oppido Bruch, et per flumen Mura in navigio ductus ivit ad Gretium, ubi resedit Archiducissa ²³⁾ uxor felicis memoriae Archiducis Caroli ²⁴⁾ Austriaci cum filiis et filiabus ²⁵⁾, inter quos est illa, quae erit Regina Poloniae, et in loco, in quo de navigio exivit, per duo miliaria distante a Gretio, invenit multos nobiles viros qui D. Legato obviam venerunt de mandato S. Archiducissae Mariae

f. 17 r. matris, inter quos erat R.D. Episcopus Lubianae ²⁶⁾, locum tenens Suae Celsitudinis, cum novem carroziis seu curribus, et multis equis. I.D. Legatus intravit in carroziam cum R.D. Episcopo Lubianae et nos in aliis, et ingressus est in civitatem, et descendit ad Palatium Archiducale, et ascendit superius; quem in Aula magna expectabat S. Archiducissa cum sponsa ²⁷⁾ Regis Poloniae ²⁸⁾ eius filia, et aliis duabus eius filiabus et uno filio puero; et factis debitis ceremoniis inter ipsos, I.D. Legatus ascendit superius ad suas cammeras, et similiter S. Archiducissa cum filiis ad suas, et I.D. Legatus fuit hospitatus cum omnibus de sua familia in dicto Palatio expensis S. Archiducissae lautissime. In ingressu adfuerunt etiam milites de custodia S. Archiducissae associantes.

F. II, 6.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit Missam cantatam privatim stans in loco secreto superiori simul cum Archiducissa matre, filio et duabus filiabus; deinde pransus est cum S. Archiducissa, filio et filiabus in cameris S. Archiducissae.

F. III, 7.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit ut heri mane simul cum Archiducissa et Anna filia Archiducissae, futura uxore Regis Poloniae, missam cantatam supra in ecclesia contigua Palatii Archiducalis et pransus est cum S. Archiducissa //

f. 17 v. ducissa matre.

F. IV, 8.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit missam ut heri mane simul cum S. Archiducissa Matre, et dein pransus est in suis cameris. Post prandium visitavit S. Archiducissam et futuram reginam in habitu.

F. V, 9.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus a suis cameris, Cruce praecedente, indutus rocchetto et mozzetta, ivit ad Cappillam privatam S. Archiducissae, in qua dixit Missam lectam votivam de Beata Maria Virgine, et concessit de speciali mandato Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Domini Clementis Papae Octavi ²⁹⁾ indulgentiam plenariam omnibus ibidem praesentibus, et aliis dictam cappillam visitantibus in hodierno die. Archiducissa mater, filius et filiae osculati sunt librum Evangeliorum et Instrumentum Pacis; hora vero competenti I.D. Legatus pransus est cum S. Archiducissa matre, cum S. Archiducissa Anna filia futura Regina Poloniae, ac aliis filiis masculis et feminis.

F. VI, 10.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus dixit missam lectam pro mortuis, pro anima felicitis memoriae Caroli Archiducis Austriae in una Capilla privata Palatii Archiducalis et interim etiam cantabatur alia missa mortuorum pro anima eiusdem Archiducis, in eadem Cappilla, et adfuit in loco superiori dictae Cappillae Serenissima Archiducissa Uxor felicitis memoriae Archiducis Caroli cum filiis masculis et feminis. Post prandium hora 3 post meridiem I.D. Legatus indutus veste camerale cum mantelletto rubeo et galero rosaceo de serico armelino in curru ivit ad quandam ecclesiam sub invocatione Beatae Mariae distantem a Gretio per unam parvam leucam, devotionis causa.

Sabbato 11.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus indutus rocchetto et mozzetto rubeo, praecedente Cruce, ivit pedester processionaliter a Cappilla privata Palatii Archiducalis simul cum S. Archiducissa Matre, tribus filiabus et filio ad Ecclesiam Beatae Mariae Virginis, quae est Ecclesia Commendataria ordinis Equitum Theutonicorum, in qua audivit missam lectam mortuorum, et deinde Missam cantatam de Beata Maria Virgine. In processione fuerunt cantatae Litaniae Beatae Mariae Virginis a Cantoribus, et similiter redeundo; tres Praesbiteri parati iverunt immediate post Crucem I.D. Legati. In Missa cantata I.D. Legatus osculatus est librum Evangeliorum et

Instrumentum Pacis, et tulit R.D. Episcopus Lubianae, et in fine Missae concessit centum dies de indulgentia in forma. In Capilla Privata Palatii in redeundo sacerdos, qui cantavit Missam, cantavit indutus pluvioli orationem de Beata Maria Virgine post cantatam Salve Regina. Deinde //

f. 18 v. I.D. Legatus rediit superius ad suas Cammeras, factis prius debitis ceremoniis cum S. Archiducissa et filiis eius, futura Regina Poloniae et aliis duabus filiabus, et hora competenti pransus est.

Dominica 12.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus de mane dixit Missam lectam in ecclesia, quae est contigua Palatii Archiducalis; deinde simul cum S. Archiducissa et tribus filiabus adfuit missae cantatae, stans in loco remoto in medio ecclesiae superius, et hora competenti pransus est cum S. Archiducissa et filiis masculis et feminis.

F. II, 13.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus de mane in lectica vectus simul cum S. Archiduce Maximiliano ³⁰⁾ puero secundogenito masculino S. Archiducissae, associatus ab aliquibus nobilibus viris equitantibus, et a duabus carroziis ivit ad abbatiam seu monasterium Runense ¹⁾ ordinis Cisterciensium, et ibidem expensis R.D. Abbatis pransus est cum tota comitiva. In medio itineris in una pauca ecclesia, supra unum parvum montem posita, quae nostra lingua vocatur Via Angelorum, dixit missam lectam de Cruce, et quia in eadem Ecclesia est unus Crucifixus de radice a natura factus, qui circiter anno 340 sub terra inventus fuit. Post prandium hora 5-a redivit ad Gretium, id est Graez.

f. 19 r. F. III, 14.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit Missam lectam, et hora competenti pransus est cum suis commensalibus, quorum unus sum ego semper commensalis.

F. IV, 15.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus dixit Missam lectam in Ecclesia contigua Palatio, deinde hora decima ivit ad prandium in collegio Jesuitarum, quod est prope dictam Ecclesiam, in qua Sacerdotes Societatis Jesu celebrant, et pransus est cum Sacerdotibus Societatis Jesu primoribus.

F. V, 16.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus in loco secreto in Ecclesia accomodato pro S. Principibus audivit missam cantatam de Sanctissimo Sacramento, indutus rocchetto et mozzetta, et hora competenti pransus est. Post prandium visitavit S. Archiducissam matrem, egrotantem.

F. VI, 17.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus incaepit laborare podagra, et in lecto iacere.

Sabbato, 18.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus non surrexit de lecto pro dolore podagrae.

Dominica, 19.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus surrexit de lecto, et claudicans descendit ad locum privatum in ecclesia, et audivit missam cantatam, et hora competenti pransus est. Post prandium ivit ad visitandam S. Archiducissam egrotantem et in lecto iacentem.

F. II, 20.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus audi- //

f. 19 v. vit missam lectam in habitu rubeo itineris, et post missam visitavit S. Archiducissam Mariam Matrem, et filias et filios S. ibidem stantes, et deinde pransus est. Post prandium hora secunda post meridiem in lectica vectus ivit ad oppidum dictum Fraunleiten, in quo expensis S. Archiducissae coenavit et pernoctavit simul cum familiaribus.

F. III, 21.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus audita missa in lectica ivit ad Bruch, quo pervenit hora 12 et pransus est, et ibidem pernoctavimus. In itinere pluvia nos associavit.

F. IV, 22.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus audita missa lecta discessit ab oppido

Bruch in lectica vectus, et pransus est in loco nuncupato Kimberg et postea in lectica vectus ivit ad oppidum dictum Mierzucsolog, in quo coenavimus et pernoctavimus; et istud oppidum distat a Bruch per spatium sex leucarum. In itinere habuimus pluviam.

F. V, 23.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus discessit ab oppido Mierzuesolog et audivit missam in quadam ecclesia Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, quæ in itinere in una parva villa est; qua audita ivit ad oppidum Sostovien in provincia Austriae, quo pervenit hora 10, et ibidem per totam diem permansit, et coenavimus et pernoctavimus. Iter fuit fastidiosum et saxosum, quia semper per montem asperum equitatum fuit, et carroziæ //

f. 20 r. tardius pervenerunt, et locus iste est Chiusa, seu clausura montium Carinthiæ et Styriæ provinciarum.

F. VI, 24.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit missam et pransus est in loco supradicto Sostoviensi et post prandium in lectica vectus ivit ad Naistat, quod oppidum distat a loco quo discessit per quatuor leucas.

Sabbato, 25.IV.1592. In die festo Sancti Marci I.D. Legatus audita missa discessit a Naistat in curru ductus et ivit ad prandium ad Draskersten, et post prandium similiter in curru ductus ivit Viennam; et in itinere obviam illi venit per mediam leucam extra Civitatem S.D. Archidux Ernestus ³¹⁾ frater et locumtenens Caesareæ Maiestatis ³²⁾, equitans associatus a multis nobilibus viris et suis familiaribus equitantibus; qui cum primum fuit vicinus I.D. Legato, descendit de equo, et I.D. Legatus de curru, et ad invicem sibi adhaerentes fecerunt debitas et solitas ceremonias; demum in uno curru S. Archiducis Ernesti, qui currus sequebatur equitantes, data opera pro isto effectu; et D. Legatus ignorabat hanc occupationem S. Archiducis, et non erat in habitu ut potuisset ²⁾ Viennam ingredi cum aliqua solemnitate, ambo simul in curru ducti ingressi sunt, præcedentes nobiles viri equitantes ^{k)}; et post currum, in quo erant I.D. Legatus et S. Archidux sequebantur alii currus; et hora quinta post meri-

f. 20 v. diem ingressi sunt Viennam; et I.D. Legatus descendit ad palatium contiguum Palatio imperiali, et fuit associatus usque ad suas cameras a S. Archiduce Ernesto a sinistris I.D. Legati eunte. In descendendo I.D. Legatus associavit S.D. Archiducem usque ad scalas palatii, quia conatus fuit ibidem remanere hortatu et conatu dicti S. Archiducis; et I.D. Legatus semper retinuit manum dexteram, tam in domo quam extra domum, ob dignitatem et convenientiam ut cardinalis, et præeminentiam legationis. Fuit hospitatus I.D. Legatus cum suis familiaribus in dicto palatio expensis S. Archiducis Ernesti.

Dominica, 26.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus indutus rocchetto et mozzetta præcedente Cruce ivit pedester a suo hospicio ad palatium residentiae S. Archiducis Ernesti, quod Palatium est Imperatoris in eadem platea in qua est palatium in quo residet I.D. Legatus; et ambo simul per dictum palatium ilerunt ad ecclesiam Sancti Augustini, in qua sunt fratres eiusdem ordinis Sancti Augustini; et in loco privato superiori in medio ecclesiae stantes audiverunt concionem in lingua germanica; et post missam cantatam deinde, hora competenti, I.D. Legatus, invitatus a S. Archiduce, cum ipso ad prandium remansit et ambo sederunt sub baldachino a dextris stans I.D. Legatus.

f. 21 r. F. II, 27.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam in ecclesia Sancti Francisci; deinde hora competenti pransus est publice de more. Post prandium hora secunda ivit ad visitandum S. Archiducem Ernestum,

Cruce praecedente; et postea I.D. Legatus habitu cammerali ivit ad silvam seu Borum, ubi cenavit cum Sua Celsitudine S. et post coenam in curru uti iverunt redierunt Viennam.

F. III, 28.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit missam in ecclesia Societatis Jesu, ad quam in curru ductus ivit, deinde hora competenti de more pransus est. Post prandium hora secunda S. Princeps Archidux Ernestus visitavit I.D. Legatum, qui illi obviam ivit usque ad principium et caput scalarum, et in eodem loco quando discessit illum associavit; et I.D. Legatus semper manum dexteram retinuit modeste, et cum debitis ceremoniis.

F. IV, 29.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus de more in curru ductus ivit ad ecclesiam cathedralem Viennae, quae est sub invocatione et titulo Sancti Stephani Protomartiris, et in ingressu ecclesiae R.D. Episcopus Viennae ³³⁾ dedit ei aspersorium cum aqua benedicta; et ibidem audivit missam lectam, osculatus est librum Evangeliorum et Instrumentum pacis de more, et ego tuli quia alius non erat. Audita missa vidit reliquias dictae Ecclesiae, inter quas //

f. 21 v. vidit aliqua corpora Sanctorum innocentium cum brachiis et capitibus, et ense, et ferrum lanceae Sancti Georgii, et plurimas alias reliquias pulcherrimas; deinde rediit domum et invitavit secum ad prandium R.D. Episcopum Viennae. Post prandium hora secunda ivit ad hortos caesarianos, pulcherrimos et amenos, demum ivit ad castellum ibi vicinum nuncupatum Erbestein, quod est caesariae maiestatis, et ibi coenavit, et post coenam rediit Viennam per nemus, in quo plurimi cervi erant pascentes, in curru ductus ut ivit.

Dicta die 29.IV.1592 visitavit I.D. Legatum de mane I.D. Gregorius Ludovicus Comes Lictimberg ³⁴⁾, in lingua germanica dictus Lantgraf.

F. V, 30.IV.1592. I.D. Legatus in curru ductus ivit ad audiendam missam in ecclesia monialium Sanctae Clarae, constructam a felicitis memoriae regina Franciae de S. familia Austriaca, deinde transiens per palatium imperiale, hortos, palatium et alia, et hora competenti pransus est. Post prandium indutus habitu camerale ivit spaciatum extra civitatem Viennae, in curru ductus usque ad Barcam ²⁾.

F. VI, 1.V.1592. In die festo sanctorum Iacobi et Philippi apostolorum I.D. Legatus dixit missam lectam in ecclesia Societatis Jesu, in loco superiori.

f. 22 r. Absoluta missa rediit domum, et hora competenti pransus est cum E.D. Maresciallo Lithuaniae ³⁵⁾, fratre suo hermano, qui secrete et privatim Viennam venit. Post prandium hora quinta ingressa est Viennam S.D. Anna Archiducissa Austriae sponsa D.S. Regis Poloniae in curru aureato cooperto de velluto nigro, et intus ornato tela aurea, a sex equis albis ducto, et a sinistris sponsae erat tantum S. Archiducissa Maria mater; et ante currum S. Sponsae praeibant equitantes S. Archiduces Ernestus et Mathias ³⁶⁾ Austriaci fratres, et a multis nobilibus viris associati ipsos praecedentes ²⁾; et post currum sponsae sequebantur alii currus cum nobilibus mulieribus intus ductis, etc.

Sabbato, 2.V.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam in ecclesia Sanctae Mariae Scotorum, deinde ivit ad visitandum S. Archiducissam Mariam matrem, et S. Archiducissam Annam Sponsam filiam, et deinde in palatio visitavit S. Archiducem Ernestum; postea rediit domum, et hora competenti pransus est. Eadem die post prandium ingressi sunt Viennam solemniter, more Polonorum in curribus seu carotiis duo oratores S. Re-

gis Poloniae missi pro solemnitate nuptiarum, et ad associandam S. Sponsam per totum iter usque ad Regnum Poloniae. Oratores fuerunt I. et

f. 22 v. R.D. Comes a Rozdrzov Episcopus Vladislaviensis et Pomeraniae alias Cuiaviensis ³⁷⁾, et E.D. Albertus Radzivil Dux Olicae et Niesviesti ²⁾ ac Maresciallus maior in ducatu Lithuaniae. Currus fuerunt in totum cum illis curribus, qui associabant oratores, quinquagintaquinque, et equi ad manus ducti, qui praeibant currus fuerunt 31, et adfuerunt etiam multi equites in habitibus polonicis induti.

Dominica, 3.V.1592. I.D. Legatus simul cum S. Archiducibus Ernesto et Mathia Austriacibus ²⁾ ac cum S. Archiducissibus ²⁾ Maria matre et Anna filia Austriacibus ²⁾, interfuit concioni in lingua germanica dictae, et deinde missae cantatae; qui omnes steterunt in loco superiori privatim clauso in medio ecclesiae constructo. Post missam redierunt omnes simul ad cameram S. Archiducissae Annae, et hora competenti pransi sunt. I.D. Legatus sedit a dextris S. Archiducissae Mariae matris, et S. Sponsa filia a sinistris, et omnes sub baldachino fuerunt. Post prandium I.D. Legatus rediit domum suae habitationis, et circa horam quintam R.D. Episcopus Cuiaviensis Orator Regis Poloniae visitavit I.D. Legatum, qui obviam ivit R. Episcopo oratori usque ad portam aulae, et ad discedendum illum associavit usque ad principium et caput scholarum, sed I.D. Legatus retinuit pro se manum dexteram.

f. 23 r. F. II, 4.V.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit Missam lectam in Ecclesia Sanctae Crucis, in qua demorant Fratres Conventuales Sancti Francisci, et hora competenti pransus est simul cum E.D. Alberto maiore Maresciallo in Lithuania, oratore S. Regis Poloniae suo fratre germano et cum aliis quibusdam nobilibus viris. Post prandium S.D. Archidux Mathias ab Austria visitavit I.D. Legatum qui obviam illi ivit usque ad caput scholarum, et ibidem in discedendo associavit, et I.D. Legatus semper a dexteris fuit, sed cum modestia semper manum dexteram retinuit.

F. 3, 5.V.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam in Ecclesia Monialium Sanctae Clarae et post missam vidit aliquas reliquias, inter quas vidit de Ligno Sanctissimae Crucis ornatam in una Cruce aurea gemmis et margaritis laboratam, et ornatam, valoris 40 millium aureorum. Post prandium hora quarta adfuit Vesperis cantatis pontificaliter a R.D. Episcopo Viennae in ecclesia Sancti Augustini, et I.D. Cardinalis fuit cum cappa rubea de camellotto sedens sub baldachino in sede accomodata super solio unius palmi a cornu evangelii; et etiam adfuerunt duo oratores S. Regis Poloniae et S. Archiducissa Anna sponsa sub baldachino sedentes, sine aliquo solio a cornu epistolae.

f. 23 v. Deinde sub ipsis sedebat S. Archiducissa Maria mater, S. Archiduces Ernestus et Matthias, Lantgravius ex principibus Imperii et eius uxor Lantgravia ³⁸⁾. In vespere I.D. Legatus benedixit incensum prothurificando altari ad Magnificat; quothurificato, fuit I.D. Legatusthurificatus ab uno ex sex praesbiteris assistentibus episcopo pluviali induto. Post D. Legatum fueruntthurificati D. Oratores S. Regis Poloniae, S. Sponsa, ac caeteri S. principes, Lantgravius et uxor eius. In fine vesperarum I.D. Legatus dedit benedictionem solemnem « Sit nomen Domini », Crucem ante se habens, capite detecto. Absolutis vespere R.D. Episcopus Viennae pontificaliter indutus cum mitra habuit orationem in medio altaris sedens, vertens renes altari, de sacramento matrimonii latina lingua, ut magis actus matrimonii inter S. Sigismundum Regem Poloniae et S. Annam Ar-

chiducissam Austriae solemnizzaretur. Absoluta oratione R.D. Episcopus rediit ad sedendum in loco suo; et I.D. Legatus in loco suo apud sedem suam deposita cappa accepit crucem pastorem, quam semper defert, stolam supra rochetum, pluviale album et mitram praetiosam; et accedens ad Altare sedit in medio vertens renes altari; et tunc E.D. Albertus Radzivilius Dux Olicae orator et procurator Regis Poloniae accedens apud I.

f. 24 r. Legatum dedit motum proprium Sanctissimi super dispensationem matrimonii inter Maiestatem Suam Regiam et S. Archiducissam Annam Austriacam in manibus Secretarii Regii, qui deinde illam I.D. Legato, qui vidit et legit, et postea reddidit dicto Secretario Regio ut illum legeret, et dictus Secretarius stans a cornu evangelii apud altare alta voce legit; quibus lectis E.D. Albertus Dux Olicae orator et procurator specialis ad hunc actum, Nomine S. Regis Sigismundi Poloniae, et S.D. Anna Archiducissa Austriae accesserunt apud altare apud I.D. Legatum, tunc stantem cum mitra, associatum ab R.D. Episcopo Cuiaviensi altero oratore, a S. Archiducissa matre et S. Archiducibus Ernesto et Matthia, ut consuetum est secundum morem Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Catholicae in Provincia Austriaca; I.D. Legatus contraxit inter ambos matrimonium per verba de praesentia. Deinde fuit cantatus hymnus Te Deum etc. praeintonatus ab I.D. Legato; hymno cantato sine mitra, I.D. Legatus cantavit orationem de Spiritu Sancto. Item procurator regius Sponsi et S. Sponsa in locis suis genuflexi stabant. Cantata oratione I.D. Legatus apud sedem in solio deposuit paramenta, et accepit cappam rubeam, quam extra ecclesiam deposuit, et accepit mozzetam; et associavit sponsum et sponsam, qui hoc ordine, ut est de more in Curia Caesarea iverunt:

f. 24 v. videlicet ¹⁾ sponsus medius inter I.D. Legatum et R.D. Episcopum Vladislaviensem et Pomeraniae, alias Cuiaviensem, oratorem in proprio loco, deinde S. Sponsa inter S.D. Archiduces Ernestum et Matthiam, deinde S. Archiducissa Maria mater et E. Lantgravia. Hora competenti in Palatio Imperialis residentiae ipsorum fuit cenatum in aula prima magna; et post coenam fuit saltatum et ductae chora. In mensa sederunt: in capite mensae sub baldachino positus sponsus a dextris et sponsa a sinistris ut de more in curia caesarea, post sponsum et sic a dextris eius I.D. Legatus, post D. Legatum I.D. Episcopus Cuiaviensis orator a sinistris sponsae, et sic post ipsam S. Archiducissa mater, et post ipsam matrem S. Archidux Ernestus, deinde E.D. Lantgravia, et S.D. Archidux Matthias, et E. Lantgravius, et sedit post R.D. Episcopum Cuiaviensem oratorem.

F. IV, 6.V.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam in ecclesia Sanctae Crucis; deinde rediit domum; et hora decima equester in mula pontificali indutus Cappa rubea de cammellotto et galero rubeo pontificali Cruce praecedente, et ante Crucem praecedentibus Valisario in primo loco cum valisia pontificali rubea, et familiaribus et mazeris cum mazza equitantibus, ivit ad vi-

f. 25 r. sitandum S. Reginam Poloniae, a qua publicam audientiam habuit, et illam nomine Summi Pontificis visitavit, et dedit illi breve Sanctissimi Domini nostri. Deinde redivit ad palatium suae habitationis pontificaliter equitans, ut ivit. Post prandium visitavit oratores Regis Poloniae.

F. V, 7.V.1592. In die festo Ascensionis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi I.D. Legatus dixit missam lectam in ecclesia Societatis Jesu; deinde rediit domum et pransus est. Post prandium induit se vestibis rubeis itineris et

ivit ad S. Reginam, et hora 12-a simul cum S. Regina, S. Archiducissa matre, et S. Archiducibus Ernesto et Matthia, discessit Vienna profecturus Cracoviam. S. Regina, et S. Archiducissa mater, et E. Lantgravia iverunt in curru de velluto rubeo ornato, et suae matronae et mulieres in aliis curribus; I.D. Legatus equester ante currum S. Reginae Cruce praecedente, duo oratores S. Regis Poloniae et E. Lantgravius equitantes, duo S. Archiduces Ernestus et Matthias Austriaci hinc inde apud currum S. Reginae equitantes usque ad flumen Danubii. Transacto flumine a S. supradictis per triremes, et ab aliis per pontem, I.D. Legatus ascendit in suum currum, et itum fuit ad oppidum dictum Velkersdorf distans a civitate Viennae per tres leucas, et omnes in dicto loco hospitati sunt et pernoctaverunt. In hac societate fuerunt

f. 25 v. circa mille equi ^{m)} et plures homines.

F. VI, 8.V.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam in ecclesia oppidi Velkersdorf, deinde pransus est simul cum S. Regina, S. eius matre, S. Archiducibus Ernesto et Matthia et E.D. Alberto Radzivilio oratore laico. Post prandium discesserunt omnes in curribus ducti, et iverunt ad oppidum dictum Mistelbach, in quo pernoctatum fuit; et fuerunt factae tres leucae de itinere.

Sabbato, 9.V.1592. I.D. Legatus discessit a Mistelbach associans S. Reginam, quae simul cum eius matre S. ibat in curru vecta post currum I.D. Legati; et post currum S. Reginae ibant Lantgravius, orator Imperialis pro interventu nuptiarum, in suo curru ductus. S. vero Archiduces Ernestus et Matthias associarunt S. Reginam per dimidiam leucam ante, deinde reversi sunt Viennam; et fuit etiam associata S. Regina ab equitibus deputatis; et itum fuit ad oppidum Naidolf, in quo omnes pransi sunt; et I.D. Legatus cum S.D. Regina pransus est. Post prandium vero curribus supradictis vecti omnes iverunt ad oppidum dictum Auspiez, latine Auspicium, ²⁾ in provincia Maraviae ²⁾. Equites Austriaci regrediuntur, et subintrarunt ad associandam S. Reginam equites Provinciae Moraviae, et in itinere obviam venit S. Reginae //

f. 26 r. Episcopus Olmutiensis ³⁹⁾ seu Marzomannorum.

Dominica, 10.V.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam, in qua missa etiam interfuerunt S. Regina, S. Archiducissa mater, Lantgravius, orator Imperatoris idest E.D. Gregorius Ludovicus comes Littimberg, et I. et R. Episcopus Cuiaviensis orator Regis Poloniae, et E. uxor Lantgravii. I.D. Legatus cum duobus oratoribus erat, et stabat a cornu evangelii; S. Regina cum S. eius matre et E. Domina Lantgravia a cornu epistolae stabant; I.D. Legatus osculatus est librum evangeliorum et instrumentum pacis eodem tempore quo S. Regina, et fuerunt portati duo libri evangeliorum, id est duo missales, et duo instrumenta pacis. Ego dedi osculanda I. Legato et duobus oratoribus pacem, et eleemosinarius, id est primus capellanus S. Archiducissae matris dedit S. Reginae, S. matri, et Lantgraviae, prout de more germanico. Absoluta missa omnes in suis curribus vecti absceserunt, et discedentes ab Auspiez iverunt ad prandium in oppido dicto Austerlitz, sed lingua moravia Slawkow.

Post prandium discesserunt in curribus ducti, et iverunt ad oppidum dictum Visconia, quod est R. Episcopi Olmutiensis, in quo coenatum et pernoctatum fuit. I.D. Legatus pransus est cum S. Regina et simul cum aliis commensalibus eius, velut cum S. matre, oratoribus Imperatoris et Regis Poloniae, et Lantgravia.

F. II, 11.V.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam in oppido Visconiae, deinde in curru ductus associavit

f. 26 v. S. Reginam, prout ei Pontifex mandavit, et pervenit ad locum dictum Prosciow, in quo cum S. Regina pransus est. Post prandium in curru ductus I.D. Legatus et alii qui S. Reginam comitantes iverunt ad civitatem Olomutii, in qua coenatum est et pernoctatum fuit. I.D. Legatus immediate cum suo curru vadit ⁿ⁾ ante currum S. Reginae. Hodie in itinere habuimus pluviam, ventum et magnum frigus.

F. III, 12^o).V.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam in ecclesia cathedrali Olmutii et in porta ecclesiae osculatus est Crucem, et aspersit se et alios aqua benedicta; et fuit ter thurificatus a R.D. Episcopo Olomutii, quia ita ipse voluit recipere I.D. Legatum in sua ecclesia, pro dignitate Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae, et fuit cantatus hymnus « Te Deum » etc., et deinde cantati versiculi et orationes, ut in libro pontificali dicitur sub rubrica « De receptione Legati etc. », a decano dictae ecclesiae cathedralis pluviali induto; deinde I.D. Legatus rocchetto et mozzetta indutus, ante se Crucem habens, detecto capite dedit solemnem benedictionem « Sit nomen Domini etc. »; deinde audivit missam lectam, et librum evangeliorum et instrumentum pacis osculandum tulit et dedit R. Episcopus Olmutiensis, quamvis sit ordinarius loci, quia pro reverentia voluit hoc facere. Absoluta Missa I.D. Legatus rediit ad Palatium Episcopale, in quo hospitatus

f. 27 r. fuit cum aliquibus suis familiaribus, inter quos et ego fui, expensis R.D. Episcopi; sed D. Legatus ivit ad prandium cum S.D. Regina. Post prandium I.D. Legatus associavit S.D. Reginam ad ecclesiam cathedralem, cum qua etiam erat S. eius mater cum aliis solitis, et viderunt reliquias ecclesiae, inter quas est unum indusium Beatae Mariae Virginis integrum.

F. IV, 13.V.1592. I.D. Legatus audita missa in habitu rubeo itineratio ivit ad prandium ad S. Reginam, et post prandium in suum currum ascendit, et similiter S. Regina et S. eius mater ascenderunt in currum et caeteri alii, et discesserunt a civitate Olmutii et iverunt ad oppidum dictum Lipinich, in quo coenatum et pernoctatum fuit.

F. V, 14.V.1592. I.D. Legatus, S. Regina, S. Archiducissa mater et caeteri omnes comitantes audita missa discesserunt in curribus ducti et equitantes ab oppido dicto Lipinich, et iverunt pransuri ad oppidum dictum Granix. Post prandium iverunt ad oppidum dictum Icin, in quo coenatum et pernoctatum fuit. I.D. Legatus hodie mane pransus est cum S. Regina.

F. VI, 15.V.1592. I.D. Legatus audita missa ivit ad hospitium S. Reginae et S. eius matris et in curribus ducti discesserunt ab oppido Icin,

f. 27 v. quod est oppidum francum, id est non habens dominum partialem ^{p)} et iverunt ad prandium ad oppidum dictum Staraviam; et post prandium discesserunt et iverunt ad oppidum nuncupatum Ostravam, quod est oppidum R.D. Stanislai Pauloschi episcopi Olomuctiensis, in quo coenatum et pernoctatum fuit.

Sabbato, 16.V.1592. In vigilia Pentecostes. I.D. Legatus, S. Regina, S. Archiducissa eius mater audita missa in Ostrava ducti in curribus discesserunt per duas leucas, et in medio itineris in parvo loco, seu villa pransi sunt. R.D. Episcopus Olmutii cum equitibus Moraviae, qui S. Reginam associabat, transacto ponte, qui est extra oppidum Oravae et confinis intra provinciam Moraviae et provinciam Silesiae, licentiatu a S. Regina et simul cum equitibus abiit, quia equites provinciae Silesiae usque ad suos

confines versus Cracoviam S. Reginam associabunt; cum quibus equitibus erit R.D. Episcopus Ploschensis ⁴⁰⁾, Polonus, cum aliquibus curribus missus a S. Rege Poloniae. Hac die fuit coenatum et pernoctatum in Fleistat.

Dominica die Pentecostes 17.V.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam in suo hospitio, et celebrans in missa communicavit de Corpore Christi I.D. Legatum;

f. 28 r. librum evangeliorum et instrumentum pacis in missa tulit I.D. Legato osculandum R.D. Abbas Velligradensis ⁴¹⁾, et remansit in Freistat, sicut fecit S. Regina cum aliis.

F. II, 18.V.1592. I.D. Legatus remansit in Freistat, audivit missam lectam in suo hospitio, et post prandium visitavit S. Archiducissam matrem S. Reginae egrotantem.

F. III, 19.V.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam in suo hospitio, quia in hoc oppido Fleistat non est ulla ecclesia cattolica, cum sint omnes habitantes haeretici diversarum sectarum; et post auditam missam ivit ad prandium cum S. Regina, et post prandium rediit ad suum hospitium.

F. IV, 20.V.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam, deinde solus privatim pransus est. Post prandium R.D. Episcopus Vratislaviae ⁴²⁾ visitavit I.D. Legatum, et postea I.D. Legatus ivit ad visitandam S. Reginam, et S. Archiducissam matrem egrotantem.

F. V, 21.V.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam simul cum S. Regina in suo hospitio, et cum eadem pransus est. Post prandium I.D. Legatus, S. Regina, et S. Archiducissa mater simul cum aliis associantibus discesse-

f. 28 v. runt ab oppido Freistat, et S. Regina et Archiducissa mater cum suis familiaribus coenarunt et pernoctaverunt in oppido ex ligno domus fabricato ^{r)}, dicto Serumien. Illis vero Legatus praeivit ante, et se licentiaavit a S. Regina et S. Archiducissa matre, causa perveniendi ante eas Cracoviam; et hospitatus est cum suis familiaribus in uno oppido Schora per dimidiam leucam, et ibidem coenatum et pernoctatum fuit. Multi dormierunt supra mensas et scamina.

F. VI, 22.V.1592. I.D. Legatus audita missa in curru ductus, associatus a suis familiaribus in curribus vectis et equitantibus, ivit ad oppidum dictum Ofsiencim, quod est primum oppidum in Regno Poloniae cum domibus ex ligno fabricatis et constructis, et in arce hospitatus est, et pransus est. Post prandium discessit et ivit ad oppidum dictum Zator, similiter cum domibus ligneis fabricatum, in quo coenatum et pernoctatum fuit, et aliqui dormierunt super terram in palia. In itinere fuit I.D. Legatus obviatus a Reverendo D. Decano et uno Canonico ecclesiae Cracoviensis, deinde a Reverendo D. Archidiacono.

Sabbato, 23.V.1592. I.D. Legatus audita missa discessit ab oppido Zator, et ivit in curru ductus ad unum palatium particulare, quod per unam leucam distat a Civitate Cracoviae, et a loco quo discessit, scilicet

f. 29 r. a Zator, distat per spatium sex leucarum, et ibidem pransus est hora 12, et in eodem palatio pernoctavit.

Dominica die 24.V.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam in una cappilla privata dicti palatii, deinde associatus a multis viris nobilibus Polonis ivit versus Cracoviam in curru ductus per dimidiam leucam, deinde ascendit equum pontificaliter ornatum ornamentis rubeis mulae pontifi-

calis, cappa rubea indutus cum galero rubeo pontificali, Cruce praecedente, ac praecedentibus valisario cum valisa rubea pontificali, suis familiaribus et aliis nobilibus viris et mazzerio cum mazza pontificali, ac quatuor parafrenariis pedestribus ante I.D. Legatum incedentibus cum quatuor baculis sive hastibus ²⁾, quorum duo in cuspe habebant duos malleos, prout de more legatorum inauratos; et cum solempni equitatione ivit, et ingressus est Cracoviam; et in itinere fuit obviatus a R.D. Episcopo Luceoriae ⁴³⁾ et Praemisliae ⁴⁴⁾ ac D. Magno Maresciallo totius Regni Poloniae ⁴⁵⁾ et multis nobilibus viris Poloniae, et postea a R.D. Archiepiscopo Leopoliensi ⁴⁶⁾ nomine S.D. Sigismundi Regis Poloniae, qui a civitate absens erat et non bene valens; et ingrediens in civitatem Cracoviae uti Legatus et Episcopus Cracoviensis, de quo episcopatu erat provisus a Sede Apostolica dum I.

f. 29 v. D. Cardinalis Radziwilius Legatus Romae erat tempore felicis recordationis ⁵⁾ Gregorii XIV ⁴⁷⁾ nominatione S. Regis; et uno eodemque tempore fecit ingressum legationis et possessionis sui episcopatus; fuit receptus processionaliter et fuerunt servata quae in libro pontificali dicitur, et solitas ceremonias ¹⁾ ac consuetudines inveteratae dictae civitatis Cracoviensis, quae consuetudo non est contra bonas ceremonias; versiculi et orationes intus ecclesiam Cathedralam post cantatum hymnum « Te Deum » fuerunt cantati a R.D. Archiepiscopo Leopoliensi, induto pluviali, rogatu R. ^{u)} Capituli et canonicorum Cracoviensis ecclesiae; sed Crucem osculandam extra portam Cracoviensis civitatis dedit I.D. Legato ^{v)} prima dignitas ecclesiae Cathedralis Cracoviensis; et similiter in porta ecclesiae ministravit aspersionem et naviculam incensi, ac ter thurificavit I.D. Legatum et Episcopum Cracoviensem; qui stans ^{w)} apud altare Sancti Stanislai canonici osculati sunt manus; et deinde in loco capitulari praesentibus tantum canonicis iuravit solitum iuramentum ab episcopis novis praestandum. Deinde induit stolam supra rocchetum, pluviale et mitram, et accessit ante maius altare et fuit lecta bulla provisionis. In fine post cantatam orationem de Sancto Stanislao, cantatis antiphona et versiculis et data solempni benedictione Sit nomen Domini, sine mitra, ante se Crucem legationis

f. 30 r. habens, concessit decem annos et totidem quadragenas etc. de vera indulgentia in forma, prout in suis facultatibus legationis, quas publicavit unus ex canonicis. Omnibus peractis ivit ad palatium episcopale, quod distat ab ecclesia cathedrali, equester pontificaliter cum cappa rubra et galero pontificali rubeo, associatus a dictis tribus episcopis et aliquibus canonicis; et in suo ingressu fuit receptus uti episcopus et legatus; et multum displicuit S. Regi non potuisse honorare uti cupiebat et volebat I.D. Legatum; sicut per suas litteras his superioribus diebus, dum I.D. Legatus in itinere erat, significaverat quapropter ^{aa)} suam absentiam a civitate Cracoviensi.

F. II, 25.V.1592. I.D. Legatus Cruce praecedente pedester indutus mozzetta supra rocchetum ivit ad ecclesiam Sancti Francisci, quae est vicina palatio episcopali suo Cracoviensi, in qua audivit missam lectam, osculatus est librum evangeliorum et instrumentum pacis. Post prandium hora decima I.D. Legatus indutus rocchetto et mozzeta, Cruce praecedente, equester, associatus a multis nobilibus viris Polonis et suis familiaribus, ivit ad visitandum S. Regem Poloniae, qui hodie mane redivit Cracoviam; qui obviam venit I.D. Legato extra duas suas Cameras, et dedit ei manum dexteram et in cammera, in qua locuti sunt,

f. 30 v. simul sederunt ambo sub baldachino, ibidem nemine remanente, sed ipsi duo soli fuerunt, et sic fuit audientia secreta, et non publicata, quia ita Rex voluit; et I.D. Legatus dedit S. Regi breve apostolicum Sanctissimi D. Nostri Clementis Papae VIII. In discedendo S.D. Rex associavit I.D. Legatum a dextris suis incedens usque ad portam secundae camerae. Deinde I.D. Legatus ascendit superius ad Palatium Regium et visitavit in suis cammeris S. Reginam veterem ⁴⁸⁾, olim uxorem felicitis memoriae Regis Stephani Battorii ⁴⁹⁾, et ei breve apostolicum nomine Suae Sanctitatis praesentavit; et visitavit etiam S. Infantem sororem S. Sigismundi Regis Poloniae ⁵⁰⁾, quae simul cum veteri Regina erat, et ambae Anna vocantur. Demum equester ut ivit rediit ad palatium suum episcopale. Inus cammeras I.D. Legatus benignissime a S. Rege receptus fuit, et inter ipsos multa gratulatoria verba habuerunt, ut mihi retulit idem I.D. Legatus.

F. III, 26.V.1592. I.D. Legatus in habitu itineris rubeo audivit missam lectam in ecclesia Sancti Francisci, deinde in curru ductus ivit ad visitandam S. Reginam, quae erat distans a Cracovia per unam leucam; deinde rediit Cracoviam et pransus est. Post prandium ivit ad ecclesiam cathedralem et ibidem cum cappa rubea cardinalari expectavit S. Reginam, quae circa

f. 31 r. horam 23 ingressa est Cracoviam, associata a magna copia equitum Polonorum more ipsorum optime ornatorum et indutorum; et S. Reginae obviam ivit S. Rex associatus ab aliquibus Dominis episcopis Regni; et etiam in curru ducta obviam S. Reginae ivit S. Regina vetus vidua. S. Regina ingressa est in curru ducta; fuit recepta in porta ecclesiae cathedralis a R. capitulo et canonicis, quorum unus ex ipsis orationem habuit. Interim I.D. Legatus stabat apud altare Sancti Stanislai in medio ecclesiae situm; et fuit a cantoribus cantatus hymnus « Te Deum »; quo cantato I.D. Legatus dedit solemnem benedictionem « Sit nomen Domini » cantando, et alia servata fuerunt prout consuetum est in Regno Poloniae fieri, et I.D. Legatus episcopus Cracoviensis, postquam S. Rex et S. Regina et alii de ecclesia abierunt, rediit ad palatium suum episcopale, in curru ductus.

F. IV, 27.V.1592. I.D. Legatus iacuit in lecto febris laborans.

F. V, 28.V.1592, in die festo Corporis Christi, I.D. Legatus in lecto iacens cum aliqua suspitione febris audivit missam lectam supra altari fictitio in sua camera praeparato; et per Civitatem Cracoviensem fuerunt factae processiones cum Sanctissimo Sacramento, et

f. 31 v. S. Rex Poloniae associavit processionem ecclesiae cathedralis, in qua Sanctissimum Corpus Christi sub baldachino portavit R. Dominus Archiepiscopus Leopoliensis.

F. VI, 29.V.1592. I.D. Legatus iacuit cum aliquo melioramento.

Sabbato, 30.V.1592. I.D. Legatus fuit sine febris, sed nihilominus in lecto iacuit et fuit ab aliquibus episcopis et nobilibus viris palatinis et senatoribus ut his superioribus diebus visitatus.

Dominica, 31.V.1592. I.D. Legatus convalescens de mane in curru ductus ivit ad ecclesiam suam cathedralem in castro regio sitam, in qua S. Regem et Reginam coronandam pro confirmatione matrimonii expectavit, indutus cappa sua rubea cardinalari, sedens in sua sede episcopali in praesbiterio sita et sub baldachino accomodata et ornata. Hora competentis venit S. Sigismundus Rex Poloniae ad ecclesiam cathedralem indutus habitu regio albo, velut sandalis, amictu, alba, cingulo, tunicella, dal-

matica et pluviali aureo et corona regia aurea cum gemmis et margheritis, gestans in manu dextera sceptrum regium et manu sinistra pallam auream cum cruce, medius inter duos episcopos Regni Poloniae de more illum sub brachiis tenentes, et praecedente uno nobili viro cum gladio nudo ⁵¹⁾ ante S. Regem. Post Regem ve-

f. 32 r. niebat S. Regina coronanda media inter episcopum Vratislaviae ^{ab)} et inter E. Dominum Georgium Lantgravium oratores caesareos induta veste de tela argentea contexta floribus aureis cum margheritis et praeciosis lapidibus, cum crinibus seu capillis sparsis, post humeros, cum corona de floribus supra caput, ante illam praeerant tres nobiles viri Poloni, quorum unus gestabat coronam auream reginalem, alius sceptrum reginale, et tertius pallam auream cum cruce. Post Reginam sequebantur S. Archiducissa mater, S. Anna Infans Sueciae soror S. Regis Poloniae, et deinde aliae nobiles mulieres, matronae et puellae sive damicellae. Interim vero I.D. Legatus apud altare maius accepit deposita cappa rubea stolam supra rocchetum, pluviale et mitram praeciosam et sic indutus in medio altaris remansit. S. Rex et S. Regina accesserunt ad altare ante I.D. Legatum et factis inter ipsos mutuis et debitis reverentiis, I.D. Legatus nomine et pro parte Summi Pontificis Clementis VIII ratificavit per verba de praesenti, prout est de more huius regni Poloniae et Sueciae, matrimonium inter S. Sigismundum Regem Poloniae et Suetiae et S. Annam Archiducissam Austriae et Ducissam Burgundiae; benedixit annulos et in digitis annularibus illis imposuit, ac illos etiam benedixit.

f. 32 v. Peracta et confecta confirmatione matrimonii S. Rex et S. Regina recesserunt, et I.D. Legatus deposito pluviali, mitra et stola, accepit suam cappam rubeam cardinalarem et ivit ad sedem suam sub baldachino. S. Rex ivit ad thronum suum in medio chori ecclesiae situm et praeparatum, in cuius plano erant duae sedes de veluto rubeo, in quarum una sedit S. Rex, ^{ac)} altera vero a sinistris eius, in qua Regina sedere debet, tunc remansit vacua; Regina ivit ad standum et sedendum in sedibus ornatis sub baldachino in choro et sedit apud S. Archiducissam eius matrem et S. Dominam Annam Sueciae Infantem sororem Regis Poloniae et alias nobilissimas et illustrissimas mulieres; omnibus in locis stantibus R. Dominus Episcopus Cuiaviae paratus omnibus pontificalibus paramentis albis pro missa celebranda, inchoavit ^{ad)} missam solemnem cantatam de Sanctissima Trinitate pro actu coronationis S. Reginae; cui inter alios ministros, prout de consuetudine huius regni Poloniae, assisterunt R.D. Episcopi Plocensis et Luceoriensis respective hinc inde ad altare, induti stolis, pluvialibus et mitris; et caeremoniae fuerunt more Poloniae. Assisterunt R.D. Episcopi. Post ^{ae)} cantatam epistolam S. Rex descendens de throno sive solio accessit ad altare cum suis insignibus //

f. 33 r. regis et stans ante R. Episcopum Cuiaviae Maioris Poloniae celebrantem, qui in absentia R.D. Archiepiscopi Gnesnae ^{52) af)} functus est hoc officio, fecit instantiam et petiit prout dicitur in libro pontificali de coronatione reginae, ut suam Reginam sponsam coronaret. Deinde rediit ad solium sive thronum suum et sedit. Venit Regina ante altare associata a S. Archiducissa eius matre et aliquibus nobilibus faeminis; et S. Regina genuflexa ante altare fuit uncta oleo cathecumenorum in brachio dextero et sub scapulis, et fuit coronata, et datum in manu eius dextera sceptrum Reginale cum debitis et solitis caeremoniis et prout est in libro pontificali notatum; sed non in totum fuit observatum prout est ibidem

notatum, sed pro maiori parte; coronata Regina R.D. Episcopus celebrans lavit manus; et S. Regina ivit et ascendit ad solium sive thronum regale et stetit et sedit apud S. Regem a sinistris eius; et fuit cantatus hymnus « Te Deum ». Interim S. Regina genuflexa permanebat; et ita ego ei per alium significare feci ita debere permanere. Absoluto hymno surrexit; et R.D. Episcopus celebrans prosequutus est missam. Ad offertorium S. Regina descendit de thalamo

f. 33 v. sive throno, et associata a duobus episcopis, videlicet a R.D. Archiepiscopo Leopoliensi et ^{ag)} Episcopo Promislaviae ^{ah)} accessit ad altare ante Dominum Episcopum celebrantem et genuflexa osculata est eius manus, et dedit ei pro offertorio decem ducatos Ungaros, et rediit ad thalamum regale. Post sumptum Sanctissimum Sacramentum a R. Domino celebrante, S. Regina accessit denuo ante altare associata a duobus supradictis episcopis et genuflexit; et R.D. Episcopus celebrans communicavit S. Reginam de Corpore Christi; et communicata rediit ad thalamum regale apud S. Regem; et R.D. celebrans prosequutus est missam usque ad finem. In fine missae post cantatum « Ite missa est » I.D. Legatus accessit ad altare et illud ²⁾ in medio osculato, detecto capite, vertens renes altari, ante se crucem suae legationis habens dedit solemnem benedictionem: « Sit nomen Domini », interim Rege et Regina ac aliis genuflexis permanentibus; et concessit indulgentiam decem annorum et totidem quadrigenarum in forma prout in suis facultatibus legationis; quas publicavit cantor, qui est una ex dignitatibus cathedralis, et in missa cantavit evangelium; I.D. Legatus osculatus est librum evangeliorum et fuit thurificatus a Reverendo D. Decano dictae ecclesiae cathedra-

f. 34 r. dralis, qui est prima dignitas capituli, pluviali induto; eodem tempore quo S. Rex osculatus est librum evangeliorum et fuerit ²⁾ thurificatus ab uno ex episcopis pluviali et mitra induto, instrumentum pacis I.D. Legatus osculatus est post dictum tertio Agnus Dei et orationem, prout fieri solet et debet. Sed S. Rex et Regina post communionem osculati sunt patenam, prout mos est ipsorum Polonorum; et S. Regina etiam osculata est librum evangeliorum post S. Regem, et fuit thurificata. Alia prout de more Polono in confusione, et sine ordine. Absoluta missa, S. Rex, et S. Regina in eodem habitu cum coronis, sicuti fuerunt in missa associati ab omnibus aliis, qui interfuerunt coronationi, redierunt ad palatium regale contiguum ecclesiae. I.D. Legatus remansit in ecclesia et postea dimissa cappa, indutus mozzetta supra rocchetto, Cruce praecedente ivit ad palatium regale, quod est contiguum ecclesiae, ut dixi, et ascendit superius ad S. Regem, qui semper dedit I. Legato manum dexteram, et ei obviam venit ad secundam eius cameram. Fuerunt in ceremonia coronationis exonerati scopli ^{ai)} a militibus custodiae S. Regis, et facta alia signa laetitiae. Tempore convenienti I.D. Legatus a dextris, et S. Rex a sinistris, Cruce praecedente ascenderunt superius

f. 34 v. ad aulam magnam pro solemnibus et regio prandio accomodatam et ornatam cum mensis et aliis ornamentis; quae aula est in eodem plano camerarum S. Reginae; et similiter S. Regina ad dictam aulam venit; et pransi sunt; et eodem tempore etiam in aliis mensis pransi sunt omnes invitati, qui plurimi fuerunt. In mensa regia hoc ordine steterunt: mensa erat collocata et posita supra solium, et eminebat alias mensas, per transversum in fine introitus aulae, et in capitae aulae cum baldachino supra mensam Rex in habitu suo ordinario et non regali, cum bireto de

velluto nigro cum diamantibus circum, quod biretum servatur in thesauro Regis ⁵³⁾; et apud Regem S. Regina a sinistris eius, cum corona aurea supra caput, habitu reginali, quia ita est de consuetudine in die coronationis commedere, et duo nobiles viri ante illam tenebant sceptrum reginale unus, alter vero pallam auream cum cruce, qui in toto prandio permanerunt; et ambo, quam Rex tam Regina, sederunt in medio mensae sub baldachino. I.D. Legatus sedit a dextris Regis, S. Archiducissa mater Reginae a sinistris eius filiae Reginae; a dexteris I.D. Legati sedit I. et R.D. Episcopus Vratislaviensis orator Imperatoris; a sinistris S. Arciducissae matris Reginae sedit S. Anna Infans Sueciae Soror Regis;

f. 35 r. e conspectu R. Episcopi Vratislaviensis sedit E. Dominus Lantgravius laicus orator Imperatoris; in fine mensae post S. Infantem sororem Regis sedit E. Domina uxor Lantgravii, quae est soror consobrina S. Archiducissae matris S. Reginae. Absoluto prandio I.D. Legatus et S. Rex associarunt S. Reginam ad suas cammeras, et deinde abierunt. S. Rex ivit ad suas cammeras inferius, et I.D. Legatus rediit ad suum palatium episcopale in curru ductus. In prandio Cappillanus I.D. Legati tenuit semper crucem legationis ante ipsum Legatum, quia ita est consuetum in hoc Regno Poloniae. S. Regina vetula vidua uxor felicis memoriae Regis Batorii hodie mane non adfuit ceremoniis coronationis neque in prandio quia egrotat.

F. II, 1.VI.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam in palatio suo supra altari fictitio. Deinde in curru ductus associatus a suis familiaribus et aliis nobilibus viris Polonis equitantibus ivit ad palatium Reginae in arce situm, quia adhuc durant festa nuptialia, et adfuit choreis apud ipsam cruce legationis permanente, prout est hic in Regno Poloniae consuetum.

F. III, 2.VI.1592. I.D. Legatus audita missa lecta in suo palatio ivit in curru ductus ad palatium regium, in quo adfuit festis nuptialibus et coreis Polonis

f. 35 v. absque ordine, cappillano cum cruce apud I.D. Legatum permanente. Hodie civitates Regni, id est populi civitatum fecerunt diversa dona S. Reginae Annae Austriacae sponsae.

F. IV, 3.VI.1592. I.D. Legatus audivit missam lectam in ecclesia Sancti Stanislai, quae est ecclesia cathedralis Cracoviae, in arce sita. Deinde ivit ad palatium regium quod est contiguum ecclesiae, et visitavit S. Regem, demum S. Reginam et Arciducissam eius matrem, et postea remansit ad prandium cum S. Rege et aliis, et adfuit festis et coreis nuptialibus, praesente cruce suae legationis, quam tenuit cappillanus; et in omnibus actibus semper ^{aj)} apud se habuit iuxta consuetudinem huius Regni: quae mihi non placet tenere semper crucem in conviviis et saltationibus et festis polonicis. Ego non curavi videre propter confusionem.

F. V, 4.VI.1592. In die octava Sanctissimi Corporis Christi, I.D. Legatus pro ultimo et peremptorio die suae legationis, quia hodie prout sonat in bulla suae legationis spirat ^{ak)} et confecit munus susceptum, in curru vectus ivit associatus ab aliquibus nobilibus viris Polonis et suis familiaribus equitantibus ante currum ad ecclesiam cathedralem et ibidem accepta cappa rubea cruce praecedente ivit ad altare maius et facta

f. 36 r. oratione sedit in sede episcopali in praesbiterio sub baldachino et audivit missam cantatam de Sanctissimo Sacramento supra altare maius, in quo erat Sanctissimum Sacramentum discopertum. In missa feci servare omnia quae potui iuxta ceremonias nostras romanas, velut quod

diaconus osculatus est manum I.D. Legati post cantatam epistolam, et diaconus petiit benedictionem ante evangelium, et posuit incensum in thuribulo cum benedictione et alia; huic missae cantatae adfuit etiam S. Rex Poloniae, qui stetit et sedit sub baldachino in suo solito solio a cornu epistolae; qui locus in cornu epistolae in hoc Regno habetur pro digniori; et locus iste est extra praesbiterium in choro. Librum evangeliorum I. Legatus osculatus est eodem tempore quo osculatus est alium librum evangeliorum S. Rex. In fine missae I.D. Legatus apud altare stans capite detecto ante se crucem habens dedit benedictionem « Sit nomen Domini », Rege et omnibus aliis genuflexis. Data benedictione et missa absoluta, I.D. Legatus deposita cappa rubea accepit stolam supra rocchetum et pluviale album, et accepto Sanctissimo Sacramento intus Tabernaculum portatile positum cum debitis reverentiis ac solitis ceremoniis, illud cum mitra praetiosa processionaliter per ecclesiam portavit, et non extra ea, quia erat tempus pluviosum; et S. Rex sequutus est et associavit processionem.

f. 36 v. Portavit ^{a1)} Sanctissimum Sacramentum cum mitra praeciosa, quia dixerunt sic esse consuetudinem in hoc Regno, et Dominus Legatus ita voluit. In dicta processione per ecclesiam facta quatuor interpositis vicibus I.D. Legatus et Episcopus Cracoviensis quievit, et posuit Sanctissimum Sacramentum super quatuor altaribus; et in unoquoque altare ^{am)} fuit cantatum unum evangelium a quatuor dignitatibus ecclesiae cathedralis Cracoviensis; quorum ultimum evangelium debebat cantare I. Legatus et Episcopus Cracoviensis, prout de consuetudine dictae ecclesiae cathedralis Cracoviensis; sed impeditus, cantavit illud Dominus Decanus ^{an)}; interim quo cantabantur singula evangelia I.D. Legatus stabat sine mitra apud illud altare, in quo deposuerat Sanctissimum Sacramentum; et S. Rex et Episcopi et alii stabant in suis locis capitibus detectis. Absoluta processione I.D. Legatus cum Sanctissimo Sacramento supra altare optime ornato reposuit ^{ao)}, et S. Rex abiit et rediit ad palatium regium; I.D. Legatus ivit ad sacristiam ecclesiae, et deposuit mitram, pluviale et stolam, et accepta mozzetta supra rocchetum cruce praecedente ivit ad convivium, et omnes pransi sunt simul. Absoluto prandio remansit I.D.

f. 37 r. Legatus ad festa et coreas, quae in palatio facta fuerunt, remanente cruce apud ipsum ad solitum; et hodie legatio expiravit.

Dominica, 14.VI.1592. Post missam cantatam apud prandium S. Sigismundus tertius Rex Poloniae in sua cammera privata in qua dat audientias, cum assistentia aliquorum senatorum Poloniae, inter quos erat I. Cardinalis Radzivilius Episcopus Cracoviensis et tres alii episcopi, qui sunt senatores ecclesiastici, et omnes sedentes, dedit audientiam I.D. Petro Dodo ⁵⁴⁾ oratori S. Reipublicae Venetiarum, qui gratulatus est cum S. Rege de matrimonio celebrato et facto inter Maiestatem Suam et S. Annam Arciducissam Austriacam; cui oratori S. Rex obviam ivit in eadem camera per quatuor passus a sua sede discedens sub baldachino posita, et deinde rediit ad sedendum; et orator venetus osculatus est eius manum et ivit ad sedendum in scamno ornato velluto viridi et conspectu S. Regis posito, et cooperto capite loquutus est, et dixit quae in mandatis habebat lingua Italica, et praesentavit litteras reipublicae Venetiarum; et per Vicecancellarium Regni ⁵⁵⁾ lingua latina ei responsum fuit; hoc confecto familiares Domini Oratoris Venetiarum osculati sunt manum S. Domini Regis; inter quos erant octo nobiles viri Veneti; et orator petita licentia Regi abiit; et ivit superius

f. 37 v. ad visitandam S. Reginam, cui etiam litteras dedit, et nomine S. Reipublicae Venetiarum donavit S. Reginae vasa diversa argenti caelati pro pretio quatuor millium aureorum.

S.D. Sigismundus tertius Poloniae et Sueciae Rex in eadem camera creavit I.D. Petrum Dodum oratorem Venetiarum in equitem, dans ei cum ense supra scapulos, et donavit ei torquem millium aureorum, et concessit insignia familiae regiae, et ego fui praesens. Alia quae acta fuerunt post absolutam legationem non noto nec scribo, quia non pertinent ad me; hunc actum oratoris Veneti notavi, quia fui praesens intus cameram regiam et fui unus de spectantibus.

F. VI. 24.VI.1592. In vigilia Sancti Iacobi Apostoli per tempus pluviosum discedi Cracovia rediturus Romam, et pro itinere I.D. Cardinalis Radzivilius fecit mihi dare florenos trecentos, et tres equos ordinarios, videlicet duos pro parvo curru seu carrozza, in quo ferebantur meae vestes et aliae meae res necessariae pro itinere, et tertium equum pro equitando.

Dum eram extra curiam intellexi haec infrascripta facta esse in Curia Romana.

Die 16 Aprilis 1592 fuit concistorium publicum in aula ducali, in quo oratores reipublicae Lucae praestiterunt solitam et debitam obedientiam Sanctissimo Domino Papae Clementi //

f. 38 r. Octavo, servatis servandis; quorum unus habuit orationem.

Feria tertia die 2 Aprilis 1592 fuit Concistorium publicum in aula regia, in qua praestitit obedientiam solitam Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Clementi Papae Octavo orator Hispaniarum ⁵⁶⁾ simul cum oratore residente in Curia ⁵⁷⁾, nomine Serenissimi Regis Hispaniarum ⁵⁸⁾. Quidam orator habuit orationem, et alia servata fuerunt de more. Intus portam cappillae apostolicae, quae Sixti IV vocatur, fuit accomodatus locus clausus cum pannis sericeis lignis fabricatus, in quo stetit ad videndum E.D. Ducissa de Sessa ⁵⁹⁾, uxor ^{ap)} oratoris Hispaniarum Romae residentis.

Die 14 Maii 1592 fuit concistorium publicum in aula ducali, in quo E.D. Caesar Estensis ⁶⁰⁾ praestitit solitam et debitam reverentiam et obœdientiam nomine et pro parte Serenissimi Domini Alfonsi Ducis Ferrariae Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Clementi Papae VIII; et unus Doctor habuit orationem; alia de more.

Die 17 Octobris 1592 fuit concistorium publicum in aula regia, in quo praestiterunt solitam obedientiam Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Clementi Papae VIII oratores reipublicae Venetiarum, quorum unus habuit orationem; alia ut de more.

Dum etiam in itinere eram recepi litteras, in quibus mihi significabatur obitus bonae memoriae Reverendi Domini Francisci Mucatii ⁶¹⁾ magistri ceremoniarum socii mei, qui primum locum in officio ceremoniarum obtinebat, obitus cuius

f. 38 v. multum mihi displicuit. Diem ultimum suum clausit die sexta Octobris 1592; et in officium ceremoniarum successit Reverendus Dominus Guido Ascanius ⁶²⁾ Praevostus beneficiatus Sancti Petri, qui habebat breve apostolicum pro successione expeditum tempore felicis recordationis Sixti Papae quinti, ⁶³⁾ et sic effectus est meus socius in secundo loco, et ego primus.

Feria sexta in die 30 Octobris 1592 tandem Romam redivi, favente Deo, post multas incommoditates, quas passus sum in longo itinere; et inter alias praecipue apud Pontebam in confinibus Italiae retentus fui

et non potui ulterius transire, quia Domini Veneti cluserunt transitum his qui ex Polonia in Italiam veniebant; et ego, qui ex Polonia cum aliquibus Polonis et sacerdotibus Societatis Jesu veniebam, et in dicto Regno pestis vigeat, fui coactus hortatu cauponis, in cuius caupona hospitatus eram, redire Gretium in provincia Styriae et per aliam viam in Italiam introire cum magno sumptu et incommodo, et ideo Domini Veneti cluserunt transitum per suos confines.

Finis Itinerarii Poloniae.

— Itinerarium —

ITINERARIUM

- 1592.
- Sab.** 22.II. *Roma*
Buccani
Caprarola
- Dom.** 23.II. *ibid.*
- 24.II. *Viterbium (Viterbo)*
Mons Faliscus (Montefiascone)
- 25.II. *Bubiana opp.*
Aqua Pendens (Acquapendente)
- 26.II. *Aradicojani (Radicojani)*
S. Quirici opp. (S. Quirico d'Orcia)
- 27.II. *Bonconvento (Buonconvento)*
Senae (Siena)
- 28.II. *Poggibonzi opp. (Poggibonsi)*
S. Cassiani opp. (S. Cassiano)
- 29.II. *Florentia (Firenze)*
- Dom.** 1.III. *Pratolinum (Pratolino)*
- 2.III. *Parparia opp.*
Florenzuola opp. (Firenzuola)
- 3.III. *Scarcalasino, Mon. Montis Oliveti (M. Oliveto)*
Pianorium
Bononia (Bologna)
- 4.III. *ibid.*
- 5.III. *Canti opp.*
- 6.III. *Finale*
Padus fl.
Bondinum
- 7.III. *Ferrara*
- Dom.** 8.III. *Loren*
- 9.III. *Monasterium S. Spiritus in insula Padus*
- 9-20.III. *Venetiae (Venezia)*
- 21.III. *Megera*
Tarvisum civ. (Tarvisio)
- Dom.** 22.III. *Cornelianum (Conegliano)*
- 23.III. *Savilum (Sacile)*
- 24.III. *Sanctus Vitus (St. Veit)*
- 25.III. *Spilingerbum, Spilinberg (Spilimberg)*
- 26.III. *Vemonum*
- 27.III. *Pontebba*
Malburghettum
- 28.III. *Herbestainum (Herberstein)*
Villacum (Villach)
- Pascha** 29.III. *ibidem*
- 30.III. *Monasterium apud lacum: Ossiacum, Ossiach*
Feldkirchen

- 31.III. *Sanjayt, ad Sanctum Vitum (St. Veit)
Frisacchum (Friesach)*
- 1.IV. *Neimarch (Neumarkt)*
- 2.IV. *Judenburgum (Judenburg)
Chinikilfelt, Knittenfeld (Knittelfeld)*
- 3.IV. *Sanctus Michael opp. (Sankt Michael)
Bruch (Bruck)*
- 4.IV. *ibid.*
- Dom. 5.IV. *Mura fl. (Mur)
Gretium, civ. Gratz (Graz)*
- 6-19.IV. *ibidem (die 13.IV. ivit ad Abbatiam Cisteriensium in Runen)*
- 20.IV. *Fraunleiten, opp. Fronleiten (Frohnleiten)*
- 21.IV. *Bruch, opp. (Bruck)*
- 22.IV. *Kimberg (Kindberg)
Miercucnolog opp. (Mürzzuschlag)*
- 23.IV. *Sostovien opp. (Schottwien)
Chiusa*
- 24.IV. *Naistat opp., Neustadt (Wiener Neustadt)*
- 25.IV. *Draskersten (Traiskirchen)*
- 25.IV-7.V. *Vienna (Vindobona, Wien)*
- 7.V. *Danubius fl.
Velkersdorf*
- 8.V. *Mistelbach, opp.*
- 9.V. *Naidolf, opp. (Neudorf)
Auspiez, Auspicium (Auspitz)*
- 10.V. *Austerlitz, lingua moravia Slawkow, opp. (Slavkov u Brna)
Visconia, opp. (Wischau, Vyškov)*
- 11.V. *Prosciow (Prerau, Pferov?)
Olomutium (Olmütz, Olomuc)*
- 12.V. *ibidem*
- 13.V. *Lipinich, opp. (Leipnik, Lipnik)*
- 14.V. *Granix, opp. (Hranice, Weisskirchen)
Icin, opp. (Novy-Jicin)*
- 15.V. *Starawieš, opp.
Ostrava, opp.*
- 16.V. *Orava, opp.
Fleistat, opp. Freistat (Freistadt)*
- Dom. 17.V.-20.V. *ibid.*
- 21.V. *Serumien, opp. (Strumień?)
Schora, opp.*
- 22.V. *Ojsiencim, opp. arz. (Oświęcim, a Germanis Auschwitz vocatum)
Zator*
- 23.V. *« palatium particulare » (6 leucas a Zator, 1 leucam a Cracovia).*
- 24.V. *Cracovia
usque ad diem*
- 24.VI.1592, *in quo auctor Cracoviam relinquit Romam rediturus.*

NOTAE REALES

- 1) *Magnus Dux Hetruariae, Ferdinandus III Medici 1587-1609.*
- 2) *Nuntius apost. Florentiae, eps. Viterb. Carolus Montilius, Montigli, 1576-1594.*
- 3) *Eps. Bononiensis Alfonsus Paleottus, Paleotti; 1591 aux. cum i. succ., ob. 1610.*
- 4) *Caesar Titta, Antonii et Antoniae de domo Facchinetti filius, qui ex adoptione Innocentii IX nomen Facchinetti portavit, Bononiae senator 1586, vezillifer 1586, ob. 1606.*
- 5) *Innocentius IX, Papa (G. Antonio Facchinetti) 29.X, 3.XI.1591-30.XII.1591.*
- 6) *Dux Ferrariae, Alfonsus II d'Este, 1559-1597.*
- 6a) *Lucrezia d'Este.*
- 7) *Sorantius, Soranzo, forsitan Ioannes, missus ad S. Pontificem 1570, 1571; vel Iacobus, 1578, 1584; de quibus DIEDO, Storia della Repubblica di Venezia, II 245, 287, 320, 344.*
- 8) *Baduerus, Badoaro, forsitan Andreas (1570); vel Albertus, orator coram S. Pontifice a. 1589 et ssq; vel Angelus; de quibus DIEDO, Storia della Repubblica di Venezia, II 253 ssq., sub a. 1570, 1589, 1612.*
- 9) *Erimanus, potestas Chiozzae (forsitan Grimanus, Grimani, de quagente cfr. KRET-SCHMAYR, H. Geschichte von Venedig, III, 666.*
- 10) *Nuntius ap. Venetiis, Alexander Musotti, eps. Imolae (1591-1593).*
- 11) *Dux Venetiarum, Paschalis Cicogna, el. 11.III.1585, ob. 2.IV.1595.*
- 12) *Senatores de Praecoio, senatores « Pregadi », seu senatores ordinarii (Cfr. KRET-SCHMAYR H., Geschichte von Venedig, III, 87.*
- 13) *Eps. Torcellensis, Venetus, Antonius Grimanus, Grimani (1587-1618).*
- 14) *Laurentius Priul, Patriarcha Venetiarum a. 1591, card. 1596, ob. 1600.*
- 15) *Aloisius Cornelius, Cornari, eps. Patavinus 1589-1594.*
- 16) *Dux Mantuae, Vincentius I Gonzaga, 1587-1612.*
- 17) *Sic in ms., vide supra nota 13.*
- 18) *Ruzzini Carolus, Venetus, nobilis XVI-XVII s. (distinguendus a Carolo Ruzzini, duce Venetiarum 1732-1735).*
- 19) *Eps. Tarvisinus, Franciscus Cornelius, Cornari eps. 1577, res. 1595, card. 1598.*
- 20) *Ragazonorum familia; inter quos notus est Iacobus Ragazzoni, secretarius, 1571-1573.*
- 21) *Malacredi Martius, aliunde ignotus.*
- 22) *Arps. Salzburgensis, Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau 1587-1612, ob. 1617.*
- 23) *Archiducissa Maria, Alberti IV ducis Bavariae et Annae Austriacae filia, n. 1577, Caroli archiducis (v. N. 24) ab a. 1571 uxor, ab 1590 vidua, ob. 1608, « regum socrus » (v. N. 25).*
- 24) *Carolus archidux, Ferdinandi I imperatoris et Annae Jagellonicae filius, n. 1540, Styriae, Carinthiae etc. dux, ob. 1590.*
- 25) *Filii et filiae Caroli et Mariae archiducum:*
 - 1) *Anna n. 1573, Sigismundi III regis Poloniae uxor 1592, Vladislai IV regis Poloniae mater 1595, ob. 1598.*
 - 2) *Maria Christina n. 1574, Sigismundi Bathoret principis Transilvaniae uxor 1595, ob. 1621.*
 - 3) *Ferdinandus II n. 1578, imperator 1619, ob. 1637.*
 - 4) *Maximilianus Ernestus n. 1583, ob. 1616.*
 - 5) *Margarita, n. 1584, Philippi III regis Hispaniae uxor 1599, ob. 1611.*
 - 6) *Constantia n. 1588, Sigismundi III regis Poloniae uxor, a. 1605, Ioannis Casimiri regis Poloniae mater 1609, ob. 1631.*
 - 7) *Maria Magdalena n. 1589, Costmi II Medici m. ducis Toscaniae uxor, ob. 1631.*
- 26) *Eps. Lubianae, Joannes Tautscher 1580-1597.*
- 27) *Sponsa regis Poloniae, vide supra, N. 25 1), sub Anna.*

- 28) *Rex Poloniae Sigismundus III, Ioannis III regis Sueciae et Catharinae Jagellonicae filius, n. 1566, electus rex Poloniae 19.VIII.1587, coronatus 27.XII.1587, ob. 30.IV.1632.*
- 29) *Clemens VIII papa, 30.I., 9.II.1592-3.III.1605 (Hippolytus Aldobrandini qui a 1588 legatione ad Sigismundum III fungebatur).*
- 30) *Maximilianus archidux, filius secundogenitus archiducissae Mariae, cfr. Notam 25 4).*
- 31) *Ernestus archidux, Maximiliani II imperatoris et Mariae de Austria filius, n. 1553, ob. 1595, Rudolphi II et Mathiae imperatorum frater (conoram Poloniae petiuit a. 1573).*
- 32) *Caesarea Maiestas. Rudolphus II, Maximiliani II et Mariae de Austria filius, n. 1552, imperator 1576, ob. 1612.*
- 33) *Eps. Viennae, Caspar Neubeck von Freiburg, 1574-1594.*
- 34) *Gregorius Ludovicus comes (Lantgraf) Lictenberg, alibi Littimberg, recte Leuchtenberg, filius Ludovici Henrici et Mechildis von der Mark und Arenberg, natus 1550, ob. 1613.*
- 35) *Radziwiłł Albertus dux Olcae et Nieswiezi, marescallus magnus Lithuaniae, cardinalis Georgii Radziwiłł frater n. 1558, ob. 1603.*
- 36) *Mathias archidux, Maximiliani II imperatoris et Mariae de Austria filius n. 1557, imperator 1612, ob. 1619.*
- 37) *Eps. Vladislavien. seu Vladislavien. et Pomeranien., seu Cuiavien. Hieronymus comes a Rozdrażow (Rozdrażowski) 1581-1600.*
- 38) *Lantgravia Maria Salome, margravia de Baden, Georgii Ludovici Landgravii de Leuchtenberg uxor, ob. 1600.*
- 39) *Eps. Olmutiensis (seu Olomucensis) seu Marzomanorum, Stanislaus Pawłowski 1579-1598.*
- 40) *Eps. Ploschensis, Plocen., Albertus Baranowski 1591-1607, 1608 archieps. Gnesnen.*
- 41) *Abbas Veligradensis, Ecardus de Schwoben 1591, ob. 1595.*
- 42) *Eps. Vratislaviae, Andreas Jerin, 1585-1596.*
- 43) *Eps. Luceoriae, Bernardus Maciejowski 1587-1597, 1600 eps. Cracov., 1603 cardinalis.*
- 44) *Eps. Premislae, Laurentius Goślicki 1591-1601.*
- 45) *v. N. 35.*
- 46) *Aps. Leopoliensis Ioannes Demetrius Solikowski, 1582-1603.*
- 47) *Gregorius XIV P.M. (Nicolaus Sfondrati) 5.XII.1590-15.X.1591.*
- 48) *Anna Jagellonica, « regina vetus », nata a. 1522, Sigismundi I et Bonae Sfortiae filia, infans Poloniae, 1576 Stephani Batory (v. Nota 49) uxor, 13.XII.1586 vidua, ob. 1596.*
- 49) *Stephanus Batory, Batorius, Stephani palatini Transilvaniae et Catharinae Telegdy filius, natus 1533, princeps Transilvaniae, electus in regem Poloniae 15.XII.1575, eodem anno Annam Jagellonicam (v. Nota 48) uxorem duxit, ob. 13.XII.1586.*
- 50) *Anna Waza, nata 1568, Ioannis III regis Suetiae et Catharinae Jagellonicae filia, infans Suetiae, Sigismundi III regis Poloniae soror, acatholica, ob. 1625.*
- 51) *nobilis vir cum glaudio nudo: armiger seu ensifer Coronae, unus e minoribus inter dignitates curiae, cuius erat in caeremoniis gladium ante regem ferre.*
- 52) *Aps. Gnesnensis, Stanislaus Karnkowski, 1581-1603.*
- 53) *Biretum hoc apparet in nonnullis Sigismundi III effigiibus pictis.*
- 54) *Petrus Dodo, Venetus, nobilis, aliunde ignotus.*
- 55) *Vicecancellarius Regni Poloniae: Ioannes Tarnowski 1591-1598 (a. 1604 archieps. Gnesnensis).*
- 56) *Legatus extraordinarius Philippi II, regis Hispaniarum, ad Clementem VIII ad oboedientiam praestandam missus.*
- 57) *Dux de Sessa, Philippi II orator ordinarius in Curia Romana (comitis de Olivarez successor).*
- 58) *Rex Hispaniarum, Philippus II, natus 1527, filius Caroli V imperatoris et Isabellae de Lusitania, rex 1555, ob. 1598.*
- 59) *Ducissa de Sessa, uxor oratoris.*
- 60) *Caesar Estensis, filius Alfonsi, ducis Ferrariae, dux Ferrariae 1597-8, dux Modenae 1597-1628.*
- 61) *Mucatii Franciscus, magister caeremoniarum primus.*
- 62) *Guido Ascanius, praevoitus beneficiatus S. Petri, magister caeremoniarum.*
- 63) *Sixtus V, P.M., 24.IV.1585-27.VIII.1590 (Felix Peretti).*

NOTAE LITTERALES

- a) *Hic verbum omissum.*
- b) *Sic in ms., error theologicus.*
- c) *In ms. copiam.*
- d) *Sic in ms., correctum ex 420.*
- e) *Lectio propter maculam incerta.*
- f) *Huius tituli prima littera vix legitur.*
- g) *Sic in ms., correctum ex longibus.*
- h) *Vix legitur.*
- i) *In ms. praesentibus.*
- j) *Indistincte scriptum.*
- k) *Syntaxis confusa.*
- l) *Lectio propter nimiam contractionem vlt (?) incerta.*
- m) *In ms. eques.*
- n) *Indistincte scriptum.*
- o) *In ms. 22, error.*
- p) *Indistincte scriptum.*
- r) *Syntaxis confusa.*
- s) *In ms. confuse te.re.*
- t) *Sic in ms., syntaxis confusa.*
- u) *Hic in ms. inutiliter addita littera D.*
- v) *Hic in ms. verbum osculandum inutiliter repetitur.*
- w) *Syntaxis confusa.*
- aa) *Indistincte scriptum.*
- ab) *In ms. Frantislaviae.*
- ac) *In ms. hic inutiliter additur verbum in.*
- ad) *In ms. inhoavit.*
- ae) *In ms. hic inutiliter additur verbum missam.*
- af) *In ms. Gnyznae.*
- ag) *In ms. et omissum.*
- ah) *Recte Premislae; cfr. notam 44.*
- ai) *exonerare scoplum - tormentum bellicum explodere.*
- aj) *In ms. omissum videtur verbum illam (i.e. crucem).*
- ak) *Syntaxis erronea.*
- al) *In ms. omissum subiectum propositionis, i.e. Legatus.*
- am) *Sic in ms., pro: altarl.*
- an) *Syntaxis erronea.*
- ao) *Idem.*
- ap) *In ms. uxore.*
- z) *Sic in ms.*

V. MEYSZTOWICZ

RELATIO
BURGRAVII ABRAHAM DE DOHNA
ORATORIS REGIS HISPANIAE
DE MISSIONE QUAM A. 1612
AD REGEM POLONIAE ABSOLVIT

(*Ex Archivo Generali in Simancas, España y Norte, Leg. 2851, s.f.*)

INTRODUCTIO

Relationis, cuius, uti videtur, primum typis impressum textum nunc lectoribus praesentamus, auctor est burgravius Abraham de Dona, etiam Donha, vel secundum graphiam nunc receptam Dohna vocatus. De eo non pauca a rerum gestarum cultoribus sciuntur. Nobilis gens, ex qua originem ducit, in Silesia praesertim sedes suas habuit et antiquitas etiam « Donin » vocabatur; hypothesis de eius cum gente « Dunin » in Polonia vinculo in sola similitudine vocabulorum fundari potest; cum autem stemmata gentilitia nullam similitudinem offerunt, prorsus reicienda nobis apparet. Titulus « burgraviorum de Dohna » gentis silesianae saltem a saeculo XV proprius erat (cfr. Genealogisches Handbuch der Gräflichen Häuser, Gräfl. H., A. Band IV, s. 122; Starke Verlag, Limburg a.d. Lahn, 1962).

Natus est Abraham de Dohna, uti iunior inter alios filios patris sui, qui etiam Abraham vocabatur, die 11.XII.1561, in aliquo loco in Silesia (hoc tempore in regno Bohemiae, sub Ferdinando I, ex hereditate Ludovici II Bohemiae rege, Romanorum imperatore). Vix 15 annorum natus erat Abraham, cum Rudolphus II rex Germaniae et simul Bohemiae factus est; et sub eodem Rudolpho paene totam vitam transegit. Sub eo gubernator (Langvogt) Lusitiae Superioris a. 1594 factus est; a. 1600 legationem eiusdem imperatoris ad Sigismundum III Poloniae regem absolvit; aliis quoque legationibus junctus esse scitur, inter quas digna est mentionis legatio a. 1597 in Moscoviam, ad tsarum Theodorum I (cfr. LEITSCH, Walter: Moskau und die Politik des Kaiserhofes im XVII Jahrhundert, I Teil, 1604-1654. Gratz-Köln; in Wiener Archiv für Geschichte des Slaventums und Osteuropas, B. IV., 1960. p. 61). Erat Abraham « Caesareae Maiestatis a consiliis privatis » (« K.M. Geheimer Rath ») et praefuit Regis Bohemiae Camerae Iuris. Dubium remanet, utrum Abraham dignitatem principis acceperit. Uxorem duxit Eleonoram ex domo liberi baronis Achatii de Sauer mann. Cum altera iam sua legatione ad Sigismundum III a. 1612 fungeretur, non tam propectae aetatis quam debilis salutis erat; obiit Wratislaviae (Breslaviae) in Silesia anno 1613 (cfr. SINAPIUS, Joannes: Schlesischer Curiositäten erste Vorstellung... Leipzig 1726, s. 26). (Gratiae hic a nobis debentur D.no Professori Henrico Paszkiewicz, aliisque claris-

simis viris, cuius nomina ob singularem temporis nostri conditionem sub silentio praeterire cogimur).

Anno 1611 a Philippo III, rege Hispaniae, Abraham de Dohna Varsaviam missus est. (LEITSCH, op. cit. p. 56 eum ab imperatore Matthia missum esse putat). Duplex apparet ratio huius missionis; una ex eis rationibus erat mere dynastica seu aulica, altera vero politica.

Rationi aulicae occasionem dedit decessus reginae Margaritae, uxoris Philippi III regis Hispaniae; quae regina, vix annum 27 agens, e vita cessit: erat illa soror minor reginae Annae, primae uxoris regis Poloniae Sigismundi III, quae iam anno 1595 obiit, et soror maior reginae Constantiae, quam a septem annis idem rex Sigismundus uxorem habebat. Defuncta uxore, Philippus III ad regem Sigismundum, dupliciter affinem necnon aliunde cognatum, atque ad reginam Constantiam, defunctae Margaritae sororem, oratorem ad luctum solemniter nuntiandum, ut usus aulicus

EX TABULA COGNATIONUM DOMUS AUSTRIAE

<p>CAROLUS archidux Austriae princeps Styriae et Carintiae, n. 1540, † 1595</p>	<p>MARIA CRISTINA n. 1572, uxor Sigismundi Bathory, princ. Transilvaniae, 1599 divortiat, † 1621.</p>	<p>LADISLAUS SIGISMUN- DUS, n. 1595, rex Poloniae 1632, † 1648</p>
	<p>ANNA n. 1573 uxor 1592 Sigismundi III regis Poloniae; † 1595</p>	
	<p>FERDINANDUS II n. 1578 1619 imperator, † 1637</p>	<p>FERDINANDUS III imperator 1637 † 1657</p>
	<p>MARGARITA n. 1584 uxor 1599 Philippi III regis Hispaniae † 5.X.1611</p>	
<p>uxor: (1571) MARIA filia Bavariae du- cis, n. 1551, † 1608</p>	<p>CONSTANTIA n. 1588 uxor 1605 Sigismundi III regis Poloniae † 1632</p>	<p>IOANNES CASIMIRUS n. 1609, rex Poloniae 1648-1668, † 1672.</p>
	<p>MARIA MAGDALENA n. 1589, uxor 1608 Cosimi II M. Ducis He- truriae; † 1631</p>	

postulabat, Varsaviam mittere debuit. In oratorem electus est vir ingenio et virtutibus clarus, non Hispanus natione, sed Domus Austriacae vassallus fidelis, qui iam Poloniam, eius regem et aulam bene noverat, Abraham de Dohna. Nec extranea huic electioni ratio erat economica; electus enim orator in Silesia degebat, et ideo breve iter Vratislavia Varsaviam, non vero longissimum ex Hispania perficere debuit; et quia in comitatu 144 homines ducebat, impensa legationis multo minoris gravaminis erant pro aerario Hispanico.

De hoc aulico aspectu missionis diligenter orator refert. Narrat accurate de suo Varsaviam ingressu, de receptione a dignitatibus aulae et proceribus Regni, de audientia coram rege et regina, de iis quae in hac audientia dicebantur, de filiis regis, quorum utriusque defuncta regina Hispaniae amita erat, et quorum maior, Vladislaus Sigismundus, iam decimum et septimum annum agebat; orator optime de dotibus huius futuri regis iudicavit (passim notemus Vladislai Sigismundi infantuli, vix secundum vitae annum agentis, eiusque sororis effigies Matrili, in monasterio « Descalzes Reales » hucusque servari. Cfr. Elementa ad Fontium Editiones, ad Instituto Historico Polono Romae edita, a. 1968, vol. XIX, tab. II).

Altera ratio missionis, multum maioris momenti, erat politica. Abraham de Dohna, optime ad referendum de ea praeparatus erat. Scimus eum iam anterioribus temporibus in Poloniam et Moscoviam venisse. Ad intelligendas res politicas, de quibus oratori regis Hispaniae cura erat, scire primum necesse est de rebus Europe illorum temporum: et quidem in mente est tenendum societatem nationum, regnorum, aliarumque rerum publicarum, quae sub nomine « Reipublicae Christianae » vel breviter « Christianitatis » veniebat, ineunte s. XVII adhuc in vigore fuisse. Haec societas exeunte s. XIII iam formata apparet. Constitutio eius, ut fere omnes aevi constitutiones in nullo documento conscripta est; sed in communiter recepto usu existebat. Primatus Pontificis Romani in spiritualibus, imperatoris Romani in rebus belli contra hostes communes, communis nationum societatem componentium contra hostes defensio, mutuum in ea defensione adiutorium, omnium earum in conciliis oecumenicis participatio, summa capita legis fundamentalis « Christianitatis » constituebant; eius unitatem firmiorem reddebat communis receptio saltem summorum principiorum iuris civilis Romani, Romanae aequitatis et iustitiae, linguae latinae et alphabeti latini communis usus, universitatum studiorum similitudo ac docentium et discentium inter eas continuum commercium, aliaeque res, quarum enumerationi hic vix est locus.

Forma geographica confiniorum « Reipublicae Christianae », etsi fluctuationibus, a fortuna bellorum dependentibus, obnoxia erat, a duobus maximi momenti eventibus statuta est: quorum primus erat potentissimi et extensissimi Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae a paganismo ad fidem catholicam conversio (a. 1387); alter vero totius Hispaniae ab invasione islamica liberatio (oppugnatio Granatae 1492). Fines « Reipublicae Christianae » a litoribus Lusitaniae per mare Mediterraneum, per mediam peninsulam Balcanicam, pontum Euxinum, denique fines Poloniae et Lithuaniae ex parte ditionum Tartarorum et Moscoviae, ulterius iuxta fines Plescoviae et Novogardiae, usque ad mare Album protendebantur.

Cur amplissimae regiones, quae a s. XVIII sub nomine « Russiae » veniunt, in quibus religio christiana colebatur, non modo « Reipublicae Christianae » non adhaeserunt, sed progressu temporis semper magis inimici illius « Reipublicae » seu « Christianitatis » factae sunt? Separatio illarum ditionum a nationibus christianis primum in rebus religionis facta

est; incipit adhaesione Kioviensis ecclesiae ad schisma byzantinum; discidium per saecula crescebat et perfectum est sub Basilio Caeco (seu Obscuro), magno duce Moscoviae (1425-1462); a quo tempore successores sui iam nullo modo ecclesiam catholicam eiusque fidem et primatum Romani Pontificis tolerare voluerunt; quae intolerantia decursu temporis etiam in clero et populo praevaluit. Separatio adhuc plenior facta est a Tartaris, qui initio s. XIII occupabant regiones usque ad fines Lithuaniae, eorumque commercium cum Occidente interruperunt: exinde philosophiae perennis et linguae latinae et alphabeti latini ignorantia, imo defectus universitatis studiorum, nullus fere cum universitatibus Christianitatis contactus — haec omnia ad segregationem illarum terrarum a « Republica Christiana » contribuerunt. Sed huius segregationis praecipua ratio erat in rebus iuris. Mongoli nempe superposuerunt antiquo iuri, in principibus Romanis fundato, proprium modum regendi: i.e. arbitrium illimitatum monarchae, « samodierzavie » dictum (quod quidem ad litteram recte, sed ad sensum false « autocratia » traducitur), legibus superposita est iussio arbitraria, dicta « ukaz » (a « decreto » in iure europaeo sedulo distinguenda, uti a bono communi praescindens, retroactiva, nullum ius subiectivum conferens, sed meras obligationes imponens, promulgatione non indigens); hoc modo omnes subditi, nullius iuris proprii capaces, ad statum mancipiorum deducebantur. Qui modus regendi a Mongolis receptus ab Ioanne IV (« Terribili ») (1547-1548) Moscoviam aliasque ei subiectas regiones a « Republica Christiana » iam perfecte separavit. Idem Ioannes Terribilis, qui khan Tartarorum Casani et Astrakhani erat, vestigia magnorum Mongolorum sequens, imperium suum usque ad fines orbis terrarum protendere somniabat. Quod somnium successoribus suis, imo et toti populo in hereditate reliquit et hostilitatem per saecula duraturam inter Moscoviam, mox Russiam vocatam, et nationes « Reipublicae Christianae » instituit.

Hoc modo Poloniae et ei unito Magno Ducatui Lithuaniae limes ex parte hostium « Christianae Reipublicae » longissimus erat, et extra hunc litem Turcae, Tartari, Moscovitae instabant. Conatus ad Moscoviam in Rempublicam Christianam recipiendam iam antiquitus tentabantur, sed prorsus vani apparuerunt, usquedum modus Mongolicus populum regendi persistebat. Attamen exeunte saeculo XVI ultimus dynastes ex stirpe Rurici Moscoviae obiit; modus regendi Mongolicus, quem Ioannes Terribilis imposuit, multos inter proceres (« boiaros ») habebat adversarios. Boris Godunov, e Tartarica stirpe ortus, vix habenas gubernii illegitime obtenti retinere valuit. Interea a. 1503 venit in Poloniam iuvenis, qui pro legitimo herede Moscoviae, Demetrio, filio Ioannis IV, ex caede sibi a Godunov parata evaso, a multis habebatur. Illum nonnulli magnates Poloniae ad hereditatem restituere voluerunt; eis adiuvantibus Demetrius Moscoviam venit et proceribus populoque acclamante coronam obtinuit (1605). Tunc Sigismundus III exercitu proprio Demetrium adiuvare contra adversarios statuit, ut omnes terras, a Ioanne IV relictas, eidem Demetrio, uti legitimo heredi, restituerentur. Demetrius reformare modum regendi conabatur, eumque usui nationum ad « Rempublicam Christianam » pertinentium conformem facere. Sed post paucos menses a fautoribus ordinis Mongolici simulator declaratus et occisus est (1606). Regimen tunc assumptum est a Basilio Suiskii, cum quo novus Demetrius, iam sine ullo dubio falsus, contestabatur. Tsarus Basilius Suiskii, foedere cum Sigismundo III rupto, Carolo Sudermaniae duci, regnum Sueciae usurpanti, sese associavit. Sigismundus arma contra Basilium movit (1508) et Suecibus

Poloniam invadentibus repulsis, castra ante Smolenscum posuit (1609). Stanislaus Żółkiewski, supremus dux exercitus Poloniae, Basilio ad defensionem Smolensci eunti occurrit, eoque victo et capto (4.VII.1610), civitatem Moscoviensem ingressus est. Ibi cum populo et proceribus optime conversatus, praeliminaria foederis novi fecit, secundum quae filius regis Poloniae, iuvenis princeps Vladislaus Sigismundus, in magnum ducem Moscoviae assumendus et in tsarum coronandus erat. Cuius foederis praeliminaria a Sigismundo III, adhuc Smolenscum obsidente, non sunt confirmata, ea inter alias ratione, quod proceres Moscoviae volebant, ut princeps Vladislaus ab unitate Ecclesiae Catholicae recedens schisma byzantinum reciperet. Interea Sigismundus, Smolensco debellato (1611), Varsaviam triumphaliter rediit, non obstante oppositione, quae in multis locis ditionis Moscoviticae contra Polonos ardebat: defendebat se enim in proximo civitatis Moscoviensis vicinatu monasterium Sanctae Trinitatis Sergianum; dux Minin et mercator Pożarskii copias contra Polonos Cremlinum occupantes parabant; tota ditio Moscoviae, rebus omnibus eversis, sine ullo ordine in anarchia manebat. Ad hanc anarchiam terminandam proceres Moscoviae mense decembri 1611 novos oratores Varsaviam miserunt, adventum quam citissimum principis Vladislai flagitantes.

Tales apparebant res politicae Poloniae, de quibus principes domus Austriacae, praesertim vero Imperator, edoceri cupiebant. Et rebus sic stantibus burgravius Abraham de Dohna, regis Hispaniae orator, ingressum suum in civitatem Varsaviae fecit.

Quid valet relatio, quam de rebus politicis burgravius de Dohna fecit? Certum est eum de eventibus belli perfecte edoctum fuisse et de eis fideliter retulisse.

De aliis etiam rebus Poloniae Dohna optime instructus apparet; nulum nec quidem minimi momenti errorem notare potuimus, nisi illum, qui sequitur: «Deductus sum a multis et magnis ex ordine Castellatorum et Starostarum Senatoribus» — scribit Dohna. Notum est tamen senatum Poloniae duobus ordinibus constituisse: senatorum ecclesiasticorum et saecularium; saeculares erant palatini et castellani; starostae, qui multi in Polonia et Lithuania erant, locum in senatu non habebant, nisi ipsi dignitate palatinorum vel castellanorum insigniti fuerint; «ordo starostarum» in senatu Poloniae non existebat.

Notatu digna sunt quae refert orator de persona et de indole Sigismundi III, deque huius regis virtutibus militaribus; notat etiam eiusdem regis acumen in rebus politicis, dum refert Sigismundum in rebus Moscoviticis intervenisse eo tempore, quo acatholici Iacobus I, Christianus IV, Gustavus Adolphus aliis rebus intenti fuerunt, nec in bello Moscovitico directe intervenire potuerunt; Dohna interventum Achmedi I scit a rebus Persicis dependere.

Sed hoc optimum burgravi de Dohna iudicium ad res temporis praesentis reducitur; cum de futuris, etiam proximis, praevidere conatur, in graves incidit errores. Ita est, quando pacem duraturam, imo unionem inter Moscoviam et Rempublicam Polono-Lithuanam praenuntiat. Nobis facile apparet error quem orator hic committit: sat clarum est spem unionis iam in ultimis mensibus anni 1610 evanuisse, cum Żółkiewski, compositione finali non obtenta, e Moscovia recessisset. Iam extunc apparuit Moscoviam absolute reicere monarcham, qui non esset schismaticus; non minus clarum erat principem Poloniae ad schisma transire non posse.

« Paris vaut la messe » dicebat rex Galliae pro rege Poloniae fidelitas erga Ecclesiam universalem maioris erat valoris quam Moscovia.

Burgravius de hac irreducibili oppositione partium in negotio Moscovitico conscius non erat. Sed illo tempore, anno 1612, multi etiam Poloni illudebantur Moscoviam a schismate, saltem in magna parte, ad unionem cum Romano Pontifice adduci posse; recens erat successus unionis, ad quam Rutheni (nunc « Ucraini ») in Polonia et Lithuania accesserunt in Synodo Brestensi a. 1595. Burgravius de Dohna, fidelis domus Austriacae servitor, unionem Polono-Lithuano-Moscoviticam non modo proxime concludendam credebat, sed eam etiam timebat; futura regis Poloniae, magni ducis Lithuaniae, qui simul tsar Moscoviae esset, formidabilis potentia, ut quoddam periculum ei apparet, imo potestate imperatoris non modo maior, sed et ei adversa. Nec discernebat burgravius de Dohna quam utilis esset inclusio hereditatis Ioannis Terribilis in « Rempublicam Christianam »: vix recordabatur inclusionem Lithuaniae in eandem Rempublicam per unionem cum Regno Poloniae et per conversionem ex gentilitate ad fidem catholicam. Non « Reipublicae Christianae » incrementum nec pax ei curae erat, sed magis imperatoris et domus Austriae super omnes alios monarchas eminentia. Haec indifferentia in rebus Reipublicae Christianae iam antea in domo Austriaca notatur et iam aliis, etiam maximis imperatoribus, ut solus Carolus V memoretur, nocuit. Memorandum est etiam alibi et aliis temporibus nimiam potentiam regnorum, quae proprugnaculum aliarum terrarum erant, periculis plena apparuisse. Solebant iam prius alii propugnacula sua in facie inimicorum derelinquere, imo in praedam communi hosti dare: sortes Georgiae et Armeniae, Regni Hierosolymorum et Cypri, imperii Byzantini, aliarumque regnorum hic in exemplum adduci possunt. Ipsa iuridica existentia « Christianitatis » in desuetudinem cadebat; iam quasi a saeculo non deerant reges christiani — Franciscum I memorare sufficit — qui non verebantur cum Porta Ottomanica foedus contra Christianos inire. Loco « Reipublicae Christianae » nationes Europae seinter aliquem ordinem servare sperabant per systema sic dicti « aequilibrii potestatum ». Abraham de Dohna, dum nimis excrecentem potentiam unius e regnis Christianitatis formidabat, inter praecursores theoriae « aequilibrii europaei » recensendus videtur.

Relatio oratoris Philippi III de missione ex ordine ipsius regis Hispaniae facta, ab oratore non ad ipsum regem, sed ad eius oratorem in curia imperiali Pragae directa est. Apparet ex hoc iam aliunde notus praecipuus locus oratoris Hispanici coram curia imperiali inter alios in Europa Centrali legatos et missos regis Hispaniae. Apparet etiam alia res, maioris quidem momenti. Non potest dubitari inter regna, in quibus reges e domo Austriaca regnabant, quemdam peculiarem nexum extitisse; non potest hic nexum « unio realis » dici, deerant enim organa regiminis communia: nec « unionis personalis » nomen hic admitti potest, deerat enim unus communis harum regionum monarcha; sed « unio » aliqua existebat sine ullo dubio, etsi studiosi iuris internationalis nexum huiusmodi inter diversas respublicas « unionem » non dicunt; recte talis unio sub nomine « unionis dynasticae » designanda nobis videtur.

Aliud huiusmodi « unionis dynasticae » exemplum habemus in communitate statuum Jagellonica, ad quam Lithuania cum Polonia, Hungaria et Bohemia pertinebant. Hoc « systema Jagellonicum », quod melius videtur nomine « unionis dynasticae Jagellonum » vocari, quodammodo « unio-

ni dynasticae Habsburgorum » opponebatur. Haec « unio dynastica Jagellonica » extincta est per ipsius domus Jagellonicae extinctionem: penultimus huius familiae vir, Ludovicus II, occisus est ad Mohacs a. 1526; ultimus, Sigismundus Augustus, obiit 1572.

Non notat Abraham de Dohna diem quo Varsaviam venit, nec diem sui recessus; scribit autem de voluntate Moscovitarum Vladislaum Sigismundum unice regem habendi; quae est manifesta allusio ad legationem Moscoviticam, quae Varsaviam venisse scitur mense Decembri 1611; insuper nihil de festis natalitiis notat; exinde deducendum est eum ingressum in Varsaviam fecisse sub fine Decembris a. 1611, vel potius primis diebus 1612. Relationem vero scribebat burgravius die 24 Martii 1612, Wartembergae. Videtur ergo eum Varsaviam reliquisse initio eiusdem mensis. Et ideo tempus sui in metropoli Poloniae commoratus approximative putandum est a 1.I. ad 1.III.1612. (LEITSCH, l. cit., legationem Abrahami da Dohna ad a. 1611 refert.)

Scriptum authenticum relationis burgravii de Dohna non est nobis notum. Hic reproducitur exemplar eiusdem relationis in charta conscriptum, quod in archivo Simancensi custoditur. Exemplar hoc iniuria temporum multa perpeccum est ita, ut nunc nonnisi ope radiorum ultravioletaceorum legi possit; neque illis adiuti omnia verba legere potuimus, quod in textu per siglam « b » notavimus. Adest in eadem theca (A.G. Simancas, Estado, España y Norte, Leg. 2851, sine numero folii) Hispanica brevior eiusdem documenti translatio, ab ignoto scriptore ad usum officii facta; illa forsitan regi Philippo III personaliter destinabatur, qui facilius scripta Hispanica, quam Latina legebat. Nil penitus ad nostrum textum corrigendum vel complendum haec contracta versio attulit.

TEXTUS

Wartembergae, 24.III.1612.

*Abraham burgravius de Dohna
ad Balthasarem de Zuniga
de progressu belli Polonorum in Moscovia
Lat., exempl.*

A.G.S. Estado, Esp. y Norte, Leg. 2851, sine folio.

Illustrissime Domine, Domine observandissime:

Confectis in Polonia e sententia rebus, erat in votis recta ^{a)} Pragam proficisci et coram oretenus de actis Illustrissimam Celsitudinem Vestram certiolem reddere. Id enim ut facerem, mandavit Sacra Catholica Regia Maiestas Dominus noster clementissimus ¹⁾. Cum vero hoc aequinoctiali tempore Podagra atque Chiragra more sueto maxime saevire soleant, auxit insuper immensum attriticis valde inimicum frigus incredibiles affectus et dolores adeo, ut vix credam accessionem ullam cruciatibus meis fieri posse. Quapropter brevi relatione potiora Illustrissimae Celsitudini Vestrae interea, donec convaluero, significanda putavi.

Veni Warsaviam iusto comitatu centum et quadraginta quatuor, nimirum lugubri veste decenter ornatis servitoribus, plusculum equorum fuit. (Quod prae omnibus aliis nationibus Polonos haec exteriora et splendida maxime delectent et moveant; nec aliter e dignitate tanti Regis fuisset; ob id nullis vel magnis sumptibus parcere volui).

Gratis et exoptatissimus fuit Regi ²⁾ Reginaeque ³⁾ primus nuncius magni Hispaniarum et Indiarum Regis legatum non longe abesse. Itaque Rex serio mandavit Aula tota quam splendidissime illico obviam iret. Cum vero tardius se Aulici explicarent neque e dignitate esse ^{b)}, in campo mora protracta eorum adventum diutius ^{b)} pedetentim Warsaviam sum ingressus; vix tamen e curru desilire potui, antequam Proceres Aulicique omnes se excusantes adessent. Rex vero atque Regina hoc intermissum officii genus gravissime tulere. Itaque toto legationis tempore in deducendo et reducendo adeo diligentes Aulici fuere, ut facile appareret eos modis omnibus cupidam voluntatem observantiae testari voluisse. Fuerunt praeparata hospitia et lautia longe liberalius, quam cum 12 ante annis ipsius Divi Rudolphi Caesaris legatum agerem, praebita; nec mora audientiae facta. Aduere Regii currus, deductusque sum a multis et magnis ex ordine Castellanos et Starostas ²⁾ Senatoribus. Rex vero atque Regina benignissime me exceperunt. Cum vero mandata exposuissem et de victoriis partis gratulatus essem, adeo omnes Ordines exhilarati fuere, ut prope modum acclamarint. Rex me publice audivit in magna frequentia hominum. Patuit et Reginae domus, sed tamen tantum praecipuis Senatoribus. Assidebat ad levam maior natu filius ⁴⁾, stabat minor ⁵⁾, adeoque gratum fuit Reginae adpellatum et salutatum quoque esse parvulum, ut longa et eleganti oratione gratias statim Regi nostro ^{b)} Clementissimo agendas esse duxerit. Mire vero Regina commota fuit, dum imma-

turam Serenissimae Hispaniarum Reginae ⁶⁾ mortem enarrasem, adeo ut dolori propemodum cesserit in easque voces proruperit: Non ego sororem, sed matrem amisi longe charissimam.

Regi sunt duo filii; natu maior excedit iam decimum octavum aetatis annum, nomine Ladislaus Sigismundus, magnae spei adolescens, omnibus naturae dotibus et virtutibus ornatus, alta statura, erecta fronte, colore satis candido, magni, benigni et liberalis animi. Callet linguas quatuor perfectissime: Polonicam, Germanicam, Italicam et Latinam; profecit in ea quoad humaniora plurimum, nunc iuri dat operam. Equitandi peritissimus et armorum cupidissimus. Propterea a Polonis mire amatur, a Moschis vero unice desideratur. Locutus est mecum Germanice adeoque adposite Regi nostro clementissimo obsequia sua paratissima detulit, ut decore observato, prudentia annos aetatis multis modis excedere videatur. Minor natu Joannes Casimirus quartum ingressurus annum, puer est pulcherrimus et iucundissimus; nec deest spes maioris Reginae foecunditatis.

De statu belli et rebus Moscoviticis haec explorata habeo: Moscoviam nondum omnem, imo nec tertiam partem, sed tamen bellicosissimam esse pacatam. Arx Smolenshium, mirum dictu, sola obstinatione vel potius Regis virtute et constantia expugnata est. Nam etsi ab omni ope Rex magnanimus plane desertus fuisset, maior pars exercitus frigore et ferro periisset, voluntarii vero propemodum omnes, diuturnitate obsidionis peritae in aediaque ²⁾ confecti, se subduxissent, Cosaccii porro praedae avidi ob non soluta stipendia conclamatis etiam vasis palam ab exercitu discessissent, ita ut vix integram praetoriam cohortem, id est vix plenam legionem Rex in officio retinuerit; tamen potius fortiter moriendum, quam cum dedecore discedendum putavit. Adhortatus igitur suos, ut antequam obsessi quid in castris factum rescirent, una secum fortunam extremam tentarent; noctu (nuncupatis prius pie votis) praeter omnem obsidentium et obsessorum spem arcem quatuor in locis aggressus, audacter subeunte moenia ipso Rege, strenue locum tenuit; pluresque ex obsessis caecidit quam obsidentes fuere. Hac victoria (est enim arx ista illis in partibus nobilissima et, ut ipse cum Legatus Caesaris ad Moscos fuisset vidi, fortissima) et quod omnes arces centum Germanicis milliariibus in longitudinem ipsamque Regiam sedem iam in potestate Rex habeat, nisi fata et Turcici conatus obstabunt, confecturus unica aestate integrum bellum videtur. Divisae enim sunt Moscorum vires, neque inter Duces satis convenit. Pseudo-Demetrii ⁷⁾ primi uxor ⁸⁾, natione Polona, alteri Pseudo-Demetrio ⁹⁾ nupserat, et ex illo filium sustulit. Haec virilis animo foemina multis pollicitationibus ad deditionem a Rege clementissime et liberalissime invitata, nihil pacati unquam respondit, sed miris modis multos praepotentes Moscorum Regulos filio conciliavit, arceque egressa planis in campis metata, paucis diebus triginta millia equitum contraxit; quibus copiis strenuum virum, e Polonia quendam transfugam, nomine Saruzky ¹⁰⁾ praeposuit; qui ob id ei fidissimus, quod nuper temere transitione facta pro spe minus a Rege cultus, denuo defecerit. Sed cum Mosci extraneum cum imperio non satis ferre possint; nec satis Reginae ¹¹⁾ constantiae confidant, seque a reliquis desertos et proditos vel sero agnoscant, fluctuare incipiunt et a signis fere quotidie plurimi discedunt. Sunt et alii Reguli, qui se Zarios, hoc est Caesares, temere dixere, sed infirmi, a virtute et fortuna destituti. Nec ipsis Moscovitico Imperio subiectis Tartaris, Casanis et Astracanis ¹²⁾, licet satis virium sit, animi est. Octoginta quidem millia equitum comparare possunt. Sed iam ter a parvo Polonorum exercitu tur-

piters fusi fugatique, inter se discordes, jugum lubentes subituri sunt, variis ob id legationibus Poloniae Principem ut ocius coronari se velit, fatigant. Turcarum soldanus ¹³⁾, Persico bello distentus, non quidem adhuc palam, perpetuis tamen cuniculis et insidiis, quantum potest Poloniae Regis victorias morari nititur. Nonnunquam Regem, ne tantis difficultatibus se implicet, fraterne hortatur, quandoque Scytas omnes suae ditionis esse superbe asserit. Itaque quandoque blande ne Rex Casanis et Astracanis bellum inferat, neve sui Imperii tutelam suscipiat, petit, quandoque severe et minaciter imperat videturque ab aperto bello, hucusque nulla alia de causa, quam quod Persici exercitus generali suo iurejurando se obstrinxit nihil ante eius reditum et partem de Persis victoriam alibi moturum, abstinuisse. Occulte interea Transsylvaniae, Muldaviae, Walachiae ¹⁴⁾ Weywodas ad bellum Polonis inferendum hortatur; propterea in locum Radullii ¹⁵⁾, cui minime fidebat, quendam Turcarum Sacris initiatum substituit; et Walachis, Polonis (quod Rex Stephanus ¹⁶⁾ eius Patrem capite punierit) inimicissimum caeso priore Weywoda dominum imposuit, ¹⁷⁾ et quidem id contra omnia maiorum exempla, quando Walachia omnis centum et amplius annis sub ditione, vel certe protectione Regni Poloniae fuerit; qua quidem re foederis tabulas studiose excessit. Has tamen omnes iniurias Rex patientissime ob id fert, quo unitis viribus hac aestate toto Moscovitico Imperio potiri possit.

Ne vero, se absente, Respublica Polona aliquid detrimenti capiat et ut Walachos cum reliquis barbaris domi detineat, per fraudem caesi Walachiae Weywodae filiis octo millia equitum, quasi voluntariorum, callide subsidio misit supremoque Regni Poloniae Capitaneo ¹⁸⁾ cum omnium ordinum consensu praeteritis in comitis mandavit, si opus fuerit, ut comparato justo exercitu confinia tueatur.

Non quidem satis ratione status et Anglus, ¹⁹⁾ Danus ²⁰⁾ et Suecus ²¹⁾ tot Regnorum accessionem Imperiique magnitudinem uno et sibi adeo vicino in Rege aequis animis ferre possunt. Sed cum Danus Suecico bello sit irretitus, Suecus autem uni Dano vix resistere possit, Anglus porro, quamvis et hic ad Moscoviticum Imperium vel certe ad partem illius aspiret et palam Archangeli portum ambiat, obviam id suae factioni pecuniam militemque non obscure suppeditet, quod tamen longius absit, et tantum mari valeat, minus Regi Poloniae tot victoriis inclyto sunt timendi. Quod si vero ei, etsi hucusque perpetuo victori, tamen pecunia non satis instructo, diversis in locis bellandum uno tempore fuerit, vix, nisi ita a Deo decretum, satis virium habiturus esse a belli peritis existimatur. Solida spes Persici belli est; id si aestate hac duraverit, se vicisse gloriari Rex vere et iure poterit. Nam in omnibus copiis Turcae se potentiae Regiae extemplo opposuerint, haud quisquam ex reliquis supranominatis Regibus ita audaculus fuerit, qui tantum Regem infirmis suis viribus lacescere ausit. Domitis Moscis, mehercules, Poloniae Rex poterit etiam esse maximis Imperiis, imo toti Germaniae, terrori. Nam cum quotannis octoginta millia Tartarorum equitum, centum Moscoviticorum, et Polonorum sexaginta millia educere possit, quis audacter contraire, excepto Turca, ausit, in tanta Germanorum Principum discrasia ²⁾, non satis dispicio.

Quae cum ita sint, Illustrissimae Celsitudini Vestrae innotescere volui, ut, si e re duxerit, Sacram Regiam Catholicam Maiestatem Dominum nostrum clementissimum de potioribus ocius certiolem reddat, quando certo sciam Poloniae Regem brevi in Hispaniam oratorem missurum, qui Maiestatem Regiam de omnibus et singulis plenissime doceat. Secretum illud fidei meae ab Illustrissima Celsitudine Vestra commissum est ab omnibus

proceribus publice in votis, etsi enim non catholicam ^{b)} Angliam spectent, Rex tamen et Princeps Catholicissimi clerusque omnis, qui hoc in Regno potest plurimum, palam reclamant. Ego limites mandati non excessi, blande tamen spe quadam iniecta oblata occasione proceribus respondi. Sed de his, quando Serenissimi Hungariae et Bohemiae Regis, Domini ²²⁾ quoque mei clementissimi, iussu atque convaluero, Francofurtum accelerare cogar; brevi tutius et fusius etiam aliis de rebus coram.

Interea me favori Celsitudinis Vestrae diligentissime commendo ^{b)} et ut Sacrae Regiae Catholicae Maiestati Domino nostro clementissimo devotam animi mei subiectionem serviendique summam cupiditatem testari velit, iterum atque iterum efflagito. Datae Wartembergae ²³⁾, vigesima quarta martii 1612.

Illustrissimae Celsitudinis Vestrae,
Addictissimus
servitor

Abraham Burgravius ^{d)} a Dona ^{e)}.

Inscriptio litterarum haec fuit:

Illustrissimo Domino, Domino Don Balthasari de Zuniga ²⁴⁾, Serenissimi, Potentissimi et Invictissimi Hispaniarum et Indiarum Regi a consiliis intimis eiusdemque Maestatis Oratori, Domino mihi observandissimo.

In dorso: Relacion de la jornada que el Varon de Dhona hizo a Polonia por mandado de Su Magestad y del estado que tiene la guerra de Moscovia.

a) sic in ms.: *forsitan recte?*

b) *vix legitur*

c) in ms. brevius: Ser: Po:

d) in ms. brevius: Burgs

e) *multum maculatum, sed clare legitur: Dona, inferius Dhona; probabiliter Dohna (talis est moderna graphia huius nominis).*

z) sic in ms.

1) Philippus III rex Hispaniae (n. 1578, rex 1589, m. 1621).

2) Sigismundus III rex Poloniae (n. 1566, rex 1587, m. 1632).

3) Constantia Austriaca (n. 1588, Sigismundi III uxor 1605, m. 1631).

4) Vladislaus Sigismundus, postea Vladislaus IV rex Poloniae (n. 1595, rex 1632, m. 1648), Sigismundi III et eiusdem primae uxoris, Annae Austriacae, filius.

5) Ioannes Casimirus, futurus rex (n. 1609, rex 1648-1668, m. 1672); Sigismundi III et Constantiae de Austria filius.

6) Margarita de Austria (n. 1584, uxor Philippi III regis Hispaniae 1599, m. 1611), regina Poloniae Annae et Constantiae soror.

7) « Pseudo-Demetrius » seu Demetrius Ioanovič, Ioannis IV Terribilis, tsari Moscoviae, filius et legitimus heres, ab aliquibus a sicariis a Boriso Godunov missis salvatus putabatur (ab aliis « Gregorius Otrep'ev simulatur » dicebatur), n. ante 1584, tsarus coronatus 1605, occisus 1606; de simulatione et praesumpta occisione Demetrii Ioanovič a. 1591 dubium inter doctores persistit.

8) Maria Mniszecz, Georgii, Palatini Sandomiriensis filia (1588-1614).

9) Pseudo-Demetrius II, de cuius falsitate vix remanet dubium; tsarus 1606, occisus 1610.

10) Zarudzki.

11) i.e. Marinae Mniszecz.

12) Kazan et Astracan, khanatus Tartarorum, quorum Ioannes IV Terribilis khan factus est e. 1552.

13) Sultanus Turcarum Achmed I (1603-1617).

14) *Non est clarum, quinam voievodae tributarii Achmedi I hic indicentur. Forsitan Transilvaniae voievoda (1608-1613), Gabriel Bathory, Moldaviae voievoda Constantinus Mohyla (1607-1611), Valachiae voievoda Radullus Mihnea, pluries destitutus et restitutus (inter a. 1601-1623).*

15) *Radullus. Huius nominis plures voievodae Valachiae nominantur. Hic forsitan Radul Serban, voievoda 1611 (VI-XI), vel Radul Mihnea, voievoda 1611 (III-VI) et IX.1611-1616.*

16) *Stephanus Bathory, voievoda Transilvaniae 1571-1576, rex Poloniae 1575, m. 1586.*

17) *Voievoda Valachiae a Turcis impositus: non est clarum, de quo Dohna hic scribat.*

18) *Supremus Dux exercitus Regni Poloniae, Stanislaus Żólkiewski.*

19) *Rex Angliae Iacobus I, cor. 1603, m. 1625.*

20) *Rex Daniae et Norvegiae Christianus IV, 1588, m. 1648.*

21) *Rex Sueciae Gustavus Adolphus 1611, m. 1632.*

22) *Hungariae et Bohemiae rex: Mathias de Austria, post obitum fratris Rudolphi II imperatoris 20.I.1612 imperii heres, 13.VI.1612 rex Germaniae, 14.VI.1612 imperator, m. 20.III.1619.*

23) *Wartemberga, Wartenburg, feudum baronale, quod Abraham de Dohna a libero barone de Malzahn pretio acquisivit.*

24) *Balthazar de Zuniga, coram Rudolpho II imperatore, deinde coram Matthia, Philippi III regis Hispaniae orator.*

II

DISSERTATIONES HISTORICAE

J.T. MILIK
(Rzym)

IMIONA ZAKONNE ŚWIĘTEGO ŚWIERADA

W krótkim żywocie św. Świerada (*Zoeradus Andreas*), anachorety polskiego pochodzenia, zmarłego około 1034 roku w Nitrze na Słowacji, spotyka się wzmiankę o naśladowaniu przez niego *vitae regularis sub qua Zozimas abbas degebat* ¹⁾. Zaintrygowany tą wzmianką o wzorowaniu się Zoerada-Andrzeja « na regule zakonnej przestrzeganej przez Ojca Zosimę, według której należało przeżyć Wielki Post na czterdziestu pięciu daktylach », poświęciłem w mej książce cały rozdział osobie Abby Zosimasa ²⁾. Co do wyboru tego właśnie Świętego — historycznie mnicha monofizyckiego i pisarza mistycznego, działającego w Fenicji i w Palestynie VI wieku; literacko (lub legendarnie) powiernika Marii Egipskiej i wędrownika do Wyspy Błogosławionych — ograniczyłem się do uwagi, że Świerad, prawdopodobnie podczas pielgrzymki do Ziemi Świętej, « zainteresowałby się szczególnie postacią abby Zosimasa, spostrzegając pewną współbieżność między swymi losami i życiem fenickiego mnicha... » (s. 70). Choć ujęcie nie jest bez podstaw, jak zobaczymy niebawem, należało się zapytać dlaczego ktoś noszący imię *Zoeradus* wybrał sobie za wzór życia ascetycznego Świętego noszącego akurat imię *Zōsimās*. Odpowiedzi wypadłoby może szukać nie we własnej erudycji czy u innego znawcy historii monachizmu chrześcijańskiego, ale u dziecka które, jak w bajce Andersena, mówi co widzi. Spozstrzegłoby zapewne że te imiona są podobne do siebie; « Jak to podobne? » — « Bo zaczynają się na tą samą literę! ». Odpowiedź ta, pozornie naiwna, jest jak najbardziej poważna i uderza w sedno rzeczy.

Brak jest wprawdzie monografii lub nawet krótszych rozpraw i artykułów na temat zwyczajów onomastycznych, według których mnisi chrześcijańskiego Wschodu i Zachodu wybierali i wybierają sobie imiona zakonne. W pracach bizantynistycznych — historycznych, literackich i hagiograficznych — spotyka się jednakowoż krótkie wzmianki, że od wczesnego średniowiecza i aż po nasze czasy zakonnicy wschodnio-chrześcijańscy przybierają, wraz z tonsurą i obłóczynami, imiona Świętych których inicjały, pierwsza litera lub nawet pierwsza sylaba, są te same co i w ich imionach chrzestnych. Stan zakonny jest bowiem jakby istotną konty-

1) Żywot napisany przez biskupa Pécsu, Maurusa, w 1064 roku. Edycje: G. CUPERUS, *Acta Sanctorum Julii IV* [1725], 1868, s. 336-337; R. HOLINKA, *Bratislava*, VIII, 1934, s. 341-346; E. MADZSAR, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, II, 1938, s. 357-361; J.T. MILIK, *Święty Świerad (Saint Andrew Zoeradus)*, 1966, s. 12-16 (tekst łaciński) i s. 17-20 (tłum. polskie): § 2 (s. 13 i 18).

2) *Święty Świerad*, s. 58-71 i przypisy 106-133 na s. 142-159 i 174-175.

nuacją i pogłębieniem stanu chrystusowego uzyskanego na Chrzcie świętym³⁾.

Czytelnikom słowiańskim dobrze jest znany przykład św. Cyryla, który wstępując do greckiego klasztoru św. Klemensa w Rzymie, przywdziewa «czcigodne szaty» i wkrótce potem «święty habit mniszy» (*mikron* i *mega schêma*) jak również zmienia swe imię chrzestne *Kōnstantinos* na *Kyrillos*; umiera niedługo potem, 14 lutego 869⁴⁾. Jest to jedno z najwcześniejszych zaświadczeń imienia zakonnego powtarzającego tą samą głoskę inicjałową jak i w imieniu noszonym przed wstąpieniem do monasteru.

Niewiele wcześniejsze lub mniej więcej współczesne Kyrillowi-Konstantinowi przykłady wyboru imion zakonnych nie idą za podaną regułą. I tak św. Piotr z Atroa, zmarły w 837, nazywał się najprzód Theophylaktes; jego brat Christophoros staje się zakonnikiem Pawłem. Biograf uzasadnia, dosyć banalnie zresztą, wybór tych imion poprzez aluzję do obu Apostołów: «bo będzie on znany jako solidne naczynie pobożności», «ponieważ on szedł za przykładem Apostoła i pogardzał ciałem i krwią»⁵⁾. Często młody profes brał imię jednego z wielkich Ojców monachizmu chrześcijańskiego jak Antoni, Pachomiusz, Eutymiusz, Saba, Teodozjusz; np. św. Eutymiusz Młodszy, we świecie Nikêtas, zmarły w 898⁶⁾. Obok nawiązania do osoby jednego z «dawnych Ojców» wchodziło często w grę znaczenie symboliczne imienia; dłuższe rozważania na taki temat daje np. biograf św. Makarego (*makarios*, «błogosławiony, szczęśliwy»), hegumena monastera Peleketes w Bitynii (+ 842), ze chrzta Krzysztofa⁷⁾. Znowu niejaki Sergiusz staje się mnichem Ewarystem (+ 897), zapewne by wyrazić podziw i decyzję naśladowania ascezy swego przyjaciela Eubiôtosa⁸⁾. Wreszcie pewien Jan, rodem z Enny w Sycylii środkowej, przyjął imię Eliasza, bo został postrzyżony i obleczony w habit ok. 878 przez patriarchę Jerozolimy, Eliasza III⁹⁾.

3) Na przykład K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* [Handbuch der Klass. Altertums-Wissenschaft, IX. 1], 2 wyd. 1897, s. 293; J. PARGOIRE, *L'Église Byzantine de 527 à 847*, 2 wyd. 1903, s. 316 nota 2; G. MERCATI, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci...* [Studi e Testi, 68], 1935, s. 82; szczególnie P. DE MEESTER, *De monachico statu iuxta disciplinam Byzantinam, Statuta selectis fontibus et commentariis instructa* [S. Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale, Codificazione canonica orientale, Fonti. Serie II - Fasc. X], 1942, s. 361 (art. 116, nota 1: novum nomen non tironi sed professo cum ritu professionis), s. 373-374 (art. 116, nota 5: nomen sumitur post habitum susceptum; ten sam inicjał co i w imieniu chrzestnym; czasami drugie imię zakonne przy «wielkim habicie»). Patrz też *Analecta Bollandiana*, XI, 1892, s. 143; XIV, 1895, s. 153 nota 4; XVI, 1897, s. 146 nota 1; LIV, 1936, s. 69 n. 2; LXX, 1952, s. 64 n. 17; LXXVIII, 1960, s. 406 n. 1; oraz *Subsidia hagiographica* 29, 1958, s. 77 n. 3 i s. 108 n. 8; 39, 1964, s. 329 n. 52 i s. 369 n. 87.

4) Żywot św. Cyryla-Konstantyna, rozdział XVIII; ed. F. GRIVEC I F. TOMŠIĆ, *Konstantin i Metodije Soluniani, Izvori* [Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicensis, Fontes]: *Radovi Staroslavenskog Instituta* 4, Zagreb 1960, s. 140 i 220-211.

5) V. LAURENT, *La Vie Merveilleuse de Saint Pierre d'Atroa* (+ 837) w *Subsidia hagiographica* 29, 1958, r. 2 (s. 70-71), r. 4 (s. 74 i 77), r. 17 (s. 108-109); por. tegoż, *La Vita Retractata et les Miracles posthumes de Saint Pierre d'Atroa* [Subs. hag. 31], 1958.

6) L. PETIT, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, VIII, 1903, s. 155-205 i 503-536: r. 8 (s. 175).

7) CH. VAN DE VORST, *Anal. Boll.*, XVI, 1897, s. 140-163: r. 4 (s. 146)

8) VAN DE VORST, *An. Boll.*, XLI, 1923, s. 288-325: r. 8 (s. 302).

9) G. ROSSI TAIBBI, *Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane*, Palermo 1962, s. 28-29 (r. 18). Normalny zwyczaj, tj. równoinicjałowość imienia chrzestnego i zakonnego, np. w wypadku Filipa-Filareta, tamże, s. 189; LEON-LOUKAS, B. CAPPELLI, *Bibl. SS.*, VII, 1304-5; Basilios-Bartholomaios (+ 1130), G. GIOVANELLI, *BSS.*, II, 893-895.

Narazie nie są mi znane okoliczności, społeczno-religijne i środowiskowe, nagłego powstania, chyba dopiero w połowie IX wieku, mody przybierania imion zakonnych o tym samym nagłosie fonetycznym i o tej samej literze lub literach inicjałowych co i imię otrzymane przy chrzcie. Jak wspomnieliśmy wyżej, imię nadawano po nowicjacie podczas obłóczyn « małego habitu » (*mikron schêma*), dzięki którym zakonnik stawał się profesem pierwszego stopnia; po pewnym czasie przywdziewał on « wielki habit » (*mega schêma*), który wraz z kukullą charakteryzował profesów drugiego stopnia, *schimników* w słowiańszczyźnie cerkiewnej.

W każdym razie identyczne zwyczaje onomastyczne spotyka się łatwo i masowo już w epoce przedchrześcijańskiej. W okresie wielkiej helenizacji Bliskiego Wschodu, od III wieku przed naszą erą, Żyd *Menahem* na przykład chętnie nazywał się *Menelaosem*, a *Yeśu Iasónem*. W epoce rzymskiej Palmyreńczyk *Hairan* mógł nosić greckie imię *Herôdês* lub łacińskie *Herennius*; *Zebîdâ* stawał się łatwo *Zênobios*, a *Bat-Zabbâ* (« Córka Z. ») *Zênobia* ... Drugi, równie rozpowszechniony, typ dwuimienności wynikał z tłumaczenia imion; tak Palmyreńczyk *Šamšai* (*šamš* « słońce » i « bóg Słońce ») stawał się *Heliodôros*, Partyczyk *Bagdan* (nasze Bogdan) *Apolodôros*, Punijczyk trypolitański *Muttunbal* (« Dar Bâla ») *Diodorus*. W średniowiecznej Germanii grecki *Theodoulos* (« Sługa Boga ») stanie się *Gottschalk* (« chłopak Boga »). Oba zwyczaje zmiany imion są, jak wiadomo, w pełnym wigorze w naszych czasach. W Polsce przedwojennej Mojsie stawał się łatwo Mieczysławem, a Rivka Reginą; polski Stanisław anglicyzuje się w Stanach Zjednoczonych na Stanleya. Podobna sytuacja w nazwiskach masowo hebraizowanych obecnie w Izraelu: Maisler zmienia się na Mazar, Gottschein na Goshem, Torczyner na Tur-Sinai (« Góra Synaju »); z drugiej strony, Gołębiowski na Avi-Yonah (« Ojciec Gołębia »), itp.

Trzeba ponadto przypomnieć, że w społeczeństwach starożytnych, szczególnie w chrześcijańskich, literom, alfabetowi, słowom piśmianym, rebusom (np. *Sator Arepo...*), przypisywano szczególne znaczenie¹⁰⁾. Zwłaszcza symbole, graficzne i ikonograficzne, pochodzące z inicjałów nazwań lub akklamacji, jak np. znane IXΘYC i XMI (*Christos-Michaël-Gabriël* przekształcone później na *Christon Maria gennâ* tj. « Maria rodzi Chrystusa »), cieszyły się wyjątkową popularnością. Często były one łączone z symbolami izopseficznymi typu Koppa-Thêta: wartość liczbowa tych dwu liter jest « 99 » co znów równa się sumie liter w wyrazach jak *Amên* (1+40+8+50), *Boêthi* (2+70+8+9+10) « wspomóż! », *Akoê* (1+20+70+8) « wysłuchanie », itd.¹¹⁾

Od początku X wieku tożsamość inicjałów imienia chrzestnego i zakonnego staje się regułą prawie bezwyjątkową, praktykowaną w monasterach greckich gdziekolwiek by się one znajdowały. Wystarczy kilka przykładów. Pod koniec IX w. żyje na świętych górach Olimpu i Kyminas mnich armeński Symeon, ze chrztu Stefan; był on synem św. Marii

10) F. DORNSEIFF, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie*, 1922.

11) F.J. DÖLGER, IXΘYC, 1928; P. PERDRIZET, *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1904, s. 350-360 (dla którego isopsephia jest « cette maladie intellectuelle »); L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* XI-XII, 1960, s. 306-319 i 434 (pewna inskrypcja chrześcijańska oddaje izopsefię « 99 = Amen » przez transkrypcję hebrajskiego « dziewięć i dziewięćdziesiąt », *tisat tisin*). Nowy przykład Koppa-Thêta w liście chrześcijańskim z roku 303 w *Oxyrhynchos Papyri* XXXI (ed. P. PARSONS), 1966, s. 167-171, nr 2601.

Młodszej ¹²⁾. Niejaki *Basilios*, rodem z Amorion, otrzymuje tonsurę, « anielską szatę » i imię *Blasios* z rąk Eustratiosa z Cyzyku, hegumena greckiej laury św. Kaisariosa na Palatynie; po 18 latach w Rzymie, spędza 4 lata w klasztorze Studios w Konstantynopolu i 12 na górze Atos gdzie umiera ok. 909/912. Biograf, wspominając imię zakonne, bawi się w grę słów: « *Blasios*, jakby od nazwy kwiecica (*blaston*), które ma dojrzeć w owoc » ¹³⁾. Stryj imperatora Nicefora II Fokasa, ochrzczony jako *Manouël*, po czterech dniach pobytu w paflagońskiej laurze na górze Kyminas, ok. 912 roku, otrzymuje habit i imię *Michaël*; nosił on ponadto miano rodowe *Maleinos* ¹⁴⁾. Na górze Latmos przy Milecie spotyka się np., w 1. poł. X w., mnicha *Loukasa*, w świecie *Leona* ¹⁵⁾. Św. Łazarz (968-1054), słynny pielgrzym, asceta i wreszcie stylita na górze Galision przy Efezie, nazywał się najprzód *Leôn*; w wieku lat 23 otrzymuje « pierwszy habit », a więc nowicjuszowski, i imię *Lazaros*; habit mały i wielki otrzyma u św. Saby pod Jeruzolimą, stając się w ten sposób *apostolikos i megaloschēmos*. Święty słupnik wyjaśnia później znaczenie trzech habitów: pierwszy wprowadza do chóru męczenników, drugi do chóru apostołów, trzeci do chóru aniołów. W jego żywocie pojawia się też mnich *Kornēlios*, we świecie *Kōnstantinos* ¹⁶⁾. Około 1051/1056, po najeździe Pieczyngów na Trację, pewien *Kyriakos* staje się mnichem *Kyryllos* w klasztorze Boga i Zbawiciela naszego Jezusa Chrystusa, założonym przez jego brata *Michała-Mateusza* przy jeziorze Phileas ¹⁷⁾.

Z ostatnimi przykładami jesteśmy już w epoce współczesnej św. Świeradowi, *Zoerados-Zosimas*. Zobaczymy niebawem, że zwyczaj tożsamości inicjałowej dwóch imion będzie ciągle praktykowany w monasterach greckich. Tutaj należy uczynić ogólną uwagę, że w znacznej większości opisów życia zakonników biografowie podają wyłącznie ich imiona zakonne, bez przypominania imion chrzestnych, czy to z braku informacji lub z braku zainteresowania. I tak w cytowanym Żywocie Cyryla Fileoty, biograf, skądinąd bardzo szczegółowy i sumienny, nie wspomina pierwszego imienia swego bohatera, gdy opisuje jego urodzenie, chrzest, dzieciństwo. Podaje je zupełnie mimochodem, raz gdy każe Świętemu apostrofować siebie samego: « Biedny Cyriaku (bo takie było jego imię)... », drugi raz gdy opowiada o wizycie pewnego wędrowca, któremu widzenie nakażało: « Szukaj domu Ojca Cyriaka miłosiernego » ¹⁸⁾. Czasami spotyka się

12) P. PEETERS, « De S. Maria Iuniore matrona Bizyae in Thracia », *Acta SS. Nov. IV*, 1925, s. 688-705 (r. 27).

13) H. DELEHAYE, *Acta SS. Nov. IV*, s. 656-669: r. 11 (s. 663). Por. tegoż « A propos de Saint-Césaire de Palatin », *Rendiconti Pont. Acc. Romana di archeologia*, III, 1925, s. 45-48 (= *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine, Subsidiaria hagiographica* 42, 1966, s. 314-317).

14) W 915 r. wielki habit, w 930 kapłaństwo, śmierć w 961; patrz L. PETIT, *Revue Or. Chr.*, VII, 1902, s. 543-594: s. 552 (r. 4) i s. 553 (r. 7).

15) DELEHAYE, *An. Boll.*, XI, 1892, s. 143 (r. 33) = tegoż *Monumenta Latrensia hagiographica* (TH. WIEGAND, *Milet III*, 1: *Der Latmos*), 1913, s. 124.

16) DELEHAYE, *Acta SS. Nov. III*, 1910, s. 508-588: r. 9 (s. 512), r. 17 (s. 515), r. 130 (s. 547), r. 52 (s. 523).

17) CHR. LOPAREV, « Žitije sv. Kirilla Fileota », *Vizantinskij Vremennik* [Byzantina Chronika], IV, 1897, s. 378-401: s. 379 i 382; ET. SARGALOGOS, *La Vie de Saint Cyrille le Philéote moine byzantin (+1110)*, *Subsidiaria hagiogr.* 39, 1964, s. 104 i 329 (r. 21,1) oraz s. 107 i 331 (r. 22,2).

18) SARGALOGOS, s. 57 i 279 (r. 4,3) oraz s. 78 i 300 (r. 12,1).

wyjątki od dyskutowanej reguły. Znowu w Żywocie Cyryla, autor, wspominając niejakiego brata Jana, szczególnie podkreśla, że zachował on imię które nosił w świecie¹⁹⁾.

Wydaje się ponadto, że ten zwyczaj onomastyczny, typowy dla monachizmu wschodniego, przenikał sporadycznie na Zachód, zwłaszcza za panowania Ottona III. I tak przyjaciel cesarza, św. Brunon z Kwerfurtu nazywał się też Bonifacym. Pewien Benedykt pojawia się w Żywotach św. Wojciecha, jako towarzysz i tłumacz misji pruskiej; miałby być on tą samą postacią co Polak Bogusza, wspomniany w tychże tekstach²⁰⁾. Mnisi greccy byli bardzo szanowani na dworze cesarskim: Filogat, Nil lub Grzegorz, ten ostatni rodem z pogranicza Kalabrii i Apulli, założyciel (przy pomocy Teofano i Ottona) klasztoru św. Zbawiciela w Rzymie i monasteru św. Apolinarego i Mikołaja w Burtscheid przy Akwiżgranie²¹⁾.

Jest jasne, że przyjęcie imienia jakiegoś Świętego obowiązywało młodego zakonnika do naśladowania cnót patrona niebieskiego. Biografowie zwracają niejednokrotnie uwagę na ten ważny ascetyczno-mistycznie rys życia ich bohaterów; często też napomykają o równobieżności życia protagonistów i Świętych których noszą imię. Zobaczymy jak sam mnich grecki, nowo obleczony, mógł wyrazić te oba aspekty.

Św. Nilus (910-1004) był z urodzenia bogatym mieszkańcem Rossano w Kalabrii i nazywał się *Nikolaos*, ze sławnego rodu *Maleinos*. Po opuszczeniu rodziny, otrzymuje w 940 roku habit zakonny i imię *Nilos* w monasterze św. Nazariusza, którego nazwa zachowała się do dziś dnia w San Nazario, nazwie wsi prowincji Salerno. Podczas rekolekcji do obłóczyn, lub wkrótce potem, on, już przedtem wielki czytelnik i kopista, układa swą pierwszą poezję religijną i to właśnie *kondakion* ku czci swego patrona, czczonego 12 listopada. Autorstwo jest całkiem pewne, bo sześciostrofowy poemat jest anakrostyczny i ujawnia, w dopełniaczu NEIAOY, imię kompozytora Nilosa²²⁾. W czterech pierwszych strofach zakonnik kalabryjski streszcza dosyć szczegółowo życie św. Nila Synaity (+ ok. 430): wysokiego urzędnika pretorium Wschodu w Konstantynopolu, porzucającego swą rodzinę by udać się na życie samotnicze w pustyni synajskiej, wielkiego pisarza i epistolografa²³⁾. A więc zasadnicze elementy

19) Tamże, s. 142 i 369 (r. 33,2).

20) J. KARWASIŃSKA, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, Nova series, IV. 1, s. 41 (r. XXVIII) i nota 158; teźże, « Bogusza (Bugussa)-Benedykt », *Słownik Starożytności Stowiańskich*, I, s. 139.

21) Żywoty Grzegorza w *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, XV, s. 1185-99 (ed. HOLDER-EGGER) oraz w *Acta SS. Nov. II.1*, s. 458-477 (ed. PONCELET); por. R. VAN DOREN, *Bibl. SS.*, VII, 1966, kol. 174-175, i B. HAMILTON, « The Monastery of S. Alessio and the religious and intellectual Renaissance in Tenth-Century Rome »: *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, II, Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1965, s. 263-310.

22) Edycje Żywota św. Nila przez J. CLEUS w *Acta SS. Sept. VII*, s. 262-319 (= PG 120, 15-165); tłum. włoskie: G. GIOVANELLI, *Vita di S. Nilo fondatore e patrono di Grottaferrata*, Badia di Grottaferrata 1966; por. tegoż, *BSS.*, IX, 998-1008. — O pobycie Nila w cenobium św. Nazariusza i o poezji, B. CAPPELLI, *Il monachesimo basilitano ai confini calabro-lucani*, Napoli 1963, s. 35-54. — Edycja kondakionu ku czci św. Nila Synaity, z ms. Grottaferrata s. a. III, przez S. GASSISI, *Poesie di San Nilo Iuniore e di Paolo Monaco abbati di Grottaferrata*, Roma 1906, s. 39-41. — O rękopisach-autografach św. Nila przechowywanych w opactwie, M.G. MALATESTA ZILEMBA, *Bollettino della Badia di Grottaferrata*, N.S. XIX, 1965, s. 42-48. — O arystokratycznej rodzinie Maleinos, GIOVANELLI, *l.c.*, s. 178-180.

23) W oparciu na *Diègêmata* samego Nila; por. PG 79, kol. 609 i nast. i BHG³ 2316. O problemie historycznym, niełatwym, np. R. JANIN, *BSS.*, IX, 1008-1009.

życia i działalności dziwnie wspólne obu Świętym, jak słusznie podkreślił Cappelli oraz Giovanelli ²⁴).

W dwu ostatnich strofach Nil Młodszy zwraca się do nowego projektora o pomoc, by mógł prowadzić życie równie święte jak i on kiedyś:

O święty Ojcze, ośmielał się uderzyć
(w struny) hymnu i teraz z otchłani
serca wołam ku tobie,
wybrawszy cię na szczodrego opiekuna boskiego:
Zmiłuj się, zmiłuj się, zmiłuj się nade mną.
Spełniaj przed Panem poselstwo nieustanne
w mojej sprawie,
bym ja, biedny i znędziały,
postępował prosto i cnotliwie,
prowadził coraz lepsze życie,
działał w sposób coraz bardziej
boski (i wzrastał) w miłości ku Panu.
Wstawiaj się nieustannie
<za mną do Pana>.

U niebios wyciągając ku mnie rękę,
wsprzyj mnie w dźwiganiu ciężaru
tak ciała jak i duszy.
Oświeć mój umysł, o Święty,
abym życie zakonne mógł
dobrze wieść, ja bezrozumny i nieużyteczny.
W tobie bowiem gorącego
posłannika i opiekuna pozyskałem
i w tobie nadzieję
mojego zbawienia położyłem.
Ochroniaj mnie i ratuj
z pokus i zgorzeń wszelkich,
wstawiając się <nieustannie
za mną do Pana>.

Pod koniec XII wieku reguła równoinicjałowych imion zakonnika jest tak powszechna, że, by się tak wyrazić, obowiązuje ona nawet wrogów duszy mniszej. Neofita Rekluz, wielki pisarz i reformator Kościoła cypryjskiego (ur. w 1134), opowiada o pewnym Gabrielu, zakonniku gruzińskim, stylistyce przy laurze św. Saby w Palestynie. W majakach obłąkania, lub tylko udaru słonecznego, pojawia się mu Szatan w postaci św. Saby mającego po bokach św. Symeona Stylitę i św. Stefana Trichinas. Neofita ze zgrozą podziwia chytrą diabelską: *Satanas* przybiera potrójną postać Świętych których imiona zaczynają się od litery *sigma*. Było to ok. 1187 roku; w dziewięć lat potem dopisuje w rękopisie, że Gabriel, choć niewolnik muzułmański w Antiochii, jest całkiem uzdrowiony ²⁵).

W XIV wieku, równocześnie z tradycyjną modą — np. imperator Andronik II Paleolog (+ 1332) staje się na starość mnichem Antonim;

24) Dzieła cyt. w nocie 22, s. 49, oraz s. 125.

25) H. DELEHAYE, *An. Boll.*, XXVI, 1907, s. 162-175 i 280-282: r. 6 (s. 166). Por. L. PETIT, « Vie et ouvrages de Néophyte le Reclus », *Echos d'Orient*, II, 1898-9, s. 257-268 i 372.

zakonnik atoński Maximos był w świecie Manuelem ²⁶⁾ — wchodzi w zwyczaj przybieranie trzeciego imienia, wraz z wielkim habitem. Ciągłe jednak obowiązuje zasada identyczności inicjałów onomastycznych. Przyszły patriarcha Bizancjum, Atanazy (1289-1293 i 1304-1310), na chrzcie otrzymał imię *Alexios*; jako chłopak entuzjazuje się życiem św. Alypiosa stylity; w cenobium przybiera imię *Akakios*; wreszcie w monasterze św. Anastasis (« Zmartwychwstania ») na górze Galision, przygotowując się do życia eremickiego, obleka « szaty doskonałości życia samotniczego » i bierze imię *Athanasios* ²⁷⁾. Znowu niejaki *Andronikos* z Nea Patra otrzymuje tonsurę i imię *Antonios*; potem « świętą szatę » i imię *Athanasios*, pod którym jest znany jako założyciel monasteru Przemienienia w Meteóra; um. w 1383 ²⁸⁾. Na terenach słowiańskich niejaki *Raikos* (lub *Rusko*), urodzony w Vidinu z ojca Greka i matki Bułgarki, otrzymuje imię zakonne *Rômanos*; przy wielkich obłóczynach zmienia je na *Rômylos* ²⁹⁾.

W krajach Rusi prawosławnej zwyczaj zakonnego nazewnictwa równoinicjałowego musiał być powszechny między XI i XIV w., chociaż na ogół hagiografowie wspominają wyłącznie imiona zakonne. Ale np. Antoni z Ławry Peczerskiej miałby się nazywać ze chrztu Antypą, a jego następca Warlaam Wasyliem. Gdy jednak w XIV w. wchodzi w życie inna moda onomastyczna, jest ona wyraźnie podkreślona jako odstępstwo od reguły. Ktoś ochrzczony Warfolomej otrzymuje imię zakonne Sergija, bo « został postrzyżony do życia równego aniołom 6 października, w rocznicę świętych męczenników Sergiusza i Bacchusa ... Wtedy bowiem — zauważa biograf — nadawano imię zakonne nie według imienia chrzestnego, ale od świętego w którego dniu miały miejsce obłóczyny » ³⁰⁾.

Dotychczasowe wywody wydają mi się wystarczające, by udowodnić, że święty Świerad (*Zoerados* w transkrypcji greckiej) przyjął wraz z postrzyżeniem i małym habitem imię zakonne *Zôsímás*. Następnie widzę w przestrzeganiu tego zwyczaju monastycznego greckiego nieodparty argument na istnienie *in terra Poloniensium* (skąd pochodził Świerad według Maurusa), zapewne w Małopolsce, monasteru typu wschodniochrześcijańskiego. Przestrzegano w nim, co najmniej po 1022 rok (data banicji « czarnych mnichów » przez Bolesława Chrobrego), tradycje sło-

26) E. KOURILAS i F. HALKIN, « S. Maxime le Kausokalybe, ermite au Mont Athos (XIV siècle) », *An. Boll.*, LIV, 1936, s. 38-112: s. 67-68 (r. 2). Przydomek od tendencji piromańskiej częstego palenia swej celi; zmarł ok. 1365.

27) DELEHAYE, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (École Française de Rome), XVIII, 1897, s. 39-74 (= *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine*, s. 125-149): s. 48 i 49 (r. 2), 52 (r. 7). — Żywot Alypiosa wyd. przez DELEHAYE w *Les Saints Stylites* (*Subs. hag.* 14), s. 148-194; elogium przez F. HALKIN w *Subs. hag.* 38, 1963, s. 167-208; piękna miniatura tego słupnika w Menologium Bazylego II, pod 26 listopadem: *Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, VIII (cod. Vat. Gr. 1613), 1907, s. 208.

28) N.A. BEES, *Byzantis*, I, 1909, s. 237-260: s. 240 i 242. Jest to jedyny przykład zwyczaju podwójnego imienia zakonnego cytowany przez P. de Meester (przypis 3), zresztą według dewocyjnej broszurki greckiej.

29) F. HALKIN, « Un ermite des Balkans au XIV^e siècle. La Vie grecque inédite de Saint Romylos », *Byzantion* XXXI (Hommage à G. Ostrogorsky), 1961, s. 111-147: s. 116 (r. 2), s. 118 (r. 3), s. 130 (r. 12). Por. P. DEVOS, « La version slave de la Vie de S. Romylos », tamże, s. 149-187, i I. DUJČEV, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, II, 1968, s. 225-236 i 607-609.

30) Żywot św. Sergiusza z Radoneżu, pustelnika, + 1391; G. APFL i inni (pod dyktando E. BENZ), *Russische Heiligenlegenden*, Zürich 1953, s. 304 i 319. Nota wydawców, na s. 509 (do s. 319, odsyłacz 2), nie jest dokładna.

wiańsko-greckie zainicjowane przez Cyryla i Metodego ³¹⁾. Był to zapewne najbardziej wysunięty na Północ słowiański klasztor (ściślej *cenobium*), czynny na początku XI wieku, w którym obserwowano grecki *typikon*, zapewne z jakimiś elementami liturgiczno-dyscyplinarnymi pochodzenia rzymskiego. W tymże czasie w Kijowie zaczyna się formować grono eremitów przy osobie św. Antoniego; założenie *cenobium-laury* nastąpi dopiero w 60. latach tego stulecia za hegumenatów Warlaama i Teodozego. Między Wołgą i Wisłą, na terenach Łędzinów (Lachów), istniał w połowie XI wieku monaster zwany Świętą Górą i położony w pobliżu miasta Włodzimierza Wołyńskiego. Umiera tam św. Warlaam, syn bojara Jana, hegumen Peczery a potem klasztoru św. Dymitra w Kijowie, w czasie powrotu z Konstantynopola; przedtem był on też w Ziemi Świętej ³²⁾.

Warto podkreślić, że wybór św. Zosimy na patrona zakonnego przez mnicha polskiego świadczy, że klasztor, do którego został przyjęty, był *au courant* ostatnich mód hagiograficznych. Właśnie dopiero współcześnie z naszym Świeradem-Zosimą pojawiają się inni zakonnicy greccy o takim imieniu. Np. Jan Zosim, gruziński kopista w laurze św. Saby pod Jerozolimą i w klasztorze Gorejącego Krzewu na Synaju z 2. połowy X wieku ³³⁾, lub pod koniec tegoż stulecia abbas Zôsímás żyjący pustelniczo na górze Latmos pod Miletem ³⁴⁾. Przyczyny popularności św. Zosimy były trzy: wprowadzenie w IX w. do klasztorów ortodoksyjnych przebogatej literatury mistycznej, powstałej w VI wieku w monofizyckiej szkole z Gazy, do której należy historyczny Zosimas ³⁵⁾; ciągle czytana z zapałem Legenda Marii Egipskiej, również i na Zachodzie ³⁶⁾; powstanie nowego dzieła monastycznego z protagonistą Zosimase, a mianowicie «Podróży do Brahmanów albo do Wyspy Błogosławionych» ³⁷⁾. Czasem nawet sama

31) Por. *Święty Świerad*, s. 29-37 i 124-132.

32) Żywot św. Feodosija Kijowskiego (+ 1074), ed. D. ABRAMOVIČ (nowe opracowanie przez D. TSCHŻEWSKI), *Das Paterikon des Kiever Höhlenklosters* [Slawische Propyläen. 2], München 1964, s. 44: dojde grada Vlodimera i vnide v monastyr tu suščij bliz' grada, iže naričjut' jęgo Svjataja Gora. Por. *Russische Heiligenlegenden* (przypis 30), s. 114.

33) Por. *Święty Świerad*, s. 152 przypis 121.

34) Żywot św. Nicefora, biskupa Miletu (zakonnikiem na Latmos przed 987), ed. DELEHAYE, *An. Boll.*, XIV, 1895, s. 133-167 (= *Milet III*. 1, s. 157-171): s. 156-157 (r. 26).

35) To wprowadzenie jest zasługą Teodora Studyty (+ 826), największego reformatora życia *cenobitycznego* na Wschodzie. Jeszcze w swym Testamencie broni, wobec zarzutów heterodoksyjności, poprawności doktrynalnej, przynajmniej w sensie mistycznym, dzieł «Izajasza, Barsanuffusza, Doroteusza» (który cytuje wypowiedzi Zosimy i jest autorem tegoż XV *Capita*; ob. *Św. Świerad*, s. 60): «w ich Naukach (*Didaskaliai*) nie znalazłem żadnego śladu bezbożności; odwrotnie, jak największy pożytek duchowy». Nowe wydanie dzieł Barsanuffusza jest zapoczątkowane przez D.J. CHITTY, «Barsanuphius and John, Questions and Answers»: *Patrologia Orientalis* XXXI, fasc. 3, 1966.

36) Jedno z najstarszych zaświadczeń popularności Legendy o Marii i Zosimie odnajduję w Żywocie św. Dawida z Tesaloniki (um. ok. 535), powstałym ok. 710 roku. Autor wyjaśnia, że opis życia Dawida dendryty (tj. żyjącego na drzewie) był przekazywany tradycją ustną «podobnie jak święty Zosimas zostawił ustny Żywot św. Marii Egipcjanki, a inny miłujący Chrystusa mąż ułożył go w budujące pismo»; A. VASILIEV, *Traditio*, IV, 1946, s. 115-147: s. 124 (r. 21). Por. V. ROSE, *Leben des hl. David von Thessalonike*, 1877, i *Bibl. Hag. Graeca*, 3 wyd., nry 492y-493m, oraz R. LOENERTZ, *Revue des Études Byz.*, XI, 1953, s. 205-214.

37) Por. *Św. Świerad*, s. 64. Charakterystycznie, kopista gruziński Jan Zosim przepisuje w 982 tekst «Podróży...» (*Vita et conversatio sanctorum et beatorum nudorum sanctorum*) i skarży się: «Marii Egipskiej (Żywota) nie znalazłem»; G. GARITTE, *Catalogue des manuscrits*

Maria Egipska jest nazywana Marią Zosimy, tak *Sancta Maria Zozimae* w katedrze kwedlinburskiej, konsekrowanej w 1021 roku ³⁸). W południowej Italii, w dzisiejszej wiosce doliny Sarmento, zwanej Cersosimo (« św. Sosim »), istniał klasztor bazyliński pod tytułem *Hagia Maria tou Kyr Zósimou* ³⁹).

Św. Świerad-Zosimas po opuszczeniu Polski, po prawdopodobnych pielgrzymkach do Miejsz świętych i do sławnych ognisk monastycznych Bliskiego Wschodu, zjawia się w klasztorze św. Hipolita na górze Zobor pod Nitrą słowacką. Od Filipa, opata tego monasteru-laury, gdzie wspólnie żyli zakonnicy łacińscy i metodiańscy, otrzymuje « wielki habit » życia eremickiego oraz imię Andrzej ⁴⁰). Można z kolei się zapytać, czy w wyborze tego drugiego imienia zakonnego nie kierował się Świerad, lub opat Filip, jakimś innym, mniej rozpowszechnionym, zwyczajem onomastyki monastycznej.

Przypomnijmy najprzód kilka szczegółów z życia św. Atanazego (+ 1002), założyciela w 961-963 Wielkiej Ławry na Górze Atońskiej. Pochodził on z Trebizontu i na chrzcie otrzymał imię *Abraamios*. Po studiach i profesurze w Konstantynopolu, przebywa pięć lat jako laurianta na Górze Kyminas, gdzie uzyskuje pierwszą profesję i imię *Athanasios* z rąk Michała Maleinosa. W 957/8, szukając jeszcze surowszego życia anachoreckiego, udaje się na Atos; spędza kilka lat jako uczeń pewnego starca i przybiera imię towarzysza Pawła, *Barnaby*. Pierwszy żywot Atanazego powstaje w stolicy już przed 1010 rokiem; drugi, który skracca poprzedni ale dodaje wiele niezmiernie interesujących szczegółów o praktykach ascetycznych Atanazego-Barnaby, został napisany prawdopodobnie ok. 1020 roku ⁴¹).

Przy innej okazji omówię szczegółowiej ściśle i bardzo wczesne związki Słowian chrześcijańskich (i pogańskich zresztą) z instalacjami mona-

géorgiens littéraires du Mont Sinai [CSCO 165, *Subsidia* 9], 1956, s. 18, 22 i 24. Inny Gruzin, Eutyminusz, syn i następca Jana założyciela monasteru Iberów na Atosie, (+ 1028), tłumaczył m. inn. « Żywot św. Marii Egipskiej » i « Precepty św. Zosima »; P. PEETERS, *An. Boll.*, XXXVI-XXXVII, 1917-1919, s. 35 (r. 25).

Być może autor « Podróży Zosimy » był również Gruzinem. Nosi on niegreckie imię *Kryseós*; M.R.H. JAMES, *Apocrypha anecdota* [*Texts and Studies*, II, 3], 1893, s. 108 (r. XXII); por. *Św. Świerad*, s. 63. Związki Legendy św. Zosimy z gruzińskim monasterem Chryzostoma, położonym między Jerychem i Jordanem, są dyskutowane przez mnie, tamże, przypis 115 (s. 147-151). Drugim dziełem tego samego mnicha gruzińskiego jest, moim zdaniem, opowiadanie o eremiecie Janie, żyjącym w suchej cysternie odległej o trzy dni drogi od Jordanu; F. HALKIN, *Inédits byzantins d'Ochrida, Candie et Moscou* [*Subs. hag.* 38], 1963, r. 15: « La Vie ancienne de S. Jean ascète dans un puits ». Autor tego « Żywota », podobnego stylem i inspiracją monastyczną do « Podróży », przedstawia się jako *Chrysios*; Halkin, *l.c.*, s. 280 (r. 10). Obie formy, *Kryseós* i *Chrysios*, wydają mi się być próbami transkrypcji tego samego imienia gruzińskiego. Zachowałyby się ono jeszcze w arabskiej nazwie wspomnianego monasteru, (el-) *Kursi*, a, w adaptacji greckiej, w mianie średniowiecznym tegoż klasztoru: *Chrysostomou*. Por. bardzo niedostateczną notatkę przez P. ANANIAN w BSS., VI, 808-809.

38) *Św. Świerad*, przypis 113 (s. 145).

39) Dyplom z 1034 roku, wyd. przez F. TRINCHERA, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum*, 1865, s. 38, i cyt. przez B. CAPPELLI, *op. laud.* (przypis 22), s. 22. Por. A. GUILLOU, « La Lucanie byzantine », *Byzantion*, XXXV (Mémorial H. Grégoire), 1965, s. 119-149: s. 139.

40) Żywot, § 1; *Św. Świerad*, s. 12 i 17. O chrześcijaństwie w Nitrze i o regule klasztoru zoborskiego, tamże, s. 37-47 i 47-57.

41) « Vita A » wyd. przez I. POMJAŁOVSKIJ, *Žitije prepodobnago Afanasija Afonskago*, 1895; « Vita B » przez L. PETIT, *An. Boll.*, XXV, 1906, s. 5-89; por. P. LEMERLE, *Le millénaire du Mont Athos 963-1963, Etudes et mélanges*, I, 1963, s. 59-100. O imionach Świętego, POMJAŁOVSKIJ, s. 3 (r. 5), s. 9 (r. 23), s. 16 (r. 36), oraz PETIT, s. 19 (r. 9) i s. 24 (r. 14). Ob. jeszcze A. KOMINIS i J. LEROY, *An. Boll.*, LXXXII, 1964, s. 397-407 i 409-429.

stycznymi na Górze Atośu. Sięgają one czasów Cyryla i Metodego i ich «Góra» nie jest, moim zdaniem, monastyczną Górą Olimpu — jak się powszechnie powtarza —, ale właśnie świętą Górę Atońską. Tu wystarczy zasugerować, że niezwykle popularny w klasztorach greckich, od samego powstania aż po nasze czasy, Krótszy Żywot Atanazego, mógł podsunąć Świeradowi-Zosimie nietylko pomysły pewnych technik ascezy (o czym kiedyindziej), ale i ideę przybrania trzeciego imienia. Mógł to zrealizować, podobnie jak Atanazy, znalazłszy się w ośrodku mniszym o odrębnych tradycjach zakonnych niż monaster macierzysty. W XIV w., jak wspomnieliśmy wyżej, przybierano również drugie imię zakonne, wciąż jednak z tym samym inicjałem co imię chrzestne i pierwsze imię zakonne. Atanazy, jakby chcąc wyrazić pragnienie gruntownej zmiany życia ascetycznego, przybiera na Atośie, wprawdzie na krótko, imię które zaczyna się od następnej litery w porządku alfabetu: *Abraamios* — *Athanasios* — *Barnabas*. W klasztorze słowackim, gdzie przeważały tradycje rzymskie, uwzględnionoby porządek alfabetu łacińskiego; po ostatniej literze pierwsza litera abecadła, stąd *Zoerados* — *Zosimas* — *Andreas*.

Nie znam innych przykładów takiej sekwencji onomastycznej w literaturze hagiograficznej greckiej. Był on może bardziej rozpowszechniony na mieszanych obrządkowo terenach Europy środkowej, jakby wynikało z trzeciego zaświadczenia tejże zakonnej praktyki nazewniczej. Gdzieindziej piszę o biskupie ratzeburskim, zwanym Aristonem lub Bowonem, który był współpracownikiem księcia obodrzyckiego, św. Gotszalka, zmarłego jako męczennik w 1066 roku ⁴²⁾. Skoro nosił on imię greckie, nie używane na Zachodzie, i był biskupem (*episcopus vagans*), musiał być początkowo mnichem monasteru przestrzegającego *typikon* wschodnio-chrześcijański. Jego pierwsze imię zakonne jest niewątpliwie wariantem (znanym skądinąd) imienia popularnego św. biskupa męczennika *Aristiōna*, czczonego 3 września, również przez Słowian prawosławnych ⁴³⁾. Imię *Bovon* jest dobrze poświadczone dla wschodniej Francji i dla zachodnich Niemiec. Noszą je np. dwaj biskupi w Châlons-sur-Marne (um. 802 i 947), dwaj opaci saskiego opactwa Corvey (890 i 916), opat klasztoru Saint-Bertin w Saint-Omer od 1043 do 1066 roku ⁴⁴⁾.

A zatem nasz mnich i biskup *Aristōn*, po pielgrzymkach do Jerozolimy, niewoli u Muzułmanów w Babilonii (zapewne w Bagdadzie) i wędrowkach po różnych krajach, utknąłby na pewien czas w którymś z klasztorów benedyktyńskich z pogranicza franko-germańskiego. Wraz z obowiązkami przestrzegania dyscypliny zakonnej rzymskiej przyjąłby imię *Bovo*. Być może było to arystokratyczne opactwo korbjejskie, «dla Saksonii i całej Europy północnej ognisko kultury i ośrodek misji chrześcijańskiej» ⁴⁵⁾. Z otwartymi rękoma przyjąłby go opat Bovon z Saint-Omer, który po kry-

42) Patrz dalej, s. 107-108, 112-113.

43) STILTING, *Acta SS.* Sept. I, s. 614; DELEHAYE, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae CP*, kol. 945; MARTINOV, *Annus ecclesiasticus Graeco-Slavus* (ASS. Oct. XI), s. 216; por. M. SALSANO, *Bibl. SS.*, II, 1962, kol. 424-425 (tamże, kol. 416-429, inni święci o podobnych imionach).

44) *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, X, 1938, kol. 300-301. Jeden z dwu opatów korbjejskich jest wspomniany w Kronice Adama Bremeńskiego, s. 225, z tymi samymi wariantami, *Bonno* i *Bono*, jak i dla biskupa Bowona (patrz s. 112). Zresztą te odmianki nie są błędami graficznymi ale warzającami fonetycznymi, spotykanymi gdzie indziej: np. św. Bova (Beuve) nazywana była też Boną, a włoski San Bovo (Bovone) nosi również miano Bonone.

45) A. FRANZEN, *DHGE*, XIII, 1959, kol. 921-925.

zysach wewnętrznych klasztoru Saint-Bertin, pożarze i zarazie, formuje nową rodzinę zakonną; wyrazem wdzięczności ze strony Aristona byłoby przybranie imienia opata. Czy tu czy gdzieindziej, wydaje mi się pewne, że przy zmianie imienia zakonnego przyszły biskup raceburski kierował się tą samą zasadą co Grek Atanazy-Barnaba i Polak Świerad-Andrzej. Można by w tym szczególnie widzieć wskazówkę, że Ariston-Bowon pochodził mniej więcej z tych samych terenów słowiańskich co i nasz *Zoeradus-Zosimas-Andreas*.

Czwarte zaświadczenie drugiego imienia zakonnego, którego inicjał jest następną z kolei literą alfabetu w stosunku do nagłosu pierwszego imienia, znajduje się w kręgu hagiograficznych tradycji nowogrodzkich. Założyciel monasteru Przemienienia Pańskiego w Chutyniu (1192) był naprzód zakonnikiem w cenobium lisickim a potem pustelnikiem i ascetą nad rzeką Wolchow; nosił on włosienicę i ciężkie łańcuchy. Żywoty, choć niezbyt zgodne ze sobą skądinąd, dają mu dwa imiona: Aleksy i Barlaam ⁴⁶). Nie myślę że chodzi tutaj o imię chrzestne (na ogół opuszczane we wczesnych tekstach ruskich) i o jedyne imię zakonne, ale o dwa imiona zakonne, pierwsze przybrane z postrzyżeniem i obłóczynami, drugie związane z ascetyczno-anachoreckim trybem życia; a więc jak w wypadku Atanazego Barnaby i Zosimy Andrzeja.

Zwyczaj podwójnego imienia zakonnego odnajduje się w Nowogrodzie XII wieku, w specyficzny zresztą sposób, jeśli można dać wiarę baśniowemu Żywotowi Jana arcybiskupa, spisaniem w trzy lub cztery stulecia później. Dwaj bracia, Iwan i Gawriil wstępują do monasteru i otrzymują imiona Eliasza (Ilija) i Grzegorza (Grigorij). Pierwszy i drugi byli arcybiskupami nowogrodzkimi. Eliasz na łożu śmierci przyjął schimę (wielki habit) i wrócił do swego pierwszego imienia, Jan ⁴⁷). Powrót do wcześniejszego imienia widzieliśmy u Atanazego Barnaby i u Aristona Bowona. Związki życia monastycznego nowogrodzkiego z Zachodem rzymskim reflektują się w hagiograficznej baśni o Antonim Rzymianinie, którego wydawcy « Żywotów Świętych rosyjskich » uważają hipotetycznie za Słowianina zachodniego ⁴⁸).

Od XIV wieku panuje powszechnie w monasterach ruskich, prawosławnych i unickich położonych na terenach Rusi i Polski, zwyczaj

46) MARTINOV, *Annus* (przypis 43), s. 272 (6 listopad); N. BRIAN-CHANINOV, *DHGE*, VI, 1932, kol. 816-817 (najstarszy Żywot z XIII w.); G. ELGAROV, *BSS.*, II, 1962, kol. 788-789. Por. tłumaczenie Żywota ułożonego przez Pachomiusza Logotę, mnicha serbskiego z Atosu i najpłodniejszego pisarza hagiograficznego rosyjskiego, przez W. FRITZE w *Russische Heiligenlegenden*, s. 265-283. Bulla ołowiana z napisem « Pečat Warlama igumena s(wja)t(a)go Sp(a)sa Chuty(nskago) » omówiona przez CHODZKIEWIECZA w *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1883, s. 310-311.

47) MARTINOV, s. 219 (7 wrzesień); D. TSCHIZEWSKI, *Russische Heil.*, s. 458-469: s. 461 i 469.

48) MARTINOV, s. 193 (3 sierpień); TSCHIZEWSKI i BENZ, *Russ. Heil.*, s. 448-458 (« vieleicht ein Westslawe der sich leicht an die lokalen Verhältnisse anpassen konnte », s. 448). CHODZKIEWIECZ, *art. cit.* (przypis 46), s. 312-313, publikuje medal pamiątkowy (z 1747?) noszący napis « Prp. Antonij Rimljanin » i ładną poezję: « Starego Rzymu ojczyznę poniechałeś, na kamień jak na lekki korab wszedłeś; na nim, jakby bezcielesny i nadprzyrodzenie, po wodach pąc czyniłeś, zgodnie z zamiarami Boskiego Rozumu ». — Do właściwej oceny historycznego jądra legendy o Antonim Rzymianinie trzeba by było znać (by ewentualnie eliminować paralelę) treść dotąd nie wydanych Żywotów i tekstów liturgicznych tyjących św. Antoniego Młodszego, ascety z Berrhoia w Macedonii; por. *BSS.*, II, 147. Jest on czczony 17 stycznia, a więc w tym samym dniu co Wielki Antoni egipski, oraz Antoni Rzymianin i dwaj inni Antoni, również z terytorium Nowgorodu; MARTINOV, s. 46.

równoinicjalowości imienia chrzestnego i zakonnego. Oto kilka przykładów zaczerpniętych z cennego zbioru Martinova *Annus ecclesiasticus Graeco-Slavus*: Elias Irenarchus, rekluz i siderofor z Rostowa, um. 1613 (12 styczeń, s. 39); Gregorius Gennadius, Litwin rekluz, 1565 (23/I, s. 51); Metrophanes Moyses, arcybiskup Nowgoroda, 1362 (25/I, 53); Ephraem Euphrosynus, eremita nad Sinym Jeziozem zabity przez Polaków 20 marca 1612 roku (20/III, 94); Joannes Jonas, kapłan z Dorpatu i mnich w Pskowie, 1474 (29/III, 100); Demetrius Daniel z Perejeslawia 1540 (7/IV, 105); Eleazarus Euphrosynus, mnich pskowski, 1481 (15/V, 129); Eustathius Ephraem 1452 (16/V, 130); Cosmas Cyrillus, założyciel monasteru biełoozerskiego, 1427 (9/VI, 149); Basilius Bassianus, hegumen totmeński, 1633 (12/IX, 222); Ninon Nicander, hegumen pskowski, 1582 (24/IX, 231); Daniel Demetrius, metropolita rostowski, 1709 (28/X, 264); Menas Martyrius, pustelnik w Zelencu, XVI wiek (11/XI, 275); Jan Jozafat Kuncewicz 1584-1623 (12/XI, 277-278); Andreas Antonius 1557 (7/XII, 302); Joannes Job, hegumen poczajowski, um. 1651 (30 grudzień, s. 323).

Rzym, 6 listopada 1968

SUMMARY

The Religion Names of Saint Zoeradus

Bishop Maurus, author of the Vita S. Zoeradi Andreae, states clearly that the saint, a Polish monk, received the name of Andreas in the Slovakian monastery of Mount Zobor (near Nitra), where he died about 1034. Zoeradus, however, (his name is a Graecised form of the West-Slavic Svêrad: the Polish Swierad and the Slovak Svorad) was a monachus even before he entered the convent of Saint Hippolytus. He had been a monk in a Polish monastery living according to an Eastern Christian rule (typikon), the foundation of which goes back to the Moravian mission of Saints Kyrillos-Konstantinos and Methodios. For details see my book « Swięty Swierad », Rome 1966.

It follows that Zoeradus had received another religious name and his first, before this one. In fact, Maurus implicitly shows this, telling us that Zoeradus Andreas was following, in his observation of the Lenten fast practice, the example of Abbas Zosimas. Normally, a Greek monk had only one patron saint, whose name he had received together with the « small habit » (mikron schéma) and whose life and virtues he endeavoured to imitate as closely as possible. Certain proof of this view, that the first religious name of Zoeradus was Zosimas, is to be found in a little studied field of monastic anthroponymy.

From the middle of the IXth century on there appears very frequently in Greek monasticism, from the Black Sea to Sicily (via Rome), the onomastic practice of giving a novice a name beginning with the same letter, or even the same initial syllable, as that of his baptismal name. Several examples are given for the period from the ninth to the twelfth centuries: Konstantinos Kyrillos, Stephanos Symeon, Basilios Blasios, Manouel Michael, Leon Loukas, etc. Towards 1200 this practice was so general that even the insidious Satanus tempts a monk under a triple form of Saints Sabas, Symeon and Stephanos. In the XIVth century, if not earlier, there appears the custom, whilst putting on « the second habit (mega schéma) », of taking a second religious name; this always however begins with the same initial letter as the two former ones: Alexios Akakios Athanasios, Raikos Romanos Romylos, etc.

The practice of selecting a patron saint whose life history is similar to that of a new monk, and whose virtues are meditated upon and imitated, is exemplified by the life of Saint Nikolaos Nilos, a contemporary of Zoeradus Zosimas, as well as by his own poem in honour of Saint Nilos Sinaite.

Incidentally, the attention of the reader is drawn to very early examples of the same onomastic customs, even as early as Hellenistic and Roman times, and in addition, to the importance which ancient societies, especially Christian ones, attached to speculations on the alphabet, letters, initials, numerical value of letters, etc.

Less common Greek monastic practice seems to have been to take a second religious name which begins with the letter following next in the alphabet. Such is the case of Abraamios Athanasios, founder of the Great Laura on Mount Athos who died in 1002: he lived a couple of years as an anchorite, under the name of Barnabas. Three examples giving added evidence come from the Slavic territories: they are Zoeradius Zosimas Andreas (the order of the Latin alphabet is to be noticed: after the last letter Z follows the first letter A); Ariston Bovon, an eleventh century bishop among the north-western Slavs (see also the next paper, pp. 107-8, 112-3); Alexios Barlaam, a Russian coenobite and anchorite of the twelfth century.

The onomastic practices mentioned above were virtually unknown in the Western medieval monasteries. It follows that the Polish monastery where Zoeradius Zosimas was admitted and lived until 1022 was of a Greek, or more exactly, «Methodian» type. The name as well as the person of Saint Zosimas, historical and legendary, was popular during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The selection of the name Zosimas shows moreover that this northern monastery was not isolated from the great centres of Greek monasticism, nor, probably, from the Greek-Slavonic monasteries which were similarly situated to the far north, such as that of the Holy Mountain near Vlodimir of Volhynia or that of the Caves near Kiev in Ruthenia.

J.T.M.

J.T. MILIK
(Rzym)

CHRZEŚCIJAŃSTWO W PAŃSTWIE GOTSZALKA

Przypadkowe zetknięcie się z kronikami Adama Bremeńskiego i Helmolda Bozowskiego zdumiało mnie tężyzną życia religijnego u Słowian zachodnio-północnych: Połabian, Obodrzytów, Weletów¹⁾. Z jednej strony jest ogromnie żywotna, dobrze zorganizowana, bogata ośrodkiem kultowymi i przejawami społeczno-religijnymi, rodzima religia tych ludów; zdolna opierać się nowej wierze, szerzonej bardziej mieczem niż słowem, w ciągu półtysiąclecia: od epoki karolińskiej po co najmniej rok 1168, kiedy upada pod ciosami Duńczyków wyspa Rugia, ostatnie ognisko pogaństwa słowiańskiego. Z drugiej strony równie złożone perypetie i fascynujący prota- goniści religii chrześcijańskiej, która jak wody przypływu morskiego zale- wała nieustępliwie pobrzeże między Łabą i Odrą, by odstąpić po pewnym czasie i znowu periodycznie powracać. Na ogół schyłek pogaństwa i po- czątki chrystianizmu u Słowian zachodnich, a w pewnym stopniu i u Sło- wian południowych, przedstawiają się szaro i płasko; abstrahuję tutaj od morawskiego interludium Cyryla i Metodego. Dobrze znany wyjątek stanowi Ruś kijowska, właśnie od strony antytetycznej żywołości jednej i drugiej wiary. Pod wieloma względami — jak obojętne prze- konują się teraz — fenomenologia religijna Słowian połabsko-odrzańskich była jeszcze bardziej dynamiczna. Nie dysponujemy wprawdzie dla nich równie bogatą, bezpośrednią i wykwiśniętą literaturą jaką jest produkcja pisarska Ławry peczerskiej. Tym bardziej zato trzeba się pilnie pochylać nad cennymi przekazami kronikarzy niemieckich i skandynawskich, szcze- gólnie w latach, gdy granice państwa polskiego pokryły częściowo tereny zaginionych współplemieńców; współbraci bliższych nam etnicznie i języ- kowo (myśląc przynajmniej o Polanach) niż Słowacy, Czesi lub Łużycanie

Jak wskazuje tytuł, moje zainteresowanie ześrodkowało się na razie na osobie świętego Gotszalka, księcia obodrzyckiego, zmarłego męczęń- ską śmiercią 7 czerwca 1066 roku. Bez żadnej przesady wydaje mi się on najbardziej urzekającym, od strony ludzkiej, dynastą słowiańskim, jakiego spotkałem poprzez różnorakie lektury. Wśród jego współpracow- ników misjonarskich, najrozmaitszego pochodzenia, zwrócić głównie uwagę na tych, którzy chociażby hipotetycznie, pochodzili z ziem, gdzie istniały tradycje chrześcijaństwa wschodniego. Nawiązuję w ten sposób do po-

1) *Magistri Adami Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. B. SCHNEIDLER [*Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*], 3 wyd. 1917; *Helmoldi presbyteri Bozoviensis Cronica Slavorum*, ed. I.M. LAPPENBERG i B. SCHNEIDLER [*SRG sch.*], 2 wyd. 1909. Adam, rodem prawdopodobnie z okolic Würzburga, po studiach w Bambergu, znalazł się w Bremie w w 1066 roku; spełniał tam funkcje *magister scholarum*. Do pierwszej redakcji swej «Historii kościelnej Hamburga» dopisywał, aż po lata 1081-1085, scholia i apendyksy dotyczące wypadków sprzed 1066 roku. Helmold zredagował swą «Kronikę Słowian» w latach 1167-1172.

dobnego ujęcia osoby i czasów św. Świerada ²⁾. Przy okazji trzeba będzie poruszyć problem, bardzo aktualny obecnie, użytku języka narodowego w liturgii rzymsko-chrześcijańskiej.

I. *Święty Gotszalk, książę słowiański*

Był wnukiem Mściwoja a synem Przybygniewa, książąt plemienia Obodrzytów, siedzących nad morzem, głównie na Zaodrze ale i częściowo po tej stronie rzeki. O jego ojcu, noszącym również niemieckie imię Utona (lub Udona), kronikarz wzdycha: *male christianus*. Zadbął jednak o chrześcijańskie wychowanie syna, wysyłając go na *litteralia studia* do saskiego klasztoru w Lüneburgu, zależnego od diuka Bernarda. Nie znamy słowiańskiego miana młodego księżyca. Imię germańskie, tłumaczące zresztą greckie *Theodoulos*, «chłopak, sługa, Boga», przyjął niewątpliwie (z późnym chrztem, postrzyżynami, bierzmowaniem?) właśnie od przełożonego benedyktynów lüneburskich, Godeschalka biskupa Gotów. Zwróćmy uwagę, że popularność imion pochodzących, choćby przez tłumaczenie, z greckiego, nawiązuje do toponomastyki erudycyjnej typu: Magdeburg-Parthenopolis, Mecklemburg-Megalopolis (później hybryda Magnopolis), Lenzen-Leontion (Leontium). Choćby dopiero wprowadzone przez Ottona III, znanego hellenofila, ich popularność i długie przetrwanie w północnych częściach Cesarstwa, a szczególnie na ziemiach słowiańskich, wydaje mi się świadczyć o jakichś kontaktach z imperium bizantyjskim.

Młody Gotszalk nie został długo w towarzystwie mnichów lüneburskich. Na wieść o śmierci ojca, zamordowanego przez Saksona szukającego zemsty, ucieka z klasztoru *reiectis cum fide litteris*. Zwojuje watahy pogańskich Wędów i pustoszy, pławiąc się w ogniu i krwi, saskie prowincje Holsztynu i Sturmarnu. Z osad i ludności tych ziem nic się nie ostało — powiada Helmold — oprócz dwu twierdz Ezeho (dziś Itzehoe) i Bokeldeberg. Choć godna podziwu dla zdolności kierowniczych i militarnych księcia nastolatka, taka akcja wojenna nie miała przyszłości i kończy się ujęciem Gotszalka przez diuka saskiego Bernarda II. Bardzo znacząco dla dziejów kultu hagiograficznego, Helmold, który na ogół wypisuje z Historii Adama Bremeńskiego, wtrąca tu dłuższy paragraf o wyrzutach i skrusze Gotszalka oraz o jego dobrowolnych próbach pertraktacji z Bernardem; pierwszy element napewno prawdziwy psychologicznie, choćby chronologicznie zaszedł w późniejszej fazie życia bohatera.

Książę saski nie marnuje, egzekucją lub więzieniem, niezaprzeczonych walorów młodego woja słowiańskiego, co w międzyczasie stał się — zdaniem Niemców — *princeps latronum*. Czyni go swym sprzymierzeńcem i wysyła na dokształcenie rycerskie i kulturalne na świetny dwór króla duńskiego Kanuta II Wielkiego. Jako towarzysz królewicza Swena Estridsena bierze udział, około 1030 roku, w wyprawie duńskiej do Anglii, jak również w częstych wypadach do Norwegii. Dzielny piechur i kawalerzysta staje się ponadto doświadczonym żeglarzem. Po śmierci Harolda Hanfoota w 1040 wraca do ojczyzny, widząc jako żonę Sygrydę, córkę Swena. W międzyczasie zginął, wraz z ośmioma synami, w walkach z Sasami książę Racibor, zajmujący po Przybygniewie tron obodrzycki.

2) J.T. MILIK, *Święty Świerad (Saint Andrew Zoeradas)*, Roma (Edizioni Hosianum) 1966.

Książę Gotszalk przejmując dziedzictwo ojca i, od 1042 roku mniej więcej, rozpoczyna podboje, które doprowadzą do stworzenia rozległego państwa i uczynią z Gotszalka — jak powtarzają bez wielkiej przesady kronikarze — najpotężniejszego władcę w Słowiańszczyźnie.

Bratobójcze walki czterech plemion weleckich i wezwanie pomocy Gotszalka przez trzy z nich przeciw Czerezpianom, pozwala mu, przy pomocy saskiej i duńskiej, włączyć około 1057 i te, dzielne i zazdrosne o niezależność, szczepy związku weleckiego do swego państwa. Sprzymierzeńcy zadowolili się ściąganiem olbrzymiego haraczu; *nihil de christianitate*, melancholijnie stwierdza magister Adam, i snuje, wrażliwie i obiektywnie, następujące refleksje:

« Słyszałem również kiedy bardzo prawdomówny król Duńczyków, opowiadając o tym (tj. o wspólnej wyprawie na Weletów), zauważył, że ludy słowiańskie oddawna dałyby się bez żadnej trudności nawrócić na chrześcijaństwo, gdyby nie stała na przeszkodzie zachłanność Sasów, » których, powiadał, umysł skłonniejszy jest do ściągania podatków niż do nawracania pogan ». Nie zdają sobie sprawy nędzniczy — komentuje Hel mold — na jak wielkie niebezpieczeństwo narażają się z powodu ich chciwości. Najprzód zachłanność ich wprowadzała zamieszanie w życie chrześcijańskie Sławanii; następnie spowodowali do buntu (Słowian uprzednio) ³⁾ podbitych bezlitosnymi środkami; obecnie lekceważą sobie zbawienie tych co chcieliby przyjąć wiarę, egzekwując wyłącznie pieniądze. Dlatego widzimy teraz że Słowianie, co tyle wycierpieli, ze słusznych wyroków Bożych zwyciężyli nas... Gdybyśmy żądali od nich tylko wiary (chrześcijańskiej), oni byłiby już zbawieni, a my napewno żylibyśmy w spokoju » (III. XXIII, s. 166).

Metody Sasów nie były jednak metodami Gotszalka, z powrotem praktykującego chrześcijanina od pobytu w Danii, a teraz gorliwego władcy-misjonarza w mozaikowej federacji jego państwa, obejmującego plemiona Warnów, Połabian, Wagan, Obodrzytów, Glinian, Czerezpian i Chyżan. Niestety Adam Bremeński raczej ogólnikowo referuje, że « krainy Sławanii zapewniły się kościołami a kościoły zaludniły kapłanami; kapłani zaś cieszyli się (całkowitą) niezależnością w sprawach tyczących Boga ». Oblicza, że prawie trzecia część Słowian odpadłych do pogaństwa za dziada Gotszalka, Mściwoja, po 1000 roku, nawrócili się z powrotem do religii chrześcijańskiej. Podaje cenną listę klasztorów męskich i żeńskich: trzy w stolicy państwa, Mechlunie (Mecklemburgu); po jednym w Lubece, Stargardzie (Altenburg), Łęczynie (Lenzen), Ratzeburgu. Szybko też, napewno jeszcze przed 1050 rokiem, powstaje organizacja diecezjalna. Zadbał o to przyjaciel Gotszalka Adalbert arcybiskup hamburski, który, za zgodą Cesarza i Papieża, był jakby patriarchą Północy. Wierny Adam z satysfakcją potrafił wyliczyć na palcach, sypiąc dziwnymi imionami osób i nazwami miejscowości, aż dwudziestu biskupów ordynowanych przez « Wielkiego Adalberta »: dziewięciu w Danii, sześciu w Szwecji, dwóch w Norwegii, trzech w Sławanii. « Arcybiskup cieszył się bardzo — pisze Adam — z nowo założonych kościołów i wysłał mężów mądrych spośród swych biskupów i kapłanów do księcia, aby wzmacniali młode chrześcijaństwem ludy. Wyznaczył do Aldinburga, po śmierci Abelina, Ezzona (Ezzona mnicha, precyzuje Hel mold); w Magnopolis ustanowił Jana Szkota; w Razzisburgu mianował Aristona niejakiego, co przyszedł z Jerozolimy, i innych w

3) Słowa lub zdania w nawiasach, (...), oznaczają moje dodatki w tłumaczeniu.

różnych miejscach» (III. XXI, s. 164). Ponieważ jednak dorzuca Adam w scholium, że Ezzo był «dwudziestym biskupem» Adalberta, jest jasne że nominacja Jana i Arystona miała miejsce przed śmiercią Abelina, ordynariusza stargardzkiego, która przypada na rok 1049 albo wkrótce potem. Wydaje mi się prawie pewne, że ci dwaj biskupi znajdowali się u boku Gotszalka od samego początku jego akcji chryścianizacyjnej, a więc od 1042 roku. Adam wyraźnie pisze o chrzczeniu pogan przez Jana Szkota: «ów Jan, z miłości pielgrzymowania, opuścił Szkocję i przybył do Saksonii; łaskawie przyjęty przez naszego arcybiskupa, nie wiele potem został przez niego skierowany do księcia Godescalca; przebywając u tego w owych latach, ochrzcił pono liczne tysiące pogan» (scholion 81).

Ten szybki i bujny rozwój chrześcijaństwa w państwie Gotszalka urywa się brutalnie w 1066 roku. Reakcja pogańska wzniecona przez Blusa, szwagra księżęcego, niszczy Szlezwiąg, pali Hamburg, zmiata organizację nowej wiary; księżę Gotszalk i wielu jego współpracowników umiera śmiercią męczeńską. W Łęczynie nad Łabą, grodzie Glinian, 7 czerwca 1066 powstańcy pogańscy wpadają do kościoła, podczas Mszy świętej, mordują przy ołtarzu kapłana Ebbona (Eppona), samego księcia Gotszalka i jego asystę, duchowną i świecką ⁴⁾. 15 lipca w Ratzeburgu zostaje ukamienowany Answer, rodem ze Szlezwiugu, opat klasztoru św. Jerzego, wraz z towarzyszymi ⁵⁾. Wzięty w niewolę wcześniej ale zachowywany do uroczystości tryumfu, 10 listopada tegoż roku ginie w Retzwe okrutną śmiercią ćwiartowania starzec Jan Szkot, biskup meklemburski, złożony w ofierze bogu Redigostowi ⁶⁾.

Adam Bremeński konkluduje lakonicznie opis tej fazy chrześcijaństwa w Sławanii: «A więc wypędzenie arcybiskupa i śmierć Godescalca przypadła prawie na ten sam rok, który jest 22. biskupstwa (Adalberta). Jest to trzecia apostazja Słowian, którzy po raz pierwszy zostali uczynieni chrześcijanami przez Karola (Wielkiego), po raz drugi przez Ottona (Pierwszego), po raz trzeci w naszych czasach przez księcia Godescalca» (IV. XXIII).

4) O św. Gotszalku, G. HENSCHENIUS i D. PAPEBROCHIUS, *Acta Sanctorum* Iunii II, 1867, s. 39-42; ostatnio, N. DEL RE, «Godescalco (Gotschalk) re dei Wendi, santo, martire» w *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VII, 1966, s. 77-78; por. Wł. KOWALENKO, «Gotszalk (? -1066)» w *Słowniku starożytności słowiańskich* II, 1964, s. 143. Gotszalk wydaje się dosyć zaniedbany we współczesnej bibliografii, prócz (paradoksalnie) studium ukraińskiego uczonego V.D. KOROLJUKA, «Gosudarstwo Gotszalka», wydanym w moskiewskim piśmie *Slawjanskij Sbornik* 1947.

5) O św. Answerze i tow. męcz., G. CUPERUS, ASS. Iulii IV, 1968, s. 97-108; s. 104-108: edycja Aktów męczeństwa, późniejszej daty.

6) H. DELEHAYE, «De Sancto Johanne episcopo Magnopolitano et martyre», ASS. Nov. IV, 1925, s. 564-566. Bolandysta utożsamia go z biskupem *Ion Irski* działającym w Islandii w czasie pierwszego biskupa autochtonicznego Isleifa: «później — dodaje Historia biskupów islandzkich zawarta w dziele zwanym *Hungrvaka* — udał się on do Windlandii (*til Vindlannz*) i tam wielu ludzi nawrócił do Boga i został umęczony». Identyfikacja ta narzuca się, może z taką poprawką, że Jan byłby w Islandii jeszcze przed Isleifem, którego biskupstwo przypada na lata 1056-1080. Jeszcze inaczej ujmuję sprawę Jana Szkota i Jana Irlandczyka Jezuita irlandzki A. Gwynn w dwóch pracach, streszczonych w *Analecta Bollandiana* LXIV, 1946, s. 302-304. Delehaye przypomniał, że w ub. wieku kilku uczonych, jak G. Gravier 1874, O. Moosmüller 1879, L. Jelič 1891, kreowało Jana Irlandczyka na pierwszego apostoła i męczennika Ameryki Północnej, poprawiając Windlandię («kraj Wędów, Słowian północno-zachodnich») na Winlandię. Jak wiadomo sprawa lokalizacji Winlandii, na wschodnim wybrzeżu Kanady lub Stanów Zjednoczonych, jest ostatnio bardzo dyskutowana w związku ze znalezieniem przedkolumbowej mapy Ameryki i wykopaliskami resztek normańskich na tymże wybrzeżu.

II. Język liturgiczny słowiański w państwie Gotszalka

W krótkim opisie rozwoju chrześcijaństwa na ziemiach północno-zachodniej Słowiańszczyzny w latach 1042-1066, Adam Bremeński wtrąca jakby mimochodem niezmiernie interesującą wiadomość: «książę Gotszalk pracowitszy (niż kapłani w pracy Bożej) płonął taką gorliwością religijną, że zapominając o swej godności, częstokroć wygłaszał w kościele kazanie egzortacyjne do ludu, pragnąc w mowie słowiańskiej uczynić bardziej zrozumiałe (dla ludu) to co biskupi i kapłani recytowali podczas Mszy po cichu (i w innym języku)»: «*quorum industrius princeps Godescalcus, tanto religionis exarsit studio, ut ordinis sui oblitus, frequenter in ecclesia sermonem exhortationis ad populum fecerit, ea quae mystice ab episcopis et presbyteris dicebantur, Slavanicis verbis cupiens rededere planiora*» (III. XX, s. 163; powtórzone przez Helmolda, s. 42).

Kanonik bremeński, wielki admirał księcia, czyni tę uwagę, by podkreślić świętość Gotszalka. I niewątpliwie mało się znajdzie dynastów chrześcijańskich, nawet kanonizowanych, którzy by tak dalece posunęli swe *studium religionis*. Chociaż, z drugiej strony, głoszenie słowa Bożego przez nie-kapłana reflektuje wczesnośredniowieczne przekonanie o sakralnej wyższości pomazanego władcy nad klerem jego państwa. Wydaje mi się jednak, że inicjatywa Gotszalka poszła znacznie dalej, niż improwizowanie egzort moralizatorskich, czy nawet ogólnikowych komentarzy do Ofiary Mszy świętej. W każdym razie nie chodzi tu o elementarne nauczanie zasad wiary chrześcijańskiej, kierowane do neofitów w ich języku, choćby misjonarze musieli korzystać z usług tłumaczy, jak np. św. Otton Bamberski na Pomorzu lub Udalryk, misjonarz Rugii, wspierany *interprete quodam Poloniense religioso viro*⁷⁾. Chodzi tu napewno o wiernych zebranych w kościele na Mszę świętą. Wyrażenie *mystice* odnosi się do słów i gestów czynionych przez kapłana podczas Mszy; co więcej, określa ono przede wszystkim te części Mszy które odprawiano po cichu, a więc głównie kanon; wreszcie użycie tego słowa czyni aluzję do niezrozumiałości języka używanego w liturgii. Por. zdanie u Helmolda: *et convenerunt populi de cetero ad ecclesias audire verbum Dei et interesse sacris misteriis* (I. 95, s. 186).

Przeczytawszy znowu długie zdanie kronikarza nie można nie zauważyć wyraźnej dysproporcji, prawie sprzeczności, między pierwszą i drugą częścią *passusu*. Dla bezpośredniego zamiaru Adama, hagiograficznego, wystarczyłaby wzmianka o głoszeniu kazań przez księcia. Gdyby chciał dodać szczegół o wyjaśnianiu po słowiańsku znaczenia Ofiary mszalnej nie użyłby terminu *exhortationis* i sformułował go krócej. Zdanie *ea quae mystice dicebantur Slavanicis verbis reddens planiora* zawiera znacznie więcej, moim zdaniem, niż aluzję do egzort w języku narodowym. Adam, niewątpliwie sumienny kronikarz, chciał tutaj napomknąć, jakby wbrew woli, o pewnym aspekcie akcji chrześcijańskiej Gotszalka, która napotykała na opór kleru działającego w jego państwie. Myślę o próbie, czy też częściowym lub całkowitym wprowadzeniu języka słowiańskiego, zapewne dialektu obodrzyckiego, do liturgii rzymskiej w diecezjach gotszalkowych. Cytowane zdanie jest jakby echem dyskusji odnośnych, które mi przypominają podobne dysputy w IX w. między apostołami Moraw i zwolenni-

⁷⁾ Żywot Ottona przez Ebona (1151-1152), ed. KÖPKE, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Scriptores* XII, s. 870.

kami « herezji trójjęzycznej ». Autor żywota Cyryla-Konstantyna, w rozdz. XV, kreśli pokrótce działalność świętego tłumacza wprowadzającego do Mszy i Oficjum język słowiański, i uzasadnia rezultaty takiej akcji luźnymi cytataми Izajasza 35,5 i 32,4: « uszy głuchych otworzyły się by słuchać słów Pisma (*knižnaja slovesa*), a mowa jąkałów stała się wyraźna », co współczesny nam slawista, F. Grivec, tłumaczy po łacinie: *et lingua plana facta est balborum*. W obu zdaniach, kronikarza niemieckiego i pisarza morawskiego, odnajdujemy wzmiankę o *verba slovesa* w znaczeniu słów pisanych oraz o jasności, zrozumiałości (*lingua plana, dicta planiora*) misterium mszy dzięki użytkowi języka rodzimego.

Uważam za praktycznie pewne, że *verba Slavonica* przekazu Adama czynią wyraźną aluzję do tekstów liturgicznych zredagowanych w języku słowiańskim. I on i Helmold wspominają często *lingua Slavica, Slavonica, Slavice*, itp., ale tylko raz, i to w Kronice Słowian, spotyka się znowu wyrażenie *Slavica verba*. Helmold, opisując wskrzeszenie biskupstwa stargardzkiego w 1149-50 i akcję religijną komesa Adolfa, który m.inn. nakazywał wiernym zbierać się regularnie na uroczystości (niedziele i święta) w kościele, by słuchać słowa Bożego, wspomina, jako wzór gorliwości, postępowanie Brunona, proboszcza kościoła św. Jana Chrzyciela w Stargardzie: *quibus et sacerdos Dei Bruno iuxta creditam sibi legacionem sufficienter administravit verbum Dei, habens sermones conscriptos Slavicis verbis, quos populo pronuntiare oportune* (I. 84, s. 164). A więc kapłan niemiecki, przybyły skądinąd, nie miał większych trudności, by postarać się o rękopisy « kazań spisanych słowami słowiańskimi ». Były one niewątpliwie pozostałością rozległej akcji literacko-religijnej Gotszalka, nie zaprzepaszczonej całkowicie, jak nie zginęło bez reszty chrześcijaństwo na terenach Sławanii po jego śmierci.

Świadectwo Helmolda o Brunonie jest niezwykle cenne, bo, jako niepodlegające dyskusji, pozwala twierdzić prawie z pewnością, że już za Gotszalka istniała religijna literatura pisana u Słowian nadmorskich. W XII w. użytek języka słowiańskiego redukował się jednak do kaznodziejstwa, i ewentualnie do lektury budującej. Za Gotszalka było, moim zdaniem, znacznie więcej. Bardzo ścisła paralela między członem zdania *ea quae mystice ab episcopis et presbyteris dicebantur*, w stosunku do *Slavonicis verbis cupiens reddere planiora*, da się wytłumaczyć tylko w jeden sposób. Równocześnie z odprawianiem Mszy św. po łacinie w kościołach księstwa gotszalkowego odczytywano odnośne teksty, stałe i zmienne, w języku narodowym. Genialny Słowianin XI wieku wpadłby zatem na pomysł, który wprowadzano, i to dorywczo, dopiero w pierwszej połowie XX w. w kościołach rzymsko-katolickich. Należy przypuścić, że Gotszalk starał się wprowadzić słowiańszczyznę jako bezpośredni język liturgiczny z wykluczeniem łaciny. Wobec oporu arcybiskupa, hierarchów i kleru, musiał wynaleźć formułę kompromisową. Wracając znowu do porównania z początkami słowiańszczyzny liturgicznej w Rzeszy wielkomorawskiej, trzeba podkreślić ważną różnicę. Książę Rastisław i jego następcy (i ewentualnie książęta czescy, chorwaccy, wiślańscy itd.) słuchali Mszy św. odprawianej po łacinie; liturgię słowiańską rezerwowano dla mnichów i ludu. W Sławanii XI wieku sam książę jest najgorliwszym propagatorem i realizatorem użytku, choćby sobowtórowego, języka narodowego w liturgii rzymskiego Kościoła. Normalnie uroczystą recytację tekstów słowiańskich przeprowadzali kapłani, diakoni lub lektorzy; czasami sam książę czytał je, dodając czytaną lub improwizowaną egzortę. Gotszalk, który w

chrześcijaństwie widział najlepszą spójnię dla skłóconych plemion słowiańskich, myślał scalić ich jeszcze bardziej przez stworzenie pisanej literatury rodzimej. Przekonał się on bowiem o społeczno-politycznej funkcji piśmiennictwa w czasie swych wędrówek wśród Niemców, Skandynawów, Anglosaksonów; słyszał o równie bujnie rozwijających się literaturach frankońskich, gaelickich, południowo-słowiańskich. Chodziło zresztą nie tylko o produkcję literacką religijną ale i dworską. Zresztą już pogańscy Słowianie północni mieli zapewne spisane księgi święte i mity rodowe, napewno zaś ryli krótkie napisy na cokołach posągów bogów czy na nagrobkach, i to używając alfabetu runicznego.

Idea jednak stworzenia korpusu tekstów liturgicznych zredagowanych w języku narodowym, spisanych runami lub w alfabecie łacińskim, musiała przyjść Gotszalkowi skądinąd. I to nie z odległych obszarów Słowiańszczyzny bałkańskiej czy nadwołżańskiej, ale z bliższych terenów Słowiańszczyzny zachodniej, gdzie zresztą panował ten sam obrządek chrześcijański. A właśnie akurat w jego czasach na terenie Czech rozkwitał wspaniale literatura religijna w języku staro-cerkiewno-słowiańskim; założony w 1032 monaster « benedyktynów słowiańskich » w Sazawie jest w pełnym rozwoju. Taki właśnie ośrodek (a było ich więcej, nie wyłączając Małopolski) produkował masowo dzieła słowiańskie i gotów był je propagować aż po misyjne kresy współbraci słowiańskich. Mimo trudności i zakazów, papieskich i książęcych, obrządek słowiańsko-rzymski rozwijał się żywiołowo na Chorwacji; w królestwie czeskim, na Słowaczynie węgierskiej i w Małopolsce jest już raczej w zaniku. Słowiańskie ośrodki monastyczne powstają na dalekich szlakach pielgrzymkich: na górze Atos, w Jeruzolimie, na górze Synaju. Pierwszy został założony przed 1016 przez Włodzimierza ruskiego; jerozolimski i synajski, sądząc z tekstów cerkiewno-słowiańskich pochodzących stamtąd (np. «Fragmenty kijowskie» przywiezione z Jeruzolimy, Euchologium synajskie), grupowały raczej zakonników słowiańskich z Dalmacji i Czech.

Poprzez Śląsk i Łużyce wpływy obrządku rzymsko-słowiańskiego mogły docierać prawie bezpośrednio do granic państwa gotszalkowego. Trzeba jednak suponować kontakty personalne; lektura kronik współczesnych uprawdopodobnia taką hipotezę.

III. Mnisi słowiańscy w państwie Gotszalka

Jest naprzód ciekawy zapis w Historii hamburskiej Adama: « Opowiada się, że w owym czasie (t.j. za panowania Gotszalka) przybyło do miasta Retry dwóch mnichów z Puszczy Czeskiej (*a Boemiae saltibus*). Tam, głosząc publicznie słowo Boże, z decyzji wiecu pogan, której zresztą sami pragnęli, zostali najpierw wypróbowani różnymi torturami i w końcu ponieśli śmierć dla Chrystusa przez ścięcie głowy. Imiona ich wprawdzie nie są znane ludziom, ale jak szczerze wierzymy, w niebie są zapisane » (scholion 71, s. 163). *Saltus Bohemicus* (Böhmerwald) oznacza bliżej pograniczne czesko-bawarskie, *terra* — pisze Helmold — *a Slavis usque ad nostra tempora possessa*. Użytek liczby mnogiej pozwalałby rozciągnąć znaczenie terminu na całe Czechy. Czy tak czy inaczej, chodzi napewno o zakonników Słowian, i prawdopodobnie obrządku rzymsko-słowiańskiego. Można się zapytać czy przed wyruszeniem do centrum pogaństwa nie

przebywaliby pewien czas na dworze Gotszalka, albo raczej w którymś z klasztorów założonych przez księcia. Z trzech klasztorów w stolicy Meklemburgu jeden był zapewne benedyktyńsko-łaciński; drugi mógł być obsadzony przez mnichów rytu słowiańskiego; trzeci przez zakonnice (obu rytów?).

Spośród biskupów gotszalkowych Słowianinem był prawdopodobnie Aryston, ordynariusz raceburski. Zwróćmy na razie uwagę na jego imię, które jest greckie i nieużywane na Zachodzie, jak i na fakt że był on pielgrzymem do Jerozolimy; *episcopus vagus* w równym stopniu jak i św. Jan Irlandczyk.

Należy tu zacytować dłuższy passus z Historii Adama, dodany później do pierwszej redakcji ale przez samego kronikarza, w formie jakby nostalgicznych wspomnień o dobrych czasach na dworze arcybiskupa Adalberta. Wspomina on, że metropolita rzadko zasiadał do stołu bez towarzystwa pięciu lub siedmiu biskupów, «bo, jak sami słyszeliśmy, powiadał że nie może żyć bez tłumu; gdy zaś nie było ich, wydawał się dokuczliwszy z powodu osamotnienia. Nigdy jednak nie jadał bez towarzystwa choćby trzech, z którego najczęstszym gościem był Tangward (biskup) brandenburski, mąż mądry i przyjaciel arcybiskupa jeszcze przed kapłaństwem. Drugi był Jan, pewien biskup szkocki, «mąż prosty i bojący się Boga», który potem został wysłany do Sławanii i tam, równocześnie z księciem Gotszalkiem, został zabity. Trzeci (częsty gość) nosił miano Bowona, niewiadomo skąd rodem i gdzie święcony na biskupa. Przechwalał się on, że pielgrzymował i dotarł trzy razy do Jerozolimy; stamtąd został wywieziony przez Saracenów do Babilonii i wreszcie, uwolniony z niewoli, wędrował przez wiele krajów świata» (scholion 77, s. 224).

Już L. GIESEBRECHT w do dziś nieprzestarzałej *Wendische Geschichte* (II, s. 88 nota 1) wyraził przypuszczenie, że Bowo jest drugim imieniem biskupa *Aristona*. Wprawdzie jego argumentacja, oparta na wtórnym wariancie imienia (*Bono* w rodzinie rękopisów B; *Bonno* w rękopisach C), nie przekonała późniejszych uczonych. Rzeczywiście zwykła gra słów: *Aristón* «najlepszy», *Bonus* «dobry», nie wystarczy do wytłumaczenia dwuimienności biskupa raceburskiego. W każdym razie tożsamość Arystona i Bowona wydaje mi się oczywista ze względu na kontekst: sąsiedztwo z Janem Szkotem i wzmianka o pielgrzymce do Ziemi Świętej. Dwuimiennosc tłumaczy się pewnymi tradycjami nazewnictwa zakonnego i to tylko w chrześcijaństwie wschodnim, a również na terenach dawnego państwa wielkomorawskiego. Rezerwuję ten wywód na inną okazję⁸⁾. Wyniknie z niego, że Aryston-Bowon był prawdopodobnie mnichem obrządku słowiańsko-rzymskiego.

Tutaj, zakładając takie pochodzenie etniczno-religijne, wystarczy stwierdzić, że ten przyjaciel Adalberta i biskup Gotszalka nadawał się znakomicie na pośrednika w konflikcie o język liturgiczny oraz na inspirowatora zorganizowania praktycznej produkcji rękopiśmiennej słowiańskiej: sprowadzenie dobrych kopistów z Czech lub z Dalmacji, formacja tłumaczy i przepisywaczy w klasztorach księstwa. Według późniejszych Aktów św. Answera klasztor św. Jerzego w Raceburgu, siedzibie biskupiej Arystona, był reguły benedyktyńskiej. Jeśli to prawda, można przynajmniej założyć, że obok grupy łacińskiej istniałaby tam również grupa słowiańsko-benedyktyńska. Tego rodzaju symbioza monastyczna

8) Ob. «Imiona zakonne św. Świerada», wyżej s. 100-101.

praktykowana była powszechnie na Wschodzie, a też na Morawach i w Rzymie ⁹⁾.

Wartoby poszukać innych jeszcze poświadczeń użytku liturgiczno-kościelnego dialektów Słowian nadłabskich i nadodrzańskich ¹⁰⁾. W epoce reformacji Luteranie nawiążą do tych tradycji, tłumacząc dla resztek Słowian połabskich teksty religijne protestanckie. Wprowadzenie narodowych języków liturgicznych w Kościele rzymsko-katolickim w ciągu 60-ych lat XX wieku nie zastanie już ani jednego autochtona słowiańskiego na terytorium dawnego państwa Gotszalka. Należało jednak przypomnieć genialną inicjatywę księcia obodrzyckiego z XI wieku. Należało też przypomnieć, że do szczupłego grona świętych słowiańskich średniowiecza należy oddawna barwna postać św. Gotszalka męczennika. On sam z Ebbonem, św. Answer z towarzyszami, św. Jan Irlandczyk, powinni się znaleźć w Propriach katolików polskich, czeskich, słowackich... Książę Gotszalk mógłby być przypominany i czczony na terenach nadodrzańskich a szczególnie wśród Kaszubów, którzy etnicznie i językowo są bezpośrednimi spadkobiercami zaginionej Sławanii.

1 listopada 1968

9) *Św. Swierad*, s. 42-57.

10) Żadnej wzmianki o tym w pracy IVANA DUJČEVA, wybitnego medievalisty bułgarskiego, « Il problema delle lingue nazionali nel Medio Evo e gli Slavi »: *Ricerche Slavistiche VIII*, 1960, s. 39-60 (= *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, II, Roma 1968, s. 43-68 i 595-597). — Można jeszcze wspomnieć uwagę Helmolda o zdolnościach językowych komesa Adolfa: *preter facundiam enim Latinae et Teutonicae linguae Slavicae nihilominus linguae gnarus erat* (I.49, s. 98). — Ob. ponadto *Kronikę* THIETMARA II, 37: *hic* (tj. Boso, biskup merseburski, 968-970) *uti sibi commissos eo facilius instrueret, Sclavonica scripserat verba et eos kirieleison cantare rogavit...*

SUMMARY

Christianity under Gottschalk's Rule

Basing his work mainly on the eleventh and twelfth century Chronicles of Adam and Helmold, the writer gives a new account of the life of Saint Gottschalk, prince of the Obodrites, with special emphasis on his mission to revitalise Christianity among the north-western Slavs who inhabited the country between the rivers Oder and Elbe. He was active in this work from about 1042 to 1066. In his teens he studied in a German Benedictine monastery and took part in guerilla warfare against the Saxons; later, together with certain princes of the royal house of Denmark, he fought at sea against Anglosaxons and Scandinavians. On his return to his native country he succeeded to the throne and created a powerful state which embraced most of the quarrelsome Slavic tribes. He built churches and at least seven monasteries, organising the dioceses of Mecklemburg, Altenburg and Ratzeburg with the support of Adalbert, Archbishop of Hamburg, and appointing to them bishops, priests and monks of various ethnic and denominational groups. Eventually he died a martyr's death on June 7th, 1066. Other victims of the same pagan revolt, later venerated as saints, were Answer, Abbot of Saint George's monastery in Ratzeburg, and John Scot, bishop of Mecklemburg.

A passus in Adam's Gesta (III.20) is discussed in detail, which seems to imply a liturgical use of the « Slavonic » language, probably the Obodrite dialect: it is stated that in the celebration of the Latin Mass Slavonic formularies were recited aloud even during the Canon of the Mass. Thus the passus assumes the existence of written Slavonic texts, a fact which is quite certain for these territories in the middle of the twelfth century, although at that later period the use of the national language was reduced to the reading of written Slavonic sermons (Helmold, I.84).

It is reasonable to look for centres of such religious and literary activity in certain monasteries of Gottschalk's principedom, such as those in Mecklemburg and in Ratzeburg. The initiative for compiling a corpus of Slavonic liturgical books, as well as the enlistment of the professional aid of translators and of copyists, in all probability came from the Slavonic monks living in the middle-western Slavic territories of Bohemia, Dalmatia and perhaps southern Poland. The writer recalls the story of two Bohemian monks, missionaries and martyrs in the town of Rethre (Adam, scholion 71), and discusses in more detail, here and in the preceding paper (pp. 100-1), the colourful figure of Ariston Bovon who was, in the writer's opinion, a Roman-Slavonic monk. He visited Jerusalem three times, and at one time became a prisoner in the hands of the Muslims in Babylonia. He ate at the table, and was a friend, of the Archbishop Adalbert, and finally became Bishop of Ratzeburg in Gottschalk's principality.

J.T.M.

HENRYK GRANIEWSKI
(London)

THE MISSION OF GENERAL CHRZANOWSKI
TO TURKEY (1836-1840)

PART I. INTRODUCTION

Chapter I. *The Eastern Question and the Polish Cause*

The 1830-31 Polish war against Russia, known as the « November Insurrection », had closed in Poland a period of armed efforts to regain independence, and of high Polish hopes which rising from the Napoleonic age were shattered by the Vienna Treaty decisions. When the open struggle became impossible at home it had to move abroad. There, it was taken up by the post-November Great Polish Emigration, mostly grouped in France where its directing centres were also established.

This body of patriotic exiles, torn by internal strife and dissensions, was split into several factions from which emerged two main schools of political thought. One, more dynamic, the socially radical Democratic movement based its conception of fight for freedom on alliance with the liberal trends in Europe, seeking contacts with secret societies and revolutionary movements. The other, the moderate-Conservative Camp was grouped around the person of Prince Adam Czartoryski and saw the road to independence in co-operation with official elements on the political scene. This camp, most effective in presenting the Polish Cause to the World, became its chief exponent on the international forum, while Prince Czartoryski, the leading figure of the Emigration, gained full recognition as representative of subjugated Poland abroad responsible for the shaping of her foreign policy.

Prince Adam Czartoryski was both an experienced politician and a consummate diplomat. Once Minister for Foreign Affairs to Tsar Alexander I, he later became spokesman for the cause of Poland at the Congress of Vienna. He had a profound knowledge of European problems and enjoyed great moral prestige on an international scale. All this gave him easy access to all most prominent statesmen and political leaders.

Relying on his wide personal connections, Prince Czartoryski was thus able to develop his own, individual method of action. Its first aim was to continually re-introduce the Polish question upon the political stage through immediate contacts with Cabinets and Parliamentary circles of Great Powers. When circumstances allowed him to display independent initiative his tactics were to create *faits accomplis* which could be exploited

to serve Polish interests. Above all he tried to make the Polish presence felt in connection with any possible European conflict. To this end he proceeded to build up a network of his agencies in the vulnerable points of Europe and connecting areas, stimulating everywhere liberation movements and infiltrating his influence into countries threatened by Russian aggression. Thus, working sometimes openly, often under partial cover, but mostly in secret, he never stopped to bring up and promote the Polish cause.

During the first stage of his activity in exile, Prince Czartoryski linked Polish hopes with conflicts in the West. However, when it became obvious that there was no indication of change in the balance of Western relations, he turned his attention to the East. There, the ever more inflammable Eastern Problem connected with Turkey seemed to open new and more realistic possibilities. These could prove to be of major importance. The action, as planned by the Prince, would be moving into territories not too distant from Poland, including the Balkans, where it need no longer rely only on differences between the imperialistic tendencies of the Great Powers, but could draw nourishment from matters vital to smaller nations, similar to those involved in the Polish question.

The Eastern Question could lead to a general war in which at least two of the Partitioning Powers might be engaged. The main object of such war would be Turkey, closely linked with the fate of Poland, and it is upon that country that Czartoryski's mind now became concentrated. Situated on the dividing line between the conflicting interests of the Great Powers, Turkey was fast becoming the touchstone of world relations, a danger point where Russia's aggressive imperialism clashed with the commercial imperialism of England, endangering also the interests of France. Turkey was drawing Russia, the most powerful among Poland's partitioners, into immediate conflict with the West, and in this lay its importance to Polish plans.

During the years 1836-40 Polish expectations were running high as regards an imminent outbreak of war in the East. Without any doubt it would find England standing at the side of Turkey with France approving, against Russia backed by Prussia's sympathy. The attitude of Austria, inclined to favour the West, remained uncertain. A situation was taking shape where the three Partitioning Powers, possibly even at odds with each other, could be involved in a conflict of European dimensions, while hostilities would be taking place in the vicinity of Poland with the participation of Nations friendly to the Polish cause. Everything seemed to indicate that the development of events in the East would bring back the Polish question to the world's attention. Against such political background Prince Czartoryski's idea of co-operation with Turkey, as main although still weak ally, was gradually acquiring definite form.

« As soon as Turkey regains some independence, it is her we should approach, with her bind ourselves, in her seek a trusted friend » ¹⁾.

Links with Turkey would open a new field for Polish political action and give more freedom to its independent ventures. Unfortunately, Turkey, harassed by civil war with the rebel vice-roy of Egypt, Mehemet-Ali, menaced by far more dangerous forces from outside, was in such a state of chaos that her very existence became threatened. Russia's growing

1) M. HANDELSMAN, *Adam Czartoryski*, Warszawa 1949, vol. II p. 71.

influence in the East, her undisguised appetite for Constantinople, finally the protection she imposed on Turkey in connivance with Mehemet Ali, placed the Sultan and his realm on the brink of a precipice. In this critical situation a hope of salvation appeared from the West. The aggressive attitude of Russia provoked England's reaction and led her to a « friendly agreement » with France in order to relieve Russian pressure upon Europe, Turkey and the entire Middle East. The prolonged European crisis connected with the Eastern Problem was thus entering its final phase. Nevertheless, any solution, if it were to remain valid, raised several important questions and required, above all, the building up of a permanent barrier against Russian advance. An independent and renewed Turkey was intended to act in this role. Its renewal depended in turn on drastic internal reforms and, what seemed absolutely essential, on the rebuilding of her military power. Weakened by a whole series of defeats, based on an obsolete set of regulations, the Turkish Army — just as the State itself — stood in great necessity of modernization according to European patterns. The most urgent needs were due to the lack of a General Staff, bad organization of Higher Command, poor armament and inefficient supply services.

To provide for such needs foreign aid was unavoidable, and this could only come from countries friendly towards Turkey. The first step on the road to reforms was to be taken by sending a number of young Turkish officers to study in European military schools, inviting at the same time foreign instructors for the training of troops in Turkey. This gave rise to immediate difficulties. The low moral and intellectual level prevailing among Turkish officers made them unable to cope with European standards. On the other hand, the use of European instructors in Turkey was hindered by religious prejudice and Moslem fanaticism. According to the rulings of the Koran no Christian was allowed to hold commanding positions in the Turkish Army, including the Sultan's own subjects who, on the force of such rulings, were generally exempt from military service. In these circumstances only an advisory voice could be granted to foreign Christian instructors, with no guarantee that their suggestions would be accepted and applied. It was soon proved that such experiments, reduced to half-hearted measures, usually ended in total failure. Turkish inclination to apathy and distaste of any change created further difficulties. Still, Europe was full of enthusiasts ready to brave every risk. They could be found among the followers of European liberal movements, and especially among the large group of officers from the Great Polish Emigration.

This fact opened the possibility for a Polish venture in the East. The use of Polish officers for reform work in Turkey could lead in time to the establishment of Polish military formations in that country. The Polish standard might be raised again on Turkish soil and the ranks of the new army replenished by volunteers, Poles enrolled by force into the Russian Armies of the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea who had either deserted or become prisoners of war. Turco-Polish co-operation already had its tradition, the question consisted now in its revival. Moreover, such co-operation could interest England where a Polish military action in Turkey might be viewed favourably. In fact, it was England that decided to sponsor General Wojciech Chrzanowski as reformer of the Turkish Army. He was to operate in Turkey in a dual capacity: as a representative of England, and as chief agent of Prince Czartoryski

charged with the task of preparing a Polish military-political action in the East. However, before this came to pass some time had to elapse in discussions and preliminary arrangements.

General Wojciech Chrzanowski was one of the most distinguished and highly educated officers in the Army of the post-Vienna Treaty Polish Kingdom. Born around 1793 he went to school in Cracow where he also studied at the University. After the defeat of Austria by Napoleon in 1809, he enlisted in the Army of the Duchy of Warsaw, was directed to the Military Academy and graduated from it as Officer of Artillery. In 1812, he took part in Napoleon's Moscow campaign and, twice wounded, was taken prisoner by the Russians. After liberation, he joined the re-established Polish Army of the Vienna Treaty Kingdom of Poland and was posted on the Staff of the Quartermaster General. Several years of intense work and study followed, placing him among the most outstanding officers in the Army. For this reason he was included in a group of Polish officers sent by the Grand Duke Constantine as observers to Russian Armed Forces operating against Turkey in 1828-29. From this experience he gained a thorough knowledge of both hostile armies in action, as well as of the Turco-Balkan theatre of operations.

In 1830, at the outbreak of the Polish November Insurrection, Chrzanowski was a Lieut. Colonel. Disbelieving in the possibility of victory he was against war with Russia. At the news of the 29th November Night events he took no action, remaining for a few days in retirement. However, when the situation was clarified, he declared his access to the Insurrection. During the period of preparation for war he fulfilled various General Staff functions, drafting his own plans of operations and thus antagonizing the Dictator, General Chłopicki. After the battle of Grochów on the 25th February 1831, he was promoted Chief of General Staff with the rank of Colonel. He continued in this capacity during the most lucky phase of the war, and in the course of the Spring offensive was promoted Major General. Later, at odds with the Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Skrzynecki, he preferred to go into action and undertook to lead an expedition to Zamość at the head of an independent Army Corps. Breaking through Russian forces far superior in number to his own, near Firlej he managed to reach the fortress. Returning in June from this expedition he removed from Zamość a transport of guns intended for Warsaw, and was expected to co-operate in a move against the Russian Army Corps under General Rüdiger in which his part was to be of essential importance. When, not through any fault of his, the operation failed, Chrzanowski engaged the enemy victoriously near Lublin, crossed to the left bank of the river Vistula, and took command of the troops in her middle reaches. He accepted this new task when he himself was already utterly discouraged and had lost faith in any possibility of ultimate success. His operations against Golovin on the Siedlce highway were sluggish and ineffective. He allowed the enemy to slip through, although he had every chance to cut off his retreat by a surrounding movement.

Recalled subsequently to the main body of the Army on the river Bzura and promoted Lieut. General, Chrzanowski took command of a Cavalry Corps. During the Bolimow conference, where the future of the war was being discussed, he was the first to declare himself openly in favour of negotiations. After the 15 August night's disturbances he was nominated Governor of Warsaw, a military office which he held until the fall of the Capital. When the Government and the Diet left Warsaw with

the retreating Polish Army, Chrzanowski abandoned any further thought of resistance. He remained in the Capital and, as former Lt. Colonel of the Polish Kingdom's Army, took oath of allegiance to Tsar Nicolas I.

Following this surrender, Chrzanowski remained for several months in Warsaw during which time the Russians tried to tempt him with various inviting offers. He was able to refuse them with tact and dignity, but without giving grounds for suspicion ²⁾. Meanwhile, the atmosphere in occupied Warsaw and the general situation in the Kingdom overrun by Russian troops, soon cured him of his former illusions. Faced with reality, he reacted with courage and made a decision which was to lead him to an, as yet, unknown destination. Deeply convinced now that the struggle with Russia must continue, his only idea was to fight on. He realized that only abroad he could find an opportunity to do so, and in his opinion especially in connection with England ³⁾. Thus, of his own free will Chrzanowski chose exile, and aware that he was under suspicion on account of his conduct during the recent war and his final surrender to Russians, daring the hostility of his companions-in-arms, risking refusal of acceptance by the Emigration, he directed his steps towards France.

Chapter II. *Early Days in Exile*

Chrzanowski went abroad to join the Great Emigration in circumstances very different from those in which the other generals of the 1830-31 war had left Poland. At the beginning of 1832 he travelled quite openly to Galicia on a Russian passport valid for three months, with the excuse of attending to family matters. While in Cracow, he met Count Władysław Zamoyski and through him got in touch with Prince Adam Czartoryski, who at that time was visiting London ⁴⁾. When his visa expired, Chrzanowski refused to return to the Polish Kingdom and was consequently directed by the Austrian authorities to Brünn, the place where Polish military exiles were being interned. The period of internment was neither long, nor difficult to bear. Thanks to steps undertaken in his favour by French Diplomatic and Consular officials in Vienna, he was able to obtain a French passport and soon continued his journey to France via Strasbourg. He settled at first in Châlons on the river Marne. From there he started a correspondence with Prince Czartoryski who, in the meantime, had returned to Paris. Received coldly, even with marks of hostility, by military circles of the Emigration, Chrzanowski counted on Czartoryski's aid and protection, hoping in his support in applying for service with some foreign army ⁵⁾.

2) *Jen. Zamoyski* vol. II p. 521, Poznań 1913. « Chrzanowski był tu niedawno. Moskale wiele mu obietnic czynili, od których się zrzęcznie wykręcił. Teraz marzy tylko o sposobności jakby ich znowu przywitać. Ma wielką ochotę usługi ofiarować Anglii ».

3) *Ibidem*.

4) *Ibidem*.

5) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski 17.8.1832. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

The Prince responded with encouragement and advice. He urged Chrzanowski to stand fast against all attacks from his countrymen. In order to dissolve the atmosphere of suspicion he advised him to write his memoirs of the Polish campaign, where his motives could be shown in their true light and his attitude explained. At the same time he recommended restraint, understanding and the will to reach agreement. Promising to forward Chrzanowski's plans he pointed out, however, that nothing seemed to predict war in the nearest future. England and France did not want it, nor would Russia be the first to move ⁶⁾.

It was clear that the Prince had some plans in regard to Chrzanowski. At first he thought of sending him to Portugal or Spain, or placing him with the Belgian Army, but Chrzanowski's reaction to those propositions was far from enthusiastic. He rejected the idea of Spain and Portugal, expressing himself strongly about the incompetence of military commanders in those countries. His opinion of the Belgian Army was even lower ⁷⁾. Instead, he advanced his own project to join the English Colonial Forces with the modest rank of Lieut. Colonel, impossible for him to accept anywhere in Europe. He was confident in being able to distinguish himself. In his belief few English Colonels could match him as regards war experience. But after closer consideration this proposition also proved to have serious drawbacks. Service in English Colonial Forces would mean removal from the European scene, and thus renouncement to take part in a possible conflict which might take place there in the near future. So, as an alternative, Chrzanowski suggested going to Algiers, this time in his proper rank of Lieut. General. To reach this purpose he was ready to be contented with the low pay drawn by Polish generals in France. As a strong argument in favour of this plan he stressed the fact of his knowledge of Turkish methods of combat, gained by experience in action against the Turks. The Arabs, he assumed, would fight according to a similar pattern ⁸⁾.

Nevertheless, the Algerian project also came to nothing ⁹⁾. Despite his poor opinion of the Belgian Army, Chrzanowski now reconsidered Prince Czartoryski's first suggestion and started steps in Brussels to arrange the matter. The result was negative, owing to protests from Polish officers already serving in the Belgian Army. All the hostile feelings against Chrzanowski came to voice again at this occasion ¹⁰⁾.

The struggle for right of place in the ranks of Polish patriots abroad had to go on. Neither the cold reception given him by his countrymen and comrades-in-arms, nor the first unsuccessful efforts to have a part in the life of the Emigration, seemed to deter Chrzanowski from continuing on his chosen road. True, he was deeply hurt by the damaging and unjust accusations hurled against him. He was charged with lack of patriotism, with acting to the detriment of the national cause, there was

6) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski 29.8.1832. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

7) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski 17.9.1832. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

8) Ibidem.

9) A.G. BENIS, « Une Mission Militaire Polonaise en Egypte », Le Caire 1938, N. 47.

10) *Jen. Zamoycki*, vol. III, pp. 95-97, Poznań 1914. *Pamiętnik Emigracji « Bolesław VI »*, Paryż 28.12.1832, O Pułkowniku Chrzanowskim, Pismo Komitetu Narodowego z 26.12.1832 do belgijskiego ministra wojny.

even suspicion of treason and of favouring the enemy. Chrzanowski remained intrepid in taking up his own defence. He tried to refute the charges in a pamphlet entitled « *Trahison en Pologne* » published in Paris in 1832. It was a failure. The arguments and the evidence produced did not convince and only provoked a fresh wave of abuse. Chrzanowski remained undefeated, repulsing every attack and gradually fighting out for himself a recognized place among the patriots of the Emigration ¹¹⁾.

In this struggle he was helped on by his strong political convictions. From the moment of his arrival abroad, his thoughts were firmly fixed upon the East. This was only natural in view of his decision to leave the country in order to carry on the fight against Russia. Only in the East did Chrzanowski expect to find an opportunity of « meeting the Russians again to greet them » as they deserved. His general appraisal of the situation, similar to that of certain political circles in Europe, anticipated the imminent collapse and dissolution of the Turkish State. The downfall of Turkey would obviously result in a quarrel over the spoils among her neighbours, leading in turn to a larger conflict, involving other countries whose interests might be at stake. Finally, the whole upheaval would come to its climax in a clash between Russia and a new Power rising from the ruins of Turkey, namely the Moslem Empire of Mehemet-Ali, ruler of Egypt and the most probable claimant to Turkey's heritage. A claim which was also the object of Russia's aspiration. At the moment Russia seemed friendly towards the Sultan, even declaring herself ready to offer him assistance but, in fact, never stopped to conspire for his downfall ¹²⁾.

Basing himself upon such views, Chrzanowski concentrated his hopes for action upon the East, giving at first priority to Egypt. He even approached Mehemet-Ali with the proposition of coming to Egypt, but his offer remained unanswered ¹³⁾. In spite of that, the East continued to hold his whole attention, and in this connection he proceeded to develop a plan for the restoration of independent Poland, which, in its first stage, applied only to a part of former Polish territories. His idea was to draw both Russia and Austria into the scheme. He allowed the possibility of inducing Austria to restore Galicia, and Russia the Vienna Treaty Kingdom, to an independent Poland, in return for Turkish possessions. Both Great Powers would gain by the transaction, Austria by assuring for herself a safety screen from Russia on a considerable length of frontier, Russia by the acquisition of less troublesome territories somewhere on the borders of Asia ¹⁴⁾. In this way the nucleus of a free Polish State could be established under the rule of an Austrian Archduke. Certainly, a rather vulnerable body politic, squeezed between Russia and Prussia, but still larger than any since the partitions of the Polish Commonwealth. It could provide a foundation for the rebuilding and development of national resources, open possibilities for territorial extension and, in favourable

11) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 17.9.1832. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

12) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 1.9.1832. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

13) A.G. BENIS, N. 37, 42, 47. Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 1.9.1832. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485: « W moich marzeniach skąd możnaby się czego dla kraju spodziewać, jestem teraz na Baszy Egiptu. Widzi Książę, że dość daleko szukam nadziei. Z tym wszystkim nie byłoby nic niepodobnego, żeby wskutek tej wojny nie zachwiał się mocno Sułtan ».

14) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. Ibidem.

circumstances, become the spring board to complete independence. Its structure should be based on the principle of Monarchy, Chrzanowski did not admit any other. He looked to Austria and her dynasty to restore Poland to life. Austria had 80.000 Poles serving in her Armed Forces, it would be enough to put them back in Polish uniforms to re-establish a Polish Army. Chrzanowski was against any closer links with France. He had a deep mistrust of her revolutionary spirit and liberal ideas which, in his opinion, could only produce chaos. Reborn Poland would need a strong Government, able to wipe out very trace of foreign rule, and blend again into one whole the torn apart provinces where some differences could already be observed. In this respect he regarded the need, even the necessity, of abolishing the «Greek religion» as one of the most imperative tasks to be undertaken for the common good by a future Polish Government. According to him this could be achieved with no great difficulty, avoiding unnecessary agitation and keeping away the Greek hierarchy from interference in governmental affairs ¹⁵⁾.

Such partial solution to the Polish question depended in great measure upon the good will of Russia, and there was no certitude whatever that she would remain true to her commitments. Some insurance against bad faith could derive from their international character. Breaking them, Russia would risk opposition from Austria and England, and thus provide those Powers with the right for armed intervention. This, argued Chrzanowski, might benefit Poland. An armed conflict could develop into war in the East, while in the North, Prussia, as ally and partner of Russia, could be defeated by the joint forces of France and minor German States. Poland's partitioners would be thus engaged on two different fronts, and their attention drawn in opposite directions, which would place Poland in a favourable position ¹⁶⁾.

Chrzanowski's plans for Poland and his views of the political situation had several points of contact with those of Prince Czartoryski. At a certain time he also believed in Turkey's collapse and the rise of an Egyptian Empire as her successor ¹⁷⁾. He suspected at least, that the Sultan might subject his country to Russian domination ¹⁸⁾ and, in view of such possibility, formed some plans in connection with Egypt, although without great expectations in this respect.

However, a Polish Military Mission did go to Egypt, but without Chrzanowski. The Prince chose General Dembiński for its leader. Officially called to reform the Egyptian Army, he was to establish a Polish military centre in the East. It took the Prince some time to make this decision. His exclusion from the Mission was to Chrzanowski a real disappointment which upset all his plans. Nevertheless, he did not give up hope to join it in Egypt. In this he was encouraged by Dembiński himself ¹⁹⁾ who wanted him there as his chief assistant, and later perhaps

15) Ibidem.

16) Ibidem.

17) M. KUKIEL, *Czartoryski and European Unity, 1770-1861*, Princeton, New Jersey 1955, p. 233.

18) M. HANDELSMAN, vol. II, p. 73.

19) A.G. BENIS, N. 37, 132.

as his successor ²⁰⁾. He approached Czartoryski in this matter ²¹⁾, stating his reasons, but at that moment, in 1833, the Prince was not inclined to send Chrzanowski to Egypt. On the other hand he had nothing against such project in principle, and even started to prepare Chrzanowski for his future role. He warned him about the difficulties connected with the task, gave him some wise advice about behaviour in the East, spoke of the advantages which could derive from the venture for the Polish cause. He also mentioned the possibility of forming a Polish Legion. In return he expected close collaboration with himself and the passing on of information. Finally, he suggested that Chrzanowski should explore carefully the situation before leaving and assure himself of acceptance into Egyptian service, preferably through Dembiński who was to be the leading figure in Egypt ²²⁾.

The Prince's instructions to Chrzanowski were actually a repetition of the briefing received by Dembiński which they supplemented. But Chrzanowski's departure continued to be delayed owing to lack of funds, the uncertain situation in the East, Mehemet-Ali's cunning machinations and alien plotting in Egypt. The main reason for the delay, however, came from Dembiński himself. At the last moment he decided that the ground for Chrzanowski's arrival must be prepared in advance and took upon himself this charge ²³⁾. Soon after his departure certain news from the East made Chrzanowski think again ²⁴⁾, and when at last Dembiński asked for him from Egypt he remained deaf to the request ²⁵⁾. The Prince, also did not insist upon his leaving ²⁶⁾.

The reality of such doubts was soon confirmed by the way in which Dembiński was received in Egypt. Welcomed with great honours by Mehemet-Ali in Alexandria, he met later with unexpected difficulties at the Headquarters of Ibrahim Pasha in Syria. The double-faced attitude of Mehemet-Ali and Russian intrigues paralysed all his moves and after a few months the Mission ended in complete unsuccess. Meanwhile, Chrzanowski remained in Paris, joined Prince Czartoryski's close entourage and in time became his chief military adviser. Moreover, the Prince used him to inform the British Government about Russian power and intentions in the East ²⁷⁾, and to lesser extent, as provider of information to the Government of France ²⁸⁾.

20) Ibidem. N. 188, 209, 223, 224, 226, 228.

21) Ibidem. N. 74.

22) Ibidem. N. 52, 59, 77, 78, 80, 81, 86.

23) Ibidem. N. 97.

24) Ibidem. N. 62, 73, 74, 81, 95.

25) Ibidem. N. 123, 128, 132.

26) Ibidem. N. 61, 65, 96, 141.

27) M. Handelsman, vol. II, p. 75.

28) *Jen. Zamoyski*, vol. III, p. 162, Czartoryski to Zamoyski, 21.6.1833. « Pytałem X. de Broglie czy nie potrzebowaliby wiadomości o wojsku moskiewskiem, o położeniu miejsc fortów etc. na wschodzie, że są tu tacy, którzy zrobiwszy kampanię z wojskiem moskiewskiem aż do Adrianopola byłiby w stanie rzucić wiele światła w podanych hipotezach. Jął się tego z ogniem. Wtedy mu powiedziałem, iż do życzenia byłoby, aby raczył oświadczyć, na jakie punkty trzeba szczególniej uwagę obrócić, na jakie zapytania odpowiedzieć, gdyż trudno jest, nie mając takiego określenia trafić na żądane informacje. Odpowiedział, że o tem pomyśl. Chrzanowskiemu do tego użyję ».

In addition to such duties, Chrzanowski continued his activity as a writer. In 1835 his study entitled « *O Wojnie Partyzanckiej* », appeared in print in Paris, the first work treating of guerilla war published in exile ²⁹⁾. It acted as encouragement to other authors who developed their own conceptions in this matter. Earlier still, in 1833, Chrzanowski started to work upon a map of Poland before the partitions, a task which he was forced to abandon owing to lack of funds and his own departure for the East. In this character of military adviser to Prince Czartoryski and expert informer to the English and French Governments, Chrzanowski remained until 1836, when he stepped out on to a larger field of action opening to him new possibilities in connection with his mission to Turkey.

Chapter III. *Origins of Chrzanowski's Mission to Turkey*

General Chrzanowski's mission to Turkey was the fruit of long efforts and incessant diplomatic activity on the part of Prince Adam Czartoryski. The roots from which the idea developed can be traced to the moment when Turkey, on the verge of collapse, accepted Russian protectorate by the Unkiar Skelessi Treaty of 8th July 1833. Russia's age-long dream of dominating Constantinople seemed to be coming true. Powerless, forsaken by all, mortally threatened by his own liegeman Mehemet Ali, the Sultan Mahmud II was turning for assistance to the very Power which was the most dangerous enemy of the Ottoman Empire.

This desperate step had been preceded by repeated and unsuccessful appeals for help from the Sultan to the Western Powers ³⁰⁾. It was then, that Turkish diplomacy came, for the first time, into contact with the Polish Emigration or, more strictly speaking, with Prince Czartoryski and his political group. The initiative came from Turkey and found ready ground for response. Not immediately, however. The first Turkish approach was but tentative, as if testing possibilities for collaboration. It took the form of an offer from the Turkish Envoy in London, Namik Pasha, submitted to Prince Czartoryski in February 1833. The offer contained a tempting plan of removing the whole Polish Emigration in a body to Turkey, where it would be used to carry out reforms in the army and the State administration ³¹⁾. Although worth serious consideration, the proposal seemed premature. Prince Czartoryski judged it unrealistic on account of obvious Russian protest. Moreover, it stressed a condition impossible to accept: the conversion of all concerned to Moslim faith ³²⁾. Soon, the whole matter had to be dropped anyhow, in view of the changes

29) M. KUKIEL, *Koncepcje Powstania Narodowego przed Wiosną Ludów.*, Teki Historyczne, II, London 1948, p. 171.

30) Harold TEMPERLEY, *England and the Near East - The Crimea*, pp. 63, 64. P.P. GRAVES, *The Question of the Straits*, pp. 101, 102. J.A.R. MARRIOT, *The Eastern Question*, pp. 232, 233. Henry DODWELL, *The Founder of Modern Egypt*, p. 116. William MILLER, *The Ottoman Empire and its Successors, 1801-1927*, p. 146.

31) *Jen. Zamoyski*, vol. III, p. 106.

32) M. HANDELSMAN, vol. II, p. 69. M. KUKIEL, p. 233.

in Turkey's situation. Even if the door remained open for the future, no Polish-Turkish co-operation was possible in practice at the moment. On February 20th 1833, the first Russian ships entered the Bosphorus, followed by other units of the Navy, and later detachments of Russian troops landed in the vicinity of Constantinople ³³).

Russia's menacing shadow was spreading over Turkey. At the same time English prestige fell to its lowest point. Although supreme as a sea Power, England was unable to support Turkey. She had nothing to offer the Sultan. Her Navy was engaged in Dutch and Portuguese waters. In addition, her moves in the game were cramped by old rivalries with France in the East-Mediterranean, and this in spite of their mutual interest in the Bosphorus which forced them to share the same attitude of mistrust towards Russia. Before launching a political campaign in Turkey, England was first obliged to retrieve there her lost position and influence ³⁴).

This task was entrusted to the new English ambassador to Turkey, Lord Ponsonby. Arriving in Constantinople in May 1833, on the eve of the Unkiar Skelessi Treaty, he found himself in an atmosphere of crisis. The Sultan's throne was toppling, there was fear of Russian intervention, and the scare of revolution loomed over the Capital threatened with occupation by Mehemet-Ali. Accordingly, all his moves during the first few months were extremely cautious. It seemed imperative not to provoke Russia and avoid precipitating events which could not be dealt with. But already the following year the situation showed improvement. Ships of the English and of the French Navy appeared in Turkish waters, and Lord Ponsonby was authorized to summon the English Fleet to the Bosphorus at a moment's notice, even without previous instructions from London. England continued to increase her Naval Force in the Mediterranean, started to probe the strength of defences on the Dardanelles, and so did France. All those measures had an invigorating effect upon the spirit of resistance in Constantinople. They were also a warning to Russia that the two Western Maritime Powers were ready to oppose her with force, and an indication to Mehemet-Ali of the limits set to his aspirations ³⁵).

During the years 1836-37, Ponsonby steadily gained influence with the Sultan, England's position in Turkey was re-established and her importance consolidated. The Eastern Question occupies now a principal place among the many imperial problems in the policy of Lord Palmerston, the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Underlying the whole question was the fact of deep antagonism between England and Russia. Nevertheless, Palmerston tries to find a peaceful solution which, in his opinion, can be reached in co-operation with a strong, independent Turkey, renewed by financial and military reforms. Such reforms required, however, both expenditure of funds and time. Thus Palmerston avoids to provoke Russia, restrains the Sultan in his bellicose fervour, tries to keep Mehemet-Ali peaceful, in order to prepare for a decisive blow at the right moment.

Among Turkey's needs military reforms were the most pressing. After the abolition of the decayed institution of Janissaries, no sound military

33) Sir Charles WEBSTER, *The Foreign Policy of Palmerston*, p. 285. H. TEMPERLEY, pp. 64, 65. J.A.R. MARRIOT, pp. 234, 235. P.P. GRAVES, pp. 101, 102. William MILLER, pp. 146, 147.

34) Harold TEMPERLEY, pp. 64, 65. William MILLER, pp. 146, 147. Henry DODWELL, p. 121.

35) Sir Charles WEBSTER, p. 336. J.A.R. MARRIOT, p. 236. P.P. GRAVES, p. 108.

system had been worked out to take its place. Repeated defeats in battle had put a stop to all attempts of reforming the Army for which, moreover, the necessary resources no longer existed. The Turkish Army had lost its character of a striking force, not so much on account of material difficulties, as owing to the prevailing low moral level and almost complete ignorance as regards training and the art of warfare. True to his traditions, the Turkish soldier remained good, even if nobody cared for his welfare, but the Officers Corps had fallen far below professional standards. Therefore, military reforms should start with the building up of proper officers' cadres, while the Army, if it were to face its task in Turkey's difficult situation, had to be reorganized according to a European pattern. Help in this matter was vital to Turkey, and could only come from friendly Powers abroad, in the first place from England.

In fact, already towards the end of 1833 the English Government approached the Sultan with the proposal of sending military instructors to Turkey ³⁶⁾. No positive result was reached. Almost at the same time French officers arrived in Turkey, but their appearance provoked strong protest from the Russian Embassy and pressure upon the Sultan. Without having achieved much, the French officers were obliged to leave Turkey ³⁷⁾. The matter, however, did not rest there. The English Government, or rather Palmerston, never stopped to plan aid for the Turkish Army. Two years later Palmerston renewed his proposal which this time the Sultan accepted gratefully ³⁸⁾. His ambassador in London, Nurri Effendi, was instructed to examine the arrangements proposed by the English Government ³⁹⁾. A long exchange of correspondence between London and Constantinople followed, and one of the results was the decision of sending Chrzanowski to Turkey.

The Eastern policy of Prince Adam Czartoryski pursued a line parallel to the development of events in the Near East. From the very nature of things it had to run along a twofold course. Unavoidably dependant upon England it remained subject to English policy. On the other hand, this dependence found compensation in links with Turkey. Threatened by a mutual enemy, Turkey would allow the Prince more freedom of movement within the limits of her own political sovereignty.

In February 1833, Prince Czartoryski had several talks with Namik Pasha in London. From these conversations it followed clearly, that Polish interests were inseparably linked up with Eastern affairs in which Turkey's part would become of special importance. Thus, to maintain her in existence should be to the advantage of both Europe and Poland. Therefore, she must be helped back to vigour by reforms and reorganization of her Army, using for this purpose Polish officers as instructors. Later, in more favourable circumstances, independent Polish military formations could be established on Turkish soil ⁴⁰⁾.

36) Sir Charles WEBSTER, p. 336.

37) Ponsonby to Palmerston, 28.12.1836, P.R.O., FO/18/278 and 29.12.1835, P.R.O. FO/195/124.

38) Palmerston to Ponsonby, 4.11.1835, P.R.O. FO/195/122.

39) Nurri Effendi to Palmerston, 19.1.1836, P.R.O. FO/195/130 and 13.1.1836, P.R.O. FO/78/297.

40) M. HANDELSMAN, vol. II, p. 69.

Such considerations were soon invalidated by the quickly changing situation in the East and the Unkiar Skelessi Treaty. Czartoryski now considers the possibility of abandoning Turkey and turning to Mehemet-Ali as the only independent Power left in the East ⁴¹⁾. General Dembiński's mission to Egypt was to be a first step in that direction, undertaken this time in association with France. The Prince also tries to make use of the Persian inflammable situation. He stresses in London the necessity of restraining Russia in her aggressive drive, suggests that a Polish Corps should be formed in Persia, or at least a Polish general sent to reside there ⁴²⁾. Moreover, he points out the extreme importance of the Caucasus which at the moment deserves very special attention ⁴³⁾.

Meanwhile, the centre of gravity in the Eastern Question had gradually shifted back to the Bosphorus. Mehemet-Ali, playing a double game, came to an agreement with Russia. This unfortunate and dangerous turn of events provoked the inevitable reaction of the Western Powers. However, the change in their attitude was slow to assert itself. Two years had to elapse before England, in joint action with France, was able to regain her lost influence in Constantinople and consolidate her position which, nevertheless, still remained defensive.

In conformity with the fluctuating Eastern situation the shaping of Polish affairs followed. General Dembiński's mission to Egypt fizzled out in complete failure. Czartoryski turns now his mind back to the Bosphorus, aware that England will have the deciding voice in the Eastern Question. He plans to make Constantinople the headquarters of Polish action in the East, intending to place there his chief agent who would direct a whole network of agencies covering Persia, the Caucasus and the Balkans ⁴⁴⁾. In turn, this chief agent, in whose hands all the threads of the network would come together, was to be responsible directly to the Prince, remain with him in constant contact, and act according to his orders and guidance.

As focal point to the Eastern Question, Turkey becomes, from 1835 onwards, a main issue in the policy of four European Powers: England, Russia, France and Austria. An issue which bearing the seeds of war in the East grew in threat with every passing year. With the probability of war, the moment was drawing near when Prince Czartoryski could start thinking of putting into effect his Polish plans in connection with the East. Obviously, the matter still required extensive preparation and had to be brought into line with the political attitude adopted by England. Turkey did not come immediately under consideration. Russian influence there, considerably weakened, had not been, as yet, completely overcome. Before Constantinople could be chosen as centre for Polish action in the East, activity had to be reduced to the Persian sector, although it did not offer much greater possibilities than Turkey. In July 1835, Count Zamoyski approached Palmerston in London with the suggestion of having a Pole

41) Ibidem. Vol. II, p. 71.

42) General Bem offered himself for this position. Letter of Palmerston 11.3.1834. HANDELSMAN, vol. II, p. 70. A.G. BENIS, N. 233.

43) M. HANDELSMAN, vol. II, p. 70.

44) Czartoryski (Książę Wojewoda), Wschód 1836, Powód i cel Missji Wschodnich, August 1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5282.

attached to the English Legation in Teheran for observation of Russian moves in Persia and on her borders. Palmerston rejected the project, explaining his decision by the usual considerations relating to Russia, but promised to make use of it, if need be, at an appropriate moment ⁴⁵⁾. For the time being Zamoyski's proposal resulted only in closer and more cordial Polish contacts with the English Government, and Lord Palmerston in particular. Soon afterwards Zamoyski wrote from London: «Palmerston civil to a degree, — allright, let it be — but how well he understands our situation, our wishes and our hopes, this is quite remarkable, all the more important since he steadily grows in consequence among his colleagues » ⁴⁶⁾.

It was the first sign that Polish action might be included in the Eastern contest. Naturally, any Polish action dependent on England, disinclined to solve the Eastern crisis by war, had to be carried out under some sort of cover. Czartoryski moved with great caution. True to his principle of not proclaiming the Polish cause openly before its time, in order to avoid its complete elimination, he continued to prepare for the moment when the situation would be ripe for action. It was important to avoid further irritation on account of Poland in the already strained Anglo-Russian relations, and to organize one's own resources for stepping in at the right moment. To this end the Prince was looking for an opportunity where Polish activity could be linked up with the general trend of English interests in the East. Such an opportunity was provided by the necessity of military reforms in Turkey, where he wanted to introduce Polish participation. This task was entrusted by the Prince to General Chrzanowski.

45) *Jen. Zamoyski*, vol. III, p. 333.

46) *Ibidem*, p. 308.

PART. II. FIRST VISIT TO THE EAST 1836-1837

Chapter IV. *Preparations for the Mission and Departure for the East*

The proposal of introducing Polish active participation in Eastern affairs, put forward in London by Prince Czartoryski and followed by his suggestion of sending Chrzanowski on a mission to Turkey, had probably taken place by the middle of 1835. Palmerston's increased friendliness towards Poles, shown in the presence of Zamoyski, as well as his more lively interest in Polish problems, seem to confirm it ¹⁾. It is also probable, that when the Prince on 4th October 1835 left for an extensive tour of England and Scotland to interest wide circles of British public opinion in the Polish cause, he was already relying on certain promises from Palmerston, or even had a definite plan which only needed to be given final shape in London. The moment could not have been more appropriate. Czartoryski's initiative coincided with the revival of an English project under consideration for the past two years. It concerned the use of English officers as instructors for the reorganization of the Turkish Army, and when the Prince arrived in London the matter was already well under way. Czartoryski jumped at the opportunity and suggested to Palmerston that Polish officers should be sent to Turkey for that purpose. He especially recommended Chrzanowski, acquainting Palmerston with his distinguished military record and his service with the Russian Army. At first Palmerston remained hesitant and expressed certain doubts, but the Prince had no great difficulty in winning him over to the idea. In this he was helped by Palmerston's own high opinion of Poles as excellent, intelligent soldiers, who could render great service to Turkey. Already accustomed to the stress of life in exile, they would find less hard to adapt themselves to the exotic Turkish atmosphere and habits, bringing, moreover, to their task a good knowledge of Russia and the East ²⁾. Thus, at the beginning of November, soon after the first talks with Czartoryski, Palmerston gave his ambassador in Constantinople an outline of the new plan, mentioning the intention of sending Chrzanowski to Turkey and instructing Ponsonby to test the ground locally in this connection ³⁾.

1) *Jen. Zamoyski*, vol. III, p. 308.

2) *HANDELSMAN*, vol. II, p. 75, moves the beginning of the Chrzanowski project to January 1836. B.P. Palmerston to Ponsonby F.O. 4.11.1835.

3) Ponsonby to Palmerston, 10.1.1836, Secret Private P.R.O. FO/78/273, Palmerston to Ponsonby, 7.3.1836, Private and Confidential P.R.O. FO/78/271. B.P. Palmerston to Ponsonby F.O. 4.11.1835.

The matter was not simple to arrange. Avoiding upsets with Russia was all important in view of Palmerston's wish for a peaceful settlement of the Eastern conflict, and the use of Poles in Turkey could create serious difficulties in this respect. Their active presence would bring again into the open the festering sore of the Polish question, so closely linked with the fate of Turkey, while the intricate legal situation of Poles, especially those from provinces occupied by Russia, meant a further complication for English diplomacy. Any such venture in the East had to be kept well hidden from the sharp eyes of Russian diplomats. In England voices were often raised in the Cabinet against Palmerston's policy, so that sometimes he found himself standing alone. From Constantinople, Lord Ponsonby also opposed the idea of introducing a Polish factor into Turkish affairs. In spite of his improved position in Turkey and his growing influence with the Sultan, he did not feel himself able to prevent Russian interference and avert an unwelcome quarrel between Russia and the Sultan. For that reason, and contrary to Palmerston's explicit instructions he remained unwilling to undertake steps in favour of Chrzanowski: « I have not thought it prudent to put forward the Pole you wrote to me about, because it is not right to give the Russians ground for interference such as that would be. It is important to avoid all things, as far as possible, that may occasion an open quarrel between the Poles and the Russians » ⁴⁾.

In this situation, at the beginning of 1836, Prince Czartoryski decides to bring Chrzanowski over to London ⁵⁾. This takes place in the second half of January when the Prince, after his tour of the provinces, returns to London and starts to put into effect the second part of his plans connected with the visit to England. He resumes talks with Palmerston to whom he presents Chrzanowski, trying to bring to a favourable conclusion the project of placing him in Constantinople ⁶⁾. Chrzanowski, by his intelligence, quickness of understanding and solid knowledge made a very good impression on Palmerston: « he is a remarkably intelligent, well informed little fellow ». He gained at once Palmerston's confidence who tried to pass on this feeling to Ponsonby, informing him about the decisions taken: « the little man is highly respectable and I am confident would be found most useful » ⁷⁾.

The difficulties were still many, but Palmerston did not let himself be discouraged and carried on with his plans to reach the proposed end. He continued in long conversations with Prince Czartoryski, profiting from his advice, experience and knowledge of Europe and Russia, yet certain obstacles could not be overcome immediately. Weeks passed and the matter still dragged on. Palmerston was reluctant to provide Chrzanowski with a letter of introduction, preferring to wait for a direct invitation from the Sultan, but Constantinople remained silent. Chrzanowski was becoming impatient over the delay, deplored also by the Prince who,

4) Ponsonby to Palmerston, 10.1.1836, Secret Private P.R.O. FO/78/273.

5) *Jen. Zamoyski*, vol. III, pp. 375-6.

6) *HANDELSMAN*, vol. II, p. 75.

7) Palmerston to Ponsonby 7.3.1836, Private and Confidential P.R.O. FO/78/271, B.P. Palmerston to Ponsonby F.O. 4.11.1835, Private 31.3.1836.

nevertheless, tried to calm the General's irritation, at the same time pressing Palmerston to accelerate the date of departure ⁸⁾. However, even if impatient and irritated, Chrzanowski did not remain idle during this trying period of waiting. Although his mission was not, as yet, absolutely certain, he prepared as an introduction to his future task a Memorandum on the Dardanelles which he submitted to the English Government. Stressing their key position in the East, he argued that if Russia were to take possession of the Dardanelles she would be able to safeguard her Naval establishments on the Black Sea, as well as her Black Sea Fleet, from any English attack. On the other hand England, cut off from the Caucasus, would lose all influence among the Peoples of that region, and also in Persia, which could then easily pass under Russian rule. In such instance Turkey, a conglomeration of Nations, must suffer internal dissolution and fall an easy prey to Russia without war. The only possibility for war left to England would be then in alliance with Austria, with the latter certainly unwilling to carry the main burden of a conflict. Such a situation could be avoided by the presence of a few English men-of-war in the Bosphorus ⁹⁾. This short, briefly and convincingly argued Memorandum was a preliminary step towards Chrzanowski's future activity in the East, indicating the direction in which lay his chief concern.

Meanwhile, the period of uncertainty came to a close when a favourable decision was reached at the end of February. Chrzanowski was definitely going to Turkey and his mission, linked with Palmerston's general political planning, was to be sponsored by the greatest among World Powers. Above all this was due to the incessant efforts of Prince Czartoryski and must be regarded as his most important achievement in the early stages of Emigration activity, promising this time positive results for the Polish cause. In agreement with Palmerston, the Prince arranged that Chrzanowski would go to Turkey with «two companions of his own choice». Obviously, they would be also Poles and were to serve him as escort on the journey and later assist him in his work. Such explanation of the arrangement was given to Ponsonby in his instructions by Palmerston, whom the Prince did not admit into the secret of his deeper intentions ¹⁰⁾. There can be no doubt that the Prince hoped to provide Chrzanowski with a larger group of assistants, or even a sort of skeleton Military Staff under his command, but this could only be obtained by gradual stages for reasons to which we shall return later. At the moment the number of his companions had to be limited to only two.

The date of departure was fixed for the 1-st of April 1836. Ponsonby got fresh instructions as to the manner in which Chrzanowski should be received in Turkey ¹¹⁾. To establish him there involved several serious

8) M. HANDELSMAN, vol. II, p. 75, Czartoryski to Dembiński - «Chrzanowski ze swojemi technicznemi wiadomościami i logiką wojskową uczynił tu wrażenie, ale i on zaczyna się niecierpliwić i prawdziwie po polsku pyta się po co ja tu przyjechał, dlaczego, wojna za jego przyjazdem już nie jest wydana». B.P. Czartoryski à Lord Palmerston 2.2.1836.

9) Note sur Dardanelles 18.2.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

10) Palmerston to Ponsonby. 7.3.1836, Private and Confidential P.R.O. FO/78/271. - «He will be accompanied by two other officers, countrymen of his, as a man could not set out on such an expedition quite alone; and if he is to be employed, he would of course want some help for pen and ink work, and other matters».

11) Ibidem.

problems. Not only was it essential to keep all preparations secret, but later his presence in Turkey needed some disguise. The precise character in which he was to appear in Turkey had to be decided. It was necessary to create a situation favourable to carry out the task he was entrusted with by his English sponsors, while at the same time he would be preparing the ground for purely Polish action. The whole venture thus required a double camouflage, Anglo-Polish in regard to Russia, and strictly Polish in regard to both Russia and England as to the ultimate aim of Chrzanowski's mission. Any discredit to English diplomacy should be avoided, as well as the risk of losing its cooperation by a premature disclosure of Polish designs.

As regards the character in which Chrzanowski was to appear in Turkey this did not present Palmerston with a major problem. Contrary to English officers, Chrzanowski did not demand a commanding post in the Turkish Army but declared himself to remain satisfied with any role, either of instructor or military adviser. He was thus easier to deal with for Palmerston, and more acceptable and convenient to the Sultan. But the tricky question of relations with Russia still remained to be solved, for even the deepest secret might be betrayed, and anyhow, it would be impossible to keep it up indefinitely if Chrzanowski were to stay in Turkey for any length of time. Palmerston was looking for an issue from the dilemma which would best satisfy Turkish needs without being a provocation to Russia. The answer could be found by sending Chrzanowski to the Asian Army of Reshid Pasha. Stationed in eastern Anatolia it was Turkey's strongest and most important military force, guarding a specially exposed area in the direction of Syria against the possible threat of Ibrahim Pasha's Egyptian Army. Placing Chrzanowski there would be in complete accord with the most pressing need of Turkey, excluding at the same time any appearance of provocation in regard to Russia, difficult to avoid if he were to be posted to Constantinople or anywhere else in European Turkey. For this very reason Palmerston strongly advised Chrzanowski to keep away from the Capital. He was to stick to the army of Reshid Pasha where Palmerston saw him fulfilling the functions of a Quartermaster General, entrusted with the scientific side of preparations for war ¹²).

At the fixed date Chrzanowski was to cross the Mediterranean to Smyrna and from there proceed by land directly to Reshid Pasha's Headquarters. Nevertheless, this decision did not entirely solve all problems. The whole project had not been finally agreed with the Sultan, and Palmerston was not certain how Chrzanowski would be received in Turkey. Therefore, he accepted with real relief Chrzanowski's suggestion of going to Reshid Pasha as a simple traveller if the Sultan refused to accept him in an other character. Chrzanowski was sure to prove himself useful even under such cover. It was only necessary to inform Reshid in

12) Ibidem. - « He seems to me just the sort of man who might be of the greatest use to Reshid Pasha in Asia Minor by giving him hints and suggestions as to the organisation of his troops, the selection of points for fortification, the arrangement of plans, and all matters requiring military experience and scientific acquirement. The way to make him useful would be to attach him to Reshid's staff as a sort of Quarter Master General. It strikes me that if Skranowsky were to go straight to Reshid's army without passing through Constantinople, the Russians need know nothing about him, or if they did, could have no right to complain as it would be a different thing from employing him in European Turkey ».

time and provide him with an order to receive the visitor. Chrzanowski's suggestion made things more easy for Palmerston, even if certain doubts still remained. However, unwilling to further delay the departure, he instructed Ponsonby just to acquaint the Sultan with his decision, and went on with the preparations. He understood that if the Sultan declared himself ready to accept Chrzanowski, he would probably present Ponsonby with a letter to Reshid Pasha and a passport for Chrzanowski, to be transmitted by Ponsonby to the British Consul in Smyrna and given to Chrzanowski on his arrival. Palmerston was not too happy about such an arrangement and agreed to it only on the advice of Prince Czartoryski, who argued that Chrzanowski could easily wait for his papers in Smyrna, while in the case of a still longer postponement of his departure he would remain idle and useless for another few months. Thus, without waiting for a word from Turkey, Chrzanowski was to start on his travels and after reaching Smyrna, either continue his journey, or return, according to how the situation might develop ¹³⁾. As an afterthought Palmerston added, that if the Sultan expressed agreement to accept Chrzanowski, he could join Reshid by a more convenient route via Constantinople, but it would be better to stick to the former plan of avoiding the Capital ¹⁴⁾. Finally, last but not least among technicalities, there was that always so important in England question of financial allowance and salaries. On Prince Czartoryski's suggestion, Palmerston allowed Chrzanowski and his companions the sum of 1.000 pounds for the length of one year. A part of this amount, 350 pounds, were to be payed out before their departure to cover initial expenses and the cost of the journey to Smyrna. The rest was to be payed by Ponsonby in Constantinople from the account of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs ¹⁵⁾. If in the space of a year the Sultan failed to express his agreement to employ them, they were free to return to Europe ¹⁶⁾.

Such was the first, rather hazy sketch for a venture into the unknown, the purpose and issue of which remained entirely dependent on the will and decision of the Sultan. It was not evident whether Chrzanowski was to act in the name of the State that sponsored him, nor was his relation-

13) Ibidem. - « I have therefore settled with Czartoryski that Skranowsky will go by the mediterranean Packet on the 1st of next month to Smyrna, will address himself to our Consul there, and will either go or come back according to what he may hear from you on his arrival at Smyrna. In the meanwhile I wish you would let the Sultan know what I have done, and if he thinks that this officer may be useful, or may at least be worth a trial, he will probably give you a letter to Reshid and a Passport for Skranowsky, which you can send to our Consul at Smyrna to be delivered to Skranowsky on his arrival. In that case the Pole would find his way across the country to the Pasha ». - Also Memorandum for General Chrzanowski. 30.3.1836. P.R.O. FO/78/298, Domestic and Various. Also B.P. Czartoryski to Lord Palmerston 2.2.1836, B.P. Palmerston to Ponsonby F.O. 31.3.1836, Private.

14) Palmerston to Ponsonby 7.3.1836, Private and Confidential, P.R.O. FO/78/271. -« P.S. Chrzanowski may perhaps wish to take Constantinople in his way to Reshid Pasha's Headquarters, if the Sultan determines to employ him and I presume there would be no harm in that, but it might be better for him to go straight if he could ».

15) Backhouse to Palmerston, 15.3.1836, P.R.O. FO/78/298, Palmerston to Backhouse, 16.3.1836. P.R.O. FO/78/298, Palmerston to Ponsonby, Secret and Confidential, 29.3.1836, P.R.O. FO/78/271 - FO/195/129.

16) Memorandum for General Chrzanowski. 30.3.1836, P.R.O. FO/78/298. Domestic and Various.

ship to Ponsonby clearly defined. However, all such doubts and obscurities did not discourage Chrzanowski, and the Prince was most optimistic.

Feverish preparations for this novel and rather tricky enterprise started now in London. Formalities, often neither easy nor simple, are being dealt with. In an atmosphere of secrecy everything centres on Palmerston who acts in a sort of hurry, as if trying to hide something. He gives short, trivial instructions to his closest collaborators, elaborating on them only when directly requested, and in a similar indifferent way. Still, something irrevocable is taking place. The decision of sending Chrzanowski on his mission is received with real joy by Prince Czartoryski's entourage and his political group. In February Władysław Zamoyski writes to his brother: « I am glad that he was appreciated here, and that our little but very best soldier is being sent now by the Government of this country to the Turkish army in Asia with two companions of his own choice, he is to sail from here to Malta on April the 1st 1836. It is quite astonishing how he has developed in the last four years, here he made the best possible impression. Still, it is a pity he cannot add a few inches to his height, to make him appear more imposing »¹⁷⁾.

When everything seemed ready and an agreement was finally reached, Chrzanowski started on his own preparations. As assistants, to be chosen at his will, he wanted to have two officers belonging to the Quartermaster General's Staff during the Polish war: Major Zabłocki and Captain Kowalski. The first declared himself ready to go, but Kowalski, seriously ill at the time, did not reply. Zamoyski proposed Captain Pągowski in his place. Informing Zabłocki of the proposed venture, Chrzanowski wrote: « I am presented here with the opportunity of placing you for a year, with employment *hors d'Angleterre* during that time »¹⁸⁾. He also described the character of this employment: « Our tasks will be similar to those we had when we served on the Staff of the Quartermaster General »¹⁹⁾. Chrzanowski recommended strict secrecy. He did not wish for a great number of offers. He preferred nobody to someone second best. The matter was urgent, so he advised quick decision requesting an immediate reply, while failure to report in person before the 28th of March would be regarded equal to a refusal²⁰⁾.

A positive reply from the officers in question reached Chrzanowski at the beginning of March²¹⁾, and some ten days later they were both already in London. Chrzanowski was ready to start on the journey, but one thing was lacking: some definite grounds for his active appearance in Turkey. Therefore, he asked for a written instruction and passports

17) *Jen. Zamoyski*, vol. III, p. 375.

18) Chrzanowski to Zabłocki, 29.2.1836. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

19) *Ibidem*.

20) *Ibidem*.

21) Fox-Strangways to Palmerston, 9.3.1836, P.R.O. FO/78/298. Adam Lewak includes in Chrzanowski's team also a French officer Charpenet. However, there is no confirmation in the sources of any connection between that officer and Chrzanowski. The only trace which could lead to such a supposition could be an accidental coincidence of information in the reprint of news from the Press in Constantinople in the « *Kronika Emigracji* », vol. IV, April 1837, sheet 4, p. 64, where two items of information, that of the removal from Turkey of the French officer Charpenet, and of the soon expected departure of Chrzanowski with his staff of four officers, are given together.

to Smyrna ²²). Palmerston refused. Secrecy was essential, and papers could be lost or stolen on the journey. Moreover, passport formalities would be most complicated. Thus, instead of a written instruction Chrzanowski was to get a letter of introduction to the British Consul in Smyrna, and instead of passports, a dispatch, with which Palmerston decided to provide him ²³). The real aim of the journey and the tasks entrusted to Chrzanowski had been already stated in Palmerston's extensive Memorandum drawn up by Backhouse, with which Chrzanowski was well acquainted ²⁴). It contained all the points formerly established in the letter from Palmerston to Ponsonby of March the 7th, with additional stress layed on the necessity of caution and discretion in all proceedings. Moreover, it mentioned several new obligations layed upon Chrzanowski: he was to make a survey of the country through which he would travel, investigate the attitude of the population and discover how far the people could be counted upon in case of invasion by an enemy army. After reaching Reshid Pasha's Headquarters, Chrzanowski was to examine thoroughly the state of his Army and the power of its possible resistance either against a European army, or that of Mehemet Ali composed of Egyptians and Arabs. He was to find out what European officers were attached to Mehemet-Ali, and report by every possible means the results of his discoveries and observations.

Probably for the same reasons which led Palmerston to refuse a written instruction to Chrzanowski he also received none at his departure from Prince Czartoryski. After all, he was already well prepared for his mission and perfectly familiar with the plans the Prince had in mind. Not until August, three months after Chrzanowski had settled in Turkey, did the Prince issue a Memorandum entitled « The reason and aims of the Eastern Missions - August 1836 » ²⁵). This Memorandum was not addressed exclusively to Chrzanowski, although it gave a broad outline of his tasks, but was directed to the Polish Public in general, especially the military circles of the Emigration. It spoke of Russia's expansionist tendencies, of her desire to acquire Persia and the Dardanelles, of the impediments she finds in her aggressive drive, of which the most important are the animosity of Eastern Peoples towards herself and the resistance of England. It further stressed Turkey's important position in this conflict of Powers, pointing out that war must start from that country in the first place. As a whole, the Memorandum was an appeal to the Emigration, calling its attention to the East, where hopes for the Polish cause should now centre and all efforts should be directed. To conclude, mentioning that a first move had already been made, it listed three points on which Polish activity should focus: Turkey, the Caucasus and Persia. In each of those regions the conditions for action were slightly different. The Prince was looking for men of talent willing to undertake missions to the East. He assured them of his support and financial aid, expecting in return obedience to himself and a regular passing on of information.

22) Backhouse to Palmerston, 29.3.1836. P.R.O. FO/78/298.

23) Palmerston to Backhouse, 29.3.1836. P.R.O. FO/78/298.

24) Memorandum for General Chrzanowski, 30.3.1836, P.R.O. FO/78/298.

25) Czartoryski (Książę Wojewoda), Wschód 1836, Powód i cel Missji Wschodnich, Sierpień 1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

The Memorandum, scarcely touched upon the nature of Chrzanowski's task and did not even mention him by name. His duties were clearly defined only in a second Memorandum which the Prince addressed this time directly to Chrzanowski, at a moment when his situation in Turkey had already undergone a great change ²⁶⁾. The document is simply dated 1837, without giving the day and the month. The late date of its issue and the circumstances in which it was drawn up are puzzling, since in some matters it looks back and refers to the initial stage of Chrzanowski's mission. This opens the possibility of various conjectures: whether the passage of time removed the need for secrecy, or whether a new and more pressing necessity demanded a written statement concerning Chrzanowski's obligations. This second Memorandum gave Chrzanowski an outline of his duties within the framework of Prince Czartoryski's Eastern programme. Its main points referred to monthly reports, to the adequate employment of travelling companions and assistants in the task, to the passing on of information to the Prince about anything of importance concerning both Turkey and Chrzanowski's own activity. The basic issues of this activity should be the military preparation of Turkey for defence, gaining at the same time her confidence in Polish good will and friendship, prompting her to use Poles for the task of her renewal, and persuading England to offer every possible aid to Turkey. Further, the Memorandum spoke of the urgent need of contacts with the Caucasus, through Circassians dwelling in Turkey, advising to investigate the conditions of that country, discover the strength of Russian forces and the number of Poles they might contain.

Thus Chrzanowski was to act in a double role: executing certain tasks in the service of English interests and political plans, he was to work at the same time as Prince Czartoryski's agent. He was also to maintain double contacts, with Palmerston through Ponsonby, and directly with Prince Czartoryski. Such contacts and correspondence should not disclose either his identity or his whereabouts. This especially worried London, and how sensitive English diplomacy was on this point is proved by the fact that in March 1837, when the secret was already out, Ponsonby, sending over Chrzanowski's only Memorandum prepared during his first mission, still does not mention his name but just hints that: « Your Lordship will know the author of the plan » ²⁷⁾. Yet, correspondence between Chrzanowski and Palmerston through Ponsonby by normal diplomatic channels did not present any real difficulty. The situation only became complicated when Chrzanowski had to contact Czartoryski. To solve this problem the Foreign Office, or rather Palmerston, agreed to let the Poles use the English diplomatic bag for this purpose. All communications directed to Prince Czartoryski were to be sent under Foreign Office cover to a fictitious address: à Mr. Charles Antoine Beaumont à Londres ²⁸⁾. But as regards Poles they found the facility of the English diplomatic mail often impossible in practice, and sometimes even

26) Czartoryski (Książę Wojewoda), 1837, Memorandum dla Generała Chrzanowskiego, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

27) Ponsonby to Palmerston, 15.3.1837, N. 43, P.R.O. FO/78/302.

28) Gen. Chrzanowski - Count Zamoyski, 30.3.1836, P.R.O. FO/298. Adresse sous couvert du Foreign Office à Mr. Charles Antoine Beaumont à Londres seront les lettres au Prince Czartoryski de la part de Chrzanowski.

undesirable. Part of the correspondence had to go by ordinary post, and in such case the use of a code was imperative. This principle was to be strictly observed ²⁹⁾.

The preparations were at an end, and the day of departure approaching. Chrzanowski was to start on his first mission to Turkey, without a passport but carrying a letter of introduction to Consul Brant in Smyrna in which Palmerston explained the aim of the journey, giving instructions that every help should be shown to the Polish travellers. Recommending to keep the matter secret, he also advised to avoid smothering it in a veil of exaggerated mystery. Further instructions informed the Consul about a letter he would receive from Ponsonby, which he was to deliver to Chrzanowski whose further plans would depend on its contents ³⁰⁾.

At the same time Vice-Admiral Sir Josiah Bowley and the main agent in Falmouth received instructions to facilitate Chrzanowski's journey. Palmerston did not wish him to sail from Malta to Smyrna on an English warship, but asked the Admiral to offer him all possible help ³¹⁾. And so Chrzanowski started on the road to a new destiny. He was undertaking the mission to Turkey with certain reluctance ³²⁾, influenced above all by the insistent persuasion of Prince Czartoryski ³³⁾. At the moment of departure he was already getting accustomed to the idea, but this did not come easily. As he later admitted in confidence to Zamoyski, he felt to be taking upon himself a task alien to his nature ³⁴⁾. After a certain time, however, when he grasped the situation and became deeply involved in the problems of the East, his attitude changed. His only complaint then was the lack of opportunity to develop action on a scale which would hasten the course of events, leading to war in the East and the possibility of bringing up the Polish cause ³⁵⁾.

29) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 21.11.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. Potrzeba, abyś ze mną tylko z wszelkimi ostrożnościami imion wyrazów adresu pisywał, a przez Anglię jedynie bez ogródki się wypisywał.

30) Palmerston to Consul Brant, 29.3.1836, Secret and Confidential, P.R.O. FO/78/289.

31) Backhouse to Vice-Adm. Sir Josiah Bowley, 30.3.1836, Domestic and Various, P.R.O. FO/78/298, Backhouse to Agent general - Falmouth, 30.3.1836, Domestic and Various, P.R.O. FO/78/298.

32) Contrary to what is accepted by LEON CHRZANOWSKI. *Pisma Wojskowo - Polityczne Jen. W. Chrzanowskiego*, Memoriały Noty Sprawozdania, p. 83, and also *Przegląd Polski*, Kraków 1866, p. 14.

33) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 21.11.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485, - cieszę się, że mi się udało Generała tak dobrze pokierować prawie gwałtem i mimo jego własnej chęci, że teraz jest nadzieja, że tam będziesz i sobie i obu krajom użytecznym.

34) Chrzanowski to Zamoyski, 7.2.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. - Zmuszony położeniem do działania zupełnie przeciwnego memu charakterowi, to mnie dużo kosztuje.

35) In connection with the start of Chrzanowski's mission, one should correct here the until now accepted affirmation that it was initiated already in 1833, and that the General visited Turkey three times, which matter was raised, but insufficiently elucidated by HANDELSMAN, *Adam Czartoryski*, vol. II, p. 75. The grounds for this story were created by LEON CHRZANOWSKI who moved the date of the first mission to 1833, and placed the second between 1835-40, *Pisma Wojskowo-Polityczne Jen. W. Chrzanowskiego*, vol. I, pp. 37, 85. This assumption was accepted by B. PAWŁOWSKI *Polski Słownik Biograficzny, W. Chrzanowski* vol. III, p. 463, and A. LEWAK *Dzieje Emigracji Polskiej w Turcji* pp. 37, 38, 39, and finally Handelsman himself when touching upon the matter speaks about several journeys of the General to Turkey in the years 1833-35-38, *Adam Czartoryski* vol. II, p. 49. Such statements are contradicted by facts and sources, for the date 1833, the year when Turkey

Chrzanowski left London on the 1st of April, and on the 4th sailed on a steamboat from Falmouth in Cornwall in the direction of Malta. On his way he visited Cadix and spent a day and a half in Gibraltar, received everywhere with honours by English Governors and Base Commanders. On the 18th of April he landed in Malta. Here, during the obligatory quarantine, he got a first insight into conditions in Turkey from information given by a certain Frenchman who had spent a few years in that country and was now returning home. Also from Malta he sent to Prince Czartoryski his first impressions of the journey, complaining that « Mr. Władysław's protégé », bone lazy and grumbling all the time, does not promise to be of great use ³⁶⁾.

On the 21st of April Chrzanowski left Malta, reached Smyrna by the 1st of May, and met at once with a disappointment. The promised letter from Ponsonby had not arrived ³⁷⁾. As it soon transpired Chrzanowski's coming was premature. Still on May the 7th, a week after his landing in Smyrna, Ponsonby was only expressing a hope of settling the matter favourably. Until now all his talks with the Sultan were not official, although the Sultan accepted his argumentation and expressed agreement to receive Chrzanowski. It remained to gain the approval of the cautious Kiahay Bey for the proposal to be formally submitted. In principle, Kiahay Bey had nothing against the plan, but feared trouble from Russia. Meanwhile, Ponsonby without waiting for the Turkish decision, and unaware of Chrzanowski's arrival in Smyrna, had started preparations for his reception. He asked the Consul in Smyrna to inform Chrzanowski on his landing that the letter concerning his further steps will be sent by the

submitted to Russian protection, excludes such a possibility. The next year shows no improvement in this connection, and in 1835 the difficulties were still difficult to overcome. Leon Chrzanowski's statement, based upon the General's private papers, cannot be corroborated, since the papers have been lost. Prince Czartoryski's correspondence with the General, upon which our research is based, contains no information in this respect, while the papers of Gen. Zamoyski, immediately connected with the events in question, clearly contradict any possibility of Polish action in Turkey with the participation of Chrzanowski before the year 1836. On the other hand, solid evidence is provided by the English sources, the Public Record Office, the Foreign Office Archives and the Broadland Papers (Palmerston's papers). It results from those sources that at the beginning of 1836, Chrzanowski was still a new and unknown figure both to Palmerston and Ponsonby. (Ponsonby to Palmerston 10.1.1836, P.R.O. FO/78/273, Palmerston to Ponsonby 7.3.1836, P.R.O. FO/78/271). And yet Palmerston held the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs from 1830 onwards with only a short break (from December 1834 to April 1835), while Ponsonby was Ambassador in Constantinople since May 1833. Similarly without grounds is the statement of A. Lewak that the first mission of Chrzanowski, which according to him took place in 1834-35, remained in some connection with an action of the French Government. The only mention in the sources in this respect, namely Prince Czartoryski's pronouncement of 1833 in regard to France, speaks only of the intention to use Chrzanowski as adviser to the French Government on matters relating to the East and the Russian army, which is not equivalent in meaning to a journey to Turkey. *Jen. Zamoyski* vol. III, p. 162, Czartoryski do Zamoyskiego 21.6.1833 ». Later information from *Kronika Emigracji*, reprints of news' items from the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Journal du Commerce* relating to events in 1837, when allegedly Turkey, resisting the pressure from the Russian envoy to expel Chrzanowski, argued that he remains under English and French protection, cannot be regarded as evidence of Franco-Polish connections with regard to his mission. Such understanding did not exist, and the mentioned information is plainly incorrect or a piece of journalistic gossip, with no confirmation from first hand sources (*Kronika Emigracji*, Kwiecień 1837, sheet 4, p. 64).

36) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, Malta 20.4.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

37) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 22.5.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

next boat ³⁸⁾. Chrzanowski faced with another period of incertitude, reminded himself to the Ambassador who answered that he is giving the matter his best attention but, unfortunately, cannot arrange things as well as he would wish. There was nothing to do, but wait. Finally, on the 21st of May, three weeks after his arrival, Chrzanowski received a communication from Ponsonby asking him to proceed by land to Borussa to meet a representative of the Turkish Government who would give him further instructions. This complete change of the original plan came from the Sultan. On his order Chrzanowski was to go into the vicinity of Constantinople for talks with the Seraskier. For Ponsonby it was a first victory, the net of intrigue in the Sultan's entourage had been broken and he was confident that a favourable arrangement would be reached ³⁹⁾. The news of the change of plans arrived in London fairly soon, for already by the 6th of June Prince Czartoryski was informing Chrzanowski that: «From the latest letters from London it comes to my notice that you, General, will probably receive in Smyrna an invitation to Istambul» ⁴⁰⁾.

Thus, instead of going to the Headquarters of Reshid Pasha, Chrzanowski was to proceed towards the Capital in response to a summons from Constantinople. He set out immediately, but another disappointment awaited him on his arrival to Borussa. The expected Government Official was not there. After twelve days of waiting Chrzanowski, quite out of patience, took the initiative into his own hands, and leaving his travelling companions in Borussa, went to Constantinople under the assumed name of a Hannoverian officer. This arbitrary step placed Ponsonby in a difficult position and met with his strong disapproval. He went to a lot of trouble in order to induce the Seraskier to send a messenger who would meet Chrzanowski in Borussa, and when the envoy was finally on his way everything was upset by the unexpected news that Chrzanowski was in Constantinople, requesting a meeting with Ponsonby himself. Ponsonby was startled, and began to have doubts about Chrzanowski's value and usefulness as regards his mission, since in a situation of great importance and delicacy he was unable to wait patiently for a few days and risked to compromise the issue. Ponsonby had to trust luck in replying to Chrzanowski's letter, for the place where he was staying was not mentioned. He assured the General of his readiness to receive him at any time, but pointed out the danger of his arbitrary decision apt to destroy all careful plans, since he, Ponsonby, is closely watched and the Russians immediately informed about his every move.

In such circumstances the meeting between Chrzanowski and Ponsonby did not take place. There were, however, still deeper reasons for the postponement. Ponsonby, avoiding to compromise himself and England, was nevertheless determined to take advantage of Chrzanowski's case to increase the authority of the Sultan in his relations with Russia

38) John Chammand to Ponsonby, 6.5.1836, P.R.O. FO/195/128, B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston, 7.5.1836.

39) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, Smyrna 22.5.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. «Wreszcie wczoraj przyszło zawiadomienie Agnieszki, że podróżni, których Pan (Książę) zna, oficerowie hannowerscy, mają się udać łądem do Borussy gdzie oczekiwali ich będzie ktoś ze strony samego ojca Walentyna i powie im jego zamiary względem nich». Also B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston, 16.5.1836.

40) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 6.6.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

by affirming his sovereignty, independence of decision and freedom of action. This was possible only if the initiative in this venture could be ascribed to Turkey alone, and Chrzanowski's recognized presence in the country, as well as an open admission that he was sent by England in answer to the Sultan's request should bear witness to that fact. According to Ponsonby it would be impossible to keep Chrzanowski's presence secret, and if Turkey were to keep any vestige of independence in regard to Russia, the Sultan had to affirm his sovereign rights, to which a free choice of instructors and Commanders of the Army belonged. Those were the main reasons why Ponsonby refused to receive Chrzanowski before his meeting with the Seraskier, and why he tried to postpone it even later. He was obliged, however, to give Chrzanowski every assistance and organised his meeting with Husrev Pasha, the Seraskier, who was most insistent that it should take place ⁴¹).

The first talk between Chrzanowski and Husrev Pasha went on for three hours, bringing unexpected results and satisfaction to both sides. Without disclosing the real purpose of his arrival, Chrzanowski tried to feel out the Turkish situation, but the Army remained the main subject of the conversation. Very well disposed, the Seraskier asked for observations and advice. It was agreed they should meet regularly and continue their discussions on necessary reforms. This called for Chrzanowski's permanent contact with military forces. To this end the Seraskier invited him to stay in Rami Criflich, his summer residence near Constantinople, where his favourite 20th Regiment of Infantry was stationed. The Seraskier wished that this regiment, retrained by Chrzanowski, should serve as model to the whole Army. Nothing was mentioned about an official recognition for Chrzanowski. He was to act in the character of the Seraskier's personal guest. Chrzanowski accepted this condition ⁴²).

As we see, the meeting and talks did not result according to Ponsonby's intentions. The secrecy was maintained. Turkey was not yet prepared to stiffen her attitude towards Russia. Therefore, if Chrzanowski were to stay and establish himself he was obliged to remain in the shadows.

Chapter V. *Guest of the Seraskier at Rami Criflich*

Compelled to act in an indeterminate role, Chrzanowski actually remained just a private guest of a Turkish high dignitary. He had neither assumed any formally specified duties, nor was he bound by an agreement with the Turkish Government. He became, moreover, a source of embarrassment to the representative of the very country which had sent him. Lord Ponsonby, who should have offered him aid and protection, preferred now to keep his existence hidden in fear of complications with Russia,

41) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, Rami Criflich 15.7.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485, B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston, 11.6.1836, 20.6.1836.

42) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, Rami Criflich 15.7.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485, B.P. Chrzanowski to Lord Ponsonby, 24.6.1836.

and was reluctant to sponsor openly the man whom events were shortly to prove his most helpful assistant.

Nevertheless, the results of Chrzanowski's efforts soon passed all expectations, and on the strength of his achievements the Seraskier started to introduce reforms throughout the Army. Still concealed under the name of a Hannoverian General Schlagel, Chrzanowski now takes advantage of the good will and appreciation shown by the Seraskier, and on his own initiative proceeds to widen the field of his activity. He wishes to extend Turkish army training, hitherto limited to Battalion School level, raising it to the grade of Division reorganized according to a pattern he had specially prepared. He recommends the adoption of uniform combat techniques, elaborates a new set of general regulations, works out models of combined movements of several infantry divisions in co-operation with cavalry and artillery and with application of a half-battalion column formation. To avoid confusion he suggests that all changes should be introduced gradually in a following order of precedence: infantry, cavalry, artillery.

With such a programme, and under professional supervision, the re-training of the Turkish troops advanced speedily, giving early and positive results. Well satisfied, the Seraskier accepted the projected new Division organization and, on the lines proposed by Chrzanowski, started preparations for a great military review to be held in presence of the Sultan ⁴³⁾.

This initial success allowed to view the future with a certain dose of optimism. Reflecting upon the possibilities of war in the East, and basing himself on his first observations, Chrzanowski tried to estimate the military potential of Turkey. The Seraskier, hostile to Russia, was shrewd and had plenty of common sense. He certainly wished to see the Army in a good shape, was quick to catch up with new ideas and able to persevere. The Turkish soldier presented a good aspect, perhaps inferior to that of old Polish Kingdom troops, but superior to that of new Polish regiments of the 1830-31 war. The two infantry regiments observed by Chrzanowski presented themselves better than French infantry. The Turkish army organization followed the French pattern, but still required a fundamental reshaping. The whole responsibility was carried by the Colonels. Higher Commanders, usually special favourites of the Sultan and totally unacquainted with military matters, appeared only during parades as members of the Sultan's or the Seraskier's suite ⁴⁴⁾.

While Chrzanowski was taking his first steps on Turkish soil, advancing the course of his own affairs in spite of Ponsonby's reluctance, news from Prince Czartoryski continued to arrive about events in Europe. Fresh instructions, directives and orders also came in profusion. The Prince asked Chrzanowski to collect information about Poles in Constantinople (with reference to envoys from other political groups of the Emigration), raised the question of the Caucasus recommending it especially to Chrzanowski's attention, encouraged him to persevere in his work and not let himself be discouraged by initial difficulties. He also admonished Zabłocki for his irresponsible correspondence with Paris,

43) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 15.7.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. M.P. Chrzanowski to Lord Ponsonby, 29.6.1836.

44) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 15.7.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

deplored Pągowski's unmanly weakness, and mentioned the possibility of more people being sent as assistants, naming Brzozowski and Kowalski as candidates ⁴⁵). Finally, he informed Chrzanowski that the next emissary to arrive in Turkey would be intended for action in the Caucasus ⁴⁶).

Meanwhile, there was already an indication that Chrzanowski's presence in Turkey had been remarked with interest in certain quarters. His first letter after landing in Turkey of May 22nd from Smyrna, written in French and coded, had been opened and probably read. For this reason Czartoryski advised that in the future all letters should be left unsigned and the sender's address never mentioned. In case of anything important the envelope should be marked « by messenger only » ⁴⁷).

In spite of the success of his activity in the region near Constantinople, Chrzanowski still thought of joining Reshid Pasha at the Headquarters of his Army, and probably mentioned the matter to his host. But Husrev refused even to contemplate his departure for Asia, and desiring to keep him near himself placed at his disposal his own palace on the Bosphorus. Chrzanowski, who in the meantime had brought Zablocki and Pągowski over from Borussa, again tried to profit from this favourable mood of the Seraskier in order to have his own status more clearly defined. Until now he had been « as mild as a lamb », but now, having proved himself useful and gained confidence, he feels able to state his own conditions. He wants to probe how far he can go in this respect. He expressed himself in perfectly plain terms: dissatisfied with his present situation he wished to enter active military service, or take up residence in Pera. Moreover, his mission should be openly acknowledged. Husrev Pasha tried to calm Chrzanowski, asked for patience, promised to grant his wishes, but as regards the recognition of his mission continued to give noncommittal replies ⁴⁸). In this matter Prince Czartoryski adopted an attitude which differed from that of Chrzanowski. He criticized his impatience and requests obviously hard to grant, and regarded the revealing of his mission as definitely premature. In his opinion the good results up to date should be sufficiently satisfying, and attention should be fixed on consolidating the position reached, without risking to destroy the work so promisingly developed, especially as everything took place under the attentive eye of Russia, with whom the Turks could not start a quarrel. Ponsonby, on his part, also advised patience ⁴⁹). Chrzanowski

45) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 6.6.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

46) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 17.6.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485, « Ten, którego wysłemy do Lucji, udać się ma na zwiedzenie Obelisku ».

47) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 24.6.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

48) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 15.7.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. B.P. Chrzanowski to Lord Ponsonby, 24.6.1836, 15.7.1836, 28.7.1836.

49) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 19.8.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485 « W postępowaniu Gła przeciw jednemu tylko szczegółowi miałbym coś powiedzieć — a tem jest jego niecierpliwosc występowania już pod własnym imieniem. Mnie się tu z daleka wydaje, że żądanie Turków jest słuszne, że oni nie chcą na siebie sprowadzać gniewu i skarg Moskwy, że byleby skutki dobre były, mniejsza o przedłużenie tej marki, — że trzeba wprzód głębokie korzenie zapuścić niż się wystawić na zniszczenie szczęśliwie rozpoczętego dzieła. Bo Turcy nie lubią, jak nam tu mówiono, ambarasów. Dla uniknięcia ich gotowi pożegnać, trzeba stać się bardzo użytecznym i potrzebnym, a tymczasem z nimi łagodnie postępować jak dotąd, bo dotąd to się bardzo udało ». B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston, 21.7.1836.

had to submit to those opinions. However, in order to keep his freedom of movement, as he declared, he refused to accept the 4000 piasters offered him by the Turks as monthly payment, contenting himself with a salary of 1200 piasters for Zabłocki and 1000 piasters for Pałowski. Both those officers, irritated and at odds with each other, were of no great value. In Chrzanowski's opinion, Zabłocki was barely fitting to fill the post of a junior Staff officer, while Pałowski, lazy and of limited understanding was of no use at all. Later Chrzanowski revised to some extent his opinion of Pałowski, but in the meantime both officers had to be employed according to their possibilities. Chrzanowski discussed the matter with the Seraskier who promised to use Pałowski in some capacity, while Zabłocki could be entrusted with the construction of fortifications. Since Zabłocki was not an engineer, Chrzanowski preferred to keep him for the time being as his own assistant. At the same time, and in view of the new possibilities which seemed to be opening for the introduction of a larger number of Poles into Turkey, he started steps to acquire two more assistant officers, for which he obtained permission. Presenting the matter to the Prince, he proposed that Kowalski and Przyłuski should be sent to join him. If they refused or were unable to come, he asked for two artillery officers. However, their arrival was delayed owing to lack of funds to cover travelling expenses, and the untimely illness of the dragoman.

This did not stop Chrzanowski in his efforts to enlarge the scope of Polish action in Turkey. He was able to convince the Seraskier of the benefits which Turkey would derive from the services of a large group of Polish officers in her employment. He argued that only among Poles Turkey could find 200-300 efficient instructors necessary for the modernization of her Army. True, time was not as yet ripe for bringing them over in such number. But, he suggested, the matter could be arranged at the right moment with Prince Czartoryski in Paris or in London ⁵⁰⁾. Husrev was interested, nevertheless he took this opportunity to remark bitterly upon the fact that some Polish officers, including a general, were employed by Mehemet-Ali. Husrev Pasha suspected here Russian influence in action. Chrzanowski explained that the officers in question had misjudged the situation owing to voices in the French press, and went to Egypt not to satisfy Russia, but to fight her. Having discovered their mistake all left Egypt, except one officer and a few doctors who remained there to earn a living. ⁵¹⁾ Husrev accepted the explanation and was pacified.

What Chrzanowski had been able to achieve in the space of barely two months was an important step forward, pointing to the possibility of further developments in the future. Prince Czartoryski looked upon Chrzanowski's success as a confirmation of Polish expectations in regard to Turkey. For some time already the Prince had planned to place a certain number of Polish officers with the Turkish Army. If this plan still presented serious difficulties, Czartoryski was hopeful that Chrzanowski's presence in Turkey would contribute to overcome them: « If the project of placing Polish officers with the Turkish Army still meets today

50) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 15.7.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. B.P. Chrzanowski to Lord Ponsonby, 15.7.1836.

51) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 15.7.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

with almost insuperable difficulties, then on the other hand, your contacts with the Army, and the growing conviction in the Divan as to the great services you could render to the Turkish Army, seem to promise that such placements may one day become reality. This will be due, General, entirely to your talents, tact and great zeal »⁵²⁾.

At the moment, however, it was essential to answer Chrzanowski's immediate request for two more officers as assistants. The Prince at once started the necessary arrangements. Kowalski declared himself ready to serve « under the command of a General whose merits he fully appreciated ». In his instructions for Kowalski, the Prince wrote as follows: « Mr. Kowalski will remain under orders of General Chrzanowski who, if circumstances permit, will be the central point of all our ventures in the East »⁵³⁾. Przyłuski, on the other hand, was no longer at the Prince's disposal since he had joined the « Polish Lancers in Spain ». He could be eventually replaced by Brzozowski who was going on a new mission to the East. The Prince did not look for other volunteers. His mind was now occupied with another aspect of the problem. He had the intention of extending Polish action to other vital points in the East and expected advice from Chrzanowski, who could be of service with his latest and first hand information in this respect.

Thus, the apparently modest task with which Chrzanowski was entrusted, limited at first to the reorganization of detachment training in the Turkish Army, soon became the spring-board for further Polish ventures, reaching beyond Turkey in the attempt to exert influence over the Caucasus and Persia. Convinced that the cause of Poland was inseparably linked with the East, Czartoryski recognized ever more strongly the importance of such plans, relying on the position held by Chrzanowski for their development⁵⁴⁾.

In view of this it was now becoming necessary to introduce a political factor into Polish ventures and entrust this new line of action to a chief agent of Prince Czartoryski in the East with headquarters in Constantinople⁵⁵⁾. At first Stanisław Małachowski was chosen for this task, but when his departure had to be postponed, and news of Chrzanowski continued to show his growing importance, the Prince decided to entrust him with the function of directing the proposed political action, at least for the time being⁵⁶⁾. « Since I have heard » — wrote Czartoryski — « that you have taken up residence in Istanbul, even if temporarily, I no longer regard as absolutely necessary to send there a permanent Polish correspondent ». Thus the scope of Chrzanowski's tasks and duties was still enlarged. In addition to his strictly military occupations he was to become now Prince Czartoryski's chief political agent in the East.

52) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 19.8.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

53) Instrukcje dla kapitana Kowalskiego, 20 sierpnia 1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

54) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 25.7.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. « Wszystko ciągle utwierdza nas w mniemaniu, że tylko na wschodzie jest pole naszych nadziei i naszych działań. Dobre tam, jak się spodziewam, przyjęcie generała stanie się początkiem nowej epoki usiłowań naszych ».

55) Ibidem. « Konieczna jest rzecz, abyśmy mieli w Stambule stałego rezydenta, któryby był ciągle pod bokiem naszych tam przyjaciół ».

56) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 19.8.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

The inclusion of Persia and the Caucasus in Polish planning came as a logical issue from the principle of keeping the countries of the East threatened by Russian aggression united against this peril. Polish influence was intended to foster this unity. Marian Brzozowski was chosen to do the work in the Caucasus, Ludwik Hoffman in Persia ⁵⁷⁾. Each of them held special instructions from Prince Czartoryski concerning the task according to local circumstances, and both were subordinated to Chrzanowski with whom they were to remain in permanent contact and who « from then on had become the main point of Polish secret action in the East which, God willing, might turn one day into open action of the whole East against Russia ». Both instructions stressed the necessity of unity in action as primary principle.

Brzozowski's mission was to consist in making a survey of the country and acquainting himself with the feelings and spirit of the population, as well as the leaders of tribes. He was to investigate the number and the situation of Poles in the Caucasus, and estimate the strength of the Russian Army there in operation. The instruction ordered him, moreover, close co-operation with Urquhart, Secretary to the English Embassy in Constantinople ⁵⁸⁾. If Brzozowski's mission failed, Czartoryski expected Chrzanowski to come to his assistance by finding him employment in some military capacity under his command ⁵⁹⁾. Actually, Chrzanowski had some reservations of a political nature as regards Brzozowski in connection with a book he had published, but he was ready to place him somewhere in Turkey, providing he would conform to local conditions ⁶⁰⁾.

Hoffman, like Brzozowski, was ordered to get in touch with Chrzanowski while passing through Constantinople to receive from him detailed instructions. His main task was to investigate Persia's attitude towards Russia and the nature of her relations with Turkey in this connection. In the first place, however, he was to estimate the military value of the Persian Army. Further tasks were to include a survey of the northern provinces of Persia with special attention to the attitude of local tribes towards Russia, information about the percentage of Poles in the Russian Army on the Persian border, and finally the examination of any possibility for placing Polish officers in the Persian Army, especially in its famous light cavalry so close in character to Polish spirit and temperament. Of utmost importance to Hoffman's mission was to maintain a strict incognito on account of a certain number of Poles in Persia remaining in Russian service. He was to keep up a regular correspondence with Prince Czartoryski, but abstain from writing to anybody else except Chrzanowski ⁶¹⁾.

All those plans ended in disappointment. Brzozowski's mission was a failure and that of Hoffman never took place. Still the project itself

57) Ibidem.

58) « Instrukcja dla p. Mariana Brzozowskiego », 18 sierpnia 1836, « Memorandum dla p. Mariana Brzozowskiego o Kaukazie », 20 sierpień 1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5282. The Instructions for Brzozowski exist in two versions of the same date, their contents are almost identical, the difference is only in the wording.

59) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 19.8.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

60) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 25.9.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

61) Instrukcja dla L. Hoffmana, Sierpień 1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5282.

was characteristic of the importance the Prince attached to the unity of Polish action in the East. It seems that was also the reason why he dissuaded General Bem from his intended journey to the East, and refused support to Dembiński whose attention was attracted by the Caucasus and who took this refusal very much amiss ⁶²). However, the clash of private petty ambitions in Prince Czartoryski's entourage did not present any serious threat to unity. The real danger came from the opposition groups in the body of the Emigration and their efforts to send their own agents to the East. This required constant attention and counteraction ⁶³).

Fresh instructions in this respect went from Czartoryski to Constantinople: « We should have all posts in vital points filled by sensible people who understand the importance of unified action, in order to keep away adventurers whom certain confederacies, communities or groups might send and who can neither help or do anything positive, but only bring damage in every way. I am absolutely convinced there should be only one Polish military centre in the East » ⁶⁴).

In fact, agents from other groups in the Emigration did appear now and then in Constantinople, mostly people of no importance and with no influence who usually had to leave after a short time from lack of funds ⁶⁵). Still other doubtful characters tried individual ventures, ostensibly wanting to work for the common Cause, but in reality not representing anything or anybody, and only attracting by their noisy behaviour the attention of elements hostile to Poland, the Russian Embassy in the first place. At one moment a certain Duszyński arrived in Constantinople, a regular « mad cap », against whom the Prince warned Chrzanowski in good time ⁶⁶). This Duszyński, although lacking any sort of references, made use of Prince Czartoryski's name declaring he was in touch with Urquhart and was meant to contact the Turkish Government. He went to see Halil Pasha, maintaining he was directed there by Chrzanowski, and talked right and left of going to the Caucasus. To Chrzanowski he declared that he was to use his address for correspondence and that he was delegated by Zamoyski. He compromised Urquhart by mentioning his name, so that Urquhart begged Chrzanowski to have the fellow removed, otherwise he would be compelled to give up any further co-operation with Poles ⁶⁷).

Such and other similar starts and mad undertakings made Chrzanowski's already embarrassing position even more precarious, especially as diplomatic complications concerning his person could occur at any moment. In spite of this he did not limit his activity to the modest role of instructor in the Turkish Army. His wide interests included the whole problem of Turkish war policy and all questions relating to the defence of the State. The result of this interest and observations found expression

62) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 19.8.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

63) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 21.11.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

64) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 19.8.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

65) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 21.11.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

66) Ibidem.

67) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 21.11.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

in a series of Memoranda and Notes presented to the Turkish and English Governments during the summer of 1836. The matter dealt with referred to Turkey's military position, the necessity of military and administrative reforms and the indispensability of assistance from abroad. This included plans for the reorganization of the Army, the establishment of Staffs, of changes in uniforms, drill and the manipulation of large grouping of troops.

A Memorandum on the political situation of Turkey submitted to the Turkish Government served as an introduction to this new line of Chrzanowski's activity, although it was not the first to be drafted among his various Notes of that period ⁶⁸⁾. In it the author presented with force and clarity the position which Turkey should adopt in a forthcoming conflict between England and Russia. Situated at a point where the interests of those Powers are bound to clash, Turkey is not strong enough to remain neutral. Each of the Powers involved will try to win over Turkey to its side, yet both, if wearied by prolonged hostilities, might reach an agreement at her cost. The same may come to pass if the Powers in question decide to settle their dispute without war. Such danger can be avoided by Turkey declaring her position definitely and clearly, and well in time. However, alliance with one of the sides would not solve the problem without the factor of Turkey's own strength. Both contesting Powers will act exclusively in their own interests. England shows no appetite for Turkish possessions, in settling the question she would limit herself to commercial benefits, rejecting other aspects. Not so Russia. Even now several Turkish provinces remain in her grasp, while her aggressive drive pushes her to new conquests, if only to secure those she holds already. She claims a right to Constantinople, and once having gained possession of it, sheer necessity will drive her to extend domination up to the line of the Taurus Mountains, leading in result to the destruction of Turkey. England wants to preserve Turkey unified in the person of the Sultan, Russia intends to divide her territories between herself and Mehemet-Ali. Thus for Turkey, an alliance with Russia is out of the question, while an alliance with England should not be dictated by seeking her protection, but proposed as an offer of co-operation, possible only if Turkey's Armed Forces reach a standard which would allow her to tip the scales of power. In conclusion, the attitude of both great Powers to Turkey will directly depend from a renewal of her former splendour and strength as a State.

The Memorandum was well received both by the Sultan and the Seraskier. Unfortunately, it did not lead to any immediate results as regards the rebuilding of Turkey's Armed Forces ⁶⁹⁾.

Particular aspects of this problem were discussed in the next two Memoranda. The first, presented to the Turkish Government in June, contained several definite projects, such as the formation of territorial divisions, changes in the system of organization and the separation of civil authority from that dealing with military matters. Territorial divisions, in other words military districts, were to be formed by joining

68) Quelques idées sur la position politique de la Turquie, 26.7.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485, B.P. Chrzanowski to Lord Ponsonby.

69) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 25.9.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485, B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston, 15.9.1836.

together several pashalics of the existing structure and then placed under the command of district military Pashas who would hold no civil authority. To assist the military Pashas, and acting as a body of command, district Staffs should be established, an institution as yet unknown in Turkey. For the usual State administration the existing system of civil pashalics was to be retained, removed however from the sphere of authority belonging to military Pashas. Chrzanowski especially stressed the necessity of separating the civil administrative and the military authorities, not only to raise the efficiency in the functioning of the military machine, but also in order to fight corruption and abuse of power by the introduction of an element of control. In putting it into execution the project would meet with many difficulties, for it involved changes in the character of authority held by the Pashas and threatened their privileges.

Nevertheless, the Memorandum had its effect and some changes were being tentatively introduced, although not wholly in accord with Chrzanowski's ideas. Pashalics were being reduced in number, but both civil and military authority remained united in the hands of Pashas. Instead of a single, unified High Command, eight separate centres of command were created, completely independent of each other ⁷⁰⁾. Chrzanowski protested in a new Note, pointing out the grave mistake of such changes. Deprived of a strong centralized authority, Turkey could disintegrate into small vassal principalities. The power of the Sultan would be no more than a shadow, and the Seraskier reduced to a Governor of the Capital. The changes introduced were only an experiment, but a dangerous one ⁷¹⁾.

In his last Memorandum of that period, submitted to the Turkish Government in August, Chrzanowski proposed a new system of recruiting and military conscription ⁷²⁾. In his opinion drafting for military service should be evenly spread throughout the country. He referred to European patterns in this respect, regarding the Prussian system as the most adequate and best adapted to Turkish conditions. Military service should last 5 years in the regular army, followed by 7 years in reserve, 8 years in territorial forces or national defence, with finally service in the militia in case of war. By adopting this system Turkey would have an army of 140.000 men in peace time, swelling to 280.000 during war. She would always dispose of 440.000 trained soldiers, and since until now only Muslims were eligible for military service this number could be enlarged by allowing volunteers to enlist from among the Christian population. As matters stood at present Turkey's Armed Forces barely amounted to just over 70.000 men, a number insufficient to provide efficiently for Turkey's military defence. Chrzanowski concentrated his attention on the means to increase this number, but his argumentation failed to awaken the interest of the Turkish Government. Among his various proposals

70) Leon CHRZANOWSKI, *Pisma wojskowo-polityczne Jen. W. Chrzanowskiego. Sur l'établissement des divisions militaires territoriales.*

B.P. Chrzanowski to Lord Ponsonby, 19.8.1836, B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston.

71) Ibidem *Notes sur l'ordonnance du Sultan, Uwagi nad rozporządzeniem sultanskim*, Wrzesień 1836.

72) Ibidem. *Sur le recrutement de l'armée - O poborze wojskowym*, Sierpień 1836.

only one, concerning the establishment of military Staffs, was accepted without reservations. Zabłocki, who at the moment occupied himself with sketching, was chosen to be the future instructor of Turkish Staff officers ⁷³⁾.

In the meantime, Chrzanowski's growing popularity and importance, the undoubted success he had achieved in the space of only a few weeks, soon worked a change in Ambassador Ponsonby's attitude towards him. Ponsonby had never opposed his coming to Turkey, but only wanted to delay his arrival, an understandable point of view, since the contest with Russia for influence over the Sultan was still in course and nothing indicated its early conclusion. Still more important, England was not ready to make a decided move in order to settle the Eastern conflict. Thus, the struggle had to continue by diplomatic means, without resorting to the use of force, and this created a situation favourable to Russia. Now, however, a new aspect appeared in the picture. The work which Chrzanowski had done already, and which after all followed the main line of England's policy, promised immediate advantages, such as Ponsonby had perhaps never expected. In consequence his attitude, although still marked by discreet reserve, underwent a speedy alteration. By mid July Chrzanowski could send over information that Ponsonby no longer saw the necessity of shrouding his presence in mystery ⁷⁴⁾. A change in the situation, impossible to anticipate in May, was taking place.

This was not only due to the advantages in prospect. Actually the secret of Chrzanowski's presence in Turkey had been already unveiled and news about it began to filter through from St. Petersburg into the French press. On the 23rd of July *Le Temps* published a short note on Chrzanowski as staying in Teheran (!) ⁷⁵⁾ which was reprinted by *Kronika Emigracji* ⁷⁶⁾. Thus Ponsonby could even be faced with some reaction in this respect coming from the Russian Embassy in Constantinople. Nevertheless, the principle of secrecy was still maintained, and even enforced on the part of the Poles. Chrzanowski received from Prince Czartoryski fresh instructions to cover his tracks and destroy all papers already put to good use or no longer necessary, preserving in proper concealment only those strictly indispensable ⁷⁷⁾.

It was now four months since Chrzanowski first landed on Turkish soil. A period of time filled with events which seemed to promise changes leading to the strengthening of Turkey's defence, and long enough for observation, reflection and the reaching of conclusions. The amount of

73) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 25.9.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

74) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 15.7.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

75) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 27.7.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. « Po długim milczeniu o Generale w dziennikach czytamy w onegdajszym *Le Temps* list z Petersburga o wyprawie Generała na wschód i ostrzegający o jego tam intrygach ».

76) *Kronika Emigracji*, vol. V, sheet 2, p. 28, *Le Temps* 23.7.1836. « Mówią, że Gabinet Londyński umieścił przy swojej misji do Persji (GŁA) gen. Chrzanowskiego, wielkiego intryganta, wielkich zdolności wojskowych i dobrze znanego armii rosyjskiej, w której szeregach odbywał dwie ostatnie wyprawy Tureckie. Generał bawi w Teheranie pod zmyślonym Angielskim nazwiskiem. (Ani potwierdzać ani zaprzeczać tej ciekawej wiadomości nie widzimy potrzeby) ».

77) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 19.8.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. « W Stambule, mówią, więcej gałganów i praktyk niż gdziekolwiek ».

experience obtained brought a deeper insight into the state of things in Turkey allowing for an attempt in the appraisal of the situation. In an extensive report to Prince Czartoryski, dated the 25th September, Chrzanowski gives a picture of Turkey painted in rather gloomy colours ⁷⁸⁾. It was meant as a sort of balance-sheet for the initial stage of his mission. This time his conclusions were not as enthusiastic and full of optimism as his first impressions of the month of June. An age-long accumulation of indolence and corruption, the distaste of and resistance to any change, primitive and obsolete oriental habits which kept Turkey away from the quick current of life in the surrounding world, had immersed her in a state of apathy more difficult to overcome than any other impediment. In the Turkish Government two rival parties were striving for ascendancy. One, anti-Russian was led by the popular Seraskier, Husrev Pasha, regarded as an enemy of Russia. He was responsible for the abolition of the Janissaries, a military formation of terrifying memory whose re-establishment continued to be dreaded by the nation. The other party, pro-Russian, served as a platform for Russian scheming and its most prominent figure Ahmet Pasha, a new favourite of the Sultan, remained in Russia's pay. As a matter of fact, there were only two among the Ministers in office who did not take money from Russia. The general feeling in the nation and its spirit were definitely anti-Russian, but the Ministers, even if they did not dare to act openly, could paralyse any attempt at reforming the State. As to the Sultan, his mind followed the movements of a pendulum, either swinging to the West and there setting all hopes, or overcome by Russian pressure and threats submitting to the persuasion of his bribed Ministers. These vacillations in the Sultan's mood reflected the fluctuations in intensity of Western and Russian influence upon Turkish affairs. The end of the summer brought a definite change, marked by the decline of England's importance and an increase in Russian ascendancy, while the attitude of the French ambassador remained equivocal. Already in July Chrzanowski feared a cooling or even a complete breach in Anglo-Turkish relations, and informing the Prince about it, advised taking necessary steps in London in this respect ⁷⁹⁾.

In no lesser degree similar tendencies predominated also in the army where rivalry between commanders took first place before care for the country's defence. Detachments stationed in the vicinity of Constantinople formed almost two independent armies. The Seraskier was unable to dispose freely of the eight battalions which remained under Mehemet Pasha's command, while most of Chrzanowski's military reforms could only be applied in formations taking their orders immediately from the Seraskier. During August it transpired that certain misunderstandings and disagreements had taken place between the Sultan and the Seraskier, in result of which the projected review before the Sultan had to be cancelled ⁸⁰⁾. This was a misleading information, for unknown reasons Chrzanowski kept back the news about the review which actually did take place in August. Chrzanowski, however, did not report this fact to

78) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 25.9.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

79) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 15.7.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

80) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 25.9.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485, B.P. Ponsoby to Palmerston, 30.10.1836.

the Prince until several months later, in March of the next year ⁸¹⁾. Why this sudden withholding of information? Was it on account of some misgivings, or in the wish to keep the gloomy picture of Turkey unrelieved? It is difficult to guess. To justify his omission Chrzanowski himself explained that he did not regard the review as of real importance. Not a convincing explanation, since the review was a considerable achievement, though perhaps organized on a lesser scale than at first planned. The Sultan, surrounded by his suite, took the review. Twelve battalions, thirty guns and several detachments of cavalry were on parade, executing under Chrzanowski's supervision complicated manoeuvres with expedition, in front of the Sultan and in view of thousands of spectators, « something the technique of which could not be even dreamed of before in this country ». The Sultan was delighted, thanking Chrzanowski repeatedly and making further promises ⁸²⁾.

Among the spectators Russian observers were also present. Amazed at the progress achieved in so short a time — previously three battalions could scarcely manage to move together, now twelve were on parade — the Russians took special notice of the little man who was directing the review and « tried to find out who was that little figure dashing here and there among the Popes (Chrzanowski's code name for Turks) and ordering them about ». They managed to identify Chrzanowski. Of his presence in Turkey they had been already aware, but now to keep up appearances they wanted confirmation from the Seraskier. Informing him that they knew perfectly well the person in question « was no Englishman, but a certain gentleman named Stefan (Chrzanowski) », they asked him a straight question. Confronted with such a statement, Husrev was no longer able to deny it, and so, pleading the name of England he just declared briefly that the actual origins of Chrzanowski were none of his concern, since the man came here delegated by England ⁸³⁾.

The military review, and the reward which came to Chrzanowski from the Sultan's marks of consideration and gratitude for bringing his troops to such efficiency, were like the last rays of sunshine of the departing summer. A changing atmosphere, the increasing strength of Russian influence, seemed to create the possibility of a governmental crisis in Turkey. Husrev's position was insecure, his dismissal could be expected. This turn of events worried Ponsonby, facing Chrzanowski with an uncertain future and the prospect of isolation among the Turks. He was still Husrev's guest and continued to enjoy his confidence which gave him the opportunity to study the character and disposition of his host. Husrev was very shrewd, but lacked real ability which he covered up by a smattering of routine. He was, moreover, cunning, sly, devoid of higher motives or any noble impulse, all his efforts directed solely to keep his position ⁸⁴⁾.

81) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 15.3.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

82) Ibidem.

83) Ibidem. « Dawny Seraskier odpowiedział, że mu obojętne gdzie się urodził, uważa go za przysłanego przez Wernera (Anglię). Tajemnica się wyjawia i (Chrzanowski) Achmet uchodził za kogoś w służbie Handlu (Anglii) i jako taki był tu przez Jana (Ponsonbiego) przyznany ».

84) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 25.9.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485, B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston, 19.9.1836.

Chrzanowski's military activity, which up till now found its most outstanding expression in the proposed army reforms embracing the whole problem of the State's defence, had led him to considerations as regards Turkish policy in general. At that time this policy was dominated by the Sultan's hate for Mehemet-Ali linked with a desire of revenge, feelings which communicated themselves also to his Ministers. This hate was becoming an obsession, making any calm estimation of the Egyptian threat in comparison with the far greater Russian danger quite impossible. England could tip the balance, but this exactly was still lacking, resulting in the Sultan's hesitant attitude which made Lord Ponsonby's task extremely difficult. In his struggle against Russian influence he now found fresh support in Chrzanowski. A new chapter was opening in their mutual relations. They were brought together by a common feeling of hostility to Russia, they both agreed that the first step towards regaining England's lost position would be the removal of Ahmet Pasha from the Sultan's entourage, they shared the same opinion as to the necessity of an agreement between the Sultan and Mehemet-Ali and a peaceful settlement of Turkish-Egyptian relations. Prompted by such considerations Chrzanowski tried to restrain the Sultan in his war-like fervour, pointed out the inadequacy of political thinking based on desire for revenge, argued that war with Mehemet-Ali would be absurd, since the whole fabric of his dominions was founded on material power and would disintegrate with his death, allowing Turkey to regain without war all possessions she had lost to him. For a while the Sultan yielded to the power of Chrzanowski's argumentation, all the more so as it found an even stronger support in Palmerston's position. Moved by the same motives Chrzanowski was able to induce the Turkish Government to recall Reshid Pasha's Army from the vicinity of Baghdad, where it had been sent to crush the rebellious Kurds. He also managed to convince the Seraskier of the necessity to draw out from Tripoli, and of the error committed by the deployment of troops forming a cordon along the line of the Taurus Mountains where Ibrahim had every possibility of a breakthrough. On the other hand, he advised army concentration in the region of Diarbekir, which would allow operations aimed at the rear of the enemy, irrespective of the direction from which he might launch his attack. Finally, he suggested a stronger concentration of forces on the Bosphorus and the formation of a new army in Rumelia. Hidden behind all this was the thought of a general regrouping of the Turkish Army, switching it from the southern to the northern direction. A plan definitely stated and developed only during the following year, since at the moment it was checked by fear of the Egyptian threat. This threat could only be removed with the help of England, but Chrzanowski charged Turkey itself with the duty of showing concern to bring this about, deploring the growing impact of Russian influence ⁸⁵).

Chrzanowski closed his Turkish balance-sheet with the rather sad remark that he would never had ventured upon his mission had he been acquainted with conditions in Turkey, or aware of the difficulties awaiting him there. Now, however, although uncertain as to the results of his efforts, he could no longer turn back. His projects were well accepted,

85) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 25.9.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485, B.P. Chrzanowski to Lord Ponsonby, 19.8.1836, 20.9.1836.

but badly executed, or with not enough speed to meet the needs of the country and the course of events ⁸⁶⁾.

Even worse than the Turkish situation was the state of affairs in Persia. Here Russian influence was all powerful. The pro-Russian sympathies among the inhabitants of northern provinces served as a channel for its infiltration, and no counteraction came from England. Persia, hostile to Turkey, was seeking advantages in alliance with Russia. With her help the Shah intended to conquer Khiva, Kabul and Lahore. As to the Caucasus, Chrzanowski regarded it as an unknown quantity, even as late as in September. Even if some news did trickle through from there to the West, he could not collect any definite information. Neither was the Seraskier able to provide it, although he was himself Caucasian-born and came from Abasia.

An appraisal of the general state of affairs in those regions did not lead to the conclusion of their unity, and thus failed to answer the propositions stated in Prince Adam Czartoryski's Eastern Plan. Turkey alone remained in the picture ⁸⁷⁾.

Chapter VI. *With the English Embassy in Pera*

With the report of 25th September the initial stage of Chrzanowski's mission was closed. It had been a time of hopes and illusions, ending in changes in the Turkish Government due to Russian pressure, including the removal of Husrev from office. The dismissal of Husrev had also rendered insecure Chrzanowski's own position, since it was founded, in fact, upon personal relations with the Seraskier. When that dignity passed to another, Chrzanowski decided to move out of Husrev's house and take up quarters with the English Embassy in Pera, a suburb of Constantinople. There he could wait until the changes in course became consolidated, uncertain however of the future and in doubt whether his readiness for service would be further accepted. These doubts were, moreover, aggravated by Ponsonby's views on the Turkish situation, which at that time still differed from those held by Chrzanowski. It even seemed that this difference could lead to misunderstandings between them. Yet from the nature of things Ponsonby was now obliged to concern himself about Chrzanowski's future. This brought them together almost of necessity, and the meeting proved to be the beginning of deep mutual friendship, as well as Ponsonby's ever growing confidence in Chrzanowski. Such close relationship with Ponsonby was to place Chrzanowski in the position of member of the English Embassy, but before this came to pass he had to remain for a while in a state of forced inactivity.

Nevertheless, he was able to find employment for Pałowski as instructor in a battalion which was being formed at Ankara. For the time being he kept Zabłocki at his own disposal, entrusting him with the task of draughtsman. As regards newcomers, Kowalski was still waiting to

86) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 25.9.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

87) Ibidem.

be posted, while some complications arose in connection with Brzozowski. He had failed to gain the confidence of Urquhart who, after hesitating for a full month, finally declared he was unable to use him. He wanted a certain Sadlucki to be sent over instead, somebody of whom Chrzanowski had never heard before. Finding that Urquhart would not change his mind, Chrzanowski decided to keep Brzozowski in Constantinople until further notice in his regard. More trouble was created by the irresponsible behaviour of Duszyński who persisted in declaring himself the representative of an important political group and finished by compromising Urquhart. Urged at the latter's request to depart from Turkey, he refused to leave, despite the fact that Chrzanowski put a stop to payments for his support ⁸⁸).

By entering the English Embassy, Chrzanowski stepped out of the comparatively narrow circle of purely military matters and moved into a wider sphere of Eastern political problems. He could observe at close quarters the political interplay between Great Powers in Constantinople, was in constant touch with the diplomatic representative of England, who soon was to share his most confidential thoughts and become his trusted intermediary in contacts with the Turkish Government. His reputation among Turks, and the respect in which he was held even by the Sultan's Russian-bribed officials, proved here of great help. Gradually, he was acquiring a firmer basis from which to expand his activity beyond Turkey herself. It also became ever more apparent that this activity must run in three different channels, in accord with the complex character of Chrzanowski's mission. The three issues involved were: English interests, Turkish affairs, and Polish aims.

As regards English interests, a period of close and cordial collaboration with Ponsonby was opening before Chrzanowski. It was founded upon their identical attitude towards two major problems: that of safeguarding Turkey's independence, and the Russian threat in the East. The good understanding was not disturbed by differences often occurring between them in respect to specific matters of lesser importance. And yet, the reason for such differences was deeply rooted in the dissimilarity of premises which formed the starting point of each one's particular approach. Ponsonby, although his views were not always the same as those of Palmerston, followed the line of policy set by his Government, trying to settle the conflict without war, or at least to delay it. Chrzanowski's thoughts were centered upon Prince Czartoryski's Polish plan connected with Eastern affairs, which demanded a speeding up of the conflict to provoke war between England and Russia in the East.

At present circumstances were just appropriate to offer an opportunity for inducing England to take a resolute line of action. The sudden drop in English ascendancy on the Bosphorus was inviting Russia to reach for the long coveted object of her designs, Constantinople. She could now gain control of the Dardanelles without struggle, on the pretence of friendship and the execution of the Unkiar Skelessi Treaty, giving thus a death blow to Turkey, whose very existence was at stake. England was faced with the threat of a highly dangerous shift in the balance of power ⁸⁹).

88) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 21.11.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

89) Fraser to J. Backhouse, Therapia 3.1.1837, P.R.O. FO/78/309.

Such considerations, together with the change in his own situation which took him away from his military tasks, led Chrzanowski to attempt an analysis of Turkey's position and possibilities, and seek an answer to the problem of England's attitude towards her. He gave expression to his views in a series of writings drafted in the space of a few months. Turkey, deprived of outside help and without hope of obtaining it in the immediate future, found herself in a state of such prostration, exhaustion and total loss of strength; unable to offer resistance she would accept any conditions which Russia might dictate. The raging bubonic plague has already taken 100.000 victims among the population, and the Turkish Army was so heavily smitten by it that no further hopes can be built upon it. Even the Sultan was suffering from collapse. He suspended all his military occupations, to which he had given so much of his energy, and was slipping into an incomprehensible beatitude ⁹⁰).

The continuation of this state of affairs lay in the best interest of Russia, and of first concern to her ambassador in Constantinople was to maintain it. His plotting and fatal influence upon the Sultan had already frustrated Chrzanowski's efforts and checked the application of his sound advice concerning the regrouping of Turkish troops. These troops, scattered in small bodies throughout the country, were to be concentrated into three large unities: that of the Balkans, covering the line of the Danube, the Georgian, in the direction of the Caucasus and Asia, and the Central group in the region of Constantinople to shield the Capital. This regrouping had already reached its preparatory stage when the change of government, instigated by Russia, followed by the dismissal of Husrev, had put an end to it all, leaving Chrzanowski unemployed.

Thus, at the turn of 1836-37 Turkey was deeply steeped in inertia, left at the mercy of Russia. Help and rescue from this lethargy could come from England. Addressing such appeal to her, Chrzanowski stressed, however, that if England really does wish to save Turkey she must act at once and strike quickly, since the delay of a few months would see the end of Turkey ⁹¹). This rather feverish appeal found some justification in the fact that it could be met at very small costs on the part of England. The whole point was to make the best use of the opportunity presented by the Vixen affair, which coincided in time with Chrzanowski taking up residence in Pera.

Russia had intercepted on the Black Sea a privately owned English boat « Vixen », carrying to the Caucasus a cargo of salt together with some contraband for the fighting Circassians. The cargo was confiscated and the crew and the boat interned. The case made a lot of noise abroad, creating international complications, for the incident revealed Russian designs as regards the Caucasus, compelled other countries to show interest in its fate, disclosed the fact of Russia's pretensions to special rights on the Black Sea, and, what in this instance had special importance, stirred up public opinion in England ⁹²).

The Vixen affair, therefore, involved a lot of other questions of utmost

90) Ibidem.

91) Ibidem.

92) Sir Charles WEBSTER, *The Foreign Policy of Palmerston*, pp. 570-572. M. HANDELSMAN, *Adam Czartoryski*, vol. II, p. 77.

importance. Chrzanowski, who observed the events at close quarters, regarded the incident as a critical moment, no longer to be resolved by the usual methods of struggle for influence, but demanding a decided step on the part of England showing her readiness for action. Such attitude only would be a worthy answer to Russia's act of impudence, bringing encouragement to Turkey ⁹³), and allowing in turn to determine the fate of that part of the Caucasus, which still free from Russian control remained, nevertheless, also disappointed in its expectations of help from England ⁹⁴). The moment was crucial, especially as attention in the East was now wholly concentrated upon England.

In Chrzanowski's mind there was, of course, a spark of hope that the situation could carry the seeds of war. However, if it did not come to war, Russia should be at least prevented to capture the Dardanelles. Usually, when something of importance was taking place in Turkey, Chrzanowski did not limit himself to discuss it with Ponsonby, but immediately urged Prince Czartoryski to intervene in London. And so it was now. Chrzanowski argued that nothing could be obtained by half-measures, that Russian provocation should be answered by a show of force. Taking advantage of the recent Vixen incident, England could very well show concern over this threat to her commercial traffic, and, on the pretext of providing convoys for her merchant navy, send a fleet of war ships to the Black Sea. Thus, by creating a *fait accompli* she would forestall Russia on the Bosphorus ⁹⁵).

Such projects had roused the Sultan's interest and he listened to Chrzanowski's advice ⁹⁶). On the English side the situation was approached from a different angle. Palmerston wanted to treat the Vixen affair as a private case without political significance. He wished to avoid a clash, rejecting nevertheless Russian claims to the Caucasus, in the hope that it might be maintained in some sort of limited independence ⁹⁷). As to Ponsonby, he did not share Chrzanowski's pessimistic outlook. In his opinion the Sultan would never accept the role of a Russian client, and would rather fight to his last soldier than see the Dardanelles and Constantinople in Russian hands. As to his sudden lack of interest in military matters this was due, according to Ponsonby, to the intrigues of Butenev and his declarations of Russian friendship. At any case, Ponsonby hoped that the Sultan would not fail to call in time for English help at a moment of crisis. This meant that Russia would not risk war until she was perfectly ready and sure of her aims. It seemed, however, most unlikely that she might reach such a state of preparedness for war ⁹⁸). Probably for that reason Ponsonby did not show great concern as regards Russian entry into the Bosphorus. To be sure, he accepted Chrzanowski's idea of beating them to it, but he was inclined to feel that one English warship

93) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 7.1.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

94) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 7.2.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

95) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 7.1.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. Fraser to J. Backhouse, 3.1.1837, P.R.O. FO/78/309.

96) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 4.4.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

97) Sir Charles WEBSTER, *The Foreign Policy of Palmerston*, pp. 570-72.

98) Fraser to J. Backhouse, 3.1.1837, P.R.O. FO/78/309.

on the Black Sea would be enough as an act of presence ⁹⁹⁾. This, according to Chrzanowski, would be to the Russians just an invitation to move into Constantinople and the Bosphorus. ¹⁰⁰⁾.

Whatever were Chrzanowski's motives, and however compelling the force of his reasoning, his foreboding as regards the Bosphorus was not confirmed by the events of the next few months. English warships never entered the Black Sea, yet the Russians did not dare to reach out for the Dardanelles. Without doubt, it was Chrzanowski who showed a deeper understanding of Russia and the spirit which dictated her policy, but Ponsonby was more accurate in his estimation of Russian diplomatic tactics.

In spite of certain differences in points of view, Chrzanowski was very pleased with Ponsonby's general attitude. Urquhart, on the other hand, proved a disappointment, all the greater because completely unexpected. It was Urquhart who had been most active in the Vixen affair, contributing effectively to draw every advantage from the event, it was he who had always insisted on the necessity of resolute action. Now he adopted a negative attitude, stating that war was not indicated, regarding the building up of the Turkish Army as a possible risk to Turkey, and declaring that « the progress of ideas would solve everything » ¹⁰¹⁾. This change of heart came to a great extent in result of a quarrel with Lord Ponsonby, which Urquhart had soon after his arrival in Constantinople. Its cause lay, in fact, in Urquhart's intense personal ambitions. He had a strong desire to occupy Ponsonby's position ¹⁰²⁾, and went so far as to discuss matters relating to Turkey with Turkish high officials on his own initiative, by-passing the Ambassador.

When Chrzanowski crossed the threshold of the English Embassy in autumn, he found himself in a depressing atmosphere of discord. His sincere intention was to keep himself well outside the quarrel ¹⁰³⁾, soon however he made an attempt to act as mediator, and finally decided to side with Ponsonby. He tried to influence Urquhart and make him change his mind, but without success. Urquhart had an acid or witty answer to every argument, and showed a tendency to rope in Chrzanowski into his own schemes. This Chrzanowski could not accept on any account. Loyalty to Ponsonby was his duty. Moreover, he was aware that a single letter to London from the Ambassador could deprive him of everything, and only England had the means of placing again « his foot in the stirrup ». Thus, to avoid even a breath of suspicion on the part of Ponsonby, he decided to break off almost entirely any contacts with Urquhart ¹⁰⁴⁾. Appealing to his understanding he pointed out to him that only he himself

99) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 7.1.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

100) Fraser to J. Backhouse, 3.1.1837, P.R.O. FO/78/309. Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 7.1.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

101) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 3.1.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

102) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 15.3.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

103) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 21.11.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

104) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 15.3.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485, « Zobowiązałem się współdziałać z Agnieszką (Ponsonby), ponieważ nie kto inny jak Anglia może włożyć moją stopę w strzemień i że jeden list Agnieszki wszystko mi może zepsuć i dlatego by nie wzbudzić w nim podejrzenia, nie mogę go (Urquharta) często widywać ».

was the sole judge of his actions, and finally told him quite candidly: « Que c'était à lui de juger si ce qu'il faisait était bon, mais que moi j'étais obligé de ménager Agnès, car ce n'est que Verner qui peut me mettre le pied dans l'étrier et qu'une seule lettre d'Agnès pourrait tout me gâter et que, par conséquent, pour ne pas lui donner de l'ombrage, je ne pourrai la voir souvent » ¹⁰⁵⁾. Urquhart understood, and remained on good terms with Chrzanowski although their meetings became now infrequent.

Chrzanowski's reports on changes in Turkey and the increasing tide of Russian influence, reached Prince Czartoryski with some delay, as he was at that time in Italy on family business. In reply, the Prince expressed his approval on « the most judicious » way in which Chrzanowski had handled matters. Obviously he had done everything that was indicated and lay in his power. He had acquainted the Sultan with the true state of affairs, he was right in differing with Ponsonby on the question of getting to the Bosphorus before the Russians, and in warning him about the danger of sending only one ship to the Black Sea. He was wise in trying to remain neutral in the quarrel between Ponsonby and Urquhart, and when this proved impossible, he was quite correct to take sides with Ponsonby ¹⁰⁶⁾.

In what concerned Turkish affairs, Chrzanowski could see ever more clearly the picture which Turkey presented at that moment. He was gaining a deeper knowledge of her internal situation, her domestic troubles, the diseased political life where corruption and bribery threatened perhaps more than anything else the very existence of the State. Corruption was not restricted only to Constantinople, but spread throughout the country down to the lowest ranks of State administration. The Pashas, especially those of border districts, were ready to render all sorts of services to Russia for money. They handed over Russian deserters as they passed in considerable numbers to the Turkish side, and the Pasha of Kars went as far as to sell timber for the construction of a Russian fortress in Gumri, obviously intended to serve against Turkey ¹⁰⁷⁾. A weak central government, even if aware of the situation, was unable to counteract, corroded as it was itself by the canker of corruption, torn by intrigues and internal strife, and the mutual envy of Ministers competing for the Sultan's favour.

The changes at present in course, had for the moment brought to a halt Chrzanowski's projects and the military reforms he had initiated. Worse still, Husrev's successor, Pertev Pasha, anti-Russian and more patriotic than any other of the Sultan's officials, had entered upon a mistaken venture. When placed in charge of military affairs, he took, partly on English advice, the extraordinary notion of replacing the army

105) Ibidem.

106) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 14.3.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485, « Staraleś się utrzymać między Jagnieszką a Gabriellą (Urquhart). Z Matematyką (Ponsonby) wszelako zachowałeś najlepsze stosunki, nie przestając oświecać go jeśli zdawał się w błędzie. Ostatnio miałeś rację dowodzić, że wysłanie jednego tylko Strażnika (okrętu) byłoby niebezpieczne. Całe to postępowanie jest pełne trudności. Dobrze także uczyniłeś, że mając do decydowania się między ukaranym Buchalterem (Urquhart) a wikarym, osądziłeś tego ostatniego nie odstępować; tak się należało i było nakazane roztropnością ».

107) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 21.11.1836. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

by a permanent militia ¹⁰⁸). The project never gained approval, and a few months after it had been presented, Pertev Pasha fell a victim to the Sultan's mistrust and the envy of his favourites, paying with life for his mistaken idea ¹⁰⁹). The office and dignities of the murdered Pasha were now inherited by the young, inexperienced and Russian payed Halil Pasha, son-in-law of the Sultan. This meant, on the one hand, a prolongation of waiting in inactivity for Chrzanowski, and on the other, a further opening for the infiltration of Russian influence.

There was, however, another face of Turkish reality. Behind the official façade a different trend continued to operate, although it could not, as yet, promise to bring any swift change. The discharged Husrev Pasha still retained both the confidence and the favour of the Sultan. He was often called to sit on his Council, continuing to play a definite, even if hidden, role, while the Sultan gave repeated indication of his reluctance to get rid of Chrzanowski. The Sultan in his actions was obviously intimidated by Russian threats. Yet he still looked hopefully to England for support. England, however, was unwilling to start an armed conflict, and this had a paralysing effect upon the Sultan's decisions. Chrzanowski could do nothing to change England's attitude. He had no authority to get into immediate touch with London, and opinions in the Embassy were divided. Ponsonby was persuaded that England would give assistance, though only if the crisis would reach an acute phase, while Urquhart declared that this should not be counted upon ¹¹⁰).

Even of greater importance than foreign affairs was the domestic sector of Turkish problems, where military questions took the first place. Deprived of the possibility to execute his military tasks, Chrzanowski looked for other means which would allow him to contribute to the solving of the problem of defence. By personal contacts he tried to influence the minds of Turks, showing them the road leading to renewal. He also kept the Sultan informed about the situation, preparing him to take up a stand if England would decide to go into action ¹¹¹). The Sultan seemed inclined to listen and take notice of his advice, but did so in a languid way, showing none of the drive required by the approach of decisive events which could take place at any moment ¹¹²).

Thus Chrzanowski's task was not an easy one. His recent military activity had been too brief to introduce lasting, fundamental reforms which, in any case, had to be carried out gradually and, contrary to what the Seraskier assured, could not embrace the whole army but only detachments under his immediate command. As a result the general condition of the army still left much to be desired, while the Officers' Corps and the High Command were even less satisfying than the troops ¹¹³). Difficulties were further increased by the fact that military preparations had to be carried out in secret, and required time which was running short ¹¹⁴).

108) Sir Charles WEBSTER, *The Foreign Policy of Palmerston*, p. 535.

109) *Ibidem*, p. 542.

110) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 4.4.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

111) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 7.1.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

112) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 4.4.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

113) Fraser to J. Backhouse, 3.1.1837, P.R.O. FO/78/309.

114) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 4.4.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

In this explosive atmosphere of political life in Turkey, Chrzanowski conceived a Plan of Defence which dealt with the most essential aspects of military necessities and means to achieve preparation. It pointed out present defects and lacks in armament, as well as the wrong system adopted for the disposition of troops. Its most important novelty consisted in working plans of operations, elaborated from European models and according to the dictates of European military science, rightly concentrating upon two directions where Turkey could possibly go into action: South and North. This Plan of Defence, presented in February 1837 as a Memorandum for the Turkish Government ¹¹⁵⁾, was extremely well received by the then Seraskier, Pertev Pasha, and submitted to the Sultan for approval ¹¹⁶⁾.

Commenting upon the Turkish Army, Chrzanowski sees the main reason for its weakness in armament, which is both defective and lacking in uniformity, and also in the want of care for weapons seldom kept in a good state of preservation. He advises that infantry should be equipped with English or French rifles, and that strict regulations concerning the proper maintenance of arms should be introduced and enforced. As regards artillery, he would like to have the undue variety of gun calibre reduced to only two, and a special corps of mountain artillery formed. Furthermore Chrzanowski advised that the strength of particular formations should be kept in adequate proportion to each other. This referred especially to the insufficient amount of cavalry, which should be raised to about 1/5 of the total strength of infantry, and its small regiments increased to 800 horses.

Next Chrzanowski proceeds to draw up a plan of operations, basing it upon the possibility of threat from either of two directions: Egypt or Russia. A conflict with Egypt, of small probability at the moment, could still be dealt with by Turkey single-handed, providing she adopted a plan of offensive-defensive operations. Such were the demands of the strategic situation, since the Egyptian Army, not above 30.000 strong, would see two possibilities opening before her: action towards Constantinople or Baghdad. In response, the main force of the Turkish Army should occupy a central position in the region of Diarbekir and Malatia, leaving on both of the presumed directions of enemy operations some army corps as cover, with the task of engaging and delaying the adversary by frontal action. The main force, on the other hand, threatening his lines of communication, should aim at cutting him off from his hinterland, and thus force him to retreat. In no case could the adversary hope to reach his operational target without first having to destroy the main force of the Turkish Army. This simple plan promised incalculable advantages to the Turkish Armed Forces, and several months later, with Chrzanowski already absent, when the situation on the Turkish-Egyptian sector became again inflammable, Ponsonby thought that in case of war Chrzanowski's plan should be put into operation ¹¹⁷⁾.

A threat from the North would involve more serious complications. In view of the great disparity in their war potential, Turkey could only

115) Notes sur l'armée Turque, Pera, 18.2.1837, P.R.O. FO/78/302.

116) Ponsonby to Palmerston, N. 43. Therapia, 15.3.1837, P.R.O. FO/78/302.
B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston, 15.3.1837.

117) Ponsonby to Palmerston, 8.8.1837, P.R.O. FO/195/142, Confidential.

wage war against Russia with the assistance of England. Chrzanowski did not specify what form this assistance should take, but as regards Turkey herself the war would have to be, perforce, defensive. Russia, sure of her own superiority could open hostilities in three directions at once: the Caucasus from Gumri towards Erzerum, the Balkans, and in a central direction on Constantinople from the sea. In consequence, the prospect of three distinct theatres of operation had to be considered, compelling Turkey to establish three separate armies: the Army of Asia, the Army of Europe and a central Army group. The Army of Asia should form the main force, since Turkey could find opportunity to develop offensive operations in the direction of the Caucasus. Located at present in the region of Diarbekir and Malatia, this Army should be moved swiftly to the region of Kars, having as cover from the East Turkish troops from Baghdad which, not intended to take part in operations on the Caucasus, would be removed at the start of hostilities to the region of Mossul. The Army of Europe, composed of contingents from Rumelia, Bosnia and Albania, and further reinforced by volunteer formations from those countries, should be concentrated in the region of Shumla. The 20.000 strong Central Group, providing cover for Constantinople, could be used to reinforce either the Army of Europe or of Asia when the Capital was no longer threatened. All war preparations should be carried out in secret and remain unobserved so as not to alert the enemy, but under cover of various pretexts the movement of troops to their respective regions of concentration should be taking place in good time.

According to Chrzanowski's reckoning Turkey's war effort in a conflict with Russia would involve 80.000 troops. Half of this amount would go to form the Army of Asia which in a matter of few months be able to drive the Russians back to the Caucasus ¹¹⁸⁾.

Polish aims and expectations connected with Turkey were, of course, completely dependent upon the attitude of England and her readiness to risk the possibility of some sacrifices. The Polish Cause could only come into the picture indirectly, according to how far England was prepared to commit herself in opposing Russia's aggressive drive. Aware of that, and careful not to lose the sympathy of future allies, Chrzanowski avoided to make an issue of Polish problems too soon, showing great prudence and tact in all dealings with his English sponsors and protectors, and restricting himself only to warn them at every occasion of the danger which Russia represented.

At the same time he remained deeply loyal in executing the orders and complying with the wishes of his leader, Prince Czartoryski, with whom he shared the same political ideology, and whom he regarded as the symbol of Poland and main supporter of the social order. More orthodox than the Prince in his views, Chrzanowski never concealed his dislike of democratic equality, nor his antipathy for revolutionary movements. He had no great liking for France, but could speak in warm words about Austria. His links with England, the services he rendered to Turkey, were to him only a road to Poland.

During the first few months after his arrival in Turkey no great progress had been made as regards Polish affairs. The Caucasus still remained outside the scope of Polish action. As yet no information had

118) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 7.2.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

been collected there at first hand by Polish observers, and all news came only by way of English travellers. This gave matter for concern, since according to Polish calculations the Caucasus could provide a steady flow of recruits and even become the basis for Polish military formations. News which trickled out from the Caucasus spoke of a great number of Poles in the local Russian army, forced to take part in a fight for the enslavement of free peoples to a common enemy. It spoke of the terrible lot of Poles at the hands of Russia who was thus sending them to their doom, of their despair, desertions, and even a rebellion which broke out in Anapa. Poles, either deserters or prisoners of war captured by the Circassians, providing they were not mistaken for Russians, received on the whole fair treatment. They could form their own national communities on the Caucasus and a town on the shores of the Black Sea was especially allotted to them, where a directing centre, some sort of headquarters, had been established. They even had a musical band of their own. This inflow of Poles corresponded with the needs of the Caucasian people who struggling for liberty were in want of need from outside, and not only lacked the necessary means to wage war, but also unity, organization and leadership. Such needs could be answered by the Polish element among them ¹¹⁹⁾.

Together with information about Poles, more detailed news arrived about the Caucasus itself. The predominantly mountainous country was inhabited by semi-civilized peoples, still remaining on the level of tribal social structure and differing from each other in language and customs. Continual feuds and battling did not allow them to achieve a higher, supertribal form of organization. A binding factor which could unite them into one whole was lacking, and the only link between them was a common hate of Russia.

Chrzanowski refrained from giving his point of view on the Caucasus in regard to Polish plans until November 1836. And then his opinion did not agree with that of Prince Czartoryski, nor with the views predominating in the Princes' entourage. According to Chrzanowski, the Caucasus with its spare resources, primitive conditions and lack of any sort of modern facilities, was not the place to choose as a base for the establishment of Polish military formations. Such a venture could only become realistic with substantial material support from England in the event of war against Russia, or some acute crisis, and not before the English Navy had entered the Black Sea. Then only would the Caucasus acquire the importance ascribed to it in Polish circles ¹²⁰⁾. In present circumstances its only asset consisted in the possibility of providing men for enlistment into the ranks of Polish forces.

Chrzanowski had no other expectations as regards the Caucasus. He wanted to make full use of what it had to offer, but as to the organizing centre for Polish formations he would rather see it established in Turkish territory. Several hundred Poles captured as Russian prisoners of war by the Circassians were already on Turkish soil in the vicinity of Sinope and Samsona and could serve as a core for future formations. Sold as

119) Hudson to Col. Sir Herbert Taylor, Private 8.2.1836, P.R.O. FO/78/237, also Conversation between Prince Adam Czartoryski and Mr. Hudson in July 1836, *Rozmowa ks. Adama Czartoryskiego z Panem Hudson w lipcu 1836*, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

120) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 21.11.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

slaves by the Circassians, they were now being resold in turn by Turkish merchants from whose hands they could be ransomed with the help of the Turkish Government. For some time already Turkey had been of real assistance to Poles who in this way appeared within her frontiers, showing them understanding, providing relief and even helping them to regain freedom. Thus the first batch of recruits was at hand, more would be flowing in from the Caucasus. From the high, but as yet not clearly determined number of Poles among the Circassians, some enjoyed complete freedom, some even took part in battles against Russians, others remained as slaves waiting to be sold ¹²¹⁾. All those Poles should be traced, gathered together and transferred to Turkey, where the operation of organizing them into military units would proceed in cooperation with the Turkish Army. Chrzanowski was against using Poles for fighting in the Caucasus, since they would find difficult to cope with local conditions. The fight as such should be left to the Circassians themselves, supported by supplies of armament and war equipment. They especially lacked light mountain artillery, indispensable to capture Russian field fortifications. The task of supplying the necessary war material to fighting Circassians, as well as that of promoting unity and concord among them, should be entrusted to an English civilian Commissioner, with a few Polish emissaries attached as aids, charged with the tracing and collecting of Poles scattered on the Caucasus ¹²²⁾.

As main rallying point and Polish organizing centre in Turkey, Chrzanowski proposed Sinope, a town on the Black Sea. It had a suitable harbour and was, moreover, situated on the road to the Caucasus and Erzerum, the prospective region of troop concentration for Turkish action on the Caucasus ¹²³⁾. Officers for the new formations would have to come from military circles of the Emigration, but in order to avoid political propaganda and friction, Chrzanowski advised careful selection, strict check as regards rank, and a well regulated inflow of officers as the need for them arises. Armament, equipment, uniforms and all other supplies should be provided by England, for 2000 men to begin with, and the same amount held in store. In the initial stage of organization units should not exceed battalion strength, later, with more men coming to join one could proceed to form regiments. It might be expected that news about Polish military forces being organized on the Turkish border would have an electrifying effect upon thousands of Poles in the Russian armies of the Caucasus and Southern Russia, stimulating them to desertion and increasing the number of arrivals in Turkey ¹²⁴⁾. In fact, according to assessments made in April it seemed already possible to contemplate the forming of five battalions, while Chrzanowski went even further and was planning the gradual arrival in small groups of Polish officers from the West ¹²⁵⁾.

121) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 7.2.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

122) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 4.4.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

123) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 7.2.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

124) Ibidem.

125) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 4.4.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

As a preliminary step before starting on the work of organization, Chrzanowski had drafted a certain amount of regulations for infantry, as well as field drill regulations. Sending them out for printing he asked, however, to keep them out of circulation until the forming of units would be well on its way. The building up of formations should take place according to the following order of precedence: infantry, cavalry, artillery, and to maintain efficiency the whole task should be entrusted to a single commander, directly responsible to the Prince, through whom only he would be entitled to communicate with England ¹²⁶⁾. In order to preserve unity and uniformity in the methods of procedure, Chrzanowski did not find the arrival of several generals indicated at once. This could take place when the new army would be sufficiently increased and developed.

In the meantime Chrzanowski occupied himself with elaborating a widely designed plan of the future Polish war. In the event of an armed conflict between England and Russia he envisaged three separate theatres of war operations: the Balkans, Asia Minor and the Caucasus. The Balkans and Asia Minor should be the responsibility of separate commanding generals, the Caucasus, on the other hand, did not hold in Chrzanowski's plans any strategic importance. Its main role would be to provide the possibility of picking up Polish deserters from the Russian armies, otherwise action there would be nothing more but small mountain warfare, far below the scale of regular operations. This action should also include Georgia, so closely linked with the Caucasus but already under Russian control. For those reasons Chrzanowski did not think it necessary to have a general in command of that region. He proposed Bystrzanowski for the Caucasus, with a few emissaries. Such a team, subordinated and offered in assistance to the English Commissioner, would be in charge of action throughout the entire region ¹²⁷⁾.

If the war was to spread to the Baltic, Chrzanowski suggested the idea of starting an insurrectional movement in Samogitia, advising to send over there General Dembiński. Sweden was still left to provide for, where General Bem would best meet with all requirements. In this way another, Baltic theatre of operations would be opening up for Polish action. The whole of that action should be controlled by Prince Czartoryski in alliance with England, the highest authority and command being entrusted into his hands ¹²⁸⁾.

Chrzanowski's ideas and plans concerning the building up of Polish military formations in the East did not meet with the full approval of Prince Czartoryski. He did not accept the point of view according to which no action should be undertaken in this respect before the outbreak of an armed conflict, being himself of the opinion that it should start immediately, especially on the Caucasus. In the meantime the news coming from the Caucasus was creating great stir among Poles. Dembiński offered to travel there himself, and was planning to go to London with a project of his own which, however, raised few hopes of being ever

126) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 7.2.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

127) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 4.4.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

128) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 7.2.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

executed ¹²⁹⁾. Zamoyski also came out with the suggestion that Chrzanowski should proceed at once with the ransoming of Polish « slaves » in order to accelerate Polish action in the East ¹³⁰⁾.

Far greater difficulties were attached to the Persian sector, where Russian influence was dominant, excluding Persia from Polish plans. In this connection Anglo-Persian relations became so strained that the diplomatic representative of England, MacNeil, had to leave Teheran for a certain period of time. This was the reason why preparations for Hoffman's mission had to be abandoned. Later, when the tension had somewhat relaxed and MacNeil was returning to his post, he was advised not to meet Chrzanowski on his way back, although he very much wished to do so. MacNeil as well was taking steps to use Polish officers in Persia for the same purpose as that served by Chrzanowski's activity in Turkey, and thus he regarded a discussion with him indispensable. However, on his return to Teheran, and after taking a good look at the situation, he was forced to give up his project. Nevertheless, he believed that soon a change for the better would take place, allowing him to request Polish officers for Persia ¹³¹⁾.

For the time being, some sort of activity as a Polish agent in Persia was taken up by Colonel Borowski — or rather General, by his own nomination. He was able to form a detachment from Polish deserters in about battalion strength, but although he enjoyed Czartoryski's protection he acted, in fact, on his own initiative. He never reached a larger scale of activity. He never listened to any of MacNeil's advice, and refused to comply with his wishes. Finally, he came to terms with the Russians ¹³²⁾. Thus only Turkey remained open to Polish action, where it could continue even if in a modest way, and in spite of considerable difficulties.

These various problems did not exhaust, however, the whole program of Chrzanowski's mission at that time. One of the many duties resulting from the very nature of his task was to collect and keep up to date information relating to the Russian Army. Any facts concerning the state and strength of Russian forces of occupation in the Polish Kingdom and Lithuania, were here of particular interest, since one could presume that, in case of war, operations might spread in time into Polish territory, where they would combine with national insurrectional action. It was also generally known, that a great difference had always existed between

129) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, — letter undated, probably of June 1837, bearing only the consecutive No. 525, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485: « Dane myśli przez Generała względem przyszłej formacji były w suppozycji wojny. Czy nie możnaby bez wojny i w oczekiwaniu rozpocząć tam czasem podobne działanie o formację na granicy Kaukazu, gdzie tyle jest naszych i tyle ich ginie? Czy nie możnaby, nim wojna nastąpi, posłać tam jak proponujesz lub kogoś w tym guście? — Sądzę potrzebnem donieść, że Dembiński podobny projekt tal i z nim wybiera się do Londynu, wątpię wszakże, aby mu się udało coś z Minist. ang. skleić ». — There is another letter of 12 June 1837, coded and almost identical in subject, and in Sienkiewicz's handwriting.

130) Ibidem. — « P. Władysław podał myśli, abys się ogłosił wykupicielem naszych tam niewolników, mogłoby to poprowadzić do formacji ».

131) Sienkiewicz to Chrzanowski, 21.11.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. — « Pisał Piotr (MacNeil) z Morei (Persji), żałował, że mu nie radzono widzieć się ze Stefanem (Chrzanowski). Znalazł Franciszka (Persję) zupełnie zmienionym, nie wątpi przecież o naprawieniu rzeczy, a potem obiecuje wezwać majstrów banku (oficerów emigracji) ».

132) M. HANDELSMAN, *Adam Czartoryski*, vol. II, p. 85.

troops stationed in the Polish Kingdom and Lithuania, and those remaining in Russia. Fresh information, coming from a reliable source in Poland, stated a fall in the strength of the Russian Army, due to a drop in the number of men, although a full level of strength could be regained by new recruitment ¹³³).

While Chrzanowski was thus widening the field of his activity, even entering into immediate contacts with his own country, he was also obliged to spend his energy on petty affairs in Constantinople itself, caused by a spirit of rivalry on the part of the Emigration's opposition. These attempts at competition, often timid and lame, were, nevertheless, damaging. For a long time unable to get rid of Duszyński, Chrzanowski was forced to protect himself from the effects of the man's garrulous habits by spreading false rumours, going as far as hinting that he intended to leave Turkey very soon. As he later explained to Prince Czartoryski: « he often on purpose had to say things quite different from what they in fact were », to provide the prattling Duszyński with false information ¹³⁴). When at last he managed to get rid of Duszyński, another individual of a very different stamp appeared in Constantinople. Nobody seemed to know by whom he was sent. Of limited understanding, he did not represent any real danger. Moreover, he avoided Chrzanowski and his few associates, and never disclosed his name. He signed himself: « Glodista » ¹³⁵).

In spite of his many occupations, the time of waiting for a return to his interrupted work in the Turkish Army seemed long to Chrzanowski, and full of disappointments. In December, soon after he had settled at the English Embassy it seemed that this state of suspension might not last for very much longer. The Turks were apparently contemplating again the initial plan of sending Chrzanowski to Hafis Pasha's headquarters in Asia. Such were the news given by Pertev Pasha himself. The project was very much in accordance with Palmerston's wishes, who at the beginning of January 1837 wrote to Ponsonby: « I hope our Polish friend has been sent to Asia Minor ». However, the Sultan went on delaying his decision and the plan finally fell through. The reason, as it soon became clear, was Russian intrigue. The Russian Ambassador Butenev, who observed closely everything that happened in Turkey, lodged a protest with the Turkish Government, although still in a mild form, against the use of foreigners in general and without mentioning Chrzanowski by name. Under Russian pressure the Turks changed their mind. To Chrzanowski it was a new and bitter disappointment, but he found great relief in his ever more friendly and closer relations with Ponsonby ¹³⁶).

Neither was there much comfort in the news that came from Europe. In autumn Prince Czartoryski went to Italy on family business and his stay in that country, planned to last through the winter, was being prolonged until May ¹³⁷). During his absence all current affairs were to

133) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 7.1.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

134) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 15.3.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

135) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 7.1.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

136) Ibidem, B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston, 20.12.1836, Palmerston to Ponsonby, 7.1.1837.

137) Sienkiewicz to Chrzanowski, 21.11.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

be dealt with by his secretary, Karol Sienkiewicz. However, the Prince, in spite of his private troubles and the removal from his usual residence and centre of activity, did not interrupt personal correspondence with Chrzanowski. Never frequent enough, it presented now a further difficulty by arriving often with great delay to the expressed annoyance of both parties ¹³⁸⁾. An understandable irritation, since the accelerated course of events required a more than ever frequent exchange of thoughts and observations.

Chrzanowski's presence in Turkey continued to provoke an ever stronger vigilance on the part of Russians in Constantinople, and became also the object of a discreetly shown interest on the part of Austria. His correspondence sent by ordinary mail through Vienna continued to be opened on the way. It was necessary to be on guard, increase all precautionary measures, and write all letters in code. The Prince stressed again his orders that all correspondence from Constantinople should be directed in care of himself, exclusively. This rule should hold good for everybody in Chrzanowski's team, unfortunately it was broken again by Zabłocki to the great discontent of Prince Czartoryski ¹³⁹⁾.

More important than correspondence was another problem which had just begun to arise. It concerned the fundamental question whether Chrzanowski should still remain in Turkey. The Vixen affair had led to this indirectly without, as yet, giving it a definite shape, but immediate reasons for doubt did not appear and develop until later. They were preceded by Chrzanowski's feeling of frustration, caused by the events in Turkey during the autumn of 1836 which removed him from his military tasks, and by the false rumours about his probable departure, of which he himself was the author. These rumours, probably spread by Duszyński as Chrzanowski suspected ¹⁴⁰⁾, had finally reached Prince Czartoryski causing him great alarm. This triggered off the whole question. The Prince was very much against Chrzanowski leaving Turkey. His departure in the present circumstances would be nothing less than an acknowledgment of defeat, proving the mission to have been unsuccessful. Neither did the situation seem to demand it, since Ponsonby had every confidence in Chrzanowski and wanted to keep him at the Embassy. Another reason for remaining lay in the fact it would be extremely difficult to resume the mission once it had been interrupted. The Prince was determined to dissuade Chrzanowski from his intention of returning to the West, pointing out all the complications that such a decision would involve.

If it were no longer possible for him to maintain his present character, the Prince advised Chrzanowski to remain in Turkey as a tourist, travelling around on the pretext of visiting the country and learning the language, all the more so, since there was no adequate occupation for him in Europe. As regards the officers of his team, they could stay in Turkey in a similar character, and if difficulties should prove overwhelming, he could keep at least one as assistant, sending back the others. If funds were to run short, the Prince promised further financial help. In

138) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 15.3.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

139) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 21.11.1836, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

140) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 15.3.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

a moving letter sometime in December he wrote to Chrzanowski ¹⁴¹): « My dear Stefan (Chrzanowski or General), I have written some time ago imploring Stefan not to leave his present post. I have received again his letters, from which I see that he wishes to leave, that he would stay with regret, and so I too with real regret must express a different opinion. Let him give some thought to the fact, that although forced to sit upon his hands, he is still more active there, still closer to real activity. Departure would disclose everything and make another return much more difficult. It would be an admission that trading was unsuccessful, that it is abandoned, and comparisons will be made with the return of Henryk (Dembiński). If Jagnieszka (Ponsonby) wants to keep him, then without doubt he should stay. If not so then anyhow I advise to remain with Walentyn (Turkey), there one can see more, learn more, even act and prepare more than on the ship (Circassia) on the spot. If not otherwise, let Stefan stay as a traveller, let him visit as many as possible of the more important places in those countries, or settle for some time in some convenient spot, to collect from there various information and make commercial surveys. Please tell the sons of Walentyn and Tadeusz (Syria), that you are remaining to be at hand in case of necessity, while in the meantime you want to learn more about the country and the language, and see whether there is not some job you could do for them. Once the post is abandoned, it will be difficult to return, far better to remain in the vicinity of things started and connections made, in the possibility of their renewal. If the manager will no longer provide funds, and nothing will come from the house of Walentyn, we shall advance funds for a period of time, on 3 or 4%, and even more according to need ». As regards officers, « those who are less needed can be sent back, and only one kept for various tasks and assistance ». Finally, the Prince concludes: « Such is my opinion, you will not regret (General) » — crossed out in the letter — « if you act according to it, there is nothing to hurry back to. The longer Stefan will stay there, and the later he comes back, the better it will be for him ».

In general lines this letter reflects the feelings prevailing in October and November 1836. Its main topic and arguments refer to Chrzanowski's supposed fear of inactivity and his doubts of any further purpose for remaining in Turkey. Other reasons, speaking more strongly in favour of departure, are not as yet mentioned. The fact is, that Prince Czartoryski's alarm was based on false premises. At that time Chrzanowski had not begun to think of leaving his post in Turkey. Such an idea occurred to him only later, after the Vixen Affair had made the weakness of England's attitude in the matter apparent. But even then he did not at once disclose his thoughts ¹⁴²).

According to Handelsman's interpretation, the above quoted letter of the Prince should be regarded as his reply to Chrzanowski's final decision ¹⁴³) which, however, was not even considered at that time, and was only taken much later. Nevertheless, the attitude which the Prince adopts in that letter remained unchanged to the last. He gives expression to it even in June, when Chrzanowski was already in Malta and actually

¹⁴¹) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 1836 (without inscription, date of day or month) Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

¹⁴²) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 15.3.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

on his way back to France. Moreover, the quoted letter itself, preserved only in its rough draft with many erasures, corrections and interpolations, gives rise to several other questions. First of all, it carries as date only the year 1836, without day or month. This means that it could not have been written later than in December of that year. Notwithstanding the subject of the letter, already mentioned, two other particulars lead us to such a conclusion. The first is Chrzanowski's acknowledgement of receipt of a letter from the Prince dated December 16th, under which date no other writing exists ¹⁴⁴⁾. The second, is the consecutive number which the same letter bears, No. 383, which also leads to December as the date of its writing. Certain doubts may be raised by the paragraph where Chrzanowski's previous references to his plans for departure are mentioned, and which had provoked the Prince's reply. But it must be stressed, that if news of a projected departure were in circulation before January 1837, they could only have been rumours spread by Duszyński, which had mislead the Prince. The first reference to this idea was made by Chrzanowski on the 7th January 1837 ¹⁴⁵⁾, and the Prince did not acknowledge its receipt before the 14th of March ¹⁴⁶⁾.

When Chrzanowski first mentioned his proposal of leaving Turkey, he did not disclose the real reasons behind it. During the next two months he continued to cover up his motives by stressing his misgivings about being ever active again, without hiding, however, that the weakened position of England had considerably influenced his views. He felt to be doomed to inactivity, not only in Constantinople, but even in Asia Minor, for if he joined the Army of Asia Headquarters, the Russian ambassador would certainly force the Turks to have him recalled ¹⁴⁷⁾. He was deeply distressed at the thought of leaving Turkey without having achieved anything, but in terror of Russia the Turkish Government would no doubt refuse to keep him anyhow. This was obvious and to a certain extent understandable. There was also the question of financial means. His funds were running short, and he would find it difficult to maintain his four assistant officers for any longer than next April ¹⁴⁸⁾.

Answering for the Prince who was absent from Paris, Sienkiewicz wrote to Chrzanowski assuring him of further financial help from the Prince in order to prolong his stay in Turkey ¹⁴⁹⁾. However, all Chrzanowski's fears were not appeased. For a long time now he had no news from Europe, where fresh decisions concerning Eastern questions were again at stake. Palmerston's attitude of compromise as regards the Caucasus, which became apparent in the Vixen Affair, was unable to create a barrier against Russia's victorious advance. Chrzanowski feared that he would be abandoned to fend for himself. He asked, therefore, to

143) M. HANDELSMAN, *Adam Czartoryski*, vol. II, p. 78.

144) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 15.3.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

145) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 7.1.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

146) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 14.3.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

147) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 7.1.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

148) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 7.2.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485, Chrzanowski to Zamoyski, 7.2.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

149) Sienkiewicz to Chrzanowski, 21.4.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

be remembered and repeatedly stressed that, although there were no expectations to attract him, he would prefer to return ¹⁵⁰⁾. Turkey, forsaken by England, would no longer wish to have him. Nevertheless, Chrzanowski was not completely despondent. He still hoped that everything might change and it would be possible for him to remain in Constantinople. In view of which he asked for two spare field glasses to be sent to him, as well as a London made saddle with two pommels, «for a not very fat horse», and some spare pips for uniforms with «a couple of them for each of the four officers here». He added, that whoever comes to Turkey must bring everything he might need, for «here nothing decent is to be had» ¹⁵¹⁾. At that time also and in this mood, Chrzanowski elaborated his projects connected with the Caucasus and drafted his plans for a Polish war in the East.

Finally in March, Chrzanowski stopped all evasions and disclosed the real reason for his wish to depart from Turkey. It was his fear of Russia. After the Vixen Affair, Butenev intervened twice which the Turkish Government for the expulsion of Chrzanowski from Turkey, in order to avoid the Tsar's displeasure. At the third time his demand was more ruthless, he wanted Chrzanowski to be handed over as a runaway Russian subject. Secretely informed of this by the Turks, Ponsonby immediately warned Chrzanowski, assuring him that, if necessary, he could always count on refuge in his home where he could remain in perfect safety. At the same time he gave him a passport provided by Palmerston, in which Chrzanowski was designated as a courier and therefore entitled to diplomatic protection. Until now Ponsonby found this duty fairly easy on account of Turkish co-operation. To all Butenev's requests the Turks answered by denying all knowledge of Chrzanowski, and when more closely pressed the Turkish Government declared that they had no right to interfere in a matter which strictly concerned England. In spite of that Ponsonby was getting worried, uncertain how long he might be able to protect Chrzanowski if the Turks should give up resistance and yield, overcome by Russian pressure, so he decided to ask Palmerston for intervention. It was also at that time that the idea of obtaining English nationality for Chrzanowski was being considered in Constantinople ¹⁵²⁾.

150) Chrzanowski to Zamoyski, 7.2.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485: «Nie odebrawszy nic od kilku miesięcy zaczynam od prośby, aby Państwo o mnie nie zapominali na przypadek, gdyby tamtejsze wszystkie starania spełzły na niczem i nieszczęśliwa, a zarazem zła decyzja nastąpiła. Na taki przypadek nie życzyłbym sobie tu zostać, bo nic odpowiedniego zabiegom zrobić nie mógłbym. Zmuszony położeniem do działania zupełnie przeciwnego memu charakterowi, to mnie dużo kosztuje, a jednak gdyby to jeszcze odtąd byłoby daleko trudniej tego cobym mógł sobie obiecywać zrobić, ani znać nie będzie, przeto choć nie mam do czego się spieszyć, jednak wolę wrócić».

151) Ibidem.

152) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 15.3.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. «Teraz po tym wypadku na szosie (Morze Czarne) to czegom się spodziewałem nastąpiło. Mechanik (Buteniew) zrobił dwa wezwania do Popów (Turków), żeby poczty (Chrzanowskiego) nie używali, bo to spowodowałoby nieukontentowanie Daniela (Cesarza Rosji), a nakoniec zrobił trzecie wezwanie, żeby mu pocztę (Chrzanowskiego) wydali jako należąca do literatury (Cesarza Rosji)». B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston, 1.3.1837. «The Russians about four days ago returned to the charge and have now desired that the general should be delivered up to them. This fact was secretely communicated to me. Would that it need be he should take refuge in my house where nobody should touch him. I sent him at the same time a passport. I learnt he has your passport in which he is designated as bearer of despatches and on that ground alone it will be my duty to protect him at all risk». B.P. Palmerston to Ponsonby, 11.5.1837.

We do not know by whom it was first suggested, but Ponsonby sponsored it warmly from the beginning, as the next few months were to prove. However, it was a question of long formalities, and meanwhile, in Constantinople, Chrzanowski's fate remained in the balance. Ponsonby continued in his efforts to shield him, while Chrzanowski on his part started the rumours about his intention of leaving Turkey, in order to lull Butenev's suspicions. As if in confirmation of the rumour, he now dismissed Pałowski and Brzozowski and sent them back. He did this above all because he could no longer find occupation for them, but there was also another reason which he did not refuse to admit: they were both deeply imbued with democratic principles of equality¹⁵³). On the other hand, Pałowski had acquitted himself well of his duties in Angora, even if he had to leave it on account of the difficulties he encountered. He returned to Constantinople unprompted and of his own initiative, but Chrzanowski accepted this arbitrary decision as justified¹⁵⁴).

In the meantime the situation in Constantinople was getting worse. Butenev's interventions did not meet with counteraction on the part of England. For eight months already Chrzanowski was without any news or instructions from London. Urged now by the course of events he by-passed Czartoryski, and through Ponsonby approached Palmerston directly with new requests concerning his mission, convinced that final decision must, in any case, take place in London. To Prince Czartoryski he explained this step by the now almost complete lack of funds, and the danger of the situation¹⁵⁵).

In fact, reasons for increased fear were well founded. Butenev had placed another protest to which the Turks replied in their usual evasive way, while preparing in good time similar answers to any further attack. Nevertheless, this Turkish attitude did not mitigate Chrzanowski's misgivings. Obviously, Butenev would return to the charge. His intention was to drive a wedge between Turkey and England. He continually assured the Turks of Russia's friendship and her readiness to fulfil all commitments undertaken by the Unkiar Skelessi Treaty, a treaty which, according to his statement, France and England wanted to overthrow. With Butenev's persistence and England's reserved attitude, Chrzanowski almost lost hope that the Turks would still be willing to keep him without English backing. However, he did not regard his mission as concluded. Uncertain of his fate in Constantinople he proposed to remove to Malta, from where he could return in better circumstances. He disclosed this project to Ponsonby and discovered that his misgivings were not completely unfounded. Ponsonby's reaction was not quite what he might have expected. True enough, Ponsonby tried to appease Chrzanowski's fears, thought them exaggerated, but did not deny the existence of danger and was in no way against his idea of going to Malta¹⁵⁶). The news from

153) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 15.3.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. « Brzozowski i drudzy dwaj z wyjątkiem K. (Kowalski) zarażeni ideami emigracji (równość). Ale już z góry trzeba zapomnieć o gatunku równości ».

154) Chrzanowski to Zamoyski, 7.2.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

155) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 15.3.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485, B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston, 15.3.1837.

156) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 4.4.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485, B.P. Chrzanowski to Lord Ponsonby, 15.3.1837, Ponsonby to Palmerston, 7.4.1837, 19.4.1837.

London were even less promising. There was a strong opposition against Palmerston's policy in the Government, and the recall of Ponsonby had been demanded. This proved to be only rumours and did not actually take place ¹⁵⁷⁾, nevertheless Ponsonby's reputation had suffered a drop in London at that time, and some steps towards his removal had been already taken ¹⁵⁸⁾. His recall would be another proof that England is well on the road of even greater concessions to Russia, it would also be a fresh blow to the Polish Cause which had Ponsonby's sympathy and understanding. Chrzanowski was deeply grieved by the rumour of Ponsonby's probable recall. A decided enemy of Russia would be thus removed, and the post of Constantinople left unoccupied for an infinite stretch of time at such an important moment. Urquhart, acting for the absent ambassador until the arrival of his successor, but without the right to make decisions, would have neither authority nor influence in Constantinople. Anyhow, he also was preparing to leave. These new complications confirmed Chrzanowski in the opinion that his own stay in Turkey was becoming problematic ¹⁵⁹⁾.

Items of news about Chrzanowski's troubles in Constantinople and Butenev's campaign of intrigue had been appearing for some time already in the European press. They were published by the *Morning Chronicle*, *Journal du Commerce*, *La France*, *Staats-Zeitung* and *The Times*, and busily reprinted by the Polish *Kronika Emigracji* ¹⁶⁰⁾. Seriously alarmed, Prince Czartoryski continued in his appeals to Chrzanowski, begging him to persevere and hold on to a post of such great importance at that moment. «In one point only I do not agree with you, General» — he wrote — «and I implore you do not give up your task, even if my fears would come true, but continue in that part of the world to the end». Only in case of complete deadlock, with nobody to rely upon, could he begin to think of leaving. Even then, the Prince insisted, he should stay somewhere near the place where his reputation was already well established: «In a word persevere to the end, do not hurry to leave. If absolutely forced to move out, try to remain somewhere in the neighbourhood, so as avoid breaking off contacts and closing the road to a return. The post you hold at present is of utmost importance to us, it must not be given up». However difficult Chrzanowski's situation might be, the Prince did not regard it as hopeless. It would be too much to expect a sudden change in the line of English policy, but Chrzanowski's arguments, as the Prince presented them in London, did not remain without their effect ¹⁶¹⁾. Soon the political barometer showed a slight improvement and the Prince was full of good hope. Still in June a note of optimism was apparent in his answer to Chrzanowski's last dispatch of April 4th from Constantinople, when the first chapter of the General's Turkish Mission was already definitely closed. In ignorance of the true situation, the Prince informed Chrzanowski about his return to Paris

157) Sienkiewicz to Chrzanowski, 18.1.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

158) Sir Charles WEBSTER, *The Foreign Policy of Palmerston*, p. 604.

159) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, 4.4.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

160) *Kronika Emigracji*, April 1837, sheet 4, 5, 6.

161) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, Florence 14.3.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

and the steps he had undertaken to renew contacts with the English Government, and after mentioning past fears concerning Chrzanowski's possible return, added: « Now that I know differently, I am more at peace ». Not realizing that Chrzanowski was already in Malta, he repeated words of both encouragement and advice to hold on to the post in Constantinople, for in spite of temporary difficulties it was clear that Chrzanowski was « well established » there ¹⁶²).

Nevertheless, Prince Czartoryski's optimism, far from being unlimited, was always subject to reason. He was perfectly aware of the difficulties in Chrzanowski's situation and understood well that his position in Turkey depended entirely on London's attitude in this respect. Thus he made every effort to convince Palmerston of the great services Chrzanowski could render by being already on the spot and well settled in Turkey ¹⁶³). Czartoryski's argumentation fell on well prepared ground. Palmerston was most satisfied with Chrzanowski and had no intention to recall him from Turkey, while in Constantinople Ponsonby was already considering the advantages which a development of Polish action in the East might bring. In case of war with Russia he saw Chrzanowski as the rallying centre to attract all Poles forced to serve in the Russian army, and visualized how such an activity could be organized under his efficient direction. Such attitude of an English ambassador, residing at the central point of Eastern problems, was already a great achievement for Poles, and the undoubted merit of Chrzanowski. This, however, did not make any better his own immediate situation. His personal safety was still at stake. Palmerston continued to delay in issuing a fresh instruction which would confirm Chrzanowski in his position and safety, an instruction claimed as indispensable both by the Prince, and Chrzanowski himself applying through Ponsonby. Meanwhile, Turkish resistance had already weakened under Russian pressure to such an extent, that Perteve Pasha expressed a formal request for Chrzanowski's departure from Constantinople. In those circumstances his stay in Turkey was quickly running to its close. Giving in to his fear of being seized by the Russians, Chrzanowski returned to his former project and decided to leave for Malta. Ponsonby, not prepared to let him risk such a danger by staying, did not detain him. Palmerston, although without sharing their fears to the same extent, found that a temporary retirement of Chrzanowski would well suit his plans for the moment. He considered the possibility of sending him to Persia, where a certain détente had taken place again, and MacNeil was sending information from Teheran about an opening for a few Polish officers to be employed in the Persian Army. Ponsonby was already receiving instructions in this respect.

All this, however, was in no way an acknowledgment of defeat on the part of the English. Neither Palmerston nor Ponsonby regarded Chrzanowski's mission as terminated. His withdrawal from Constantinople or even Turkey, was to be only a temporary means to make his return to the vacated post possible at a moment's notice. There was no change, therefore, in the line of policy, but only its adaptation to less favourable political circumstances. The attitude of both English

162) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski, 12.6.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

163) Czartoryski to Lord Palmerston, 5.6.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5507.

statesmen remained in accordance with that of Prince Adam Czartoryski, who had expressed his point of view in December of the past year, and kept it up in a most consistent way ever since. The issues involved depended to a great extent upon Chrzanowski: how strong would be his resistance to Russian threats, could he overcome the fears for his own safety?

Chrzanowski left Constantinople on May the 4th directing himself towards Malta. Before his departure it was agreed with Ponsonby that he would stop at Malta for about six weeks, and if instructions should arrive from London in the meantime, he would return to Constantinople. The leavetaking from Ponsonby was warm and friendly. Ponsonby invited Chrzanowski to come from Malta as his guest, assuring him of safety in his home. He showed him many marks of respect, not only because of the personal regard he felt for Chrzanowski, but also to impress the Turks with his importance and thus facilitate his future possible return *). Before leaving Chrzanowski had also a long talk with Halil Pasha, successor of Pertev. Halil, assuming a rather lordly manner, asked him for the reason of his departure and put the blame on Chrzanowski for not having applied for employment. But — he added — all this is of course due to Russian intrigue. Chrzanowski, taking advantage of this opportunity to stress his subordination to England, replied that he is leaving in result of Ponsonby's expressed wish, and absolutely denied that any Russian plotting could have influenced his decision. Halil concluded the conversation by expressing the hope that Turkey might soon avail herself again of his services, admitting however, that for the moment it would be better for Chrzanowski to depart. Chrzanowski answered declaring his readiness for service whenever it might be needed ¹⁶⁴).

On May 20th Chrzanowski arrived in Malta ¹⁶⁵), where after a few weeks he finally received news from London. Palmerston mentioned Teheran, suggested Malta, was not absolutely set on Constantinople, and as regards English nationality for Chrzanowski, stressed the condition of permanent residence in England for at least six months. Chrzanowski felt that this pronouncement of Palmerston released him from his commitments to England. In this way he also broke away from Prince Czartoryski's great plan, and after a six weeks stop at Malta sailed to Marseille. From there he informed the Prince of his return, promising to give a full report of himself and his actions in Paris ¹⁶⁶), which he reached on the 30th July 1837 ¹⁶⁷).

*) On this point we do not agree with Lewak who assumes that Ponsonby, although not protesting, showed however complete indifference as regards Chrzanowski's departure. Adam LEWAK, *Dzieje Emigracji Polskiej w Turcji*, p. 38.

164) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, Marseille, 8.7.1837. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485, « Po przyjęciu kuriera w maju Stefan (Chrzanowski) nic nie otrzymawszy wyjechał ze Stambułu 4-go i podług ułożenia się z Janem (Ponsonby) czekał w Malcie półtora miesiąca (dwa miesiące), czy co nie nadejdzie, nic tam nie doczekawszy się wyjechał ». B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston, 7.4.1837-25.4.1837, Palmerston to Ponsonby, 11.5.1837.

165) Admiralty to Backhouse, 28.7.1837, P.R.O. FO/78/327.

166) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski, Marseille, 8.7.1837, Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. B.P. Palmerston to Ponsonby, 11.5.1837.

167) *Kronika Emigracji*, August 1837, sheet 16, p. 250.

PART III. IN PARIS AND LONDON 1837-1838

Chapter VII. *Back from the East*

On his return Chrzanowski received an impressive welcome from the Poles in Paris. A public banquet was given in his honour at which General Dembiński acted as host. Speeches were made, toasts proposed. Expressing his gratitude Chrzanowski also made a speech in which, after touching upon certain shortcomings specific to the Polish national character, he laid special stress on the great virtue of Poles: their capacity for self-sacrifice in the service of their country. A virtue unknown to that extent among more fortunate nations. To conclude, he raised his glass to the absent Prince Adam Czartoryski, a man, who prominent by his virtues and services to the common cause, would become — when the hour strikes — the living centre focussing all Polish efforts. Colonel Zamoyski replied for the Prince. Toasts were also proposed to Major Zabłocki and Captain Kowalski ¹⁾.

With his return to Paris Chrzanowski's mission to the East came to a pause which, however, did not preclude its future continuation. He came back richer in experience and inside knowledge of Turkey, highly valued by Ponsonby, and with many connections among eminent personalities in Turkish political circles. To his recognized, and now still deepened, knowledge of Russia's Eastern policy, was added at present the reputation of an expert in Eastern affairs. As such he was soon to be approached again by English diplomacy with which he continued to be in touch, not only as regards his close relations with Ponsonby, but also through unbroken contacts with Palmerston and, indirectly, with the English Government.

Among the Polish Emigration, Chrzanowski had now a recognized position as one of the leading figures in Prince Czartoryski's camp. On the other hand, and for this very reason, the old animosity towards him in other political groups came to voice once more. Taking advantage of his return from Turkey a renewed campaign of slander was launched against Chrzanowski. He was attacked even in the foreign press, of which fact the Polish community was informed by the *Kronika Emigracji*. An organ of the Leipzig press published a slanderous article referring to Chrzanowski's return from Turkey, written by a Pole not mentioned by name. The author deplored the relationship between Czartoryski and Chrzanowski, which he regarded as a grave mistake on the part of the Prince. According to the writer, when the Prince had suggested to Lord Melbourne to employ Chrzanowski, apparently as leader for the Circassians, he was

1) *Kronika Emigracji*, Paris, August 1837, sheet 17, p. 271.

taken in by the so-called patriotism of Chrzanowski which, in fact, was nothing but a camouflage for his personal ambition and desire for fame. Making the best of the opportunity offered to him, Chrzanowski went to Constantinople, never tried to reach the Caucasus, squandered all the money he received, and returned to Paris ²⁾. It is possible to suppose that such insinuations might have been inspired by Russia, or even Prussia, in order to introduce a split between Chrzanowski and England. A piece of correspondence of November 4th 1837 from St. Petersburg, which appeared in *La France*, was very different in tone. Written by a Russian it contradicted completely the Leipzig story. Here the author, obviously to compromise Chrzanowski in the eyes of Poles, represented him as a man of honour from the Russian point of view. The real, underhand attack was directed against Prince Cartoryski. In the author's opinion, Chrzanowski was swept up by the 1830-1831 Revolution against his will, but soon returned to continue as a dutiful subject of Russia. Then, offended by Russian officers, he went abroad legally, provided with a passport. His later journey to Turkey was only that of a tourist, and its aim nothing but a traveller's interest in visiting the country. Nothing but mere chance had brought Chrzanowski and Czartoryski together, the latter a man of very different temper, a confirmed revolutionary, full of fancies about a Poland independent of Russia. And it was this chance meeting that had caused all the gossip, far removed from the truth ³⁾.

Rumours, slander, libel, animosity were not able, however, to destroy the position of Chrzanowski in Paris. Nor had they any effect in London, Palmerston's opinion of him remained unchanged. He was also well remembered in Turkey, and Lord Ponsonby became a fervent promoter of his return to the East. Soon, the matter was to be considered again, but before it was definitely resumed several months had to pass. However, they were far from being a period of just marking time, especially as regards contacts between London and the « Polish Paris » in connection with the Eastern Question. This was understandable, since Turkey invariably remained the touchstone of the precarious balance in the Great Powers' conflicting interests in the East. On the authority of his own experience, Chrzanowski now took upon himself the role of spokesman for Turkey, drawing attention to the specific character of her problems. A month after his return, he produced and presented in London a Memorandum dealing with certain opinions concerning Turkey and of long standing in Europe, which he regarded as unsound and often based upon misleading premises ⁴⁾. According to one such opinion the Turks were only camping in Europe. The fact that Turkish families living in Constantinople were in the habit of burying their dead in Scutari, on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus, was usually given in support of this notion. A very disputable point, made, moreover, without taking into consideration the more fundamental fact that the Turkish provinces in Europe and those in Asia were identical in structure and organization. Thus, if the

2) *Kronika Emigracji*, Paris, November 1837, sheet 23, p.p. 283/4.

3) *Ibidem*.

4) Quelques remarques sur les opinions existant par rapport à la Turquie, 13.9.1837, P.R.O. FO/78/309.

Turks were only camping in Europe, they were also camping in Asia ⁵⁾. The often repeated slogans that Turkey is but a corpse, Turkey is swathed in a funeral pall, Turkey is falling to pieces ⁶⁾, are not really justified. Too often it is forgotten that Turkey as she is today — certainly no match to Austria, and sure to be defeated in a war with Russia if no help came from outside — would be considered as a great power some centuries ago, even in her present state. For her present weakness is just the consequence of an age-long stagnation in the process of progress, and the revolt of Mehemet-Ali a direct result of an obsolete State structure. Judging by the recent example of the Greek war of independence it seems clear that, in circumstances similar to those in which the Turks had to fight, not only Turkey, but none among the great countries of Europe could have resisted against a coalition of European Powers. Today Turkey herself already understands the reason of her weakness and is on the way to reforms. All the trials suffered by Sultan Selim had not discouraged Mahmud II from continuing on this road, but first the resistance of old institutions and superstitions accumulated through the ages has to be conquered, and this slows down the speed of reforms. But the greatest impediment comes from Russian plotting. It is in the interest of Russia to keep Turkey weak and defenceless, while the attitude of other Powers remains passive. Now, however, the advantages of safeguarding Turkey's independence are beginning to be realized in Europe, for the question goes beyond Turkey herself, involving issues on a European scale.

This fact is put in evidence by Russia's recent plans for the development of her strategic lines of communication. The projected construction of a railway to link up St. Petersburg with Odessa is a further confirmation of her unceasing appetite for the Dardanelles. Once having gained a foothold there, Russia would slice Europe in two. She would also see her more vulnerable points protected, as well as the flanks of her armies, of which the southern wing especially could be reinforced by contingents from nations torn away from the Turkish Empire. Firmly settled between the Baltic and the Adriatic, Russia could turn the Baltic, the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara into her inland lakes, where her Naval Forces would remain safe from outside attacks. She would gain, moreover, the freedom for sudden sallies in favourable circumstances, compelling England and France to maintain at great cost considerable forces in permanent preparedness. Thus protected from the West, Russia would have every opportunity to venture upon attacks in other directions in Asia.

Returning to the problem of Turkey, Chrzanowski rejects the idea often suggested in Europe of turning Turkey into a federal State. In order to reshape Turkey on federal lines, the supremacy of a central governing authority would have to be sacrificed, that is the only factor which assured internal cohesion to the State. A federated Turkey without a binding principle to unite all nations that composed her, would soon sink into a state of dissolution and fall an easy prey to Russia.

5) Ibidem. « Comme l'organisation des provinces asiatiques et européennes est entièrement la même, les Turcs ne sont donc pas campés en Europe, ou bien si campés y a, ils le seraient en Europe et en Asie. Assertion qui naturellement aurait besoin d'autres preuves ».

6) Ibidem. « La Turquie est un cadavre, la Turquie est couverte d'un linceul, la Turquie tombe en lambeaux, il n'y a qu'à se baisser ».

Chrzanowski concludes his Memorandum with a grim warning: Russian domination looms over Europe, she must be awake to this reality in order to avoid it. Russian dominion in Turkey will be only a step on the road to conquer Europe.

The Memorandum, although showing originality in the development of the subject, did not add any new insight to what was already known about Turkey. It is difficult to tell what impression it made on Palmerston, but there is no doubt that it increased his interest in the author. Far more important was Chrzanowski's next Memorandum of 8 November 1837, giving a general view of Turkey and presented by Zamoyski to Fox-Strangways in London ⁷⁾. Here Chrzanowski examined the main problems of Turkey as a State, giving a clear picture of the set up in the country. On the pinnacle of the Establishment stands the Sultan, Mahmud II, symbol of the unity of the State, a man of good intentions but without the qualities and skill necessary to act as reformer of a great State. Distrustful, secretive, suspicious, of a violent disposition, he passes easily from one extreme to another, and is, moreover addicted to strong drink. A declared enemy of Russia, he nevertheless fell headlong into her arms in 1833, when he felt himself abandoned by the West. He turned back from this road, but the moment of weakness left a mark on his character.

Dignitaries of the State, lacking the necessary qualifications to hold the high offices entrusted to them, arrive at their dignities by the grace and favour of the Sultan. Turkey has no institution which could be a real school of statesmanship. In spite of that Turkish high officials often show a lot of common sense and natural talent, acquiring easily a certain routine in the management of affairs of State. They never stop to scheme and plot against each other, but show perfect solidarity when it comes to keeping things just as they always were. The impoverished and badly administered country brings revenues which barely cover current needs and provide for certain hobbies of the Sultan. The administration, although based upon good laws, functions inadequately. The Pashas, who are meant to implement those laws, do so according to their personal wish, and are quite arbitrary in their approach to the country's population. Abusing their authority they commit innumerable irregularities and malversations, thus paralysing the economic effort of the masses, subjects of the Sultan.

As regards foreign relations, the Turks have a lot of sympathy for the Circassians fighting for freedom. They realize that an independent Caucasus lies in the interests of Turkey and understand the necessity of offering it help in its struggle, but dare not risk to do so in fear of Russia. Relations with Persia could not be worse, while feelings for Egypt remain hostile and full of hatred, although Mehemet-Ali, having turned against himself the population of occupied countries, no longer represented the same danger to Turkey as he did once. The old sympathy for France disappeared in Turkey almost completely owing to French support of Mehemet-Ali, and the occupation of Algiers regarded by the Turks as an act of hostility, has further contributed to increase this coldness. England, on the other hand, stands high in Turkish esteem owing to her attitude to Russia, but this may not last if England delays in assisting

7) Un court aperçu sur la Turquie, 8.11.1837, P.R.O. FO/78/309.

Turkey with substantial material aid. Some symptoms of such change can be observed already in the marks of courtesy shown by Turkey to both Prussia and Austria.

On the whole, feelings among the population vary according to ethnic groups. Turks show a lively interest in the affairs and politics of their country. They hate Russia and a war against her would be popular at the present moment. The Greeks are mostly pro-Russian, they long for a change in the situation and many of them are serving Russia. Armenians are more cautious, they do not trust Russia, Bulgarians on the whole loyal to Turkey are, however, open to Russian influence. Actually, there is no pro-Russian political part in Turkey, even if many influential Turkish personalities accept money from Russia. The infiltration of Russian influence is above all advanced by the presence of the Black Sea Fleet and that of Russian troops in Sebastopol. Russia is extremely skillful in the game of diplomacy. She avoids moves which might annoy the Turks, but has her agents everywhere and is perfectly well informed about the feelings of the population, the Turkish domestic situation, and of every design intended by the Turkish Government, allowing her to nip it in the bud if need be.

In the Memorandum Chrzanowski gives special attention to the Turkish Armed Forces, estimating their value and character. He has a low opinion of the Navy which lacks the skill to manoeuvre in larger formations on the sea, while the ships are equipped with an insufficient amount of outdated armament. Its weakest point, however, was a low standard of training and professional skill among Naval officers. The Army was in a better shape, although lately depleted by plague and not reinforced by fresh recruitment for several years. Great progress in organization and training has been made as regards infantry and cavalry, but artillery still lagged behind. The Army was composed of regular troops and the Rediffs, a militia, intended to reinforce the Army in case of war. These voluntary formations were placed under the authority of Pashas, governors of provinces, and their development, on the whole, progressed in a satisfactory way. The Turkish Government showed a lot of concern for the welfare of soldiers, for a higher standard in armament and equipment, and adequate supplies of remount as well as fodder for horses. Unfortunately, improvements could not be introduced as quickly as they should be. This was due to the general corruption, to the habits of thieving and extortion deeply rooted and difficult to eradicate among the administration, not excluding the highest officials of the State.

At the moment when Chrzanowski was giving his report the Turkish Army amounted to 40.000 infantry (40 battalions) and 6.000 cavalry (96 squadrons). In case of war the Army, after absorbing the Rediff formations, could be increased to about 130.000 men. Discounting the number of troops necessary to garrison frontier defences, 70.000 infantry, 13.000 cavalry and 7.000 militia would be left to form the two field armies in Asia and Europe. The Turks were also confident that they would be able to form a Cavalry Corps 20.000 strong in the Pashalic of Van and in Kurdistan.

To conclude, Chrzanowski tries to demonstrate that Turkey would be able to stand up successfully to a 150.000 strong Russian army on condition, however, that no support from the Black Sea Fleet would be available to Russian land forces. Otherwise, Russians could carry out landings to

capture Constantinople, starting at the same time offensive operations with large forces in other directions. The Turks would then see themselves compelled to use the main bulk of their troops in defence of Constantinople, leaving only small Army Corps to cover the other directions. It is clear, therefore, that Turkey could only oppose Russia if the English Naval Forces were dominant on the Black Sea. Turkey is already so strongly pressed by Russia that even without war she suffers losses to Russia's advantage. It is in the well understood interest of England to revive the confidence of Turks in English good will and readiness to offer aid, and thus contribute to overcome the conviction steadily growing in Turkey about the invincible power of Russia.

This Memorandum was not without influence on some moves and important decisions in London, and had also its effect in Constantinople ⁸⁾. Ponsonby found in it the expression of his own views: « I find in it my own opinion ». He only differed with Chrzanowski as regards his impression concerning the Turkish Naval Forces, relying in this matter, and rightly, on the more optimistic opinion of English Naval experts. On the other hand, he accepted without any reservations the views expressed by Chrzanowski in his evaluation of the Turkish Army. He did that in full confidence, convinced of the author's exceptional qualifications, and in the belief that nobody had a better knowledge of the Turkish Army than Chrzanowski ⁹⁾.

Chapter VIII. *On the Eve of the New Mission*

The response of Palmerston to Chrzanowski's memorandum of 8th November and the recent news from Constantinople that the Sultan himself insisted on Chrzanowski's return, had important consequences. In addition, the Turks were now working on putting Chrzanowski's plan into practice, and his help was essential. Ponsonby expressed his regrets about Palmerston's hesitations. The news from Constantinople and the memorandum of 8th November dispelled these hesitations. In December of the same year Palmerston invited Chrzanowski to London with the idea of sending him to the Near East again ¹⁰⁾. Chrzanowski accepted the invitation and came to London at the beginning of 1838. He left Paris on 15th January and arrived in London on 18th. Next day he met Fox-Strangways, Backhouse, Chisney and Urquhart.

Fox-Strangways and Backhouse would not tell him anything; Chisney was surprised at his arrival; and Urquhart suspected that Ponsonby and Palmerston had sold out to Russia and claimed that he had some evidence to prove it ¹¹⁾. It was only two days after his arrival that Chrzanowski

8) Palmerston to Ponsonby, N. 8, 6.1.1838, P.R.O. FO/78/328, P.R.O. FO/195/145.

9) Ponsonby to Palmerston, N. 35, 10.2.1838, P.R.O. FO/78/329 B., P.R.O. FO/195/150. « No man ever had such good opportunities as the General had of scrutinizing the system and its execution and effects, and I doubt if any man be more capable than he is of such an examination and of drawing from it sound deductions fit to be the basis of action ».

10) *Jen. Zamoyski*, IV. 25/26. Poznań 1918. B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston, 8.II.1837.

11) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. London. 22.1.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

talked with Palmerston. The first two talks were purely formal. Palmerston asked Chrzanowski about the state of affairs in Turkey and was interested in Chrzanowski's opinion as to the way of conducting the war with Russia. Nothing was decided in the course of these talks. Chrzanowski, however, taking up the subject of the war with Russia, started with the declaration that the war was possible for Turkey only if the English fleet was on the Black Sea. Palmerston agreed with this, and therefore Chrzanowski conducted the rest of the discussion on this assumption ¹²⁾.

The conversation then took a more personal turn. Palmerston reminded Chrzanowski that the Turks wished his return, and that he himself thought that Chrzanowski would be more useful than any Englishman ¹³⁾. Palmerston then asked whether Chrzanowski would like to return to Turkey. Chrzanowski declared himself willing to resume the interrupted mission but on the condition that he would be granted British citizenship as a guarantee of his freedom of movement and personal security in Turkey. Turkish reassurances on this point did not satisfy him. The question of Chrzanowski's British citizenship had first been put forward from the British Embassy in Constantinople early in 1837. It came back again and in spite of accepted views was not only the worry of Palmerston. The issue was taken up again in August 1837 by Ponsonby, this time publicly. Ponsonby suggested the alternative that Chrzanowski would be accredited to the British Embassy. The initiative now came from Chrzanowski who made the condition of granting him British citizenship the starting point for the negotiations, with Palmerston. On this condition he insisted throughout with the support of Czartoryski.

Basically Palmerston was not unwilling but he prevaricated on the grounds of legal difficulties and the high costs involved in completing the procedure. In spite of this Palmerston committed himself and promised to submit the matter to the Cabinet and let Chrzanowski know their decision within a few days ¹⁴⁾.

In the understanding of the English, Chrzanowski was a subject of the emperor of Russia. The question therefore arose whether, for security reasons, citizenship (implying full civil rights) should be granted by an act of naturalization, or an act of denization (granting to a foreigner the right of residing in England and some legal rights) would be sufficient. The act of denization, however, guaranteed to the person concerned the legal protection of England on the territory of a third country. Black-

12) Ibidem — « Wypytywał się o stanie Turcji i o sposobie prowadzenia wojny z Rosją. Przystępując do tej materii, zacząłem od oświadczenia, że nie widzę sposobu szczęśliwego wypadku wojny dla Turcji bez bytności floty angielskiej na Czarnym morzu; przekonał się o tym i już myśli moje o tej wojnie dawałem mu pod przypuszczeniem, że Anglicy będą panami Czarnego morza ».

13) Ibidem — « co do mnie oświadczył mi, że Turcy życzą sobie mego tam powrotu i że czują, że tam mogą oddać większe usługi niż Anglik ».

14) Ibidem — « Na zapytanie, czy zechcę tam wrócić, odpowiedziałem, że bardzo chętnie wrócę, ale że mi sama protekcja turecka jest niedostateczna, gdyby nie przyszło do wojny i że tak teraz jak i przeszłą razą musiałbym Turcję opuścić, zatyłem że dla pewności protekcji angielskiej chciałbym jechać w charakterze Anglika. Odpowiedział mi, że naturalizacja przez akt Parlamentu jest rzecz kosztowna, lecz że się będzie starał inaczej to ułożyć i że mówić będzie względem tego na radzie ministrów, która wczoraj po mojem się z nim widzeniu miejsce mieć miała. Za parę dni obiecał mi dać odpowiedź i wezwanie na nową konferencję ». B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston, 8.8.1837-21.4.1838.

house, who dealt with the formal side of the matter, suggested that the matter should be submitted to solicitors. Palmerston accepted this suggestion ¹⁵⁾, but this did not solve all the difficulties. According to the law, one could apply for British citizenship either on the grounds of having some property in England or being a resident of either Britain or her dominions. Chrzanowski did not fulfill any of these conditions; some other reasons had therefore to be found ¹⁶⁾. Having considered the circumstances, Palmerston and Blackhouse came to the conclusion that the act of denization was less formal and easier to enact, and that it would be a satisfactory guarantee of Chrzanowski's security. To obtain it an act of the Parliament was sufficient, whereas the act of naturalization required that the applicant should appear in person and take a solemn oath before both Houses ¹⁷⁾.

The enactment of the act of denization came under the competence of the Home Secretary Lord Russell. In this respect the matter was beyond the control of Palmerston. Towards the end of February Chrzanowski reported to Prince Czartoryski that the matter was temporarily deferred though it had not been abandoned altogether. In fact, during February it was not deferred but further complications arose. At this time the attention of both Palmerston and the British government was focused on the revolt in Canada. It also seemed that the position of England with regard to the Eastern question was likely to change. The demand to recall Ponsonby, which had been heard a few months ago, arose again ¹⁸⁾. No change occurred during March, and Chrzanowski, as was his nature, got as always very impatient and stated he would not remain any longer in uncertainty and would leave London. Palmerston tempered Chrzanowski's impatience by reassuring him that he had not changed his mind but was waiting for news from Constantinople. To enable Chrzanowski to prolong his stay Palmerston paid him one hundred pounds.

Confirmation that Palmerston had not abandoned the scheme is to be found in his reply, in the middle of March, to the demands of Ponsonby and the Turks that Chrzanowski should return: «I will soon send you back the little general». Chrzanowski, however, who knew how quickly the atmosphere in Constantinople could change, and ignorant who at this moment was the Sultan's chief adviser, did not trust the Turks and was inclined to think it was only the whim of Ponsonby ¹⁹⁾. Undoubtedly, Ponsonby often acted impulsively, and particularly over important decisions. Chrzanowski, being of suspicious nature and away from Constantinople was mistaken in his assessment of Ponsonby's moods. The Turks were sincere, and for Ponsonby Chrzanowski was becoming more useful than anyone else. This was expressed by Ponsonby shortly

15) Backhouse to Palmerston, 31.1.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/298. Palmerston to Backhouse, 2.2.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/298. Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. London. 8.2.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

16) Backhouse to Philipps. 20.2.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/348. Backhouse to Palmerston. 22.2.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/298. B.P. Palmerston to Ponsonby. 14.4.1838.

17) Backhouse to Palmerston, 15.2.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/298. Palmerston to Backhouse. 17.2.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/298.

18) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.2.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

19) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. London. 16.3.1838 - 27.3.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. B.P. Palmerston to Ponsonby. 21.3.1838.

after his departure from Constantinople when on his way back he stayed on Malta.

Chrzanowski understood the Turks, had their trust and the ability to direct them. He was not put off by the discrepancy between words and deeds in their behaviour, and moreover, in Turkish reasoning he, as a Pole, was a natural enemy of Russia. Ponsonby knew also that considering rivalry and ignorance of the Turks, the only person who could lead them would be someone who would pretend that he was being led. Chrzanowski had this trait of character while the British officers had not.

While the matter was being delayed in London, Chrzanowski's arrival was awaited in Constantinople. Seraskier inquired about him, Reshid promised to fulfill all demands, and the Sultan offered him the title of Pasha without the condition of a change of religion, if only Chrzanowski adopted the outward appearance of a Turk. But the enthusiasm and the good will of the Turks did not guarantee absolute security and protection for Chrzanowski. Only British citizenship and a connection with the Embassy could bring about this protection. Ponsonby therefore demanded the authority to protect Chrzanowski and offered to guarantee this with his own life. «If you will give me the authority to protect him, the Russians, not Turks, shall only have him with my life»²⁰⁾.

In London, however, the decisions were still not taken. According to Palmerston's advice Chrzanowski remained there. Though the expected courier from Constantinople did arrive, Palmerston continued to delay matters. He asked Chrzanowski's advice, inquired about his opinions on the conflict of Turkey with Egypt, but did not touch on the subject of his citizenship. Chrzanowski himself brought this up in a talk on 13th April, when Palmerston, as before, was giving noncommittal answers reassuring Chrzanowski that he was needed in Turkey, that the Turks insisted on it, that Chrzanowski could go there any moment, that he, Palmerston, would recommend him and give him all the assistance. When Chrzanowski returned to the question of his citizenship, Palmerston excused himself with unforeseen circumstances. This infuriated Chrzanowski who declared bitterly that he did not need a recommendation to Turkey since he was known there and would be welcomed, but that he had to have protection and the certainty that he would not be removed in the effect of new pressurê from Russia. Without the support of England, his arrival there would be useless. Turkey would not withstand pressure from Russia and in 3 or 4 months he would have to leave. Chrzanowski's argument was convincing, and his impatience added to its strength. Palmerston promised to remind Lord Russell about the matter and get the reply next week. But after this conversation he went away to Windsor, then to his country residence, saying that he would

20) Ponsonby to Palmerston N. 35. 10.2.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/329. B. «The ignorance of the higher Turks makes them extremely jealous of even the shadow of submission to the superior knowledge of the others, and whoever is really to govern them must appear to be governed. The thing is to be done, and it is but what is due to general Chrzanowski to say that I have seen him do it, as far as it was possible under his circumstances here, that it should be accomplished. It is true, that officer has an advantage with the Turks, that of being a Pole, and therefore esteemed by them to be necessarily the foe of Russia». —

B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 7.6.1837 - 8.8.1837 - 9.9.1837 - 8.11.1837 - 7.12.1837 - 10.1.1838 - 5.2.1838 - 21.4.1838. B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 11.5.1838. — «he is really a most clever little fellow in his way and knows well how to deal with men wholly unorganized and so difficult to be guided for any length of time as those Turks are».

return shortly ²¹⁾. In view of these obstacles, Chrzanowski's determination weakened and he was willing to replace the condition of citizenship by some clearly defined mission on behalf of England, which would give him a sufficient guarantee of personal security and staying in Turkey for at least one year. With this suggestion he went to see Palmerston again three days after their talk. In Palmerston's absence he talked to Backhouse ²²⁾. His concession was unnecessary because in the meantime the obstacles were removed. Lord Russell informed Palmerston in the middle of April that the document of denization could be granted to Chrzanowski ²³⁾. This was issued immediately ²⁴⁾. Chrzanowski received a travel document for going to Turkey as a « denizen of Great Britain » ²⁵⁾.

On 2nd May the Under Secretary of State at the Home Office Phillips sent to Backhouse the document of the act of denization for Chrzanowski ²⁶⁾.

Palmerston, when forwarding to Ponsonby the copy of the act, gave him secret and confidential instructions about what to do should Russia demand the dismissal of Chrzanowski from Turkey ²⁷⁾. The matter was delicate and complex since according to the law, anyone having British citizenship by birth could not renounce it by his own will: accordingly, this did not give the British ambassador in Constantinople authority and ability to protect a Pole, born as « a subject of the emperor of Russia », although in fact, he was not born as such ²⁸⁾. In such a case Palmerston recommended great caution in dealing with the Turks, but was already making a hint about the constitutional obligations of the emperor of Russia to his Polish subjects. The duties of the subjects are conditional on the observance of the law and constitution by the sovereign, and in present circumstances the right of the emperor to the obedience of the Poles was doubtful ²⁹⁾. This meant that England could also interpret freely the responsibilities of Russia vis-à-vis Poland in the Vienna treaty, and that her own obligations on this point became less strict. Apart from this the Sultan was not obliged by any treaty to expel from his country the subjects of the emperor of Russia, and Chrzanowski by

21) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 23.4.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

22) Backhouse to Palmerston. 16.4.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/348.

23) Palmerston to Backhouse. 18.4.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/348.

24) Backhouse to Palmerston. 27.4.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/348.

25) Backhouse to Palmerston. 29.4.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/348. According to Leon Chrzanowski, it was to be naturalization. L. CHRZANOWSKI, *Pisma wojskowo-polityczne Gen. W. Chrzanowskiego*, p. 86.

26) Phillips to Backhouse. 2.5.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/348.

27) Palmerston to Ponsonby. N. 85. Secret and Confidential. 7.5.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/328.

28) Ibidem — « I have been informed by H.M. Advocate General that, considering that Great Britain has always maintained the doctrine that a Natural Born British Subject cannot throw off his Allegiance, a British act of Naturalization, or letters of Denization of a Pole, if a Natural Born Subject of the Emperor of Russia, would not confer upon the British Ambassador at Constantinople a right to protect such Pole in Turkey, if the expulsion of the Pole from Turkey were demanded of the Porte by the Russian Gov.t. ».

29) Ibidem — « The duty of allegiance on the part of a Subject being correlative with the observance of Laws & Constitutions on the part of the Sovereign, the right of the Emperor to the allegiance of Poles may under present circumstances be a question for casuist ».

undertaking certain obligations towards the British crown gained the right to protection. Any demands against this would be an insult to Great Britain. Chrzanowski's activity in Turkey was not directed towards instigating a revolt in the Russian dominions which might possibly have given Russia the right to demand Chrzanowski's dismissal ³⁰⁾. This qualification was not quite accurate but Palmerston could have overlooked it. What was helpful, was Polish discretion, especially that of Chrzanowski himself, who, during his stay in London did not touch on the Polish matters, and also avoided any publicity. The point was not only not to awake the alarm of the enemies of Poland, which was obvious, but also not to stir up premature expectations from the Polish side. « The later they learn about it, the better » ³¹⁾. Chrzanowski obviously suffered from a sense of persecution from the emigré circles; in any case, however, too great an influx of volunteers into Turkey would not be welcomed, at least until the action developed on a larger scale.

Among less important things Chrzanowski presented Palmerston with a letter from Dembiński containing the suggestion of a mission among the Circassians in Persia or Serbia. All Dembiński was asking for was the sum of one thousand pounds p.a. for himself and four other officers, but the British government was not willing to consider this, and the attempts of Dembiński came to nothing ³²⁾. About this time a certain Prince Mielikov, a Russian officer who knew Georgia and its language got in touch with Prince Czartoryski and declared his willingness to undertake a mission somewhere in the East. Czartoryski was willing to make some use of him in the Eastern Question and suggested to Chrzanowski that he should persuade Fox-Strangways to put the matter to the British government ³³⁾. Chrzanowski put the suggestion to Palmerston through Fox-Strangways ³⁴⁾. Palmerston was not very eager to make use of the services of the Russian officer, unless in the case of an open conflict. The matter was deferred ³⁵⁾.

These were less important Polish affairs and they did not interfere with Chrzanowski's manoeuvres in London. Most effective for surmounting the difficulties over the issue of British citizenship was Chrzanowski's knowledge of Eastern affairs which he was able to put to good use. He started by aiming to make the British statesmen aware of the Russian threat in the East and the possibility of a Russian conquest of Europe. Always ready to give advice when talking to the British politicians, he presented them with his own projects which he had already been developing for several years in his notes and memoranda. Now, in less than three months, he presented the British government with three

30) Ibidem — « Your Lordship will be justified in resisting his expulsion upon the ground that it would be offensive to Great Britain; and that as the general is not engaged in carrying on from Turkey any plot against the internal tranquillity of the Russian Empire, Russia has no just motive for demanding that he should be compelled to quit Turkey ».

31) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 22.1.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

32) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.2.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.3.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

33) Sienkiewicz to Chrzanowski. 2.3.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

34) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 8.2.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

35) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.2.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

memoranda about various Eastern problems. In the first one, which he prepared a week after he arrived in London, he dealt with the help which the British fleet could be for Turkey ³⁶⁾, an idea expressed a year previously by Chrzanowski in a memorandum of 18th February 1837 to the Turkish government. He stresses the key importance of Constantinople in the strategic position of Turkey. As previously he again argues that Russia from a position of power would be able to attack Turkey from three directions at the same time: in Asia, in Europe and, what is the most dangerous of all, in Constantinople. Turkey would have to defend its capital, its most important point, she would become weakened on other fronts, her strategic system would be broken and she would not be able to offer resistance. Chrzanowski suggested that the anxiety about Constantinople was the main reason for Turkey's subservience to Russia. The interest of Britain was to change this state of affairs and she could achieve this easily by shifting her fleet from the middle of the Mediterranean eastwards and moving the naval base from Malta to the Sea of Marmara. This sea was not too big, well sheltered and with a steep coastline and convenient ports which would guarantee good protection for ships. These movements would strengthen the morale of the Turkish government and nation, and would help to oppose Russian pressure and bring about the necessary internal reforms within the country. In place of Russian influence, the British would get a base from which their influence could penetrate into the whole of the East. In view of the Russian expansion, the British take-over of such a strategic position would be justified in the eyes of the world. Another effect of such a movement would be to break the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi and enable the British, with the aid of the Turkish fleet, to get control over the Bosphorus and to open the way to the Black Sea in case of Russian aggression.

This memorandum coincided with a deterioration of the situation in the Near East. In Persia Mac Neil was close to leaving his post once more; urgent calls for help were coming from Ponsonby; news came about the Russian preparation to occupy Chiva, and Mehemet-Ali threatened Baghdad. Chrzanowski's project of sending the British fleet to the Sea of Marmara was seriously considered by the British government ³⁷⁾.

In connection with the attempts of England to reach agreement with Austria on the Eastern Question, Chrzanowski came out in the middle of March with a second memorandum about the necessity of watching the advances of Russia ³⁸⁾. This memorandum was brought about by Chrzanowski's distrust of Austria. Chrzanowski took the view that it was better to adopt a policy of encouraging Turkey to resistance rather than to rely on Austria. Turkey's forces should be strengthened in order to enable her to withstand the first impact of any Russian aggression until such time as the British could help ³⁹⁾.

36) « Note sur l'appuye que peut donner l'Angleterre à la Turque au moyen de sa flotte ». 25.1.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/348.

37) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.2.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

38) « Sur le besoin de surveiller les mouvements de la Russie ». 12.3.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/348.

39) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 16.3.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

Chrzanowski argued that though the first goal of Russia was Constantinople she was already preparing for the conquest of Central Asia. But while in Constantinople Russia threatened the interests of other European countries, in Central Asia the threat was only for England through her Indian colonies which were difficult to defend from the sea. Further, Chrzanowski pointed to the methods of Russian expansion. Russia's objectives were unlimited, she always aimed at the conquest and destruction of the whole country which happened to be the victim of her aggression. Therefore her actions were always gradual and were divided into several steps. First there was an initiatory war which ended in a quasi-peace treaty. Then an infiltration of Russian influence took place alongside a weakening of the country from within. A further period of open war brought about the final blow. In this way Russia had conquered half of Sweden, dominated Poland, extended her influence in Central Asia. Now it was the turn of Turkey and Persia.

The extent of Russian conquest could be explained by the weakness of barbarian Asiatic nations, but among civilized nations there also was not a single one which could undertake a war with Russia on its own, with some hope of success. Amongst the chief European powers England was the most vulnerable through India; Austria was not capable of carrying out a war against Russia single handed and France was too remote. The time had come, Chrzanowski declared, to put a stop to Russian expansion. The preparations for war in Russia had been going for a year now. The concentration of cavalry on the region of Voznesensk and three army corps in the vicinity of Kiev and the Podolia amounted to an army of 130,000-140,000. Another army of about 60,000 was amassed in the region of Voronezh. These armies had remained concentrated in these areas throughout the winter. There was therefore a possibility of an invasion of Turkey by two armies together. Alternatively, an invasion in Central Asia could occur whilst the other army would be left to watch Austria and Turkey. If there were a requisitioning and the organization of transport and supply lines, it would be a sign that Russia was preparing herself for war. In this case there would be no room for compromise and England would have to lead the anti-Russian crusade. It was a false premise that the financial state of Russia would not allow her to start a war. She had her military forces always in a state of readiness, and any deficit could be met by issuing paper currency.

This memorandum came out at the time of a Cabinet crisis in England and was put into a drawer. When, however, bad news came from Persia, it was reconsidered ⁴⁰⁾. A week later Chrzanowski came out with a third memorandum, about the conditions of the Russian-Turkish war ⁴¹⁾. The basic argument of this memorandum was that the Russian domination of the Black Sea was of key importance in any strategy against Turkey. It determined the form and character of the war and it was decisive for the basic question, the problem of supplies. It determined the goal of the war and the size of the military forces unless Russia dominated the Black Sea. The invading army would be dependant on supplies transported from the interior Russia, since the resources of the country on the

40) Ibidem.

41) « Quelques idées sur une guerre entre la Russie et la Turquie ». 20.3.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/348.

right bank of the Danube and Anatolia were very small. Russia abounded in wheat and meat but to supply them to the army operating against Turkey would present enormous difficulties. The lack of pasture and water, the insufficient means of transport on the right bank of the Danube, limited the number of convoys; and the lack of supplies affected the army's freedom and quickness of movement. Such a wearisome and unwelcome war would give the Russian leaders an excuse for leniency in carrying out orders, or even for ignoring them. The conclusion to be drawn from all this was the necessity of getting control over the Black Sea right in the beginning.

If the Black Sea were controlled by the fleets of England and Turkey, then there would be two different spheres of operation — in the Balkans and the Caucasus, and three possible types of warfare. A defensive policy on both fronts would not promise good results; an offensive on both fronts would only be possible if Austria joined in, since Turkey was not strong enough. The third possibility was: a defensive policy in Europe and an offensive in Asia. The European front — the Balkans — was easy to defend; it had two natural defensive barriers. One was the Danube with the fortresses of Silistria, Rushchuk, Nicopolis, Viddin; the other the Balkans with the fortresses of Varna and Shumla. In contrast to this the Asiatic theatre of operation was lacking the fortresses and had no natural lines of defence across the line of operations. The Euphrates and ranges of mountains ran parallel to the expected line of operations, which would make an offensive easy to undertake in Asia but very difficult in Europe. The Russians could easily gather a big army on the Danube and group their army in depth which was not feasible to the south of the Caucasus in Asia. Also the composition of the Russian army in Asia must evoke some suspicions. More than 1/3 of it were Poles and many Russians were sent there as a punishment. One could also count on the resentment of the Caucasian people towards Russian domination, which would not be the case in the Balkans.

If Russia were able to raise an army of 80,000 on the Asiatic front, she would have to use about, 30,000 of this number to control the Circassians, to secure the lines of communication and the garrisons in the rear of the army in the occupied country. Against the Russian army weakened in such a way Turkey could undertake offensive with the army of 45,000 from the region of Erzerum-Kars, whose aim would be the Caucasus. To get it would be the objective of the first Turkish campaign.

The Turkish offensive must meet three conditions: 1) good organization and an efficient system of supplies; 2) making in advance a decision concerning the future of the peoples of the Central Caucasus, a matter in which England might be interested; 3) the forming of a Polish corps which would act as an attractive magnet for the Poles and encourage them to desert from the Russian army. This Polish corps would strengthen considerably the Turkish army.

The aim of the second Turkish campaign would be either to defend the territory which had been won or to gain the Crimea. A great deal would depend on whether the Polish and Georgian corps could be organized, and the forces which Russia could master after the defeat. The same factors would also be decisive for the ability of the Turkish army to undertake a further campaign.

For the defensive operations in Europe Turkey could mobilize an army of 40,000; Russia probably an army of 90,000. Caution would make

the Turks withdraw from Moldavia and Wallachia and start a defensive action from the line of the Danube. Advancing beyond that line would be disastrous. The first campaign would end in a battle on the Danube with the Russians taking over Silistria. One could foresee losses of 30,000 on the Russian side, 15,000 on the Turkish side.

In the second campaign the Russians would get Rushtchuk, and in the third campaign Nicopolis. At the same time they would be driven out of Georgia and they would need an army 50,000 strong to garrison the rivers Kuban and Terek, and at least 20,000 men to defend Crimea, Nikolaiev and Ismail. In this way Russia would require 160,000 men to carry out the war and would need a further 50,000-60,000 men to complete the full strength of the army.

If Russia with the greatest effort was able to raise the army of 150,000 she would easily occupy Shumla and defeat the Turkish army in which case Turkey would not be able to prolong the war without considerable help from England. Chrzanowski declared that this was not very probable, but that the best solution for Russia would be to attempt to bring about a decisive confrontation on the Danube in the course of two campaigns. Only during a third campaign should Russia try to seize Constantinople and the Dardanelles. Such an effort would require many sacrifices, but the rich resources of Russia would enable her to surmount the difficulties and deliver a mortal blow to Turkey, unless the latter were assisted by England.

Chrzanowski's memoranda carried more weight in London where they were taken into consideration, since it was remembered that the author had served in the Russian army. Copies of the memoranda dealing with strictly military matters were forwarded to Quartermaster General ⁴²⁾.

42) F.O. to Quartermaster-General. 30.5.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/348.

PART IV

Chapter IX. *The Second Journey and First Steps in Turkey*

Once the passport formalities had been settled, events moved quickly. As the time of departure approached Chrzanowski asked for last instructions ¹⁾. Palmerston, however, simply confirmed what he had already said, that Chrzanowski should be at the disposal of Ponsonby and act according to his instructions ²⁾. The same message was sent to Ponsonby ³⁾. In this way Chrzanowski, under the direction of the Ambassador alone, did not acquire the status of a diplomat. This, in a short time, was to cause quite serious complications.

Thus Chrzanowski set out on his journey under the same conditions as two years previously. He was paid £ 1.000 per year for himself and two other officers, until such time as he might enter into the service of the Sultan. In addition to this, Chrzanowski himself was getting a further £ 250 for the total time spent in Turkey. If the Sultan failed to admit Chrzanowski to his service after a year, the contract with the British government was to be annulled. Chrzanowski was free to leave Turkey on his own will, in which case, should he want to return to France, the costs of the journey would be paid by the British government ⁴⁾.

Chrzanowski left London at the beginning of May and went via Paris to Marseilles; from there he sailed by French ship to the Levant ⁵⁾. He arrived at Constantinople on 25th May ⁶⁾. Major Zabłocki and captain Kowalski were supposed to join him in Paris, but it seems that they joined him after some delay only in Turkey ⁷⁾. His return was welcomed

1) Backhouse to Palmerston. 27.4.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/348.

2) Palmerston to Backhouse. 27.4.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/348.
— « I have no instructions to give him beyond what he already knows, that he should place himself under L's Ponsonby's orders and be guided by his directions ».

3) Palmerston to Ponsonby. N. 84. 7.5.1838. Secret and Confidential. P.R.O. FO/78/348.
— « The General has been apprised that he is to place himself under Your Excellency's orders and to be guided by your directions ».

4) Palmerston to Backhouse. 29.4.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/348. Palmerston to Ponsonby. N. 84. Secret & Confidential. 7.5.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/348.

5) Backhouse to Palmerston. 27.4.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/348. Palmerston to Backhouse. 27.4.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/348.

6) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.6.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. Chrzanowski to Zdzisław Zamoyski. 15.6.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

7) It is corroborated by mentioning in the report of 15th June which confirms the receipt of the letter from Czartoryski of May 1838 handed to Chrzanowski by Zabłocki. Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.6.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

in Constantinople. Ponsonby, however, who was not prepared for Chrzanowski's arrival, did not have anything for him to do and asked Palmerston for instructions. In the meantime, he let Chrzanowski stay in the Embassy building and informed the Sultan that Chrzanowski was a member of the Embassy. This declaration, though not in fact true, was to give Chrzanowski more importance in the eyes of the Turks. Chrzanowski was entitled to enter the Embassy openly as a guest of Ponsonby and a representative of a country which was an ally of Turkey. This status was more convenient than the nebulous status Chrzanowski had had on his previous visit.

Chrzanowski did not notice any changes in Turkey. There were some new people surrounding the Sultan, but the atmosphere of jealousy, intrigue and plots was unchanged and there was the same unreadiness for open action. All the ministers were so insecure in their positions that all they cared for was to keep them. It is not surprising therefore that the foreign attempts to maintain the *status quo* in Turkey were succeeding ⁸⁾.

Husrev had returned to the Sultan's favour and to his old position of a Seraskier ⁹⁾ but he had found a dangerous rival in Reshid Pasha who was a rising star in the Turkish firmament. In this rivalry Reshid was the weaker party. His position was still insecure although the intrigues against Reshid were surmounted and he himself had been «keeping an eye on the old fox» (Husrev), as he remarked in conversations with Ponsonby. This is how the situation was seen by Ponsonby who did not trust Husrev. But the latter's position with the Sultan was too strong, and one had to take into account the possibility of Reshid falling out of favour. In these circumstances, one should already work on gaining influence with «the old fox». One of the ways of achieving this might be by taking advantage of the old friendship between Chrzanowski and Husrev. Hence, according to the wish of Ponsonby, Chrzanowski shortly after his arrival paid Husrev a visit and renewed the friendship ¹⁰⁾.

A good reception in Turkey put Chrzanowski in a difficult position right from the start. He found himself, as it were, divided between Ponsonby's aspirations, Husrev's pride and his own wishes. Ponsonby kept Chrzanowski to himself, Husrev also wanted him, but Chrzanowski although he arrived as a British citizen, wanted to get away from Constantinople. He felt very insecure vis-à-vis the Russians, a fear which was to prove not without some foundations ¹¹⁾. Therefore Chrzanowski wanted to avoid those who might already know him ¹²⁾. He saw his task as purely military and hoped, with the help of the Sultan and Husrev, to achieve an increased influence over the army. He saw his place in the Asiatic army of Hafis Pasha, especially because of the aggravation of

8) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.6.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 21.5.1838. 27.5.1838. 30.5.1838.

9) 30.5.1838. Sir Charles WEBSTER, p. 535.

10) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 14.3.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/330. B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 21.5.1838 - 27.5.1838.

11) Sir Charles WEBSTER, p. 545.

12) Chrzanowski to Zdzisław Zamoyski. 15.6.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

the Turkish-Egyptian conflict. On his arrival, Chrzanowski did not find that the conflict had developed during his absence according to his expectations and, furthermore, he did not find among the Turks any determination to resolve it ¹³⁾.

Nevertheless, the conflict became more serious when Mehemet-Ali announced in London and Paris his decision to become the sovereign of Egypt ¹⁴⁾. This news made initially a very strong impression in Constantinople. Turkey, counting on help from England and France, awaited their reaction. In the meantime within the British Embassy there was a great difference of opinion between the Ambassador and the First Secretary, Bulwer. Ponsonby wanted to support the Sultan against Mehemet-Ali, and after this mobilize all force against Russia. The First Secretary, whose sympathies were on the side of Egypt, was of a different opinion and corresponded directly with the Prime Minister, Melbourne, without the knowledge of Ponsonby and Palmerston. Therefore there was no trust between the Ambassador and the First Secretary. This difference of opinion was deepened by the arrival from Egypt of J. Bowring who, under the influence and charm of Mehemet-Ali, saw in him the first instrument of the British influence in the East ¹⁵⁾.

There was intense argument in the Embassy, particularly between Ponsonby and Bowring. Chrzanowski supported Ponsonby on the Egyptian question, though he was careful not to spoil his good relations with Bulwer (the First Secretary). Chrzanowski disagreed with Ponsonby only in the estimation of the ways and means which could be used to solve the problem. The support of the Sultan against Mehemet-Ali did not guarantee any success if the Turks remained apathetic. Implicit was the desire to get England more involved. But this did not mean, argued Chrzanowski, that Turkey should not make all the effort possible to resolve the conflict. He attempted to make the Turks see the mistake of counting on foreign help and argued that this was their own affair which they should deal with themselves. The Turks did not understand this. Their preparations were inefficient and slow, while the threat of war was growing ¹⁶⁾. In view of this Chrzanowski produced a memorandum for the Turkish government about the approaching war between Turkey and Egypt. He asserted that the war should be concluded in a short campaign, in which only Turkish forces would be involved and where the aim would be a victory after one battle ¹⁷⁾. For this war it was necessary to mobilize all the forces possible to equal the Egyptian troops. They should be concentrated in a prearranged place and the battle should be fought in the place and under the conditions least convenient for the enemy. Then one would be in the position of reaping

13) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.6.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. Chrzanowski to Zdzisław Zamoycki. 15.6.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

14) H. TEMPERLEY, p. 92, C.K. WEBSTER, *Palmerston, Metternich and the European System 1830-1841*, p. 25, H. DODWELL, p. 175.

15) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.6.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

16) Ibidem.

17) LEON CHRZANOWSKI, Note sur la guerre entre la Turquie et l'Egypte. — *Pisma wojskowo-polityczne Gen. W. Chrzanowskiego*.

the full advantage of the victory. As the area of concentration Chrzanowski saw the settlement of Bir from which operation should develop in the direction of Aleppo. This would make it possible to encircle the Taurus mountains and the defences of Ibrahim Pasha's army. If this proved to be unsuccessful there was a possibility of sheltering behind the river Euphrates in the range of mountains around Diarbekir. The main assumption behind this plan of campaign was not only to fight with the forces of Turkey alone, but also to pre-empt the unfriendly intervention of the powers, of whom France was interested in maintaining the *status quo* in the conflict of Turkey with Egypt, while Russia had her own interests within Turkey. Chrzanowski postulated good treatment of the Syrians who were dissatisfied with the Egyptian occupation, and taking advantage of the revolt which had just broken out at the rear of Ibrahim Pasha's army. The final confrontation with Mehemet-Ali depended in the first place on the state of Hafis Pasha's army, but to establish this army in a good condition would require Chrzanowski's personal presence. Ponsonby approved of this plan. The difficulty to be reckoned with was the reluctance of Husrev, but Chrzanowski was hopeful, since the final decision rested with the Sultan who trusted him. On this trust Chrzanowski constructed his further plans ¹⁸⁾.

More important than the Sultan's trust for putting Chrzanowski in a prominent position was the attitude of Ponsonby, approved and supported by Palmerston and the British government ¹⁹⁾. The main objective was to liberate Turkey from Russian influence, by preventing the state of affairs which was a consequence of the treaty of Unkier Skelessi. To achieve this objective the Sultan had to be able to resist Mehemet-Ali with his own forces. Otherwise Turkey might lose her independence vis-à-vis Russia, and this could become the signal for a full-scale war. Ponsonby and Chrzanowski believed that Turkey had means not only to resist but even to repel the aggression of Mehemet-Ali. What was lacking was good leadership and therefore Ponsonby suggested to the Sultan that Chrzanowski should be appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish army ²⁰⁾. Before this proposal was presented to the Sultan, Ponsonby had long talks with the Turkish ministers, especially with Reshid Pasha who was becoming increasingly prominent in the political life of Turkey and was the most westernized statesman. Reshid Pasha was very much impressed with Chrzanowski's latest memorandum. It seemed that the appointment of Chrzanowski as Commander-in-Chief was more than probable ²¹⁾. The Sultan accepted the project of Ponsonby

18) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.6.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

19) Palmerston to Ponsonby. 25.7.1838. N. 151. P.R.O. FO/78/329.

20) Ponsonby to Palmerston. N. 156. Confidential. 24.6.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/331. P.R.O. FO/195/150.

— « I believe the Porte to be in possession of adequate means to do more than simply resist Mehemet-Ali, but I know that those means are so illmanaged as to leave little reason to believe in their being successful in the hands that direct them, and I have therefore proposed to the Porte to give the virtual command of the army to the General Chrzanowski ».

21) Pisani to Ponsonby. 24.6.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/331.

— « J'ai parlé avec Reshid Pasha au sujet du général et de la convention. Il m'a dit qu'il a tant étudié le plan donné par le Général et les instructions qui l'accompagnent, qu'il les a appris par cœur. Il trouve ces deux pièces parfaites. Il est plus que probable qu'on emploiera le Général ». B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 30.7.1838.

and went even further, offering Chrzanowski in addition to the position of Chief-of-Staff the title of Grand Vizier. He put forward this, however, on one condition: that Chrzanowski should adopt the appearance of a Turk. The object was not to arouse Turkish prejudice ²²⁾. The Sultan's proposal was not accepted. Ponsonby was against it, Chrzanowski was also not very eager and neither was Prince Czartoryski who, after some hesitation, decided against it ²³⁾. There remained the possibility of joining Hafis Pasha's army, but the Sultan delayed things. At the same time new points of conflict developed in the countries around Turkey. In the south, the conflict with Egypt presented a continuous threat. England, not knowing the intentions of Mehemet-Ali, discouraged the Sultan from any military action ²⁴⁾. In the east, the Shah of Persia, incited by Russia, provoked England. He stopped a diplomatic courier with the papers of the Embassy. After several humiliations Mac Neil, together with the British officers in the services of the Shah, left Persia and went to Turkey ²⁵⁾. The English garrisoned one of the islands in the Persian Gulf near Bushir as a warning to the Shah. According to the reports of Mac Neil, Russia was thinking of conquering Khiva and Bukhara ²⁶⁾ and was already intriguing in Kabul and Kandeher. In addition Russia had an appetite for India ²⁷⁾, was making projects for new military settlement in the Caucasus ²⁸⁾ and was preparing plans for operations against the Circassians ²⁹⁾. In the Balkans and in the Crimea there was a shifting of military divisions, two went to Sebastopol and one to the Danube; those divisions however belonged to the Lithuanian Corps which did not have the confidence of the Tsar. In Serbia the situation was unstable but the unfriendliness towards Russia prevailed in the person of ruling sovereign Milos. Austria was trying to get the Slavs on her side. Turkey, in the face of the threat from Russia, was not sure of the attitude of England. Palmerston, always consistent in his efforts to avoid conflict, did not always appreciate the situation. He put forward at this time even stronger demands towards Turkey, e.g., he demanded the payment of a certain amount of money from Tripoli while the Turkish treasury was

22) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 25.6.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

— « co do mnie, 18 b.m. przysłał mi Sultán swe oświadczenie, żebym dla menażowania tutejszych przesądów uchodził za Turka wzięwszy ubiór i imię tureckie, że da zaraz stopień w swym wojsku a następnie wyższe, tak że przed sześciu miesiącami zrobi mnie W. wezyrem i da komendę armii. L.P. sprzeciwił się temu mojemu przejściu pod władze Sultana i chce, żebym pozostał jako należący do Anglii. Musiałem jemu uleść i posłałem w odpowiedzi Sultánowi stosowne do tego propozycje ».

23) Czartoryski do Chrzanowskiego. 3.8.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

— « z jednej strony Turkom oddany byłbyś wystawiony jak drudzy na kabały i odmiany dworskie, z drugiej więcej może i prędzej mógłbyś działać. Spodziewam się, że potrafisz pożytek obu położen połączyć ».

24) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 24.6.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/331.

25) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 31.7.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

26) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 31.7.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

27) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.6.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. Chrzanowski to Zdzisław Zamoyski. 15.6.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

28) Palmerston to Ponsonby. N. 45. 10.3.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/328.

29) F.O. to Ponsonby. N. 62. 7.4.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/328.

empty. Fortunately, as a close observer of the Turkish scene, Ponsonby could take the edge off his superior's actions³⁰⁾. During July the amount of evidence grew of the aggressive intentions of Russia in Asia, causing considerable anxiety in Constantinople and London. There was no doubt about her aims. Palmerston inclined towards accelerating the resolution of the conflict with Egypt. He instructed Ponsonby to persuade the Sultan into negotiations with Mehemet-Ali in case the latter began military action after all, Palmerston offered together with France to help the Sultan, despite France's undecided attitude³¹⁾. The declaration of Palmerston brought about a change in the attitude of Turkey who was as always ready to follow the lead of England. Chrzanowski came out in July with a short note to the British government pointing to the necessity of Britain and France taking a firmer attitude³²⁾. He argued that the Turkish question could not be considered in isolation because every Russian success on whatever issue increased Russia's position of strength. The Sultan, not certain what England's attitude was, hesitated in the choice between her and Russia. His choice would have important consequences. In this note Chrzanowski also took the side of Husrev, about whom there was a rumour that he had become an ally of Russia. Chrzanowski justified him on the grounds of his lack of trust towards England and his unwillingness to run foul of Russia.

This sequence of disappointments and failures had changed the Sultan's attitude to the outside world and to those who surrounded him. While previously he could be influenced by important persons, now, having set aside Husrev and Pertev, he did not trust anyone and wanted to decide about everything himself. No European was admitted to him. At this time the rivals for his favours were: Reshid, Husrev and Akif. The position of Reshid was the strongest, but he himself was an enigma³³⁾.

Chrzanowski, while waiting for permission from the Sultan to join Hafis Pasha, brooded on his situation. Not having too high an opinion about his assistants, he looked for a deputy who, in case of his sudden death (a fact which he had to take into account), would become his successor. For this position Chrzanowski wanted young Zdzisław Zamoyski, who was at this time living in Vienna. In confidential letters to him, Chrzanowski complained about the futility of his attempts to find someone who would be willing to share the difficulties of his present position, and encouraged Zamoyski to continue his disrupted military studies³⁴⁾.

The state of inactivity in which Chrzanowski found himself did not last long however. When pressure was applied by Ponsonby through Reshid, and by Chrzanowski himself through Husrev, the Sultan accepted Chrzanowski's scheme for war against Egypt and appointed him Chief-

30) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.6.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

31) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 31.7.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 548. Sir Charles WEBSTER, p. 609.

32) Leon CHRZANOWSKI, Note sur la position politique en Turquie. 10.7.1838. - *Pisma wojskowo-polityczne Gen. W. Chrzanowskiego*.

33) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 31.7.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

34) Chrzanowski to Zdzisław Zamoyski. 15.6.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

of-Staff (Minstasha) of Hafis Pasha's army. In fact Chrzanowski was given control over the preparations for war and the general execution of the scheme. Hafis was told on pain of death to act according to all Chrzanowski's advice and instructions ³⁵⁾. Using his British passport Chrzanowski was to go to Baghdad but not stop on his way in the Headquarters of Hafis Pasha in Malatia on the Syrian border. Having already obtained his *firman* (the written recommendation of the Sultan) for departure on 13th July, at the very last minute he was stopped. This was brought about by Husrev's intrigues, to which Chrzanowski himself gave an opportunity. A few days before his intended departure Chrzanowski suggested the raising of a reserve army near Constantinople to defend the capital. The scheme was accepted, but Husrev decided to become Commander-in-Chief of this army himself and keep Chrzanowski with him ³⁶⁾. To ensure success for this plan he appealed to the Sultan's fear of Russia. Husrev suggested to the Sultan that Chrzanowski's joining Hafis' army might be taken as an act of provocation against Russia, while England's position was by no means clear. The Sultan changed his mind. In fact, the Russian diplomats, watching carefully the movements of the English, again became very interested in Chrzanowski. Reshid Pasha, who was just about to go to the West with a diplomatic mission, let Ponsonby know that the interpreter of the Russian Embassy, Prince Hantchery, asked for an explanation of the purpose of Chrzanowski's stay in Turkey, making it clear that it would be desirable to dismiss him as an ex-Russian refugee. Ponsonby's reply was brief: Chrzanowski was a British citizen and was needed. He also sent a note to the same effect to Nurri Effendi, the foreign minister of Turkey ³⁷⁾, expressing his indignation over the uncalled for pretences of the representative of a foreign country to control Ponsonby's actions ³⁸⁾.

The change of the Sultan's decision and a new Russian intrigue did not deter Chrzanowski from that which was his strongest wish. Not being able to act openly in the Hafis' army, he went there of his own will as a traveller, with some instructions from the Sultan. This unofficial visit could not bring him anything except possibly the friendship and trust of Hafis. Chrzanowski accepted these conditions, providing he would be able to change his status in case of war. But, in fact, the change in

35) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 31.7.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

- « Przytem miałem mieć polecenie Hafuz Paszy, że gdyby przedsiębrał jaką czynność przeciwnie temu cobym mu radził, zostanie tym samym głową odpowiedzialny za jej pomysły skutek ». B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 30.7.1838.

36) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 31.7.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 30.7.1838.

37) Ponsonby to Palmerston. N. 196. 24.8.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/332. FO/195/150.

- « I replied that I had a short answer to give, viz. that general Chrzanowski was a British subject - that he had been so good as to be my guest during some months, and that I intended to employ him on Her Majesty's Service ».

B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. Private. 24.8.1838.

38) Ponsonby (a copy) 16.8.1838. P.R.O. FO/195/150.

- « I think it somewhat extraordinary that anybody should imagine he has a right to question my acts and to give directions for the government of my conduct ».

B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. Private. 24.8.1838.

the Sultan's decision was only a subterfuge. In spite of his openly expressed fears the Sultan did not give up the idea of giving Chrzanowski control over the organization and training of the army. Whilst consenting to Chrzanowski's going as a mere traveller, the Sultan sent at the same time a secret order to Hafis, which did not much differ from the previous one. Although the Sultan did not repeat the threat of capital punishment in the case of not acting according to Chrzanowski's advice, he strongly demanded that Chrzanowski should be treated with respect and shown everything about the army. This in practice amounted to giving Chrzanowski control over the army. Chrzanowski did not know about this instruction, Ponsonby, however, knew and decided it was satisfactory. Although it proved impossible for Chrzanowski to have the command of the army, he could at least remain on the spot and without publicity prepare for the victory over Ibrahim. This also meant that Chrzanowski could go where he wanted and be away from Constantinople where as a Pole he was causing considerable trouble for the Sultan. Chrzanowski, having a clear goal in front of him, was not put off by a new obstacle which developed over the jealousy and intrigues of the Prussian advisers of Hafis ³⁹⁾.

Before Chrzanowski set off on the journey a few weeks elapsed. During this time he was busy organizing the reserve army near Constantinople, with particular attention to the artillery. Whilst working on consolidating Turkey's military forces, he also analyzed her situation. He saw the necessity of solving quickly her less important problems and concentrating all attention on the main threat of Russia. The situation was complicated by the prolonged conflict with Egypt, which created the danger of war on two fronts. For this reason this conflict became important. In the event of war with both Russia and Egypt, a resolution of the conflict with Egypt would become a priority. This could be brought about either by forcing Mehemet-Ali into submission, possibly with English help, or by making him achieve a reconciliation with the Sultan. When in August Chrzanowski gave a long report about the situation in the Middle East to Prince Czartoryski (in the hope that the Prince would support his argument in London), he represented the situation as providing a particularly suitable occasion for involving England in a war with Russia. Turkey, he asserted, was ready to accept England's protection. This was why Reshid Pasha, a man of very different outlook from all the Sultan's previous envoys, was appointed as the new ambassador in London. As the relationship between Reshid and Chrzanowski had always been good, Chrzanowski now took the opportunity to persuade him to demand in London the shifting of a squadron of the English fleet to the Sea of Marmara ⁴⁰⁾. It is not known what effect this had, but a month later Fox-Strangways asked Ponsonby to give him a report on the position of the Turkish fleet and its size ⁴¹⁾.

When Chrzanowski was writing this, two months had already been wasted because of the hesitation on the part of England. Her reluctance

39) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 31.7.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 30.7.1838.

40) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 16.8.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

41) Fox-Strangways to Ponsonby. 15.9.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/329.A.

to take a decision was, in Chrzanowski's estimation, placing him at a disadvantage. Only two months after he had arrived he was already thinking of leaving Turkey again ⁴²⁾. Probably he did not know that in the meantime his reputation in London was improving ⁴³⁾.

Chrzanowski's alarming reports at this time remained without much effect on Czartoryski's view of the situation in the Middle East. The Prince expected that Chrzanowski's contact with Hafis Pasha would result in a widening of his sphere of influence and action ⁴⁴⁾. Although Chrzanowski had been prevented from becoming Chief-of-Staff of Hafis' army and had wasted two months in preparations, this did not have such disastrous effects as Chrzanowski himself was inclined to think. At this time of the year Russia could not start military action anyway. What was very unfortunate, however, was the military unpreparedness of Turkey for the final confrontation with Ibrahim's army ⁴⁵⁾. In addition, England was not able to help at this moment because she was involved in more urgent problems elsewhere, and was also encountering in Egypt a lack of co-operation from France ⁴⁶⁾. In this situation the first preoccupation was not to allow simultaneous action to develop against Russia and Ibrahim. The only way to do this was to strengthen Turkey at sea, where Mehemet-Ali had a great advantage. On this point Czartoryski, like Chrzanowski, could not understand England's reluctance over such a small matter as the sending of at least one naval officer to play the same role in the Turkish navy as Chrzanowski had done in the army. This was something the Turks themselves should demand ⁴⁷⁾. This matter was not as ignored as Czartoryski supposed. There were negotiations about it but it was Turkey who obstructed the project, which met with the same difficulties as the project of using British instructors in the army had done. In any case the news soon came from London that the British government had decided to send three naval officers to Turkey ⁴⁸⁾.

In the summer 1838, however, the political situation in the Near East became more acute than the military situation. England took a firm line in the Persian crisis. Her garrison in the Persian Gulf strengthened her role in the Near East, which her assistance to Turkey carried a step further. What was called for at this moment was to speed up the signing of an English-Turkish treaty, which would guarantee that England would

42) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 31.7.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.
- « Jeśliby Anglicy nie turbując się o będą lisy gonić, to i ja z niczem będę musiał wrócić ».

43) Ponsonby to Fox-Strangways. 30.7.1838 - the ending of Chrzanowski's letter to London. 31.7.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

- « The Gort has my perfect esteem for his abilities and his conduct and his character. I think him invaluable here and I trust that time will come when we shall be allowed to have the full benefit of his work ».

44) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 3.8.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

45) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 3.9.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

46) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 29.9.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

47) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 3.9.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

48) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 29.9.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

take control of the Dardanelles before Russia did so ⁴⁹⁾. In September the situation had already developed too far for England to withdraw from her position, and in London a change of Cabinet was even discussed. In view of the gravity of the situation Czartoryski made preparations for a journey to London. He hoped that the garrison in the Persian Gulf would be strengthened in case of an aggravation of the situation there ⁵⁰⁾.

Chapter X. *As an Adviser in Hafis' Army*

Before his departure for Hafis' headquarters Chrzanowski was very busy organizing the army in the vicinity of Constantinople. On the day before his departure he was granted a farewell audience by the Sultan, who at the same time gave his last instructions for Hafis. Chrzanowski set off together with his inseparable companions, Zabłocki and Kowalski. The costs of the journey were paid by the Sultan; for the time of their stay with Hafis they were to be on the Turkish payroll. This put Chrzanowski in a state of some dependence on Turkey, an idea opposed by Ponsonby who wanted Chrzanowski to act as a representative of the British government. In passing on the news about Chrzanowski to London, Ponsonby stressed that till the end of the year he would remain at the disposal of Palmerston. From Chrzanowski he demanded a detailed report on the state of the Turkish army in Asia.

Chrzanowski left Constantinople on the 17th August and went east ⁵¹⁾. The first part of the journey was by sea and on 22nd August he landed at the port of Samsun, completing the rest of the journey by land ⁵²⁾. After 18 days' journey he arrived at the headquarters of Hafis Pasha in Harput ⁵³⁾.

Hafis' army in the region of Malatia consisted of 20.000 men, 3.000 cavalry, 96 guns and was in deplorable state. It had been decimated by death and illness, badly dislocated and lacked of horses. The army was without any organizational framework, especially in the artillery which remained undivided into any units like battalions etc. The soldiers were untrained recruits, only a few of the guns had ever been used in battles against the Kurds, the rest had never yet fired a shot. The stores of ammunition were limited to 70 rounds for 4-pound guns and 40 rounds for the heavier ones. The rifle ammunition was also greatly lacking. The training of the soldiers, which was reduced to drill and the acquiring of a basic skill in using arms, was directed by the second lieutenants. The

49) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 3.9.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

50) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 29.9.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

51) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 16.8.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

52) B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 30.7.1838.

Acting Vice-Consul Stevens to Ponsonby. Trebizond. 22.8.1838. N. 13. P.R.O. FO/195/101.

53) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 9.10.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

Vice-consul Suter to Ponsonby. Erzeroom. N. 21. 14.9.1838. P.R.O. FO/195/112.

Commander-in-Chief of this weak army, himself lacking talent and professional skill, was under the illusions promoted by the Prussian advisers that the army was in an excellent state and so was doing little and thus setting a bad example for his subordinates⁵⁴). At a time when Chrzanowski arrived there Hafis Pasha was contemplating the idea of directing some of his forces against the Kurds, who were in revolt in the mountainous region of Hazran near Moosh, as no action by Ibrahim was expected⁵⁵).

Hafis found in Chrzanowski, who already enjoyed considerable respect among the Turks, an authority on military matters and a devoted friend of his country. He listened to Chrzanowski's advice and resigned himself to his direction. Thus the organization and training programme began under Polish command. Chrzanowski, as soon as he got acquainted with the state of affairs, sent to Ponsonby a report on the deficiencies of the Turkish army, with his own comments on the matter⁵⁶). Ponsonby informed London about Chrzanowski's activities and passed on his report to the Sultan. The latter, very impressed, had copies of the report made for himself, Reshid and Hafis, and promised Ponsonby to meet the needs of the army and act according to Chrzanowski's instructions⁵⁷).

Chrzanowski hoped that in two months' time he would put the army of Hafis into a state of military readiness. Assuming that its organization would improve he expected that by the next year Turkey would be in the position to challenge Mehemet-Ali, although a confrontation with Russia would only be possible with the help of England and France. Without this help it would be impossible for Turkey to deal simultaneously with Russia and Mehemet-Ali. If war broke out Chrzanowski declared that the first target should be Mehemet-Ali. The British fleet was then to move to the Sea of Marmara, coordinating its action with the land operations. Chrzanowski expected the beginning of this campaign in January. By the end of March it was expected that Mehemet-Ali would be defeated and in this way Turkey would then be able to deal with Russia alone. This plan, however, required a quick decision and the will to cooperate on the part of the two Western Powers, but unfortunately they took an increasingly divergent stand on the question of Egypt⁵⁸).

Chrzanowski, far away from Constantinople, had a good observation point from which to view the structure and condition of the Turkish state from the inside. At his post in East Anatolia every day he had new evidence how greatly Turkey feared Russia, while the cancer of corruption was destroying her. The Pashas of Trebizond and Kars were handing deserters back to the Russians, and their superior, Erzerum Pasha, tolerated this but probably not without a good bribe. As a result of

54) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 9.10.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

55) B.P. Chrzanowski to Lord Ponsonby. 10.10.1838.
Vice-consul Suter to Ponsonby. Erzerum. N. 21. 14.9.1838. P.R.O. FO/195/112.

56) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 9.10.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

57) B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 27.9.1838. Ponsonby to Palmerston. N. 249. 4.12.1838.
P.R.O. FO/78/333.

58) B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 27.9.1838. Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 9.10.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

Chrzanowski's intervention all three of them were dismissed ⁵⁹⁾ but soon after he left Malatia the Pasha of Trebizond returned to his post ⁶⁰⁾.

Chrzanowski's initiative which had already brought results aroused again the suspicions of the Russians in Constantinople. They reacted quickly to the news of Chrzanowski's reform of Hafis Pasha's army, and started making efforts to dismiss him from Headquarters. This intrigue already had a considerable history during the first period of Chrzanowski's mission. Before Chrzanowski left Constantinople, Ponsonby had put before Nurri Effendi a note protesting against members of the Russian Embassy assuming the right to interfere with his actions, a reference to the intervention by Prince Hantchery. Ponsonby's declaration had no effect. When the weak and cowardly Nurri Effendi was once again interrogated by Prince Hantchery, he was so surprised that he did not even show him Ponsonby's written answer. In the meantime Prince Hantchery made a new protest against the sending of Chrzanowski as Chief-of-Staff to the army of Hafis Pasha. Thoroughly incompetent, Nurri Effendi lost his head and asked Ponsonby to help him out of this difficult position ⁶¹⁾. It was not the first time when through the weakness of the Turks the English position was disclosed. This time, however, a situation developed when Ponsonby in reply to the request of Nurri Effendi laid his cards on the table and in a second note repeated in a firmer tone the declaration concerning Chrzanowski, threatening to take further steps if this should be necessary ⁶²⁾. Ponsonby declared that he would need Chrzanowski again after his return from Asia, and if this was against the interests of Turkey he would give an explanation to the Turks, but he refused to give it to anyone else.

At this moment the Russians were assisted by a Prussian intervention. Following Prince Hantchery, Baron Königsmark also sent to Nurri Effendi a protest against employing other military instructors, since Turkey asked for them from the Prussian king. He thought it was especially unfair as the instructor was a Pole, who had already been forced to leave Turkey once on the demand of Russia. The Prussian intervention met with a firm response from the British Ambassador. The Prussians did not give up, however, and sent another protest, this time directed straight to Ponsonby. His answer was the same. Chrzanowski was not in the service of the Sultan, but worked for the British Embassy and was under its protection, and Ponsonby would use him to work for the Sultan according to his own wishes. Ponsonby added that Hafis Pasha's army was of great importance and he had sent Chrzanowski there to obtain detailed information about it. He did not hide the fact that if Hafis needed Chrzanowski's advice, the latter was ready to give it, and furthermore suggested that it would be good advice. Once again Ponsonby expressed his indignation that the Russians or anyone else should interfere with his affairs.

59) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 29.11.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

60) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.12.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

61) Ponsonby to Palmerston. N. 196. 24.6.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/332.

— « the Nourée does not know what to say to Hantchery and desires me to get him out of his difficulty ».

62) Ibidem.

The Russian intrigue, therefore, met with no success ⁶³⁾. The question remained how had the Russians obtained such detailed information so quickly. Very soon it turned out that the information had been passed on by Husrev. Ponsonby, who had not trusted him for some time, now secured some evidence that Husrev was passing confidential information from the Sultan to the Russians, and that the Prussians had their information about Chrzanowski from the same source. Among the motives of Husrev, there was the desire to keep Chrzanowski to himself, but there also existed the fear and jealousy that Hafis through Chrzanowski's help might aspire to a more prominent role in political life. All those motives were dominated by the fact that Husrev was generously paid for the information by the Russians. Bribery was nothing to be surprised at in Turkish political life, nor was it for the first time that Husrev was paid for doing favours for the Russians. This time, however, it created a danger for British interests. Ponsonby undertook steps to prevent this. He sent one more note to Nurri Effendi warning him that the Sultan should be informed about Husrev's contacts with the Russians ⁶⁴⁾.

At the time of this intrigue in Constantinople, Russian diplomats in London began an intrigue in order to procure the expulsion of Chrzanowski from Turkey. Count Pozzo di Borgo approached Palmerston with the demand for instructions to be sent to Ponsonby not to give protection to Chrzanowski in Turkey; the question of Chrzanowski's citizenship was discreetly left aside ⁶⁵⁾. Palmerston refused to meet this demand and in conversation with Pozzo di Borgo gave the same reasons as Ponsonby had given in Constantinople. In the course of the conversation he asked the Russian Ambassador what he disapproved of in the conduct of the general in Constantinople. To this question Pozzo di Borgo did not have an answer ⁶⁶⁾. The British government approved entirely the attitude of Ponsonby ⁶⁷⁾. On hearing this news from London, Prince Czartoryski warned Chrzanowski that there was « a suspicion that Husrev is a Russian agent » ⁶⁸⁾.

63) Ponsonby to Nourée. 24.8.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/332.

— « I must decline giving an account of my conduct to those who have no right or valid pretence for criticizing it ».

B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 24.8.1838.

64) Ponsonby to Palmerston. N. 196. 24.8.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/332.

65) B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. Private. 24.8.1838 - 5.9.1838. Palmerston to Ponsonby. N. 184. 15.9.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/329.A. - FO/195/148.

— « Count Pozzo di Borgo said to me some little time ago that he had been desired to ask me to instruct Your Excellency not to protect the General, nor to prevent his being obliged to quit Turkey ».

66) Ibidem.

— « I further asked Count Pozzo di Borgo what it was in the conduct of General Chrzanowski at Constantinople that the Russian Government complained of. To this question however Count Pozzo di Borgo was unable to give me any answer ».

67) Ibidem.

— « Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the language held by Your Excellency, as reported in Your despatch N. 196, respecting General Chrzanowski ».

68) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 2.11.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. B.P. Palmerston to Ponsonby. 13.9.1838.

The intrigues of the Russians in the end brought about some anxiety in Government circles. There was need for more effective action over the Chrzanowski affair in order to disarm the Russians. After some consultations the Cabinet decided to change his status from a semi-private person at the disposal of Ponsonby to a fully official position. In September 1838 Chrzanowski was officially affiliated to the Embassy in Constantinople, by which he gained diplomatic immunity ⁶⁹⁾. Palmerston, who was not quite certain of the consequences of this decision, sent to Ponsonby special instructions which he could use in case of necessity ⁷⁰⁾.

Chrzanowski, therefore, became a member of the English diplomatic service abroad, but since as a person he was to be a constant cause of distrust, and the post in which he found himself was an especially sensitive point always open to Russian attacks, Palmerston required as before that Chrzanowski should remain in the background. This wish he expressed in conversation with W. Zamoyski, adding immediately that he trusted the foresight and prudence of Chrzanowski enough to make this condition unnecessary ⁷¹⁾. Palmerston's trust was based on his knowledge of Chrzanowski's character and behaviour. At the same time Russia was closely watching all the movements in Turkey and understandably could not ignore any dangerous activities, especially Polish, right under her nose. Her fears in this respect were fully justified. Not only Chrzanowski's presence but also the aim of his stay in Turkey did not remain a secret for long. *Kronika Emigracji* in the issue of September 1838 announced that Chrzanowski, acting on behalf of lord Ponsonby, had left Constantinople and had gone via Trebizond to the Headquarters of the Turkish army in Asia (« as they say, to visit the fortifications at the Russian border »). On this occasion the newspaper dwelt on Chrzanowski's merits during the last Polish war and his unusual talents. It was not left unmentioned that his present position was a result of Prince Czartoryski's endeavours. The newspaper explicitly suggested the creation of a vanguard of the liberating army in case of the success of Chrzanowski's mission ⁷²⁾. The news about a Polish general in the British service in the Middle East had already reached Poland, arousing there joy and new hopes. At the first news about it the sum of 1.000 ducats was sent to Prince Czartoryski for Chrzanowski's mission ⁷³⁾.

Chrzanowski's British citizenship and diplomatic immunity did not eliminate all the difficulties involved in his delicate mission. After her recent failure Russia sought to take advantage of the complications involved in Chrzanowski's nationality and citizenship. This time she did not fail. The intrigue began with the Sultan, and help was offered by the

69) Palmerston to Ponsonby. N. 189. 29.9.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/329.A.

- « I have to acquaint Your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that it is expedient that General Chrzanowski should be attached to Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople ».

70) Palmerston to Ponsonby. 29.9.1838. Separate and Confidential. P.R.O. FO/78/329.A.

- « I have to state to Your Excellency that I have thought it advisable to furnish you with that instruction in order that You may use it if necessary ».

71) JEN. ZAMOYSKI. IV. 36.

72) *Kronika Emigracji*. Vol. VII. September 1838. Sheet 18, p. 288.

73) JEN. ZAMOYSKI. IV. 36.

Prussian officers (colonel Moltke, later a field-marshal, and major Mühlbach), the military instructors of Hafis Pasha's army ⁷⁴⁾. Acting probably on the instigation of Russia, these Prussian officers failed to bring about reforms during their eight months' stay with Hafis' army and kept him under the illusion that his army was in a good state. Thus the appearance of Chrzanowski on the scene, and the immediate effects of his reforms and his re-organization of the army were not welcomed by the Prussians and aroused in them jealousy and resentment towards Chrzanowski. Then the Prussian envoy in Constantinople, Baron Königsmark, became involved in the affair and in an official note to Nurri Effendi declared that the Prussian officers would leave immediately if they were to be under Chrzanowski's command ⁷⁵⁾. Towards the Sultan he used the excuse of Etiquette, stating that the Prussian officers could not be under the command of someone « who betrayed his monarch » ⁷⁶⁾. The Sultan replied to this: « these gentlemen are free to do what they like » ⁷⁷⁾, and gave Baron Königsmark freedom to dispose of his officers according to his own will. Königsmark, a little surprised with this reply, changed his attitude and prevaricated declaring that the final decision rested with the Government ⁷⁸⁾. The situation changed when Russia also started to put pressure on the Sultan. Ponsonby was informed about this by Prince Vogorides but did not show a readiness to give up. The rivalry for influences over the Sultan began and attacks from both sides on the weak Nurri Effendi were intensified. The Russians demanded the dismissal of Chrzanowski imputing that he was a field-marshal of the Turkish army; Ponsonby argued in return that Chrzanowski was a British citizen. The Sultan after opposing the Russians at last gave in to Russian pressure and demanded from Ponsonby the dismissal of Chrzanowski from the Headquarters of Hafis Pasha. At the same time he suggested Bagdad as the next place for Chrzanowski to stay, hinting that the stay would not be long. The Sultan's decision was made in spite of Hafis' reports stating how much he appreciated Chrzanowski.

The Sultan's decision made any further resistance on the part of Ponsonby damaging to the cause; he therefore adopted a different line of action. In a letter of 19th September he informed Chrzanowski about the successful evasion of several intrigue, but the next day he gave Chrzanowski orders to go to Baghdad for some time, ostensibly to become acquainted with the state of affairs there, adding in accordance with the Sultan's hints that he would be recalled from there very shortly. Ponsonby himself was also convinced of this. Chrzanowski's disappointment was alleviated by the fact that he could indeed be very useful in Baghdad, while there was no threat of Ibrahim's attack on Hafis Pasha's army at this time of the year. Ponsonby's letter appeared optimistic; it ended with the words: « Things go well ». He also passed on to Chrzanowski

74) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 9.10.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

75) *Kronika Emigracji*. Vol. VII. October 1838. Sheet 20, p. 319.

76) B.P. Chrzanowski to Ponsonby. 10.10.1838. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 27.9.1838. JEN. ZAMOYSKI IV. 96.

77) *Kronika Emigracji*, vol. VII, October 1838. Sheet 19, p. 302.

78) *Kronika Emigracji*, vol. VII, October 1838. Sheet 20, p. 219.

the expression of the Sultan's affection ⁷⁹⁾. This, in the eastern language and custom, meant that the Sultan was acting against his own will but wanted to keep the friendship and trust of Chrzanowski and did not think that opportunities were closed for him in Turkey. In order not to arouse the vigilance of the enemies of Poland and Turkey Chrzanowski had to set out once more on a new journey without a clearly defined aim *).

Chapter XI. *The Journey to Baghdad*

Chrzanowski felt a great disappointment and bitterness at being diverted from his recently initiated work. He went to Baghdad with the feeling that he had started many things but had not finished any. His presence in Malatia was necessary if the intended reforms were to be executed, and there was no-one to whom he could pass on this task. Also the perspective of a tiresome and not a very safe journey on horseback through the desert did not appeal to him. He obeyed the instruction, however, hoping for a short stay in Baghdad. Both his inseparable companions set off with him, but Kowalski got ill and Chrzanowski had to leave him under the care of Zabłocki in Diarbekir till he recovered; so Chrzanowski continued accompanied only by a servant. The departure from Malatia was delayed at the last moment by the necessity of executing certain undertakings. Chrzanowski prepared for Hafis some regulations and instructions which had not been ready at the time when the order to go to Baghdad came. Hafis was anxious to have them before Chrzanowski

79) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 9.10.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 27.9.1838. Chrzanowski to Lord Ponsonby. 10.10.1838.

*) This short period of General Chrzanowski's stay in Malatia is given a different interpretation by Leon Chrzanowski. According to Leon Chrzanowski, the author of the plan to send Chrzanowski to Hafis' army was Ponsonby. (At this time the Commander-in-Chief of the army in Asia was Reshid Pasha). The project was suggested to the Sultan as early as May 1836 (see Leon CHRZANOWSKI, 87), but was implemented only during the next year (Leon CHRZANOWSKI, 90). General Chrzanowski after he had arrived in Malatia and became acquainted with the state of affairs prepared a detailed report. Afterwards, according to Leon Chrzanowski's interpretation, he was supposed to have gone to the border of the Caucasus in order to make a «reconnaissance» and devise a plan for war with Russia from the direction of Anatolia. From there Chrzanowski is said to have made a secret expedition into the heart of the Caucasus in order to discover the state of affairs there. Chrzanowski is also supposed to have visited Armenia and Georgia and to have reached Mingrelia (Leon CHRZANOWSKI, 91). This statement about his journey to the border of the Caucasus is supported only by one source: a marginal note by Zamoyski (Jen. ZAMOYSKI, IV, 25/26). In *Przegląd Polski* Leon Chrzanowski limits General Chrzanowski's journey to Armenia and the Turkish Caucasus (Leon Chrzanowski, *Przegląd Polski*, Kraków, 1866, p. 15). In any event this journey must be related to Chrzanowski's stay in Malatia, as suggested by the information of *Kronika Emigracji* about his visit of fortresses on the Russian border as an additional aim of his stay with the Turkish army in Asia (*Kronika Emigracji*, VII, sheet 18, September 1838, p. 288). It is hard to believe in the expedition to the Caucasus proper as there is no mention of it in the sources. It is accepted by Lewak alone (p. 39). This expedition came after a stay with Hafis and «reconnaissance» of the border country. It could only have taken place in the late spring at the earliest. The journey in this mountainous and uncivilized country devoid of any means of transport, must have taken a few months; while in fact Chrzanowski returned to Constantinople before the winter 1837 (Leon CHRZANOWSKI, *Pisma wojskowo-polityczne jen.*

left Malatia ⁸⁰⁾, and this was the reason why he did not set off on his journey before the middle of October. On the 2nd of November he was already in Baghdad. The journey under such exotic conditions, quite apart from the possible danger, gave him a new occasion to get to know the distant provinces of the Sultan's territories and the state organization on which the Turkish Empire was based. The route led from Malatia through Diarbekir, Mardia and Mosul. The Pashas of Diarbekir and Mardia showed him great hospitality, while the Pasha of Mosul did not. The latter refused to accommodate Chrzanowski for the night excusing himself on the grounds of the lack of room and all he could offer him was a deserted house which lacked all comforts. Chrzanowski, therefore, spent the night camping. The next day when the Pasha invited Chrzanowski «for some sugar and honey», Chrzanowski was so put off by the experiences of the previous night that he declined the invitation and went away without seeing the Pasha.

This treatment of a man in the Sultan's service whom the Sultan trusted was also characteristic of the Pasha of Mosul as an administrator of the country. The inhabitants of this province regardless of their religion were greatly oppressed. Oppressed by intolerably high taxes they were dissatisfied. The Muslims showed great indifference, the Christians saw in the Russian army a liberation from oppression. With these attitudes amongst its people the country could become an easy prey for the invaders in case of war. This state of affairs contrasted with the attitude of the Kurds in the province of Hafis Pasha, who hated Russia

W. Chrzanowskiego, 93). From the accounts of the English travellers of this time we learn of the difficulties of travelling in the Caucasus. See: E. SPENCER, *Travels in Circassia, Krim Tartary e.c.*, 1837; Jame Stanislaus BELL, *Journal of a Residence in Circassia during the Years 1837-1838-1839-1840*. Needless to say, General Chrzanowski's obsessive fear of being captured by the Russians also makes this journey very improbable. (Almost all of the Caucasus was under Russian control at this time, with the exception of the north-western corner where the highlander Circassians continued their resistance against the Russians). As evidence of this expedition to the heart of the Caucasus Leon Chrzanowski refers to the General's lost plan «O pomocy wojskowej Anglii ludom Kaukazu od strony ładu i morza», and a note attached to it: «Rozpołożenie strategiczne kraju nad Kaukazem» (LEON CHRZANOWSKI, «Configuration stratégique du pays de l'autre côté du Caucase», 91-92). The copy of this note is to be found in a collection of documents in Leon Chrzanowski's book. General Chrzanowski's authorship is not questionable. What is doubtful is the circumstances and the time when this document was written. Leon Chrzanowski suggests 1837, while it seems that this document could not be produced before the end of 1838. It is even more probable that the document dates from 1839 and is the result of a purely topographical study of the area on the map. This hypothesis is suggested by the fact that General Chrzanowski asked the British Government about the map of the Caucasus issued at this time in Berlin. (Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 31.7.1838 - 1.3.1839). The map was sent to him (Gen. ZAMOYSKI, IV, 25/26). Thus the activities of General Chrzanowski, described by Leon Chrzanowski, would belong to the time of the first mission, whose programme was entirely different; and the expedition to the Caucasus would have taken place on Chrzanowski's way back to Europe. Consequently, Leon Chrzanowski accepts Constantinople as the place where most of the General's memoranda were written; while in fact some of them were written in London early in 1838. Also the description of the circumstances in which the journey to Baghdad took place is misleading. There was supposed to be a project of sending Chrzanowski to Hafis again in 1838, but the threat to Baghdad from Persia interfered with these plans. General Chrzanowski went there to supervise the preparation for defence (LEON CHRZANOWSKI, 97). In reality Chrzanowski stayed with Hafis Pasha only once and this was followed by his journey to Baghdad. This journey took place without a clearly defined aim and against the wishes of Ponsonby, the Sultan and Chrzanowski himself. The reasons for it lay entirely with Russia.

⁸⁰⁾ Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 9.10.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. B.P. Chrzanowski to Lord Ponsonby. 10.10.1838.

and were ready to fight her, even if among the strongest motives there was greed for loot. In defence of the Pasha of Mosul one has to admit that he cared for the outward security of the country and made efforts to keep the military forces in a good state. This, however, did not make up for the bad administration. At the time when Chrzanowski was making his observations it seemed that it was only the distance away of the Russian army which saved the situation ⁸¹⁾.

Chrzanowski found the province of the Pasha of Baghdad in an even more deplorable state. The roads were neglected, and on the other side of the Euphrates many villages were in ruins; the houses had been abandoned by the inhabitants who had gone away to Persia to flee from the oppression of the local Turkish administration. During last six months the number of those who had fled came to 5.000 families. Responsibility for all this rested on Ali, the Pasha of Baghdad. The population fleeing from the oppressions were mostly Turkish and therefore should be protected. Otherwise the country, ruined by its own administration, was losing strength and was becoming an easy prey for the Arab Bedouins. When Chrzanowski eventually arrived in Baghdad, Ali Pasha was busy with pacifying the Kurds who were in revolt. Not waiting for his arrival, Chrzanowski communicated immediately his observations and conclusions to Ferik Pasha, Ali's deputy. He also sent a long account of the entire journey from Malatia to Baghdad to Ponsonby ⁸²⁾. Ponsonby in his turn, repeating Chrzanowski's report to the Sultan, left out the part concerning Baghdad. If he had not done this the report could have brought about the dismissal of Ali, the Pasha of Baghdad. Ali, although not a good administrator, was however an enemy of Russia, unfriendly towards Persia and an ally of England. The dismissal of Ali would deprive England of a supporter in one of the sensitive spots of the Middle East, and under Turkish conditions there was no guarantee that his successor would be a better administrator ⁸³⁾.

Thus, far away from the sphere of activity defined by his mission, Chrzanowski's period of « exile » (as he himself called it) started. This period, he believed, was to be transient and short. He immediately started negotiations to be recalled from Baghdad, which in Constantinople were supported by Ponsonby and also had the secret approval of the Sultan. Ponsonby, who had not been able to prevent Chrzanowski's diversion, immediately started to work for his return. He tried to persuade the Sultan but Russian pressure was too strong. Then he tried another method, to influence the Sultan from London. Even before he received the first news from Baghdad he pointed out to Palmerston Chrzanowski's unusual abilities in adapting to Turkish conditions ⁸⁴⁾, his skill in gaining the confidence of the Turks, and how much understanding he showed for their needs. Chrzanowski's loss, Ponsonby argued, would be a great mistake for England since it would deprive her of such advantages. The

81) Chrzanowski à son Excellence Lord Ponsonby. Baghdad. 3.11.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/333.

82) Ibidem.

83) Ponsonby to Palmerston. N. 249. 4.12.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/333.

84) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 9.11.1838. N. 233 P.R.O. FO/78/333. - « I venture to suggest to your Lordship that it might be very advantageous for reaping the fruits of that officer's most eminent abilities and peculiar fitness for the work he has entered upon in this Country ».

Sultan, he thought, was most unwise to give way to the combined influence of Russia and the Prussian officers and to dispose of the services of Chrzanowski, whose talents he himself appreciated ⁸⁵). Ponsonby reminded Palmerston about the state of the Turkish army in Asia and that the Prussian officers had failed while the advice of Chrzanowski was eagerly executed. To introduce his reforms proved essential for keeping the army on a satisfactory level of efficiency ⁸⁶). Chrzanowski's common sense and his wide knowledge, Ponsonby stressed, inspired the trust and good will of Hafis, while not hurting his pride. Ponsonby suggested that the situation should be presented to the Sultan from London in this light so that the Sultan could see that he would have the encouragement and support of Palmerston if he recall Chrzanowski. The best way for this, Ponsonby suggested, would be to make use of Reshid Pasha for this purpose ⁸⁷). Ponsonby finished his argument with the careful remark that in its present state the Turkish army could take part in any campaign in Asia, but in case of war with Egypt direction of its tactical side should be given to Chrzanowski ⁸⁸). When less than a month later Ponsonby got Chrzanowski's first report from Baghdad, he used it as an argument to persuade the Sultan to agree to Chrzanowski's return, and suggested again to Palmerston that this subject should be brought up in talks with Reshid Pasha. The results, he felt, would depend on the degree of involvement on the English side, and the extent of the Sultan's fear of the Russian threat ⁸⁹).

The efforts of Ponsonby had at first no result. The Sultan was not able to stand up to the Russians, and the necessary support from London did not come. Chrzanowski remained in Baghdad where he got increasingly involved in the political problems of the area in which he found himself i.e. the Near and Middle East, and especially the Persian Question. England was far more active here than in Turkey. East of Persia she acted through the government of India (i.e. the East India Company). The appearance of the British fleet in the Persian Gulf and the garrisoning of a few places on the Red Sea in connection with the Afghanistan affair, forced the Shah of Persia to abandon the siege of Herat. Mac-Neil came back to Teheran, but the Shah by this temporary concession over Herat did not give up his main objective in Afghanistan and did not stop the preparations for war. On the other hand, some preparations for the invasion of Afghanistan in the direction of Kabul

85) Ibidem. — « It is unworthy of the Sultan to allow the influence of Russia or the jealousy of the Prussian officers to induce His Highness to deprive Himself of the services of an officer whose talents and judgment are esteemed by His Highness Himself ».

86) Ibidem. — « Your Lordship knows to what a low state the Sultan's army has been reduced in Asia and how entirely the Prussian officers have failed or neglected to do any the smallest good to the Sultan's Service in that part of the world, and you know that the things recommended by the General have been at once given in part and are to be given in full by the Sultan to the wants of His Asiatic army and that they are things absolutely indispensable to its existence in even a tolerable state ».

87) Ibidem. — « Reshid Pasha would be emboldened by you speaking to him, to urge the Sultan to desire me to recall the General from Baghdad and send him again to the army ».

88) Ibidem. — « ... and against the Egyptian army were the movements of the troops, that is the scientific part of the business to be conducted by the General ».

89) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 4.12.1838. N. 249. P.R.O. FO/78/333.

were made in India ⁹⁰). The main interest of Chrzanowski remained, however, the defence of Turkey, and the Turkish army in the first place.

Already from Baghdad Chrzanowski was directing the location of the army and its first movements in case of war ⁹¹). The first condition was to have a fortress, something absolutely essential in case of war on two fronts. The security of the army would require at least two fortresses since for defence purposes one was not enough; not to have any would be suicidal. In case of war with Mehemet-Ali Chrzanowski suggested the settlement of Bir as a good strategic point for both defensive and offensive actions. Hafis was not willing to accept that Malatia was a bad place for concentration, though he admitted the advantages of Bir. Malatia was too near the border, surrounded by the Taurus mountains and lacking exits. Any action from there was only possible on the condition that the army would cross to the left bank of the Euphrates and go in the direction of Karput. From here there was the only road through the mountains suitable for artillery. Hafis did not disagree with Chrzanowski on this point, but argued that he did not need roads. He was taken by the idea of putting his army across the river on rafts made of sheep skin and he held on to this idea, in which he was encouraged by the Prussian officers who were flattering him. Neither Hafis nor his advisers knew where to obtain sheep skins and wood from which to build the rafts ⁹²). This matter brought to full light Hafis Pasha's incompetence and ignorance in military matters, a fact which was not compensated by his positive traits of character i.e. that he was a patriot, very attached to the Sultan, a good administrator and a brave soldier. What he lacked was moral courage; he was afraid of taking responsibility and did not have authority over his subordinates. He would not make a good leader in case of war ⁹³). In connection with the Asiatic army there was another difficulty in the present system: the problem of supplies. The area in which the army was stationed, Eastern Anatolia, was a country poor in resources. An army which would be dependent on supplies from Constantinople could find itself in a difficult situation in case of war. Chrzanowski, well aware of the army's needs, suggested to the Turkish government the resolution of this difficult problem by putting up on the spot a storage place for ammunition and food. The best place for this purpose appeared to be the fortress of Diarbekir which was well situated for action in two possible directions, north and south. Chrzanowski saw the fortress on his journey to Baghdad and in his first report from Baghdad enclosed a description of it together with a sketch. The walls of the fortress were weak and obviously in a very neglected state, but they could be strengthened at a not very great cost ⁹⁴). The main problem was to persuade the Turkish government.

90) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 7.11.1838 - 1.3.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

91) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 7.11.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

92) Chrzanowski à son Excellence Lord Ponsonby. Baghdad. 3.11.1838. P.R.O. FO/78/333.

93) Ibidem.

94) H. HANDELSMAN, *A. Czartoryski*, II. 83, connects this project with an already initiated action of restoring military forces of Kurdistan. There was no such action. There was only the Turkish army of Asia under command of Hafis Pasha.

Another problem in connection with the needs of the army operating in Asia was the question of the Caucasus which was for Russia a gate to the Near East. It was important for Turkey to keep it in a state of independence. Turkey was not strong enough to bring about this condition. What improved her position was that the Circassians already resisted Russian domination; this resistance, however, was not sufficient to keep the Russians away from this area. The Caucasians needed help from outside. The call for help from England remained unanswered. The only hope was Turkey and here a great deal could depend on Chrzanowski, who understood the importance of the Caucasus. In several initiatives, some from Baghdad, Chrzanowski suggested to the Turkish government various ways of supporting the Circassians. The Turks considered his propositions and the government did its best to help the Circassians but could not do much, being threatened itself by Russia ⁹⁵).

Not the least amongst Turkey's problems was Baghdad, which was a focus for the rivalry of three countries: Russia, Persia and Egypt. This problem had existed for many years and presented Turkey with additional difficulties. Fortunately for Turkey, Baghdad played an important role in England's eastern policy. The British government was involved at this time in the project of opening a new trade route from the Mediterranean Sea via Syria and Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. On the Euphrates there was already an expedition under Colonel Chesney. Baghdad occupied a key position in the British plans. It was therefore essential to keep it in Turkey's hands. And yet the Pasha of Baghdad was faced with a difficult task in defending his small territory which was threatened from three sides at once, and pestered by constant attacks from highland Ravenders. The Pasha had neither adequate military forces, nor financial means. His region was poor in natural resources for military purposes. Assistance was offered by the Government of India, whose interest in Baghdad was as great as England's. The person acting on behalf of the Indian Government was a certain lieutenant colonel Taylor in Turkish Arabia. The key problem of the Baghdad area was the army whose reorganization required the help of foreign instructors. This help had been offered by England already in 1836 in view of the threat to Baghdad from Russia at this time ⁹⁶). Palmerston asked Ponsonby to investigate on what conditions Turkey could give the reorganization of the military forces at Baghdad to British instructors ⁹⁷). This proposal was premature. Ponsonby, well informed of the situation of Turkey, ignored this inquiry from Palmerston and decided to leave the matter and wait for a more suitable moment ⁹⁸). England, after a few years' impasse in the Bosphorus, was only now regaining her position there, and had only started to counterbalance the Russian influence there. The matter was deferred but the problem remained. It again emerged in the face of a new threat for Baghdad in 1839, this time from both sides, from Russia and Mehemet-Ali ⁹⁹).

95) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 1.3.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

96) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 26.9.1836. N. 169-170. P.R.O. FO/78/277.

97) Palmerston to Ponsonby. 31.10.1836. N. 91. P.R.O. FO/195/131.

98) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 5.12.1836. N. 232. P.R.O. FO/78/278 - FO/195/133.

99) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 2.4.1839. N. 83. P.R.O. FO/78/355. H. TEMPERLEY, 94.

The situation in Persia after a temporary lull deteriorated again ¹⁰⁰). MacNeil failed to get satisfaction for the illegal arrest and ill-treatment of a diplomatic courier, left Teheran for good ¹⁰¹) and returned to England via Russia and St. Petersburg ¹⁰²). The Shah was entirely under the influence of Russia. Neglecting England, he intended to resume action against Herat and prepared an expedition to go to Kabul. The news from Persia did not agitate the Turks, however. Nurri Effendi was not able to perceive the difficulty of the situation, and the president of the State Council Husrev, in a talk with Ponsonby, said: « The Shah acts under the influences of Russia, but the Sultan knows how to act so that England's interests should not be imperilled » ¹⁰³). From the Consul-General in Egypt news came of the new acquisitions of Mehemet-Ali in Arabia and the Persian Gulf, and about his establishing there a military and naval base. Baghdad was threatened from three directions ¹⁰⁴).

Chrzanowski's stay in Baghdad thus coincided with a new threat to the province. The question thus arises, what was his contribution in the preparations for its defence and how did he spend his time? The generally accepted belief that Chrzanowski's main preoccupation, or even the purpose of his stay in Baghdad, was with military matters (which involved the organization of a corps of 20.000 Arab cavalry in the Turkish army) has no foundations ¹⁰⁵). This suggestion was made by Chrzanowski's nephew, Leon Chrzanowski, who thought that the project was entirely General Chrzanowski's idea, approved by the Turkish government. According to this assumption, England was to co-operate in the realization of the project by providing guns and crews for the horse artillery of the corps. The General was given « carte blanche » and started the work of organization. This statement of Leon Chrzanowski is not sufficiently documented. He admitted that in the General's papers which were in his possession only one letter, numbered 80, survived out of the rich correspondence of this period (100 items) ¹⁰⁶). It remains a mystery, therefore, on what evidence he founded his suppositions. One can only assume that he founded them on the spoken testimony of his uncle General Chrzanowski with whom for some years he shared a life in exile. Even if the suppositions of Leon Chrzanowski are true, the organizational work of the General did not go beyond the initial stage, if only for the reason that he was there for too short a time. The circumstances soon drew him in a different direction. But the statement of Leon Chrzanowski has support from another quarter. In the papers of Władysław

100) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 1.3.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

101) Ponsonby to Palmerston. N. 8. 4.1.1839 - N. 10. 10.1.1839. P.R.O. FO/78/354.

102) Conversation between Czartoryski and Mac-Neil. 15 and 20.3.1839. London. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5294.

103) Ponsonby to Palmerston. N. 10. 10.1.1839. FO/78/354.

104) Palmerston to Ponsonby. 11.5.1839. N. 64. P.R.O. FO/78/352. Harold TEMPERLEY, 96.

105) B.B. PAWŁOWSKI, III, 463. A. LEWAK, 39. M. HANDELSMAN, II, 83.

106) Leon CHRZANOWSKI, 99.

Zamoyski there is to be found a laconic remark that General Chrzanowski « spent a year in Baghdad organizing there a 20.000 corps of Arab cavalry »¹⁰⁷⁾. Leaving aside the question of how long Chrzanowski stayed in Baghdad, to which we shall return, one has to be careful about the reliability of Zamoyski's information. This note does not come from his correspondence, nor from the diaries written at the time, but it was written much later, towards the end of his life. Thus, since both the sources mentioned inspire some doubts, one must seek in more fully authoritative sources referring directly to the events, the true explanation. These sources comprise the reports of the General himself and those of Lord Ponsonby. And the few reports of General Chrzanowski from Baghdad do not give any evidence of his military activities. Among the reports of Ponsonby only one, from the time preceeding his journey, encloses a hint that the General could be very useful in improving things, especially in the military sphere. In the correspondence, however, the main theme is the recall of Chrzanowski, or as he himself described it, the shortening of the time of his exile¹⁰⁸⁾. Whatever doubts exist concerning his work on the organization of the 20.000 strong cavalry corps, it is certain that Chrzanowski was busy with military matters and especially with the defence of Baghdad. This after all was the objective of his mission in Turkey, and Baghdad was for Turkey one of the most vulnerable points.

What was then the purpose of Chrzanowski's journey to Baghdad? The answer to this question is simple enough: there was no purpose; there were, however, several causes. There was the Russian-Prussian intrigue to prevent him from carrying out his reforms in the Turkish army; the Sultan's submission to Russia; the weakness of the English position (since even Ponsonby had to give in to Russian pressure on the Sultan). One can ask further questions in connection with this problem, e.g. why did not Ponsonby, instead of ordering him to go to Baghdad, recall him from Malatia to Constantinople¹⁰⁹⁾, and why he failed to obtain Chrzanowski's recall from the Sultan and had to ask for support from London¹¹⁰⁾.

It is not clear how Chrzanowski spent his time in Baghdad. The sources are not informative and one is inclined to conclude that Chrzanowski was not very busy there. Handelsman¹¹¹⁾, probably misinterpreting Zamoyski's information, mentions several journeys by Chrzanowski from Baghdad in various directions; Lewak¹¹²⁾ goes further and suggests Persia and Afghanistan (though not explicitly stated it is implied that these journeys could only be undertaken from Baghdad). There was also

107) Jen. ZAMOYSKI. IV. 25/26.

108) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 7.11.1838 - 1.3.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.
Ponsonby to Palmerston. 9.11.1838. N. 233. P.R.O. FO/78/333. - 4.12.1838. N. 249.
P.R.O. FO/78/333. B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 27.9.1838.

109) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 9.10.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

110) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 9.11.1838. N. 233. P.R.O. FO/78/333. - 4.12.1838. N. 249.
P.R.O. FO/78/333.

111) M. HANDELSMAN. II, 83.

112) A. LEWAK, 39.

a supposed visit by Chrzanowski to Syria ¹¹³). For Handelsman's statement that Chrzanowski made several journeys from Baghdad is only one rather unreliable source: this is Leon Chrzanowski's statement concerning General Chrzanowski's expedition from Baghdad to the Persian Gulf. The aim is believed to have been to conduct negotiations with the Commander of the English naval forces about the suggested co-operation of Turkish and English forces against Persia ¹¹⁴). As for Persia, Chrzanowski thought that only by military force could she be brought once more under English influence ¹¹⁵). All this occurred at a time when diplomatic relations between England and Persia had been severed. Chrzanowski's journey to Syria (at this time occupied by the army of Ibrahim Pasha) which Pawłowski, Lewak and Handelsman accept — on the grounds of Zamoyski's information ¹¹⁶) — also seems very doubtful. Zamoyski's information, however, ignoring as it does the reality of the situation around Baghdad, and unsupported by any other source, leaves room for doubt. The expedition to Syria — an occupied country — would involve great risks, which Chrzanowski would not be willing to entertain during his stay in the East. In any case, his trip to Syria, if it really took place, would be limited to the Syrian border. Probably one should relate this trip to the time of his stay in Hafis Pasha's Headquarters in Malatia.

The supposition of Chrzanowski's journey to Afghanistan ¹¹⁷) raises much stronger reservations and must, therefore, be given even more attention. This supposition is not confirmed in Chrzanowski's work « A Short Note as to the State of Things in Afghanistan ». This tract was presented to the British government only in 1842 from Paris ¹¹⁸), when the Turkish chapter of Chrzanowski's life was definitely closed. Leon Chrzanowski mentions that General Chrzanowski had a wide correspondence — but only correspondence — from Baghdad « about Persian and Afghan affairs » ¹¹⁹). The belated note of the General, and Leon Chrzanowski's remark, are the only sources concerning this matter. From a practical point of view it would be extremely difficult to include in the time of Chrzanowski's stay in Baghdad a journey to what was almost the heart of Asia and which would have taken at least a few months. It is easy to argue that Chrzanowski did not make it, since all his movements in Turkey can be accounted for almost month by month. The words of Chrzanowski himself are of decisive importance here: « A few months ago it was proposed to me that I should go in the service of Shah Shui Mulk to Kabul; I said that I could not give an answer until the next

113) B. PAWŁOWSKI, 463. A. LEWAK, 39. M. HANDELSMAN, 83.

114) LEON CHRZANOWSKI, 98.

115) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

116) Jen. ZAMOYSKI. IV, 25/26.

117) A. LEWAK, 39.

118) LEON CHRZANOWSKI, « A Short Note as to the State of Things in Afghanistan ».

119) Ibidem, p. 99.

In *Przegląd Polski* five years earlier Leon Chrzanowski accepts, however, the journey of the General from Baghdad to Persia. *Przegląd Polski*, Kraków. 1866, p. 15.

spring, since I could not go away before I was sure that I had nothing to do here. Of course, I risked not having anything to do here, and that someone else would take my place as organizer of the Afghan army, but I could not act otherwise » ¹²⁰⁾. Thus it is clear that such proposals were made to him and, in spite of promises and prospects, he rejected them as he was not willing to leave the Turkish sphere of events which would become of decisive importance for the European powers and where his Polish duties kept him.

In Turkey, however, things remained as always. The sinister shadow of Russia paralyzed the Sultan, and from England the news came about the negative outcome of Reshid's mission. In the beginning of 1839 Chrzanowski received the news from the British consul in Damascus that Reshid had been recalled. The news was untrue, nevertheless Chrzanowski was very apprehensive about the effects of Reshid's mission. The British government, ignorant of the state of affairs in the Near East, and especially of the aggravation of the situation in Persia, could neglect the danger and not take Reshid too seriously. Turkey found herself in a difficult situation which only the British fleet in the Bosphorus could ameliorate ¹²¹⁾. That this might happen was suggested by the recent joint manoeuvres of the British and Turkish fleets, though the sustained effort of Ponsonby to place British instructors in the Turkish navy had not been successful ¹²²⁾. Husrev was now criticized in London as a weak man, who was too submissive or possibly even in the pay of Russia. Chrzanowski supported Husrev and argued that the British government was mistaken, since, having put its hopes in Husrev, it was itself reluctant to send new forces to the Bosphorus. Now the British government, stated Chrzanowski, failed to see that Husrev took a reasonable stand in urging that Turkey should not be discredited by a premature initiative ¹²³⁾.

Chrzanowski's attitude in Baghdad reflected his general political ideas about the Near East, at the centre of which lay the Turkish question, and coupled with it Chrzanowski's desire to bring into play the Polish question as an international problem. The way to do this was to bring about a conflict between England and Russia. It could be done more quickly by eliminating the intermediate countries such as Persia and Egypt. These local conflicts could be resolved by the forces of the countries concerned alone.

Persia, in spite of the ambitious aspirations and militant attitude of the Shah, was rent by an internal rivalry within its own dynasty and therefore presented a good basis for starting an inner intrigue. There was a possibility of support for one of the Shah's rivals, which would almost automatically result in Persia's breaking away from Russia ¹²⁴⁾. In any case, the life of the Shah was precarious. He had a disease which,

120) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 29.11.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

121) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 1.3.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

122) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 7.11.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

123) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 1.3.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

124) *Ibidem*.

according to the opinion of an English doctor of the name Bell, was going to kill him within three years ¹²⁵⁾.

The Egyptian question appeared differently. In spite of its pretensions to power, Mehemet-Ali's regime was not built on strong foundations. The use of force, sometimes of open terror, did not make Mehemet popular in the occupied countries. Even more important than its political system was its economic structure, based as in Turkey, on the state monopolies. This economic structure was the basis of Mehemet's power but it was also his weakness. It made him dependent on Turkey. Abandoning the system of monopolies in Turkey would automatically undermine the system of monopolies in Egypt. This was one of the main conditions of the negotiations between England and Turkey concerning the signing of a trade treaty. Chrzanowski was strongly for abandoning the monopolies in Turkey and tried to persuade the British government that it was an easy but effective way of breaking Mehemet-Ali. The Turks slowly and reluctantly came to accept this condition in order to obtain British support ¹²⁶⁾.

Much more time and consideration was devoted by Chrzanowski to Polish affairs while he was in Baghdad. The news about his unexpected journey to Baghdad soon reached Europe and came as a great surprise to others as it had to him. Before he ever wrote about himself from Baghdad, Czartoryski had already heard the news from London. On the 2nd November, the day on which Chrzanowski reached Baghdad, Czartoryski wrote to him: « I know that you went to Baghdad... Obtain any information about the Caucasus, and about the Poles who live there » ¹²⁷⁾. He did not have any new instructions and did not give Chrzanowski new tasks. He himself was awaiting further developments. But the change in Chrzanowski's position and its new complications gave rise to the campaign of « Demokracja Emigracyjna ». In *Nowa Polska* ¹²⁸⁾ Umiński protested against creating precedences, tolerating people who, like Chrzanowski, were responsible for the failure of the national cause and lost the trust of the nation. He did not deny the talents nor even the good will of Chrzanowski; he praised Turkey for employing « such a good strategist, so thoughtful an officer in the Cabinet ». He also praised Prince Czartoryski for recommending him there, but wanted to punish Chrzanowski for his past actions and stated that Chrzanowski could never regain the trust of the nation ¹²⁹⁾.

Kronika Emigracji, the newspaper of the Czartoryski faction, initiated a discussion with Umiński in defence of Chrzanowski. The editors of *Kronika* did not deny the failures of Chrzanowski's character in the past, but did not accept the condemnation of Umiński ¹³⁰⁾. The newspaper declared itself on the side of anyone who, like Chrzanowski, would act guided by the noble desire of rendering service to his country. Chrza-

125) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 8.1.1840. N. 7. P.R.O. FO/78/392.

126) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 7.11.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

127) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 2.11.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

128) *Nowa Polska*, N. 31, p. 339.

129) *Kronika Emigracji*, vol. VII. November 1838. Sheet 22/23, pp. 357-9.

130) *Ibidem*.

nowski with his talents which gained him the appreciation of England and Turkey dedicated himself to the national cause. In future, Chrzanowski could make up for his lack of popularity, the journal concluded, since his mission was directed against Russia ¹³¹⁾.

The attacks also occurred in Constantinople, but these were mild. They were directed not against Chrzanowski personally but against the political action of the Czartoryski faction in the Near East. These attempts were bound to fail for quite different reasons. The Polish policies in the East differed not on political but on social issues. The Czartoryski group had greater chances of success, than revolutionary-liberal European movements, seeking the support of the popular masses and rejecting élitism, directed against monarchies, they were alien to the spirit of the East and did not appeal to the imagination of the Turks.

This was the reality with which the initiative of Zwierkowski met in Constantinople. He came there, together with Olszewski, on his way to the Caucasus, shortly before Chrzanowski left for Hafis Pasha's Headquarters. He got discouraging news about the situation in the Caucasus and did not set out on the journey ¹³²⁾. After some delay, he justified his failure to fulfil his task by declaring that, according to Czapski's instruction, « in Istanbul he will fight the intrigues of the aristocracy » ¹³³⁾.

Along with Zwierkowski, another emissary on his way to the Caucasus, Wereszczyński, came to Constantinople. He acted voluntarily, but with the knowledge of Prince Czartoryski. He declared in Paris his desire to go to the Caucasus. The Prince refused to support him, but did not discourage Wereszczyński from going if he wanted to do so at his own risk. The only condition was that he would act within the general framework of British policy and follow the advice of Chrzanowski, as the main representative of the Polish affairs in the East ¹³⁴⁾. Writing from Baghdad, Chrzanowski expressed doubts whether Wereszczyński would be able to have any success, acting on his own ¹³⁵⁾.

All these small affairs were soon overshadowed by a change in the international balance of power on which the Polish question depended. The possibility of an agreement between England and Austria on the Eastern Question became apparent. In the calculations of Czartoryski and his adherents the thought revived of an Austrian-Polish solution to the Polish question, along the lines most convenient to the Austrian monarchy. The idea was again brought forward of putting an Austrian prince on the Polish throne. They sounded on the matter in London. Czartoryski initiated talks with Palmerston, and then left the matter in the hands of his ambassador, W. Zamoyski, providing him with a memorandum about the need of connecting the Polish question with the interests of Vienna ¹³⁶⁾. Zamoyski, who was undertaking on behalf of the Prince the talks with Palmerston, at the same time sought to contact

131) Ibidem.

132) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 31.7.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

133) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 1.3.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

134) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 31.5.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

135) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 1.3.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

136) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 5.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

the Tories in case they returned to power. From Baghdad Chrzanowski joined in the debate with a long exposé about the re-establishment of Poland and made various proposals about putting it into practice ¹³⁷⁾.

First of all Chrzanowski postulated the monarchic structure of the state, with a Parliament and an independent judicature without juries and certainly without freedom of press, which in Chrzanowski's view was a poison which would soon bring again disaster to the country. As far as the social structure was concerned, he wanted a return to the state of affairs in the Congress Kingdom and postulated the abolishment of serfdom for the peasants. His parliamentary system was to be modern, but also take into account the traditions of the country. His main concern was that there should be control of the government, free discussion of parliamentary bills and the right to appeal. The basic structure of the parliamentary system was to be built upon provincial councils which would form the platform of public opinion and would sketch drafts of bills presented to the Parliament elected every five years. Half of the members of the Parliament (Sejm) were to be elected in the course of general elections, the other half were to be appointed as delegates of the provincial councils. The members of the Senate were to be appointed by the King. In the sphere of public works Chrzanowski urged the development on a wider scale of industry and transport; among his other projects was the building of a railway from Odessa via Brześć to the Baltic. A separate issue altogether was the proposal to establish Prince Czartoryski on the throne, a proposal strongly supported by the author. Since, however, one of the necessities was to offer the crown to an Arch-Duke of Austria, Czartoryski would have to sacrifice personal interests for the interests of the country.

These were theoretical discussions of projects. Chrzanowski went on to the more realistic project of the creation of Polish military forces in Turkey, a project which, in view of the threatening war, was likely to succeed. Chrzanowski once again returned to the idea previously put forward in his discussion of the war between Russia and Turkey which had been presented to the British government before his departure from London ¹³⁸⁾. The need arose to bring up this matter once again in London and to try to obtain some means of achieving this aim, since Turkey could not be relied on. This was to be the task of the Prince. In the realization of this plan the basic problem was the question of the ranks of the officers and the distribution of functions, which would arise soon after the British fleet moved into the Black Sea. All this was complicated by an inconsistent procedure of promoting officers during and after the last war in Poland. On the basis of his experience during this war and his exile afterwards, Chrzanowski demanded a strict verification of all the ranks. The policy he suggested was to acknowledge only the ranks given legally, deadline was the act of last promotions issued in Modlin. The ranks given after this act, even by the Headquarters, should be disregarded. As for the officers who had taken part in the 1830 uprising, their ranks could be authorized only after evidence had been produced that they had commanded a detachment suitable to their rank for at

137) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 1.3.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

138) See pp. 72-75.

least two months. The person whom Chrzanowski proposed should verify the ranks at the place of recruitment, was general Bem; in Turkey there was to be a further check. The criterion of seniority was to be the duration of service; promotion for someone who, although of higher rank, would begin his service late could be ensured only by special orders and honours. He advised that the officers who had proved themselves in the Polish war should be chosen. The rest of his attention focused on problems such as the care of soldiers, the good state of the detachment, the need to get used to the difficulties of life in Turkey etc. The first source for recruiting for Turkey could be Algeria. Finally, there was the question of how the commanders were to be distributed among the different regions. For Persia Chrzanowski suggested Feliks Breański, for Turkey — Władysław Zamoyski.

Czartoryski saw many excellent ideas in this project of organizing the administration of the country, and accepted its principles even though he disagreed over some details. He entirely approved all Chrzanowski's proposals concerning the organization of the military detachments in Turkey ¹³⁹⁾.

While awaiting permission to return to Turkey Chrzanowski passed his time in Baghdad mainly in thinking out such projects. Reassured by Ponsonby, he did not resign and almost from the first moment demanded to be recalled, hoping that his case would be supported in London. He was certain that the length of his stay in Baghdad would depend very much on the type of eastern policy adopted in London ¹⁴⁰⁾. Towards the end of December, Ponsonby, who was in close touch with Chrzanowski, informed him that he would be recalled and ordered to return to Hafis Pasha's army as soon as the news came from London about the success of the negotiations with Reshid ¹⁴¹⁾. Two months passed, Chrzanowski was still in Baghdad ¹⁴²⁾. Ponsonby repeated his reassurances and asked Chrzanowski to wait for the news from Palmerston ¹⁴³⁾, while he himself impatiently sought to come to some agreement with the Sultan ¹⁴⁴⁾. The Turkish-Egyptian conflict was becoming increasingly acute. Seeing the hopelessness of waiting any longer, Chrzanowski disobeyed orders and left Baghdad towards the end of April. After two months' journey on horseback he arrived on 24th June in Constantinople. He had great difficulties in travelling through the country of the Kurds, who were then in revolt, and the area had been abandoned by the Turkish army amidst the agitation over the war with Egypt ¹⁴⁵⁾. The Baghdad period, therefore, lasted less than six months: from the beginning of November till the end of April. This is certainly too short a time for Chrzanowski's supposed travels, and other actions including the ostensible works on the

139) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 5.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

140) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 7.11.1838. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

141) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 1.3.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

142) Ibidem. — « Nie tylko przedłużenie mojego tu wygnania, ale cały obrót interesów na Wschodzie zależą od decyzji wziętej w Londynie ».

143) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

144) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 19.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

145) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

organization of cavalry corps. The piece of information which Handelsman repeated after Zamoyski, that Chrzanowski remained in Baghdad for a full year, is incorrect ¹⁴⁶⁾.

Chrzanowski's return to Constantinople was not such surprise as it seemed. Ponsonby was informed about his intention before he left Baghdad ¹⁴⁷⁾, and Prince Czartoryski heard about it soon afterwards via London. The Prince had already instructed Chrzanowski about his new tasks in Constantinople though he would have preferred to see Chrzanowski in Hafis' army, and this was what he expected. He informed Chrzanowski about the journey of Campiniano to England, about the change of atmosphere in the Danube principalities, their resentment towards Russia and Austria and the growing pro-Polish sympathies there. This Turkey could easily turn to her advantage if she was able to show a spirit of tolerance. The Prince instructed Chrzanowski to try to get closer to Prince Samos, who was sympathetic to the Poles, and in this way to open a new channel of information from those close to the Sultan. He also wanted to know more about Persia and Mehemet-Ali ¹⁴⁸⁾. The news emerging from Turkey suggested that the Sultan had started a war with Mehemet-Ali. The situation was not clear for the Prince. He was not sure about Russia's attitude towards the crisis and her aims. Till now it was only Russia who had showed any initiative in the east. Chrzanowski was in a position to throw some more light on this matter, since he observed the Russian manoeuvres from close at hand. This was what the Prince demanded ¹⁴⁹⁾.

In Constantinople Ponsonby accepted Chrzanowski's explanation and though the return of the latter put the British Ambassador in a somewhat difficult position, he was probably rather glad of Chrzanowski's return. On 11th July the courier from London arrived but the order recalling Chrzanowski from Baghdad was not in this mail. Chrzanowski's guesses were confirmed ¹⁵⁰⁾. His arbitrary return from Baghdad was not a very serious act of disobedience; it had an additional formal aspect. A year's contract with the British government now came to an end, and Chrzanowski did not enter the service of the Sultan. And so, soon after his arrival in Constantinople, he sent back Zabłocki and Kowalski. He himself, at the request of Ponsonby, stayed there as Ponsonby's guest, in the building of the British Embassy ¹⁵¹⁾.

146) Jen. ZAMOYSKI. IV. 25/26.
M. HANDELSMAN, II, 83.

147) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 19.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

148) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 31.5.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

149) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 31.5.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

— « Czego się spodziewać, jeśli wojna istotnie teraz nastąpi? Czy Moskwa sekretnie do niej zmuszała? Jak sobie postąpi i jakie korzyści zapewni sobie z ich walki? Są to zagadki, względem których nie mamy tu dotąd żadnego dostatecznego światła. Jenerał więcej o tem nam powie niż jabyśmy mogli mu donieść. Co pewna, że wszelka inicjatywa w tych przypadkach pójdzie od Moskwy. Tu jeśli się ruszą, to się tylko ruszą zmuszeni przez jej działanie ».

150) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

— « ... w piękny bym był położeniu, gdybym był w Bagdadzie czekał póki rozkaz do powrotu nie nadejdzie ».

151) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 20.7.1839. N. 184. P.R.O. FO/78/357 - FO/195/159.

Kronika Emigracji, vol. VIII. August 1839. Sheet 14, p. 220. Sheet 16, p. 256.

Chapter XII. *Chrzanowski as a Guest of Ponsonby*

It was a coincidence that the day of Chrzanowski's return to Constantinople on 24th June 1839 was also the day of the defeat of the Turkish army at Nezib. Chrzanowski arrived with a clear record and with no responsibility for the defeat of the army. He did not take part in the battle nor in the preparations for the war. He found Constantinople in a state of chaos caused by the war crisis, and aggravated by the death of the Sultan. It appeared that Chrzanowski came to Ponsonby at a time when the latter was in need of his advice and help. The situation was extremely difficult. Turkey, it seemed, was in a position of a complete submission to Russia, as the military aid of England still remained in the sphere of the wishful thinking.

Ponsonby prevaricated hoping that he could keep Chrzanowski in Turkey. He immediately started negotiations about this with London ¹⁵²⁾. But his efforts were successful only after four months. In London, in spite of all good will, there were some difficulties, while at the same time Chrzanowski hesitated in Constantinople. This created a state of indecision and suspense for Ponsonby. Unexpectedly help came from Prince Czartoryski who was anxious, having received no news about Chrzanowski from Baghdad. Czartoryski's fears, which had been aroused by rumours of the Sultan having initiated military action in Syria, were mitigated by the rumours that Chrzanowski was returning to Constantinople. His return there meant that he was not being ordered to go to Hafis's army, while in the meantime the war between Turkey and Egypt had become a reality ¹⁵³⁾. This was not what Chrzanowski wished for. At the beginning of July the Prince, not knowing that Chrzanowski was already in Constantinople was still awaiting confirmation of the news about him. He hoped that Chrzanowski must either be in the army of Hafis Pasha, or in the corps of the Pasha of Baghdad, which it was said was about to enter Syria. The Prince obviously did not know yet about the defeat at Nezib. In spite of these hopes, the Prince was anxious that Chrzanowski might still be wasting his time in Baghdad. The communiqués from Turkey did not mention him though they spoke a great deal about the Prussian officers ¹⁵⁴⁾. It was only in the middle of July that the surprising news came that Chrzanowski had returned to Constantinople at the time when the war had fully developed. His return struck a new blow to the Polish plans which, in spite of the good

152) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 20.7.1839. N. 184. P.R.O. FO/78/357.

— « I mention this that Your Lordship may know he is still in this Country if you should choose to employ him. I am sure he will aid me with his influence over the Grand Vizier if there be need for employing it and in any way that can be useful to Her Majesty's Service ».

153) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 31.5.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

154) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 5.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

— « Od listu Generała rzeczy na Wschodzie postąpiły. Czy Generał miałeś jaki wpływ na operacje Hafiz Paszy i czy się znajdujesz przy jego wojsku lub przy wojsku, o którym piszą, że z paszą Bagdadu ma także do Syrii wkraczać, o tem nic nie wiem i boję się, że to nie jest, i że Turcy lękając się Moskwy nie śmieli Generała z Bagdadu do użytku przywołać, gdzie piszą tylko o pruskich oficerach. Dziwne jest w tem wszystkim postępowanie i L. Ponsonby ».

opportunity, had to be delayed, amidst further evidence that Russian influence prevailed in Constantinople. Ponsonby once again was prevented from directing Chrzanowski to military works ¹⁵⁵). This prolonged hesitation of Ponsonby was already arousing suspicion in Prince Czartoryski that he had changed his attitude. His anxiety was strengthened by the fear that Chrzanowski, having been put off, would leave Turkey again at this very time when everything was in a state of ferment, and each day could bring new developments. These feelings lay behind the Prince's words « Whatever the situation, my opinion is that you should not rush your return and that you should stay there, especially now when the death of the Sultan makes everything even more unpredictable ». Indeed, the Sultan's death necessarily meant great changes and could present many good opportunities. Among these opportunities the one of special importance for Chrzanowski was the news that the likely successor in power was to be Husrev. It was necessary to watch the development of events in Constantinople, and in this spirit the Prince finished his letter with the appeal: « Do stay, dear general, on the spot » ¹⁵⁶). Writing this he did not know the changed situation but he could not wait for the news from Constantinople which was always much delayed. This appeal to allow Chrzanowski to stay should have been started in London, but as far as this was concerned, Czartoryski had no fears. There was no grounds to think that Chrzanowski was likely to be recalled; Palmerston was satisfied with him ¹⁵⁷) though it was only in October that he gave a definite answer expressing to Zamoyski the wish that Chrzanowski should remain in Turkey ¹⁵⁸).

But even before Palmerston gave that answer, the Prince had received news from Constantinople that Chrzanowski was going to remain in Turkey for some time. Chrzanowski, making use of his friendship with Husrev, now took some initiative to resume his activities. Amidst the chaotic state of Turkey, however, this had to be deferred. After the death of Mehmud II there was no-one who could conduct a consistent policy and the new ruler, 17 year old Abdul Medzit, was a child. Since there was no news from Palmerston, Chrzanowski again began to hesitate. In September he decided to stay another month and then to go away if there was nothing for him to do in Constantinople ¹⁵⁹). Czartoryski, alarmed by this news and having already obtained the support of Palmerston, wrote immediately: « My promptness has been caused by one phrase in your letter in which you declare that you will stay in Istanbul for another month even if the Ambassador hears nothing from England

155) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 18.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

The return of General Chrzanowski was announced in *Kronika Emigracji*, VIII, sheet 14, 222; sheet 16, 256, August 1839.

156) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 18.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

157) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 17.9.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

– « Jakoż wiem dokładnie, że L. Palmerston powtarzał, że jest bardzo kontent z pobytu tam Generała i że żadne słowa ani oznaki nie kazały wnieść, aby chciano teraz odwołać Generała Owszem wskazywały, że jego tam pobyt mają za rzecz, o której nie ma wątpliwości i która trwać powinna ».

158) W. Fox-Strangways to Palmerston. 4.10.1839. P.R.O. FO/78/388.

Palmerston to Ponsonby. 7.10.1839. N. 146. Secret & Confidential. FO/78/353.

159) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 19.8.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

about it. I repeat that you should stay there as long as possible. There is no point in your returning here. The chaos there is enormous, but from this chaos a great creation might emerge. You are close to the events which must take shape there. You are our observer. Your presence, General, is indeed very useful and adds weight to our cause by the good impression you make on them. It would be the greatest pity to lose this and to deprive ourselves of the possibility of influence in the East which you have more or less. If the circumstances allow, you can achieve even more influence as has already happened a few times. I ask you then and insist that you stay there, unless there are clear letters from London recalling you and the Ambassador declares to you, General, that you have to go back. Since Palmerston does not write it seems to be a sign that they want things to remain as they are, but leaving you in the present position they have to send some financial support; it is unbelievable that they should not realize that they have never had nor will have such a cheap assistant » ¹⁶⁰⁾. In addition, the Prince pointed out that to establish good relations with the eminent Turks would be useful for both sides, while Chrzanowski's departure might ruin everything for good. — « It cannot be that you should not make acquaintance with eminent Turkish individuals, quite apart from old Husrev. This can bear some fruit for them and for us, and your second departure could ruin it all for good. You cannot go now unless you have very good reasons for doing so » ¹⁶¹⁾.

The Prince's appeal did have an effect. Chrzanowski remained in Turkey and in October, before the news about Palmerston's decision reached him, he already had made up his mind to remain until the spring. The decision was not easy. He was in a position in which the only consolation was his good contact with Ponsonby ¹⁶²⁾. Even these months however, were not wasted in fruitless expectation. This short period is rich in Chrzanowski's written statements. After almost a year away from Constantinople Chrzanowski, as if to make up for it, threw himself into a fever of work, and from the seclusion of the British Embassy came out with a number of memoranda to the British and Turkish governments. In these he pointed to the causes of recent failures and suggested the means to prevent them, and bring about improvement. Looking at it from the point of view of the whole Eastern Question, he stressed the common interests of Europe and Turkey. He drew a wider background for the Turkish affairs, which in view of the change of the Sovereign and new internal complications centered round the defeat at Nezib. This defeat was the clearest indication of the causes of Turkey's weakness. Chrzanowski devoted an extensive memorandum to the British government ¹⁶³⁾ describing the state of the Turkish army before the beginning of the operation and the attitude of its leaders.

The Turkish forces for the operation in Syria amounted to 55,000

160) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 17.9.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

161) Ibidem.

162) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 14.10.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

163) « Un court aperçu sur les causes de la défaite de l'armée Turque ». 18.7.1839. P.R.O. FO/78/357. See also: Leon CHRZANOWSKI, *Memoriały, Noty, Sprawozdania*.

but were divided into three separate corps, each under a separate command. The first, in the region of Malatia and Orfa, was under Hafis Pasha; the second, in Koniah, under Hadzi Ali Pasha; the third, in Angora, under the local Pasha. These three did not really constitute one united army, since the Commander-in-Chief was not even appointed. The Turkish government did not want to hurt the pride of the individual Pashas, or perhaps was reluctant to give the chief command to one commander only. Therefore when it came to the battle, only Hafis Pasha's corps took part.

The moral and material state of the army was not much better. The soldiers were badly trained and badly equipped; they lacked shirts and coats, and their number, which had been decimated by illnesses, was not replenished with new conscripts.

The artillery, with no organized structure, was one big mass of military equipment. It lacked horses and ammunition. The plan of operation could have ensured success, if the actual realization of it had not failed. The Turkish government accepted the scheme of acting from the position at Bir, encircling the Taurus mountains with the action directed towards Aleppo. The basic assumption of this plan was to undertake a rapid offensive action which would take the enemy by surprise. To undertake this offensive required early preparations including the shifting of the army into its winter quarters in the region of Orfa, Serek and Diarbekir. From here it could be rapidly concentrated and be prepared to ford the river Euphrates. Since Ibrahim's forces were not concentrated, the sudden surprise resulting from the forces crossing the river created a strong possibility of defeating his scattered army piecemeal before it could be concentrated.

This plan of operations became greatly changed as a result of Hafis Pasha's narrow-mindedness and inefficiency. He failed to move the forces into the area where they were to be concentrated in time. He also did not prepare to ford the Euphrates, planning to cross on the rafts made of sheep skin. He estimated that this could be completed in three days. In fact he met great difficulties and though he did not encounter any hindrance from the enemy, it took him a lot of time and effort. Hafis Pasha then halted and in this way lost the possibility of taking Ibrahim by surprise. By this act he himself was cut off, behind him there was the river which he had no means of crossing, and the only way back to Malatia was via the mountain path on his right flank. This fatal decision of Hafis, to halt the action, was supposedly caused by the hesitation of the Sultan himself. In the meantime Ibrahim, alarmed, had time to concentrate his forces and commence the battle with forces which exceeded those of the Turks. The other corps of the Turkish army which were marching from a great distance did not arrive in time, and this decided the fate of Hafis Pasha.

Thus the causes of the defeat were hesitation on the part of the Turkish government, bad execution of the plan, having three separate commanders in one theatre of operations, the bad state of the army and the complete incompetence of Hafis Pasha.

It was a pity that the defeat at Nezib took place after a plan of operations proposed by Chrzanowski. Chrzanowski worked out this plan during his stay with Hafis Pasha before the journey to Baghdad, but since he could not direct the execution of it, the plan became changed and the possibility of success was lost. Chrzanowski himself suspected

afterwards that it was because of this plan that he was sent to Baghdad. He suspected a Russian intrigue, in which the instruments were the Prussians. He foresaw the failure of the plan, he warned Ponsonby and consequently the Sultan, but his warnings had little effect ¹⁶⁴).

Ponsonby, in sending a memorandum to London, stressed the correctness of Chrzanowski's facts and comments, but disagreed with him over some points. He defended the Sultan. Inadequate supplies and the lack of armament, declared Ponsonby, were not the Sultan's fault. He had done everything possible to improve the conditions in the army, but two thirds of the clothing supplies for the army were stolen on the way by the agents of the supplies service. The Sultan had given orders concerning the organization of the artillery, and from Constantinople guns and explosives had been sent, but as a result of inefficiency and corruption these never reached their destination. The crossing of the Euphrates on rafts, it was believed, had been entirely the idea of the Prussian officers; this was also the opinion of Chrzanowski who only accused Hafis of becoming obsessed with this idea. The hesitation of the Sultan, which was so catastrophic in its effect, was brought about by the pressure of Western powers, who at present were only interested in maintaining the Status quo in the Near East ¹⁶⁵). On the other hand the Sultan was urged by Russia to go to war. Subjected to pressures from both sides, he became a victim of his own passions and especially the desire to obtain revenge and to humiliate the hated vassal. All this was increased by a premonition of his own death. The decision to fight was made by those near to him. The Sultan was deceived by his military leaders about the state of the Turkish army, and he trusted the view of Hafis that the Turkish army was able to defeat Ibrahim in Syria. Similarly he believed the reassurances of Kapudan Pasha, the Commander-in-Chief of the navy, that the Turkish fleet would defeat the Egyptian one. It was already known how much Hafis was under the influence of the Prussian officers, and he was also suspected of being on the side of Russia. Even more doubts were aroused by the attitude of Kapudan Pasha. In spite of all this, the Sultan remained impervious and at the beginning of March appealed to his ministers to show courage and to fulfil their duties till the end. The Sultan did not, however, initiate military operations yet ¹⁶⁶).

Ponsonby had little doubts that it was Russia who urged Turkey to war, promising her help in the case of defeat ¹⁶⁷). Russia's vital interest was to regain her lost position before the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi expired. Chrzanowski also suspected a Russian intrigue, in fact a double intrigue of first encouraging the Sultan's aggressive desires towards Mehemet-Ali, then keeping him from actual preparations, so that at the same time they could encourage Mehemet-Ali to declare war. Chrzanowski thought that the British and French ambassadors were not

164) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 19.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

165) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 20.7.1839. N. 183. P.R.O. FO/78/357. FO/195/159. H. DODWELL, 173.

166) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 7.3.1839. N. 59. P.R.O. FO/78/354.

167) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 19.3.1839. N. 71. P.R.O. FO/78/355.

without some responsibility for this ¹⁶⁸). In fact, his opinions, like those of Ponsonby, about Russia were wrong. The Tsar and his ministers, like the western powers, very much wanted peace in Turkey at this time. Thus Palmerston received Ponsonby's reports rather coolly and insisted only on speeding up the signing of the peace treaty between England and Turkey ¹⁶⁹).

A few weeks passed before the detailed information about the course of the battle at Nezib reached Constantinople, together with the reports of the Prussian officers, the observations of the English travellers, and finally the official Turkish reports. From this material Chrzanowski was able to reconstruct in detail the course of the battle and give his critical comments on it. This description he presented in a new memorandum which was a continuation of the previous one, about the causes of the defeat ¹⁷⁰). This memorandum he made at the special request of Ponsonby in order to supply London with reliable information ¹⁷¹).

It was known that after having crossed to the right bank of the Euphrates Hafis stopped further operations and became involved in the building of a fortified camp backing on to the river. The fortifications were, however, weak and there were only a few rafts left for communication with the other bank. After 20 days Hafis left behind in the camp about 1.000 men and went on in the direction of Aintab. He then took up a defensive position just beyond the fork of the roads to Aleppo and Aintab. In front of him there was a ravine with a stream which was difficult to ford. His right flank was covered by the mountains, but he did not take into consideration the fact that if the enemy encircled him and crossed the ravine, his left flank would be threatened. The position of his first line of defence was 4 miles ahead of the main forces, and the line of covering units — 7 miles.

The total number of Hafis' forces were 30.000 men and 108 guns. From this position Hafis intended to await the corps from Koniah and Angora, but both these only started when the main forces were already on the right bank of the Euphrates. As a result of this on the day of the battle the corps from Koniah only reached Aintab, while the corps from Angora was still 80 miles away. The premature provocation on the part of Hafis which was not synchronized with the movements of the other Turkish corps, gave Ibrahim two months in which to concentrate his army of 36.000 men and 140 guns. When, anticipating the enemy, he started an attack, he was confronted by only Hafis' corps. On 21st June he pushed back the covering units; on the next day — the first line of defence, and thus he came right in front of the main line of defence. In view of the difficulties of a frontal attack, he encircled, as might be expected, the Turkish left flank and crossed the ravine 2½ miles away. On 23rd June the whole Egyptian army was amassed on the Turkish left flank, but undecided and perplexed Hafis did not counteract, though Ibrahim's movements could be well seen from the Turkish camp. Hafis

168) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 19.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

169) Sir Charles WEBSTER, 627.

170) « Récit de la bataille de Nejb ». 6.9.1839. P.R.O. FO/78/358.
LEON CHRZANOWSKI, « *Noty Memoranda* ».

171) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 10.9.1839. N. 250. P.R.O. FO/78/358.

feverously sought the advice of his subordinate Pashas, Prussian advisers, French instructors, but did not come to any decisions. During 23rd June both armies kept watch on each other. In the afternoon of the same day Hafis was advised by Moltke to alarm the Egyptian army during the night and withdraw to his camp on the Euphrates. But, under the influence of his Turkish staff, he changed his mind and remained on the spot, although he did not give up the idea of alarming the Egyptian camp. At 11 o' clock at night 12 Turkish guns started to bombard the Egyptian positions. This bombardment raised a panic within the Egyptian camp and Ibrahim himself had to intervene. In the meantime the Turkish army was regrouped. Some units of the right flank were shifted to extend the left one, making a side front confronting the Egyptian army. In this situation both armies were cut off. The Turks had behind them the Euphrates and the mountain range, the Egyptians — a ravine difficult to cross. At dawn on 24 th June Ibrahim opened artillery fire on the whole line. The Turkish artillery responded. After an hour a panic even greater than the previous night started again on the left flank of the Egyptian army. 12 Egyptian batallions scattered, 3 other went over to the Turks. But Hafis was not able to take advantage of this, and in the meantime Ibrahim again intervened in person to restore order amongst the Egyptian forces. At the same time Hafis was informed that his own irregular troops had started to loot the camp. Hafis, ignoring the advantageous development of the battle, abandoned his army and left the scene of battle together with his staff to restore order in the camp. In his absence, the Turkish cavalry on the left flank advanced too far and, coming under Egyptian artillery fire, had to withdraw to avoid unnecessary losses. This movement caused a panic in the Turkish army, which dispersed in all directions. The efforts of a few Turkish Pashas were unable to prevent this. Ibrahim moved slightly forward and occupied the Turkish camp, but did not pursue the retreating army. All the Turkish artillery equipment, the stores, part of the money and 2.000 prisoners were acquired as booty. But for his success Ibrahim paid heavily in deserters; 3 batallions went over to the Turks and departed with the defeated army. The next day Ibrahim took over the fortified Turkish camp on the Euphrates without any resistance, crossed the river, seized Orfa and Aintab and went on to Marash. There he was found by an aide-de-camp of the Marshal Soult called captain Collier, who had been sent there to prevent the war. This intervention was too late, but in any case all operations ceased, because of the revolt of the civilian population in the rear of the Egyptian army.

At the news of the defeat of the main Turkish forces the remaining Turkish corps stopped the march and retreated. In the meantime in Malatia 11.000 stragglers gathered, and since Ibrahim had given up the pursuit of them the Turks gained time to reorganize into regiments and even artillery units. In Malatia there were 40 spare guns and the same in Sevas, and the horses were also saved. Hafis Pasha was removed from his command.

The defeat at Nezib shattered the Turks and profoundly shook the structure of the state. The shock was strengthened by the death of the Sultan and the defection of Kapudan Pasha and the Turkish navy who joined forces with Mehemet-Ali. In these circumstances Husrev, who

became head of the government, was ready to accept any conditions ¹⁷²⁾. The shock of the defeat made the situation of Turkey appear hopeless. It was not so, provided something was to be done to prevent Turkey's premature submission to Russia.

Chrzanowski, through his influence on Husrev, tried to convince the Turks that Turkey was strong enough to defend herself and had sufficient means to raise a new army of tens of thousands ¹⁷³⁾. His arguments, however, did not arouse much response. The terror of defeat made the Turks blind, while the old rivalry within governing circles did not cease in the face of the new threat. On the contrary, the new frictions emerged. Turkey lacked a great man; the task was beyond the abilities of the young Sultan. Fortunately, Ibrahim was too exhausted to reap the fruits of victory and march on Constantinople. This, however, did not save Turkey. Her fate depended on the attitude of the western powers and Russia, and from them a new hope arose ¹⁷⁴⁾. In the attitude of the powers to the Eastern Question some signs of relaxation appeared, which were first manifested as an improvement in the personal relations between their ambassadors in Constantinople. Chrzanowski, for whom the way to re-establish Polish independence was through war, did not welcome these signs. The peaceful settlement of the problem by a new Congress would bury anew the Polish question for a long time. Salvation could only come through the aggressiveness of Russia, the defeat of Turkey, and a conflict between England and Russia ¹⁷⁵⁾. So far it was only Russia who had profited from the conflict. She succeeded in the first part of the plan: Turkey, considerably weakened, had to ask for foreign help, and this led to new complications ¹⁷⁶⁾. In spite of an easing in the diplomatic sphere the military situation remained unchanged. As a result of Ibrahim's victory the number of ships in the combined English and French navies on the Levantine Coast was increased to 20; these though kept with the pretence of being directed against Mehemet-Ali were in fact intended against Russia ¹⁷⁷⁾. Ponsonby was given instructions that the British admiral was to force a crossing of the Dardanelles in the event of the Russians appearing in Constantinople ¹⁷⁸⁾. However, the final expected instructions for the ambassadors of England and France never came and Palmerston ordered Ponsonby not to insist on the British fleet moving into the Sea of Marmara ¹⁷⁹⁾.

Prince Czartoryski too was pessimistic about the prospects of war in the Near East. The only improvement he noticed was that the

172) Sir Charles WEBSTER, 633. Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

173) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 19.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

174) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

175) Ibidem.

176) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 19.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

177) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. Sir Charles WEBSTER, 635. H. DODWELL, 176.

178) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 19.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

179) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 19.8.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

European Powers were now quite determined to oppose any Russian interference in Turkey's affairs. But Russia was ready to submit, if she could succeed in bringing about the separation of Egypt from Turkey ¹⁸⁰⁾. And indeed, shortly after the battle at Nezib rumours spread that Mehemet-Ali was to declare himself an independant sovereign of Egypt. This daring step he could have made only as a result of Russia's instigation, which meant that Tsar Nicholas was making new plans. This suspicion seemed to be confirmed by the Tsar's journeys to Sweden and Berlin.

Czartoryski waited impatiently for Chrzanowski's confirmation of these rumours ¹⁸¹⁾. But Mehemet-Ali's declarations did not aggravate matters in the Near East. An intervention in Turkish affairs did take place, but it was a peaceful intervention, in which Russia was one of the parties signing the treaty. The first steps towards this were taken in Vienna which became for a short time the scene for negotiations about the Eastern Question ¹⁸²⁾. On 27th July 1839 a combined note of the Ambassadors of England, France, Austria, Prussia and Russia declared agreement on the Eastern Question. In this agreement which was largely the result of English interest the leading role was played by Lord Ponsonby. Ponsonby determined to make use of Chrzanowski, who had always had good relations with Husrev, in preparing the Grand Vizier for accepting this agreement. Chrzanowski paid a visit to Husrev at 5 a.m. a day after the agreement was signed in order to represent the matter in the right light, on behalf of Ponsonby ¹⁸³⁾. Then the note was presented to Husrev by the interpreters of the five embassies. The note was received favourably, since it was presented at a time when Husrev was ready to make considerable concessions to Mehemet-Ali. This note strengthened Husrev's position ¹⁸⁴⁾, by putting a stop to the ambitions of Mehemet-Ali. It threatened the use of force in case of opposition.

180) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 5.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

— « Co się tycze tutejszych dworów i ministrów, podług wszelkiego podobieństwa, jeśli nie będą mogli przeszkodzić starciu się Paszy z Sułtanem, to ich otoczą, aby zatrzymać w tym okręgu wojny. Jeden jest tylko postęp ich polityki, t.j. że nie dozwolą samej Moskwie wmieszać się do kłótni wewnętrznej tureckiej, że zechcą ją zmusić spólnie działać, ale ona to i chętnie zrobi, byle skutek był zachowanie Egiptu oderwanego od Porty. Moskwa lubi Kongresy i protokóły, bo zawsze na nich na swoje wychodzi. Przewiduję tedy, że ów pożar mały na Wschodzie będzie zgaszony natychmiast i nic dobrego szczególnie dla nas nie wyjdzie ».

181) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 9.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

182) Sir Charles WEBSTER, 633.

183) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 29.7.1839. N. 193. P.R.O. FO/78/357 - FO/195/159.

— « I took care to prepare the Grand Vizier for the collective Note. I sent General Chrzanowski to him at five o' clock in the morning, who saw him and in my name placed the measure in its proper light. The General did this with his accustomed good sense and with the authority he had obtained over the mind of Hosrew, by the experience the latter has had of the value of his advice ».

Webster assumes Chrzanowski visited Husrev on 29th July, in spite of the fact that the aim of his visit was to prepare Husrev for the collective note, which was presented to him on 28th July. Sir Charles WEBSTER, 636. H. TEMPERLEY, 108. H. DODWELL, 177. J.A.R. MARRIOT, 238.

184) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 29.7.1839. N. 193. P.R.O. FO/78/357 - FO/195/159.

Mehemet-Ali's response to the agreement was to declare that he was willing to obey the decision of the five ambassadors on the condition that Syria would remain his hereditary dominion and that Husrev would be removed from his position of power. This demand he stressed by sending his agents to the Balkans. Declarations were made in Saloniki and Albania calling for a revolt, but Mehemet-Ali's peaceful declarations brought about an opposite effect, namely a return to passivity in the leading circles in Turkey ¹⁸⁵). The common note of the ambassadors and the peaceful declarations from Mehemet-Ali did not guarantee an end of the conflict. It secured the Straits and Constantinople by a guarantee that the British fleet would enter the Bosphorus in case of a threat from Ibrahim. A more permanent solution would, however, require the removal of Ibrahim from Syria. Ponsonby had considered this for quite some time, now Chrzanowski came out with a plan for conquering the Pasha of Egypt ¹⁸⁶). This plan was probably inspired by Ponsonby, but was worked out in detail by Chrzanowski ¹⁸⁷). It had two versions.

According to the first, action would be limited to cutting off Ibrahim's lines of supplies. These supplies came from Egypt and Chrzanowski suggested that blockading Alexandria would force Ibrahim to surrender without fighting. This simple plan, while not requiring any expenditure, had at the same time some weak points. Ibrahim, cut off from his supplies, could move the theatre of war to Asia Minor. There any action against even a weak enemy would have to be approached more cautiously. This would prolong the state of uncertainty, while a quick resolution of this conflict was in the vital interests of England, France and Austria and against the interest of Russia. Furthermore, the first course of action involved the risk of inflaming and prolonging the conflict.

The second proposal promised a quick resolution of the conflict by a landing of troops from the sea. It also did not involve great costs. Its first requirement was predominance at sea and the destruction of Mehemet-Ali's fleet or the blockading of it in Alexandria if it should seek shelter there. A landing from the sea by a body of 15.000 allied troops, mainly French, could then take place. Their objective was to be the fortress St. Jean d'Acre on the coast of Syria. This operation was to be supported from the land by the Turkish corps and by a revolt in Ibrahim's rear, which was to be supplied with arms. The fall of the fortress St. Jean d'Acre was not difficult to bring about, and this would decide the fate of Syria. Ibrahim, who would be 80 miles away, could not relieve the fortress in time, and threatened from the rear by a country in revolt and cut off from Egypt, he would have to withdraw to Palestine. The Turks would have their part in the victory. Chrzanowski predicted the initiation of this action at the end of October or the beginning of November, which would allow the operations to be prolonged until

185) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 19.8.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

186) « Quelques idées sur la manière de réduire le Pacha d'Egypte ». 1.8.1839. P.R.O. FO/78/357.

187) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 7.8.1839. N. 205. P.R.O. FO/78/357.

— « I will at once lay before Her Majesty's Government a plan for action against Mehemet-Ali founded upon ideas I have long entertained and which are now methodized by General Chrzanowski whose experience and information and talents are well known. He has maturely considered this matter and therefore it is his opinion and his plan I submit ».

January. This would be the worst time for the Russians to conduct military operations. In case Ibrahim advanced on the fortress, action was to be delayed for a month whilst forces were increased. If, however, Ibrahim withdrew in land, action should be commenced without delay. After the affairs in Syria had been settled, the fortress would be given to the Turks or their protégées the Druse.

Chrzanowski's thoughts about the easy co-operation of the Western Powers over the Eastern Question remained in the sphere of wishful thinking. Outwardly the division into two camps of the Western Powers and Russia remained. But Russia did not abandon the principle of exclusiveness over her interests in Turkey. In Constantinople protest began against foreign interference in Turkish affairs, along with proclamations that the conflict between the Sultan and Mehemet-Ali should be resolved between Muslims. With these factors in mind Russia wanted to move the centre of European discussion over the Eastern Question from Vienna to Constantinople ¹⁸⁸). Amongst the Western Powers there was no unity. The nearer it came to the resolution of the conflict, the more the differences between the Powers became increasingly apparent. England's proposed solution was to leave Mehemet-Ali in Egypt and secure the peace in the Near East by creating a neutral desert belt between Egypt and the territory of the Sultan of Turkey. In this she had the support of Austria ¹⁸⁹), while France insisted on giving Mehemet-Ali a part of Syria ¹⁹⁰). Both England and France were against the stand adopted by Russia of leaving the conflict to be resolved between the Sultan and Mehemet-Ali ¹⁹¹).

Chrzanowski, well aware that however the situation in the East developed, England would have a decisive role in resolving this conflict, presented the British government with a memorandum about the Eastern Question in its present context ¹⁹²). In this memorandum he strongly criticized the idea of meeting the wishes of Mehemet-Ali at the cost of the Sultan by giving Mehemet-Ali not only Egypt but also Syria as an hereditary basis. He also protested against Mehemet's demand that Husrev should be dismissed. He viewed with scepticism Mehemet's declaration, which, as some thought, would solve Turkey's inner problems. He disagreed with the opinion that Mehemet's army would be a model for a Turkish army. In reality this would mean bringing the Sultan under the protection of another independant sovereign. Taking into account the ambitions of Mehemet-Ali, his constant drive to expansion and his desire to become independant, nothing inspired the confidence in his good intentions. The desire to dismiss Husrev, who remained a good servant to the Sultan and the only obstacle for Mehemet's plans, proved that the Pasha of Egypt had not fully satisfied his ambitions.

188) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 19.8.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. Sir Charles WEBSTER, 636.

189) Sir Charles WEBSTER, 614, 628.
Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 19.8.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

190) Sir Charles WEBSTER, 637.

191) Ibidem.

192) « Quelques considérations sur la question orientale ». 16.8.1839. P.R.O. FO/78/359.

A strong Turkish empire under a Mehemet dynasty would perhaps be in the interest of Europe, but to create it would be impossible. Such an empire would lack the main bond which was the reverential awe of the Sultan and his dynasty. Therefore a new empire of Mehemet-Ali which would spring from the ruins of Turkey would not be consolidated from within and would become an easy prey for Russia. The talents and energy of one individual would not counterbalance the effect of time. To agree to the demands of Mehemet-Ali would not bring a resolution of the conflict, but, upsetting the European balance, would lead to a continuation of the struggle. What might maintain the balance was to secure the rights of the Sultan, leaving Mehemet-Ali only what he had won. If Turkey was secured in this way she had sufficient means and enough strength to mobilize her energy for internal reforms.

This memorandum was along the lines of England's policy toward the Near East and could only increase her desire to maintain Turkey. The development of the situation had eliminated for England some time ago the possibility of a choice between the Sultan and Mehemet-Ali ¹⁹³). But the people surrounding Prince Czartoryski held a different opinion. They were convinced that after the death of the Sultan the only force in the Muslim world which could be effective against Russia was Mehemet-Ali ¹⁹⁴). The Prince himself was inclined to think that the strength of Turkey rested now with Mehemet-Ali « if the Turkish nation and its elders will accept him » ¹⁹⁵). He did not want or expect the collapse of Turkey, but after an analysis of the situation he came to the conclusion that in a conflict Mehemet would be the winning party. Chrzanowski received new instructions to approach Mehemet-Ali ¹⁹⁶) and to unite « the Egyptian and the Turkish forces against Moscow » ¹⁹⁷). Some Poles, impressed with the success of Ibrahim, declared a willingness to go to Egypt, and General Dembiński renewed his short acquaintance with Ibrahim which he had made six years previously ¹⁹⁸).

At this time Chrzanowski presented the Turkish government with the short note « On the necessity for urgent reforms within the State » ¹⁹⁹). In it he pointed to the causes of Turkey's weakness e.g. an inefficient taxation system, an empty treasury and a corrupt administration. The haphazard distribution of goods in different provinces and the corruption and extortion of the Pashas, resulted in an unwillingness to work, to produce goods among the Sultan's subjects, the general poverty of the

193) Sir Charles WEBSTER, 308; 313; 337.

194) Sienkiewicz to Chrzanowski. 16.10.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

195) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 5.8.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

196) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. N. 473, undated. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

– « Co się tycze Generała nie wiem, czy jego stosunki dotychczasowe pozwolą mu przy sposobności mieć jaką styczność ze stroną Mehemet Alego, będzie to wszelako strona przemagająca i czym którą poznać, z której korzystać należy, zostawiam to miejscowemu rozpoznaniu i najlepszemu sądowi samego Gła ».

197) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 5.8.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

198) Ibidem.

199) « Sur les réformes les plus pressantes ». Leon CHRZANOWSKI, *Pisma wojskowo-polityczne. Gen. W. Chrzanowskiego*.

country and a hatred of authority. The reform of the taxation system, Chrzanowski suggested, should be based upon the fixing of rates and the regulation of the Pashas' wages. Another measure suggested was a reduction in the number of bureaucrats at the side of dignitaries, and a recommendation that the wages of the civil servants should be transferred to the State Treasury and not paid by the local Pashas. Connected with this were some military reforms. The idea was to abolish the private armies of the Pashas, which with the present tax system were inevitable, and to create a unified army under the Sultan.

Chrzanowski's note touched only on some problems and threw some light on the outdated system of government. Externally, in spite of the growing disagreement between England and France, the factors in Turkey's situation remained unchanged: the threat from Mehemet-Ali, the perfidious game and the greed of the Russians and the concessions of the Western Powers. The appearance of an Anglo-French squadron at the entrance to the Dardanelles considerably weakened Russian influence in Turkey but it did not remove it. It was only a half-measure, which could not alleviate Turkey's fears that these squadrons might be prematurely recalled, whilst at the same time nothing could remove the Russian fleet from Sebastopol. Russia also did not remain unconcerned in the face of the Anglo-French manoeuvres. The Russians avoided all immediate confrontations with the Western Powers, taking advantage of the weakness and difficult position of Turkey and her understandable lack of trust towards England and France. Russia repeatedly protested and put pressure on Turkey to remove the western squadrons from the vicinity of Constantinople. Turkey was compelled to present four notes of protest to the British Ambassador, though obviously she was glad of the presence of these forces in her territorial waters. This was the explanation made in private by Reshid Pasha. The Russian endeavours remained without result, therefore one more note was sent announcing that Russia had 30,000 men in readiness to help the Sultan in case of a further threat from Ibrahim. In order not to arouse the suspicion of the European Powers, these forces were destined to operate in Asia Minor, were to land not in Constantinople but in Samson. This declaration could be construed as a threat to Turkey ²⁰⁰). Russia did not want to risk a confrontation with the Western Powers, but at the same time her influence paralysed Turkey.

This state of affairs brought about a change of attitude in Polish circles. After a short spell of hope that the presence of the Anglo-French fleet at the entrance to the Dardanelles would bring Turkey a greater freedom and let her undertake the reform of the army, Prince Czartoryski became sceptical whether Turkey would be able to remain independent ²⁰¹). Chrzanowski came to share this scepticism. He accepted the view that Russia was now awaiting an opportunity to make a decisive move. It was even more tragic that Turkey, even without foreign help, was not without potential strength. What she was lacking was a leader who would seize control of the affairs of State and direct them into a proper channel. Mehemet-Ali was not a suitable candidate for this role since he was just an ordinary Turkish Pasha on a more extensive scale.

200) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 14.10.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

201) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. N. 473. *undated* Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

On this point Chrzanowski differed from Czartoryski, since while for the Prince Mehemet-Ali was still the hope and salvation of Turkey, for Chrzanowski he was an adventurer whose talents were channelled into pillage. He started on many courses of action and did not complete any of these; he could have seized Constantinople and undertaken a programme of reforming Turkey. Instead of this he had brought about a devastation of the country and the loss of a million people in a scarcely populated area ²⁰²⁾. Mehemet's power did not impress Chrzanowski. He clearly saw that it could be used to weaken and neutralize Turkey, but not to bring her back to power. At this moment, anyway, it seemed that Mehemet-Ali was exhausted since he sought an agreement with the Sultan. There was new evidence that Ibrahim was not in a position to make a march on Constantinople, and that in any case such an initiative would be disastrous. The attempts of Mehemet-Ali to reach an agreement with the Sultan remained without success. Understandably there was too much lack of trust and hatred on both sides. Chrzanowski forecast nevertheless that within the next few months such an agreement would be reached ²⁰³⁾.

The Balkans became of new importance in Polish plans for the Near East. The growing political expansion of Russia was superceding the declining Turkish rule there, and a new element, the awakening of national consciousness among the Balkan people was coming into play. Agitated by growing Russian expansion and also hoping to make new acquisitions Austria became increasingly interested in the area. The dominant influence was, however, Russian. Without disclosing her aggressive aims Russia formed political factions and sought adherents among the leaders and in the desire to undermine the position of Turkey she encouraged her to interference in the internal affairs of the Balkan countries in order to arouse their resentment ²⁰⁴⁾. There already existed some connections between the Polish action of Prince Czartoryski and the Balkan countries and these were now strengthened by Polish co-operation with Turkey. The Polish factor sharpened the conflict with Russia and provided an additional support for Turkey. Polish circles were in direct contact with the Balkan countries and the main platform of the Polish influence on the Balkans was still Turkey. Reshid Pasha's visit to Europe in the middle of 1838 strengthened these contacts and helped to clarify the common interest of Poland and Turkey in the Balkans. Czartoryski had a long talk with Reshid in which he disclosed the Russian manoeuvres and pointed to the various advantages which Turkey could reap if she was ready to protect the Balkan countries. The main condition was to respect their national differences and leave them freedom in conducting their internal affairs. To fulfil this condition was easy and would disarm Russia. The Balkan countries were resentful of Russian and Austrian domination and sought Turkish protection; were even ready to defend Turkey ²⁰⁵⁾. The Danube principalities which were already under Russian domination had at this time a militia of 140.000 men, organized by Russia on the Russian model. Providing Turkey was skilful in taking advantage

202) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 29.11.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

203) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 14.10.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

204) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. N. 473. *undated* Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

205) *Ibidem*.

of this situation these forces could become the vanguard of her army which had been much weakened by the recent defeat and was therefore in great need of replenishing its ranks with new conscripts. Czartoryski also discussed the idea of winning the confidence of the leaders and he advised Turkey to support and to try to win over to her cause trustworthy people. The wise Prince Alexander Sturdze in Jassa was ready to resist and fight Russian domination. He had a shrewd and ambitious wife and was himself a son-in-law of Vogorides, Prince of Samos, who had for some time enjoyed the trust of Mahmud II. But Michael Ghika in Bucharest was devoted to Russia, could obstruct the way and had to be removed. If the relations between the two principalities were to return to normal, the most suitable man to be a leader was, in the opinion of Prince Czartoryski, Campiniano, who was known in the West where he conducted diplomatic missions. Though he did not make a good impression on some western statesmen, especially Palmerston, he would be the most trustworthy representative of the united Danube principalities. Honest, wise, straightforward, a good patriot he enjoyed the support of his countrymen. Last but not least, Prince Czartoryski raised the possibility of a Polish uprising in the rear of the Russian army in the event of a war between Turkey and Russia. The Prince pointed out to Reshid the advantage of such an uprising for Turkey, but this, he stressed, was dependent on whether Turkey was ready to co-operate. They also discussed the subject of Mehemet-Ali and the diversion of the Circassians. In the end the Prince reminded Reshid about Chrzanowski and told him that Chrzanowski would seek to contact him ²⁰⁶⁾. Reshid, a wise man and a friend of Pertev, agreed with Czartoryski on the main points and especially about Campiniano. He was well disposed towards Chrzanowski, which gave grounds for hope that after his return to Turkey he would strengthen the basis of the Polish-Turkish co-operation.

Chrzanowski received new instructions from the Prince on the Balkan question, along the lines of the talk with Reshid. The Prince wanted Chrzanowski to accept Campiniano as a friend on whom one could rely in time of need. He wanted to know something more about the Prince of Samos, whom he suspected of some ambitions and too much self-interest because «in the expected dissolution of the state no wonder everyone thinks of himself» ²⁰⁷⁾.

Chrzanowski watched carefully the events in the Balkans and showed more initiative over these events than he had done over those in the Caucasus. Shortly after his return from Baghdad he gathered rich information, but he had not yet received instructions from the Prince. His attitude to the whole Balkan question differed from that of Czartoryski. He aimed to obtain support for the Turkish cause in the Balkans not in Turkey but in the West. The Turkish government would gladly take advantage of the anti-Russian mood of the Danube principalities and Serbia, but neither Turkey nor these countries had enough strength to resist. Help from outside was necessary and the attitude of England and France was not encouraging ²⁰⁸⁾. As a matter of fact, both these

206) Ibidem.

207) Ibidem.

208) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. 19.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

powers and also Austria to a certain extent by not being firm enough had already given Russia a right to the Balkan provinces. On the other hand, Russia took every interference in the Balkans as an offence against herself ²⁰⁹⁾. Among the western statesmen Palmerston especially showed a lack of understanding of this situation. He asked Ponsonby to give help to Campiniano without realizing that such help was only possible if the Anglo-French fleet dominated the Black Sea. (Ponsonby, who was not particularly well disposed to Campiniano, saw this clearly). The evidence how much Palmerston's ignorance of the growing Russian influence was again revealed over the case of Prince Milosz in Serbia. A few months' diplomatic « battle » between Ponsonby and Butenev was eventually won by the latter and the English had to give in to the Russians. The Sultan accepted Russian conditions and Milosz, abandoned by England, had to abdicate. He went to St. Petersburg ²¹⁰⁾. For Chrzanowski it was extremely important to have direct contacts with the Balkans. Hitherto he had gathered information through the British Embassy, but amongst the contacts of his own was Prince Samos. Chrzanowski always had had good relations with him; recently, however, because of fear of Russia, he had had to meet him secretly ²¹¹⁾.

The situation in the Caucasus was even worse than in the Balkans. On its north-western corner the Circassian highlanders still fought, though cut off from the sea by the Russians, and surrounded from all sides. In July it was easy to predict that their defeat was near, and the situation was prolonged only by the incompetence of the Russian generals ²¹²⁾, the Caucasus was virtually Russian. Her influence stretched to Georgia, and even as far as Armenia, replacing Turkish influence there.

Prince Czartoryski had more detailed information about the Caucasus from MacNeil who had just returned from Persia. He had travelled through the Caucasus and therefore was able to give an eye-witness account. Among the Circassians he had met Poles, who were Russian prisoners of war. Some in fact, were considered as Poles, were others whom the Circassians could not tell from the Russians were treated as such. The number of Poles in the 45.000 strong Russian army operating in the Caucasus, MacNeil estimated to be 15.000. There were among them many officers of the ex-Polish Kingdom army, serving as private soldiers ²¹³⁾. MacNeil also brought the news, later to be confirmed by Chrzanowski, that the resistance of the Circassians was weakening. The end was easy to foretell, it was too late for help. Of this opinion were also the Poles whom MacNeil encountered there. Czartoryski, however, did not give up the idea of bringing help to the Caucasus. In early July he asked Chrzanowski whether he had done anything new about this matter which he intended to bring up in London. « Please do give me your projects, General, as for the defence of the Caucasus, perhaps

209) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 14.10.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

210) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

211) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 19.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

212) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

213) Conversation between A. Czartoryski and MacNeil. 15 and 20.3.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5294.

something could be done from here i.e. from England »²¹⁴). The future of the Caucasus and the countries of the Middle East was very uncertain. The Persian Shah again ignored England and prepared for war. From Afghanistan there was no news, communication from Baghdad was difficult²¹⁵). Only among the Armenians was there some ferment. Most of the Turkish Armenians sympathized with Russia, while on the contrary, the Russian Armenians looked up to Turkey. At the beginning of 1839 the Tsar gave an order to recruit about 30.000 men among the Armenians. This order met with great reluctance and provoked resistance. The Armenians sought Chrzanowski's advice, while he was in Baghdad. Chrzanowski advised against any premature action; his advice was to act with caution, to remain under the protection of the Sultan and to strive towards national unity. He also suggested that the Armenians should look for people who would represent their cause abroad and that in the meantime military action should be deferred until the time of war between England and Russia. Chrzanowski's advice was bound to remain without effect. The Armenians lacked good leadership. Fortunately, at the last moment the Tsar withdrew his order for recruitment. Russia continued to try to get the Armenians on her side²¹⁶).

Czartoryski approved entirely the advice given by Chrzanowski to the Armenians. He also reminded him of Wereszczyński who was still in Turkey and recommended him to Chrzanowski. He asked Chrzanowski's opinion about Wereszczyński and in what way he could be useful to Chrzanowski, since he was already there and was learning the Turkish language²¹⁷). Chrzanowski was always suspicious of people who did not belong to the Czartoryski faction but this time he had nothing against Wereszczyński. He could be useful, though at present there was nothing for him to do²¹⁸).

Once again the Duszyński affair was brought up. Duszyński bore a grudge against Chrzanowski and did not stop a campaign against him. When Chrzanowski came back after his first journey to Paris, Duszyński resumed his attack on Chrzanowski. Chrzanowski did not remain indifferent. Then Zamoyski declared himself to be on the side of Duszyński, explaining that the latter was under the protection of Prince Czartoryski. This trivial incident was soon forgotten. Now, however, when the matter came up again and this time involved Prince Czartoryski, Chrzanowski explained that he himself had not involved the Prince. Chrzanowski therefore dismissed Duszyński from Turkey since he was dangerous due to his lack of discretion²¹⁹).

Early in November 1839, Ponsonby received a cable from Palmerston announcing that the contract with Chrzanowski would be prolonged on

214) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 5.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

215) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

216) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 19.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

217) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. N. 473. *undated*. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

218) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 14.10.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

219) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 29.11.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

the old conditions ²²⁰). The contract was extended for one year ²²¹). Chrzanowski was very pleased with this decision and Ponsonby was even more so ²²²). Chrzanowski, who enjoyed the trust and respect of the Turks was very useful to him, especially now at the beginning of the last phase of the Eastern conflict ²²³).

Chapter XIII. *At the British Embassy in Therapia*

Chrzanowski began the last stage of his mission in Turkey at a time of dramatic changes, during which friendships broke up and enemies made peace. He started as a man trusted by everyone who was to act as a mediator between disputing parties. He did not return to military matters, but he still had the role of an adviser, and this was of great, sometimes decisive influence. He became more involved in diplomatic activity. In the increasing political conflict between England and France over the Sultan and Mehemet, Chrzanowski became the mediator between Lord Ponsonby and Comte de Pontois, the new ambassador of France in Constantinople. Lord Ponsonby's trust entitled him to this role, whilst his knowledge of French culture helped him to communicate with the Comte de Pontois who also trusted him and gladly used him as a mediator ²²⁴). In this situation Chrzanowski was admitted to many secrets. Ponsonby used Chrzanowski when he wanted to know the thoughts and opinions of de Pontois, knowing that the French Ambassador talked freely with Chrzanowski and disclosed many confidential matters which he wanted to reach the British Embassy, at the same time avoiding direct talks ²²⁵).

Since autumn 1839 the manoeuvres of the Powers in Turkey had been conducted according to the attitudes of England and France towards

220) Palmerston to Ponsonby. FO 7.10.1839. N. 146. Secret and Confidential. P.R.O. FO/78/353 - FO/195/158.

- « I have now to acquaint Yr. Lp. that under present circumstances, I consider it to be useful to H.M. Service that Genl. Chrzanowski should remain at Constantinople under Yr. Lps. orders, subject to the same instructions and furnished with the same allowances as were given to him last year ».

221) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 29.11.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

- « Zresztą mam rok przed sobą, bo blisko przed miesiącem Lord Palmerston nadesłał przedłużenie użycia mnie w special service na rok przy tutejszej ambasadzie ».

222) Ponsonby to Palmerston. Therapia. 30.11.1839. N. 320. P.R.O. FO/78/360.

- « I communicated Your Lordship's Instruction N. 146 - to General Chrzanowski, and I am happy to report that he will remain and that he is highly gratified by the confidence Your Lordship places in him ».

223) Ibidem.

- « The General will be very useful here whenever it may be requisite or prudent to employ him. He is known and highly esteemed ».

224) Ponsonby to Palmerston. Therapia. 30.11.1839. No. 321. P.R.O. FO/78/360.

225) Ponsonby to Palmerston. Therapia. 8.1.2840. No. 9. P.R.O. FO/78/392.

- « M. de Pontois talks freely to the General and says to him such things as he wishes me to know when he may not choose to speak to me himself ».

Egypt. England took a firm stand to keep Mehemet-Ali only in Egypt, while France was ready for more concessions to him. She recalled her ambassador in Constantinople, Admiral Roussin, on the charge of going too far in his co-operation with Ponsonby. His successor, the Comte de Pontois, was given new instructions: Egypt should be given to Mehemet-Ali on a hereditary basis, Syria should be his for his lifetime, and after his death it should be divided into three parts and be passed on to his successors. To the Sultan, France promised to secure the immediate return of the passes in the Taurus mountains ²²⁶). France's proposal of the resolution of the Turkish-Egyptian conflict was discussed in detail by the Comte de Pontois in his talks with Reshid Pasha on 12th November. In addition to the passes in the Taurus mountains, France promised Turkey that the Pashalic of Adana would be returned, and offered help in regaining Candia (Crete). She acknowledged the Sultan's right to the Caliphate; that is, his supremacy over the holy places in Arabia. Pontois added that these proposals had been made known to Prussia and Austria. The Prussian government accepted them in full, while Austria admitted the possibility of modifications ²²⁷). In this way Turkey could, with the mediations of the three Powers, resolve the Egyptian question. De Pontois was to receive shortly new instructions from his government on these matters. In reply to Reshid's question about the attitude of England, Pontois replied that the British government insisted that Syria should be returned to the Sultan, but could agree to give Acre to Mehemet-Ali. Reshid rejected these proposals on behalf of the Turkish government. Turkey was willing to accept negotiations under the mediation of all five Powers, but rejected all proposals for the partition of the country. In this declaration Turkey expressed the desire to seek support above all in England ²²⁸). The subject of this conversation was communicated to Ponsonby by Chrzanowski, « private friend », who had been delegated by the British Ambassador to find out from Reshid whether Comte de Pontois had declared France's willingness to support England in the resolution of the Egyptian question, provided Austria co-operated too ²²⁹). This had not emerged specifically in the course of the talk between Pontois and Reshid. Pontois, however, several times sought an opportunity to meet Chrzanowski and stressed strongly during one of these meetings that France was willing to co-operate with England if Austria did the same ²³⁰). Both Ponsonby and Chrzanowski viewed this declaration with some scepticism ²³¹). De Pontois' declaration

226) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 14.10.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. M. KUKIEL, 242. C.K. WEBSTER, 29.

227) Ponsonby to Palmerston. Therapia. 18.11.1839. No. 309. P.R.O. FO/78/360.

228) Ibidem.

229) Ponsonby to Palmerston. Therapia. 30.11.1839. No. 321. P.R.O. FO/78/360.

230) Ibidem. — « Monsieur Pontois has sought conversations with the General several times, and in one of them he distinctly stated that France was ready to unite with England provided Austria would do so ».

231) Ibidem. — « The General doubts (as I myself do) if Monsieur de Pontois has solid authority for saying what I have above reported ».

revealed an ambiguity in France's attitude. The evidence for this is to be found in a long talk between de Pontois and Chrzanowski on 29th November, which Ponsonby reported to London only the next day ²³²). The conversation touched on all the points of the Eastern Question on which England and France differed. The conversation was initiated by de Pontois, who mentioned Comte Nesselrode's note to the French government concerning the Sultan's commencement of military action. By this act the Sultan had become an aggressive party and therefore had to pay for it. In spite of this the note emphasized that the rights of the Sultan had to be respected. The Russian government rejected the English proposals but inclined to those of France. Russia, informed by the French government that Turkey agreed to the presence of the combined Anglo-French fleet in the Sea of Marmara, warned the Turkish government that she would never accept this ²³³).

De Pontois then returned to the old French project (which had been the subject of his talks with Ponsonby and Chrzanowski) of leaving Egypt and Syria to Mehemet-Ali and acknowledging the Sultan's right to the holy places. In reply to Chrzanowski's question what would happen if Mehemet-Ali rejected the proposal, de Pontois answered that Mehemet-Ali was not in a position to do this without antagonizing the Powers which would then give their support to the Sultan against him. In the opinion of de Pontois, the differences between England and France were mainly a result of the attitude of Austria, who played a double game. Austria admitted that England was right in supporting the Sultan, France, however, was right in restraining from exercising the means of compulsion ²³⁴). Chrzanowski's view that it was necessary to wait until the attitude of Metternich was clear, was accepted by de Pontois with resignation. Metternich in a private conversation was supposed to have said that «it would be best if the Sultan made concessions to Mehemet-Ali and became reconciled with him» ²³⁵). De Pontois then touched on Reshid Pasha's project, which had been first raised the previous year, of a treaty between England and France, and added that to resume this project would now be very desirable. When Chrzanowski reminded him of Russia's recent protest against the presence of the allied fleet in the Sea of Marmara, and argued that Reshid could not come out with these proposals without being certain that they would be accepted by the Powers, Pontois asked whether Chrzanowski had read Brunnov's report from London. This was where the conversation ended. Chrzanowski did not know this memorandum which suggested the necessity of creating an uprising in Syria, through the action of the British fleet. Russia offered to support this action but stressed at the same time that if

232) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 30.11.1839. No. 322. P.R.O. FO/78/360.

233) Ibidem.

234) Ibidem. Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 29.11.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

235) Ibidem. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 30.11.1839. No. 322. P.R.O. FO/78/360.

- «The last thing Sultan can do is to make concessions to Mehemet-Ali and arrange the affair with him, but who shall propose this to the Sultan! certainly not I».

her fleet had to enter the Bosphorus, it would be a violation of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi ²³⁶⁾.

The co-operation between England and France was breaking up. France was making efforts to persuade the Sultan to make concessions to all the requests of Mehemet-Ali and to maintain the status quo. In the last days of November it was already known in Constantinople that France had secretly encouraged the Turkish fleet to go over to Mehemet-Ali ²³⁷⁾. France by her efforts attempted to sabotage England's initiatives in order to carry out her own plans. In doing this, however, France was withdrawing from the concert of European Powers — a fact which was immediately taken advantage of by Russia, who now offered England co-operation in resolving the Eastern Question ²³⁸⁾. Tsar Nicholas in a talk with Clanricarde expressed satisfaction at the improvement of relations with England ²³⁹⁾. Palmerston still made efforts to keep good relations with France, but he was inclined to accept Brunnov's offer in order to get support for his plans against Mehemet-Ali. The plan to close the Bosphorus, which would give Russia superiority over the Black Sea, he accepted as the best solution for England at the moment ²⁴⁰⁾. Palmerston's plan was paralysed through the opposition of the British Cabinet and the pro-French feeling of public opinion ²⁴¹⁾. The road to agreement, however, was soon reopened and Palmerston's plan was soon brought up again. Chrzanowski in mid-July still thought that such an agreement would be a great moral defeat to both Powers ²⁴²⁾. In November, however, he forecast what had hitherto been inconceivable: a cooperation between England and Russia in resolving the conflict between the Sultan and Mehemet-Ali ²⁴³⁾. This scheme of cooperation between England and Russia, Chrzanowski thought, would revive the long-standing mutual suspicion between England and France, and would have a bad effect on the Polish cause. It could be prevented if Metternich took an initiative, but Austria herself was in fear of war with Russia, and Chrzanowski like de Pontois accused her of playing a double game ²⁴⁴⁾. Being convinced, however, that because of her fear of Russia Austria would get involved in the conflict, Chrzanowski built his hopes upon her.

236) Sir Charles WEBSTER, 648.

237) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 29.11.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. Harold TEMPERLEY, 102.

238) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 29.11.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. M. KUKIEL, 242. Harold TEMPERLEY, 97. J.A.R. MARRIOT, 239. H. DODWELL, 182. C.K. WEBSTER, 31. Sir Charles WEBSTER, 659.

239) Clanricarde to Palmerston. St. Petersburg. 30.11.1839. No. 130. P.R.O. FO/195/161.

240) Sir Charles WEBSTER, 649; 651.

241) Ibidem, 651. C.K. WEBSTER, 33.

242) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 15.7.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

243) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 29.11.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

244) Ibidem.

Austria's involvement in the conflict would bring out the Polish question, and since this question was connected with the cause of Austria, she had to be prepared for the course of events. Chrzanowski took some initiative in this direction by attempting to establish contacts with the Austrian Ambassador in Constantinople, Stürmer. He informed him, through Lord Ponsonby, about Czartoryski's memorandum, which had been submitted to Palmerston and which contained a proposal for resolving the Polish question with the support of Austria. In this way the contents of the memorandum could become known to Metternich ²⁴⁵). The question now was how Austria would react to this proposal. Opinions were divided, Prince Czartoryski, the author of the memorandum, was less hopeful about Austria than Chrzanowski was. Presenting the memorandum to Palmerston he addressed himself not to Austria but to the first Power in Europe, i.e. England. He accused Austria of playing a double game and of indifference vis-à-vis weaker partners, and did not think she would change her attitude to Poland as long as she did not change her stand vis-à-vis England and France. This double game would inevitably amount to her alliance with Russia ²⁴⁶).

In the meantime Turkey was still confronted with the threat of Ibrahim. He was temporarily thwarted by the revolts of the Syrian population in the rear of his army, but he continued his preparations to march on Constantinople, to which the way was clear. Turkey was sinking into inertia, while the differences between the Powers increased. The differences between England and Russia were particularly apparent in spite of an appearance of co-operation. Tsar Nicholas did not see any immediate threat on Constantinople and against the opinion of his Foreign Minister believed that the Sultan could come to an agreement with Mehemet-Ali, without the mediation of the Powers ²⁴⁷). London, however, was far from this belief, and so was Ponsonby.

Chrzanowski came out with a memorandum in which he presented a plan of defence ²⁴⁸). The main assumption of this plan was a policy of delay and a careful and methodical retreat. The point was to draw Ibrahim away from his base of operations, and to keep him as far from his own capital (Alexandria) as possible. The objective was to exhaust the enemy and to save the Turkish forces until the time of the intervention of the Powers. The plan was based on most rational assumptions; apart from the desire to keep Turkey's forces intact, another important factor which had been taken into consideration here was geography and the possibility of taking advantage of the local difficulties in the immediate rear of Ibrahim's army. Ponsonby, as usual, took to this plan with great enthusiasm and passed it on to Reshid Pasha. The plan was approved by the Turks and the order was given to Saaidullah Pasha,

245) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 14.10.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

246) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. No. 473. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

247) Clanricarde to Palmerston. St. Petersburg. 30.11.1839. No. 130. P.R.O. FO/195/161.

248) LEON CHRZANOWSKI, « Note sur une campagne probable en Anatolie ». *Pisma wojskowo-polityczne Gen. W. Chrzanowskiego*.

the commander of the army in Malatia, for it to be strictly executed ²⁴⁹⁾. Chrzanowski's prestige rose so much in the eyes of the Turks that Reshid Pasha openly suggested to Ponsonby that Chrzanowski should be made Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish army. This proposal was a sign of the weakening of Turkey's fear of Russia and came at a time when Palmerston communicated to Ponsonby his decision to prolong his contract with Chrzanowski. The proposal did not specify the conditions on which Chrzanowski was to be given the command over the Turkish army. Ponsonby refrained from an answer until he received new instructions from London. He decided it was better not to expose Reshid too soon to a Russian attack, as long as his personal position in the new political system of Turkey was not very strong ²⁵⁰⁾. Reshid's proposal, however, added much to Chrzanowski's prestige. Admitted by Ponsonby to all secrets, he learned the ways of diplomacy. Czartoryski repeated his wish that Chrzanowski should remain in the position of a mediator between the Ambassadors of England and France ²⁵¹⁾. Chrzanowski's position was strengthened even more by his establishing relations with the Austrian Ambassador Stürmer. In this way he became able to put any suggestions regarding Poland straight before the Cabinet in Vienna, by-passing Paris and London. At the same time he widened his freedom vis-à-vis Ponsonby. This, consequently, made it possible for Chrzanowski to take a more independent stand vis-à-vis Prince Czartoryski. Between the two men there had developed some differences of opinion as a result of certain changes in the relations between the Powers. This conflict, which did not arise over fundamental issues, nevertheless remained between the two men until the end of Chrzanowski's stay in Turkey. Prince Czartoryski, rightly interpreting the changes in the balance of Power and in the relations between the Powers, adopted the view that henceforth the country whose interests and foreign policy would be closest to Polish interests would be France. Chrzanowski remained loyal to England, arguing that England's alliance with Russia could only be temporary conjuncture, and that the old animosity would soon revive. They both always agreed in their hostility towards Russia.

In the meantime Russia was advancing and gaining new influence. At the end of 1839 Chrzanowski was convinced that the alliance of England with Russia would become a fact, but concluded that England did this in order to put pressure on France and to win her support for English foreign policy (for which Austria's support had already been gained) ²⁵²⁾.

249) B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 8.1.1840.

Ponsonby to Palmerston. Therapia. 30.11.1839. No 320. P.R.O. FO/78/360.

— « I gave Reshid Pasha a plan of the General's for the direction of the Ottoman army under Saaidullah Pasha at Malatia, which was highly approved of by the Porte and sent to that Pasha with strict orders for its being acted upon by him if Ibrahim should advance against his army ».

250) Ibidem. — « Reshid Pasha not long ago talked of putting him at the head of an army and I believe he would do so if I asked him, but I have not encouraged it because I am not acquainted with Your Lordship's wishes and because I think it prudent that Reshid Pasha should avoid exposing himself to the clamour of the Russians without a pressing necessity and before his own power is established upon solid foundation by the success of the system of policy he has induced the Sultan and his Government to adopt ».

B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 24.12.1839.

251) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 2.3.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

252) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.12.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

He rightly predicted that the conflict between Mehemet-Ali and the Sultan could not be as prolonged as the Belgian question and had to be resolved in a short time. If the resolution of the conflict was not speeded up by the negotiations with Brunnov in London, the action of Ibrahim would force a conclusion ²⁵³). Everything seemed to suggest that the end of the conflict was near. Palmerston took a firmer stand over the issue of not granting Mehemet-Ali anything except Egypt ²⁵⁴) whilst the Russian Ambassador made a proclamation that Ibrahim would meet the Russian army if he marched on Constantinople. Even France via her Consul, Cachelet, came to repulse the demands of Mehemet-Ali, who ignoring all warnings, threatened that he would defend Syria, as her relationship to Egypt was vital ²⁵⁵).

In Europe things began to take a different turn. Tsar Nicholas agreed to the English proposals and Brunnov was delegated to London ²⁵⁶). In January 1840 Russia accepted most of Palmerston's proposals and, though an agreement was not yet signed, England, Russia and Austria agreed to limit Mehemet's provinces to Egypt. They also accepted the principle that the Straits should be closed for all ships without exception. The questions of securing Constantinople against the attack of Ibrahim and using force to make Mehemet-Ali respect the decisions of the Powers were left unsolved ²⁵⁷). The Austrian position was still shaky, and Metternich's actions were restricted by his fear of Russia and his desire to avoid conflict with England ²⁵⁸). He came out in London, Paris and St. Petersburg with his own suggestion for the resolution of the Turkish-Egyptian conflict. Turkey, under the auspices of the Powers, was to negotiate with Mehemet-Ali herself. The intervention of the Powers would take place only in case of excessive demands by Mehemet-Ali, and force should be used against him only if he started military action during the period of negotiations. This project of Metternich's met with indifference in London and St. Petersburg ²⁵⁹), and was received very coolly by France ²⁶⁰). France, increasingly isolated now, sought influence in Persia. Her soundings there were, however, destined to be a complete fiasco. Russia's influence in Persia was too strong, but if anything it could be replaced by English influence rather than by French, since there was some improvement in Anglo-Persian relations. Persia declared herself

253) Chrzanowski to Sienkiewicz. 28.12.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

254) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.12.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

255) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 18.1.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.
H. DODWELL, 179.

256) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.12.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. H. TEMPERLEY, 97. Sir Charles WEBSTER, 659. P.R. GRAVES, 110. H. DODWELL, 183.

257) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 18.1.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.
H. TEMPERLEY, 111, 112.

258) Chrzanowski to Sienkiewicz. 28.2.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

259) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.12.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

260) Ibidem. — St. Aulair de Pontois « le moyen n'est pas bien héroïque ».

ready to meet the demands of England²⁶¹⁾, but in January the Shah sharpened his attitude against the « knife making rascals, the English »²⁶²⁾. The Shah's whims and the unclear situation in the Middle East did not influence the course of negotiations in London. Palmerston urged France to join the coalition of Powers but the French government dictated its own conditions. They were willing to accept the plan of closing the Straits, but they wanted to re-consider the Syrian affair and the overall settlement between the Sultan and Mehemet-Ali. The British government was not ready to accept the French conditions. England's readiness to co-operate with Russia increased and was not weakened by the unsettled conflict in Central Asia²⁶³⁾.

For reasons of State it was essential for Poland that the alliance between England and France should continue. Chrzanowski, as so often in the past, saw the need for Polish influence on the decisions in London. From his post in Constantinople he worked continuously to prevent the division between the Western Powers. He argued that it was very unwise and ill-founded to trust Russia. He was a constant mediator between Lord Ponsonby and Comte de Pontois who met very rarely, Chrzanowski explained, because of the great distance between the two embassies; the British one was located in Therapia, the French one in Pera, the opposite suburb of Constantinople²⁶⁴⁾. On 7th January, in one of Chrzanowski's frequent visits to the French Embassy, he had, on instructions from Ponsonby, a long talk with Comte de Pontois, in order to find out the French Ambassador's opinions about the Eastern Question at the present time²⁶⁵⁾.

The conversation revolved round the negotiations in London. It began with de Pontois asking about news from London; he then immediately went on to state that an Anglo-Russian alliance could bring about the destruction of Turkey. In reply to Chrzanowski's remark that the same result would be brought about by the French proposals, de Pontois said that now, when Russia had agreed to the presence of the allied fleet in the Sea of Marmara, if she herself was to defend Constantinople, the French positions must be modified. The Russian declaration was an invitation to negotiations, therefore the French government, on seeing that the main point of the Eastern Question was already decided on, declared its readiness to take part in the talks. Harm had been done by proposals by the governments of England and France which had been too strongly worded. This did not, however, annul the possibility of coming to an agreement. Palmerston had already made two great concessions to Russia and, by having agreed to her controlling the Bosphorus, had given her a decisive say in the negotiations. The agreement between England and France could result in the occupation of

261) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.12.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

262) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 18.1.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

263) Ibidem.

264) Ibidem.

265) Ponsonby to Palmerston. Therapia. 8.1.1840. No. 9. Confidential. P.R.O. FO/78/392 - FO/195/166.

Constantinople, which was unnecessary, but should be borne in mind in case Brunnov's mission failed. France, England and Austria should decide what to propose to Turkey. In the face of their united decision Russia, who had already declared her readiness to agree to whatever was decided, would give in, so would Mehemet-Ali, and the Sultan also would not resist.

Chrzanowski replied to these arguments that the Russian declaration was without importance since in any event Russia was not able to do anything. If she did not succeed in encouraging Mehemet-Ali to resistance, she would look for means to persuade the Sultan to protest, and for herself she would find some excuse for intervention. But this intervention would have to be supported by force and this was a weak point. The Russian attempts could be frustrated by the three Powers both in Constantinople and in Alexandria. De Pontois then spoke about the proposals of Metternich; he accused him of excessive ambitions. These annoyed even Tsar Nicholas and therefore the Tsar had directed his own proposals straight to London. At the end of the conversation the affairs of Persia and the Middle East were discussed. De Pontois was surprised by the change in the Shah's attitude. He repudiated the inference of Chrzanowski that the French Embassy in Teheran was involved in this. For his own part de Pontois suspected Russia, but could not relate the mission of Brunnov to the action in Teheran. Chrzanowski agreed and pointed to the great distance of Persia from London, and also to the Shah's temperament, as an explanation. As for other problems in the Middle East Chrzanowski could not find any solution. He sent to London a long report of the conversation on the next day ²⁶⁶).

The Eastern Question, or perhaps just its most involved aspect, the Turkish-Egyptian conflict, approached decidedly the final phase. The resolution of the conflict was near, the attitude of the Powers had crystallized, though there were many differences still between them, and the result of this was to become clear only during the next months. What was to be decisive for the development of events was the attitude of the parties involved in the conflict to the manoeuvring of the Powers. Mehemet-Ali remained firm, while Turkey was reduced to the role of a pawn in the hands of those who were to decide about her future. The reason for this was Turkey's weakness, which was not improved by her several years' efforts and the help from England. New disasters, however, the defeat at Nezib and the death of the Sultan, shook the structure of Turkey to the foundations and seemed to have shaken the consciousness of the nation. The Turkish government made first attempts towards reforms, but these only revealed the country's weakness and the impossibility of rebuilding it from its own resources. The Gulhané edict (Hatti Sheriff) of the young Sultan of 3rd November 1839 created some discussion but did not change the old order ²⁶⁷). The attempts at reform undermined the power of the Sultan, which was the only cohesive force within the State, without replacing it with anything else. The reforms which had been initiated so quickly remained simply acts on paper. The

266) « Rapport de la conversation du 7 Janvier 1840 ». P.R.O. FO/78/392.

267) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.2.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

need was to cease issuing decrees without implementing them. Chrzanowski expressed this opinion to the Grand Vizier, who agreed that under present conditions further innovations should be abandoned ²⁶⁸). Ponsonby, who was the main promoter of the reforms in Turkey, also agreed that the ground was not yet prepared for the reform of the State. The weakening of the Sultan's power in a classless society which lacked a sense of common interests and was without even the consolidating strength of religion, would inevitably lead to bloody anarchy and the creation of factions, with a danger of a re-birth of the old institution of the Janissaries. In these circumstances foreign intervention would be inevitable ²⁶⁹). The credit of Russia increased amidst this feeling of disappointment and unwillingness to any reforms — which indeed were directed against the privileges of the high officials, the Sultan's favourites, and the court cabal. Meanwhile doubts deepened in the face of the disunity between England and France. Even Reshid Pasha, the most pro-western of all the Turkish politicians, seemed to be inclined towards Russia. He had already showed signs of this by giving orders of suppressing the expression of the anti-Russian feelings in the Danube Principalities and sentencing Campiniano to exile. He also opposed England's demands for the dismissal of a pro-Russian patriarch. Chrzanowski found it increasingly difficult to obtain access to Reshid Pasha ²⁷⁰). All this bore some relation to the growing Anglo-Russian co-operation. This co-operation, however, did not prevent Russia from engaging in secret activities, in the Greek community, and particularly of intrigues amongst the Greek clergy of the Ionic islands which were aimed at obtaining for Greece some Turkish territory. A Philorthodox society was discovered in Greece, whose objective was not only the acquisition of Thessaly, Macedonia and Epirus, but also the dethronement of King Otto ²⁷¹), not a very successful creature of the Western Powers. The alliance with England for the defence of Turkey did not prevent Russia from secretly intriguing with Mehemet-Ali ²⁷²).

The change of England's policy in the Near East and the change of mood in Turkey did not remain without its effect on Chrzanowski. Hitherto his relations with Ponsonby had been very good. In January 1840, however, there developed friction for the first time. A conflict arose in connection with the approaching Anglo-Russian alliance. Ponsonby demanded that Chrzanowski work out a plan of action for England and Russia against Mehemet-Ali. He reassured Chrzanowski that Palmerston would easily obtain Russia's consent to this use of Chrzanowski's services. But Ponsonby's proposal met with a refusal, and furthermore, Chrzanowski, who until now pretended to remain indifferent to the London negotiations, expressed a desire to leave Turkey, should the Anglo-Russian agreement be officially confirmed. The incident was soon

268) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 23.3.1840. No. 62. Confidential. P.R.O. FO/78/393 - FO/195/166.

269) Ibidem.

270) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.2.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

271) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 18.1.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

272) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.2.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

forgotten, but Ponsonby had been surprised and his attitude to Chrzanowski cooled ²⁷³⁾.

This first conflict and its resulting effect on the relations between Chrzanowski and Ponsonby did not undermine their mutual trust. Ponsonby continued to praise Chrzanowski ²⁷⁴⁾. This incident, however, was the first symptom of a divergence between the aims for which until now they had striven together. This divergence increased as the co-operation between England and Russia progressed, but till this co-operation ripened and bore fruit, Ponsonby did not abandon his efforts to make full use of Chrzanowski. Turkey at the beginning of 1840 could still rely only on herself, and her government was helpless in the face of the threat of Mehemet-Ali to resume war and the consequent danger to the Capital. At Ponsonby's suggestion, the Turks decided again to seek advice from Chrzanowski ²⁷⁵⁾. On 21st March 1840 a long talk took place between Chrzanowski and the Grand Vizier Husrev, at which Reshid and Ahmet Feti were also present. The main subject of discussion was the threat to the country and its defence ²⁷⁶⁾. Chrzanowski expressed the view that Mehemet-Ali would not submit to the decision of the Powers, but he would also not commence a march on Constantinople, as this would be very unwise. In spite of its remote likelihood one should still be prepared for such an eventuality. Already in the course of conversation Chrzanowski had sketched a plan of action for the Turkish army. The plan was based on the premise of a retreat and delaying action on the two possible fronts of Ibrahim's possible attacks: Constantinople and Eastern Anatolia.

In the event of the first possibility Chrzanowski suggested that the corps located in the region of Koniah should engage in a delaying action until a position of defence was prepared at Ismid and garrisoned with fresh forces from Constantinople. After its concentration the Turkish army would defend the whole length of the Asiatic coast from Ismid to Scutari. At this point Turkey would ask England and France for help. They would no doubt send a few ships, the Turkish defence would then be supported from the sea by the fire from these ships. If this position

273) Ibidem. — « co do mnie, póki mogłem tak się zachowywałem, jak gdyby mnie to osobiście nic nie obchodziło co się dzieje w Londynie, lecz w przyszłym miesiącu L. Ponsonby powiedział mi, żeby napisać me myśli jak ma być prowadzone sforsowanie Mehemeta Ali przez Anglie i Rosyę wspólnie działające, zapewniając przy tem, że L. Palmerston będzie łatwe uzyskanie zezwolenia Moskali do użycia mnie tutaj. Odpowiedziałem, że jak przyjdzie tu urzędowe uwiadomienie o zawarciu tego przymierza ja nie życzę sobie być użytym i tu zostać, że wcale nie chcę w to się wdawać i prosiłem, żeby mnie zwolnił od pisania o tem. Nie wiem, czy doniósł to do Londynu, jednak od tego czasu trochę zimny jest ze mną, czego się zresztą spodziewałem ».

274) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 24.1.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

— « L. Ponsonby w swoich listach powtarza ciągle pochwały Generała ».

275) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 23.3.1840. No. 62. Confidential. P.R.O. FO/78/393 - FO/195/166.

276) Ibidem.

B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 23.3.1840.

Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 16.4.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

Leon Chrzanowski assumes this conversation took place on 19th March. « Résumé de ma conversation le 19 mars avec S.A. Sadrazam ». *Pisma wojskowo-polityczne Gen. W. Chrzanowskiego*.

were lost, the Turkish army would prevent the crossing of the Bosphorus and prevent Ibrahim from landing on the European coast. Should it come to an invasion of Turkey and a march on Constantinople, Ibrahim's weakness would lie in his supply lines which came from his own capital. Ibrahim was unable to rely on the very small resources of the region and this would become disastrous for him if the Turkish army, while retreating, devastated the country and stripped it of all food.

The second possibility, an invasion of Eastern Anatolia, was considered by Chrzanowski to be not very probable. In case this should happen, however, the Commander Saaidullah Pasha was to concentrate his troops in Harput, garrison Diarbekir sufficiently so that this position could be kept and then in case of further attack cross the Euphrates and retreat to Erzerum. In the event of an offensive on Constantinople itself, Saaidullah was to attack the side and the rear of Ibrahim's army and his transport lines.

When Chrzanowski presented the Turks with this plan he was asked to implement it. In order to do this he would have to go to Koniah, the main region where the Turkish army was concentrated and where he could direct the preparations. Behind this proposal, thought Ponsonby, was the idea of giving Chrzanowski command over the army. This idea had been raised not long ago by Husrev, and in November of the previous year by Reshid Pasha ²⁷⁷). Chrzanowski was ready to undertake this task on the condition that all his instructions would be carried out. But when the Turks expressed the wish that a Russian corps should be incorporated side with their army, Chrzanowski rejected this proposal, as he did not want to co-operate with the Russians ²⁷⁸). Apart from this he was not certain what the attitude of the Turkish army would be alongside the Russians and vis-à-vis a Muslim enemy. He suspected that they might become carried away with religious fanaticism and a particularly strong anti-Russian feeling and go over to Ibrahim's side, and he would be made responsible for this ²⁷⁹).

Chrzanowski's fears were shared by Ponsonby. He realized that Mehemed-Ali would obtain a strong card to play for gaining influence over the Turkish masses, if he were able to accuse the Sultan of abandoning the Muslim cause and co-operating with « non-believers ». Ponsonby also understood the moral scruples of a Pole about co-operating with the oppressors of his country; in the letters to Palmerston he stressed the

277) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 23.3.1840. No. 62. Confidential. P.R.O. FO/78/393-FO/195/166.
— « The General was then asked if, in case of need, he would go to Koniah, but it is to be supposed I think the intention was to give him the command of the troops, because the Grand Vizier had some time ago talked to him of giving him the command, and previously to that Reshid had said to me (as I reported to Your Lordship) that he saw no objection to his having the command ».

278) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 16.4.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.
B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 23.3.1840.

279) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 23.3.1840. No. 62. Confidential. P.R.O. FO/78/393-FO/195/166.
— « The general replied, that his going to Koniah must depend upon circumstances; that if Russian troops were to be employed, he could not go, because in that case, he knew the Ottoman troops would not fight against Mehemed-Ali, but would fly over to him; therefore he could only fail and be disgraced, and exposed to the blame due to the acts of others ».

tact with which Chrzanowski expressed these doubts and fears ²⁸⁰). It was, however, only a sympathy, Ponsonby was not able to go beyond this.

These fears of Chrzanowski were not without effect on the Turks. Husrev hurriedly reassured Chrzanowski that Turkey would never ask Russia for help unless abandoned by the Western Powers, as had been the case in 1833. In any case she would turn to the West for assistance if the threat from Ibrahim increased ²⁸¹).

Husrev's reassurances were not necessary since Turkey was not abandoned. In current negotiations in London the plan of Brunnov, chiefly supported by Palmerston, was accepted. Russia committed herself to defend Constantinople, but only in the event of a threat by Ibrahim. She declared her willingness to participate in a united action of the Powers and undertook not to seek independent decisions ²⁸²). Chrzanowski in his comment on the London decisions accused Palmerston of hesitating to take advantage of opportunities and therefore of finding himself in the situation in which England had deprived herself of any means of action. Chrzanowski also asserted that England did not want to take responsibility for pushing Mehemet-Ali out of Syria on her own, and this made it possible for Russia to intervene. Even if Brunnov's plan were successful this would not solve the Eastern Question, and the Russian position would remain intact.

This opinion was incorrect since Russia did not declare herself ready for military participation in the confrontation with Mehemet-Ali. Already in April Chrzanowski saw the situation as dependent on Turkey herself, since he thought France and Austria would not participate in the resolution of the Eastern Question ²⁸³). Chrzanowski's attitude diverged from the political approach of Palmerston; also relations with Ponsonby became cooler. Stronger than ever before Chrzanowski agreed with Prince Czartoryski.

Prince Czartoryski's trust in England had been undermined when the talks in London had begun. The change in Palmerston's attitude and his friendliness towards Russia he considered a puzzle, the solution of which could be found only in London and Constantinople ²⁸⁴). In April, when the Anglo-Russian agreement was no longer a secret, the Prince still did not accept the possibility of a military co-operation against Ibrahim. There were too many differences of opinion, and from Russia there was still an ill will and hostility towards England ²⁸⁵). The Prince

280) Ibidem. — « Your Lordship will not doubt of the justness of the General's view of the conduct of the Ottoman troops, should the Russians be called on as auxiliaries, because you will have heard the same opinions from every man conversant with this people. The resource Mehemet-Ali seems to look to with most hope, is the operation of national feelings against Infidels, and the Russians in particular. He has attributed to the Ottoman Ministers the abandonment of the Musulman cause ». B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 23.3.1840.

281) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 23.3.1840. No. 62. Confidential. P.R.O. FO/78/393-FO/195/166.

282) Sir Charles WEBSTER, 651.

283) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 16.4.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

284) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 30.12.1839. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

285) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 6.4.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

was convinced that the party who would profit most by this agreement would be Russia ²⁸⁶). In January 1840 he forecast the imminent break-up of England's alliance with France but did not regret it since this alliance had not proved advantageous to the Polish question. The change might speed up the course of events since in addition to the growing co-operation with Russia, the agreement between England and Austria was also about to be concluded. France became isolated and the Prince did not think that she would be willing to defend Egypt on her own. What was hoped for in Paris was that the French refusal to co-operate would make the return of Syria to the Sultan impossible ²⁸⁷). In spite of these changes Czartoryski adopted a less favourable attitude to Turkey who seemed unwilling to play her own cards. Czartoryski, like France, inclined more and more towards Mehemet-Ali ²⁸⁸), in contrast to Chrzanowski, for whom Mehemet-Ali was always an enemy of Poland. For Czartoryski Mehemet-Ali had become the only force in the Near East who might take the role of a bulwark against Russia, and Mehemet-Ali's position should therefore be strengthened ²⁸⁹). Turkey, in the opinion of the Prince, had to resign herself to the status quo, otherwise she would embark on a course of action which would have unforeseen consequences ²⁹⁰). He was disappointed in Reshid Pasha and saw how the conflict between the Sultan and Mehemet-Ali had severely strained Anglo-French relations, and this could only bring advantage to Russia. This could only be prevented by a peaceful resolution of the Turkish-Egyptian conflict in which both countries joined their forces against Russia, their common enemy ²⁹¹).

These assumptions affected the opinions of the Prince as to whether Chrzanowski should stay on in Turkey. In spite of his feeling of disappointment the Prince nevertheless did not break with England. He viewed the present situation as temporary and thought that the differences between England and France could eventually be bridged ²⁹²). These hopes arose for a while when in France the new government headed by Thiers took over ²⁹³). After further disappointing news, however, the attitude of the Prince became more inflexible. He approved of Chrzanowski's refusal to participate in a plan of operations against Mehemet-Ali with an army which was to include Russian troops. This decision he

286) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 24.1.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

287) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 24.1.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

288) Ibidem. — « Nie można, widzę, oczekiwać nic dorzecznego i skutecznego ze strony Turków. Czy się Mehemet podda, czy zechce mocarstwom zęby pokazać rachując na Francję, od tego wiele na wiosnę zależeć będzie ».

289) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 2.3.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

290) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 6.4.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

291) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 26.5.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

— « Jabym wolał, żeby się Turcy między sobą zgodzili i żeby przygotowania obrony były przeciw Moskwie ».

292) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 24.1.1849. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

— « położenie Generała może się stać bardzo delikatnem — będziesz musiał z niego się wywinąć. Najlepiej na teraz okazać się nieodmiennym w dotychczasowem usposobieniu i co do Francji i do Anglii ani na ten wypadek chwilowy ».

293) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 6.4.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

saw as an expression of personal honour and wisdom ²⁹⁴). On this occasion Czartoryski made some bitter remarks about Ponsonby, who from an ardent enemy of Russia so easily became a champion of co-operation with her, and as always, went further than the circumstances and orders required of him ²⁹⁵). With equal indignation the Prince judged Palmerston's attitude: — « I am most surprised that Lord Palmerston, such an ardent adversary of Russia, so quickly resigned himself to the thought of co-operation with her, and wanted you, General, to make a plan for him. I am glad that again you took the opportunity to act with dignity in refusing the command over the Turkish army if it was to co-operate with Russians troops. Your reply was dignified and prudent. And this co-operation would be fatal for the Turks themselves » ²⁹⁶). Czartoryski also approved of Chrzanowski's declaration put before Ponsonby in February that he was ready to leave Turkey as soon as official confirmation of the treaty with Russia arrived ²⁹⁷). After this declaration Chrzanowski himself felt how insecure his position now became ²⁹⁸). Polish participation in the Near East did not come to an end, though the possibilities became less. The Prince sent new agents to the Caucasus, and through Wereszczyński wanted to get some information about the strength of Ibrahim's army in Syria ²⁹⁹). Wereszczyński, who was staying in Syria at this time, delayed his return to Constantinople, though before his departure he wanted to go to Moldavia on personal as well as public matters ³⁰⁰). Indeed, he went to Galatia only in the summer, and only then did he go to the border ³⁰¹). It is not known what he was doing there; he returned to Constantinople only on the 15th September.

Another agent of the Prince, a Captain Gotardowski, died in Erzerum, on his way to Armenia. His companion Kosowski remained in Pera, but did not conduct himself well there ³⁰²).

Another Pole, August Szulc, not acting on behalf of the Prince, stayed in Adana throughout the winter.

294) Ibidem. — « Zacznie i rozumnie odpowiedziałeś Lordowi Ponsonby na jego wezwanie, abyś się zajął planem sforsowania Mehemet Ali połączonymi siłami Anglii i Moskwy. Choć się o tem najmniej nie wątpi, młó jest zawsze dowiedzieć się w ważnej okoliczności o godnem postępowaniu, godnem prawego charakteru i nabytej reputacji. Lord Ponsonby zamiast oziębić się, powinien był po takim postępku podwoić swój szacunek dla Generała ».

295) Ibidem. — « Dziwną jest rzeczą poseł, który był prawdziwie zagorzałym przeciwnikiem Moskwy, teraz raptem chce gotować plany spólnego z nią działania ».

296) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 26.5.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

297) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 6.4.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

— « Oświadczenie zrobione przez Generała Lordowi Ponsonblemu zawczasu na wszelki wypadek pochwalam jak najbardziej ».

298) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 16.4.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

— « Urzędowy rapport z tego mego widzenia się z Turkami poszedł do Londynu i otrzyma go L. Palmerston około 18 b.m. Nie wiem, jaki to wpływ mieć będzie na moje dalsze tu zostanie ».

299) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 6.4.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

300) Chrzanowski to Sienkiewicz. 18.1.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

301) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.7.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

302) Chrzanowski to Sienkiewicz. 18.1.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

Consul Brant to Ponsonby. Erzerum. 2.11.1839 - No. 30. 30.1.1840. No. 4. P.R.O. FO/195/112.

Chapter XIV. *The Last Activities of Chrzanowski in Turkey*

In the spring of 1840 Russia found herself in difficulties on her south-western frontier. The peoples of the Caucasus rose once again to fight for freedom. The Circassians captured the fortress of Taupsi together with two others. These successes boosted their morale ³⁰³), especially as a few weeks later they also seized Vülen (with a garrison of 400 men) and Nicolaievsk (with 1.000 men). The Circassians then attacked Galendzik on the coast, but the Russians, supported by gunfire from the ships, repelled the attack. The Circassians now developed improved techniques of fighting. These improvements involved the possession of artillery and the adoption of European techniques. In England and France these techniques were ascribed to the presence of Poles among the Circassians. The successful example of the Circassians was soon followed amongst other peoples of the Caucasus. The revolt spread and grew in forces ³⁰⁴). The Russian defeats angered Tsar Nicholas and he ordered preparations for a big expedition against the Caucasians. Rajeviski's corps was to be mobilized against the Circassians. This corps was at this time in its winter quarters on the Kuban and, according to the original plan, was to be used for operations in the Eastern Caucasus, while the Western Caucasus had only to be watched. Now the Western Caucasus became more important ³⁰⁵). During May and June the Russians directed to the Caucasus the new forces of the Vth corps from Odessa. A part of this corps was transported by sea to co-operate with Rajeviski's corps. The other part of it went by land to Ekaterinodar, where 6 battalions of IVth corps from the Moscow region had already been directed. These forces were to operate in the Eastern Caucasus. Thus by June a great part of the Russian army had been concentrated on the Caucasus ³⁰⁶). An expedition to Chiva fell through. Under an inexperienced command only the remains of the expedition's troops reached Orenburg. The prestige of Russia was severely strained and to improve it a new expedition to Khiva was needed ³⁰⁷). This was a new and heavy burden for Russia who, according to the London treaty, had also obligations to defend Constantinople, an obligation which she could hardly fulfil. Turkey was to glad of this and did not want Russian help and accepted it only as an undesirable necessity. In this respect the position of Turkey considerably improved though the threat from Ibrahim in the south did not diminish. As far as this was concerned, her position had become more serious as a result of France's changed attitude. It was counterbalanced by England. Ponsonby in his talk with Reshid Pasha on 23rd April expressed the hope that France would be drawn to the side of the Powers, and reminded him that Russia had limited her demands and that her help would come only as a last resort and only under a guarantee from the Powers. Only

303) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 16.4.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

304) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 6.5.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

305) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 16.4.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

306) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 17.6.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

307) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 16.4.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

Mehemet-Ali remained as a threat, and this had also diminished. Ponsonby repeated Chrzanowski's argument of a month previously. The march of Ibrahim on Constantinople would be an act of folly, nevertheless one had to be prepared to defend the capital. It was true that Mehemet-Ali could easily raise the religious fanaticism of the ignorant Muslim masses, but it was equally true that the revolt of the Syrian population in the rear of Ibrahim's army could be as easily instigated. In any case England and the Allied Powers would come to the help of Turkey. Reshid Pasha put forward a proposal for concluding immediately a convention with England over the defence of Constantinople. This proposal was thwarted by a lack of time. In any case the situation did not require it. A few ships around the shores of Turkey and one frigate in the Bosphorus could secure safety for Constantinople. The condition was that Turkey asked for these measures herself ³⁰⁸). Indeed, the British squadron was given an order to enter the Sea of Marmara if Constantinople were threatened ³⁰⁹). The system of defence was to rely on Turkey's own resources. This was Ponsonby's condition. He insisted on a concentration in the direction from which a threat might come instead of all the forces being scattered around the country ³¹⁰). These forces amounted to 70,000 men according to official reports. Chrzanowski, however, estimated them at 50,000, out of which Turkey could contribute 20,000 men and 60 field-guns, and the same number of 24-pound guns, towards the defence of Constantinople. The number of Egyptian forces in Syria was also nearly 50,000, but counting out the covering units and garrison forces, Ibrahim was able to bring to the Bosphorus 25,000 men and 120 guns ³¹¹).

Ponsonby's talk with Reshid Pasha was followed by a series of conferences between Chrzanowski and Husrev, as a result of which Chrzanowski was made responsible for the preparations for defence in Asia ³¹²), the choice of the position from which Constantinople was to be defended, and the reconnoitering of the route from Izmit to Koniah and Kiutahi ³¹³). Ponsonby persuaded Reshid Pasha into giving to Chrzanowski, for his supervision and assistance, a score of Turkish officers trained in Europe. Five of them, trained in a military school in England, were in the opinion of their English commander, colonel Dundas, well acquainted with the military profession. Others, trained in France at the cost of the Grand Vizier, were, in Chrzanowski's opinion, ignorant in military matters. Ponsonby believed, however, that under the supervision of Chrzanowski they might become useful ³¹⁴). All this inspired optimism. The means

308) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 25.4.1840. No. 86. P.R.O. FO/78/393.

309) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 6.5.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

310) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 25.4.1840. No. 86. P.R.O. FO/78/393.

311) Leon CHRZANOWSKI, *Pisma wojskowo-polityczne Gen. W. Chrzanowskiego*. Vide appendix to « Résumé de ma conversation le mars 19 avec S.A. Sadrazam ».

312) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 25.4.1840. No. 86. P.R.O. FO/78/393. 15.5.1840. No. 103. P.R.O. FO/78/394. B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 27.4.1840 - 8.8.1840.

313) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 6.5.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

314) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 25.4.1840. No. 86. P.R.O. FO/78/393. B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 8.8.1840.

undertaken seemed to be sufficient to keep Ibrahim at bay. Full success, however, was still dependent on England's help. Without it Turkey would have either to appeal to the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, or to surrender unconditionally to Mehemet-Ali. The second possibility, in the opinion of Ponsonby, put in doubt the further existence of Turkey ³¹⁵).

The zeal of Ponsonby speeded up the preparations for defence. Chrzanowski's plan of 21st March was now accepted. This plan was built on the premise of taking a strong defensive position which could be held between Ismid and Scutari, and thus obstructing the only way in which Ibrahim might reach Constantinople. Geographically this position was strong, and it could be additionally strengthened by fortifications and supported by gun-fire from the ships on the Sea of Marmara. The forces which were to garrison it were in a good state and in sound morale. This was the opinion of the French experts and Chrzanowski. In the middle of May a force of 18.000 men was ready to march into its appointed position ³¹⁶). Ibrahim could not produce forces larger than 20.000, and his forces did not surpass in ability the Turkish army. The question was whether Ibrahim would dare to take such a step. His success was more than doubtful, and a defeat or even the repelling of an attack would ruin his army. On the other hand, a Turkish defeat would not be a worse disaster to Turkey than if Ibrahim marched without resistance through the country and was stopped by the allied fleet only at the Bosphorus. Even the presence of a few English ships there would be sufficient to stop him ³¹⁷).

Ponsonby attached a great importance to Chrzanowski's plan. To defeat the Turkish army would require 30.000 men, and Ibrahim had only 20.000 at his disposal, and was threatened from the rear. The amassing of the Turkish forces in the numbers required to garrison the line of defence would prove that Turkey was strong and would boost the morale of the army. In addition to this, it would silence any pro-Mehemet-Ali sympathies in Constantinople and its neighbourhood. The fact that there were such sympathies called for foreign intervention and at the same time removed the resentment of foreigners. Russians help and French ships were not needed, and it was hoped that this would persuade France to change her attitude and make her see her mistake in estimating the real strength of Mehemet-Ali ³¹⁸). Ponsonby was convinced that Turkey's forces were equal to those of Ibrahim, and put forward a decisive argument that the Turkish army would be directed by Chrzanowski, who was a skilled military man ³¹⁹).

315) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 25.4.1840. No. 86. P.R.O. FO/78/393.

316) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 13.5.1840. No. 100. P.R.O. FO/78/394 - FO/195/166.
B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 29.4.1840.

317) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 13.5.1840. No. 100. P.R.O. FO/78/394 - FO/195/166.
B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 9.8.1840.

318) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 15.5.1840. No. 103. P.R.O. FO/78/394.

319) Ponsonby to Palmerston. 13.5.1840. No. 100. P.R.O. FO/78/394.

- « I do not know how Ibrahim well can bring a larger number to attack, and I am sure his troops are not better than those he will have to assail, who, being in position will have an immense advantage to say nothing of that of being directed by a man of real and known skill in the art of war ».

This was the last time Ponsonby praised Chrzanowski. After this their ways parted. The increasing complications developing around Turkey raised more doubts in Chrzanowski and as a result of growing Russian influence, he feared an agreement between France and Russia. Turkey's preparations for defence and the presence of the English squadron in the Sea of Marmara only convinced him of the difficulties of the current negotiations in London ³²⁰). The news from Europe confirmed that the negotiations in London, so hopefully begun, had now encountered increasing difficulties and towards the end of May there was still no sign of agreement about aims ³²¹). Chrzanowski was also not very enthusiastic about the task which had been given to him, even though this was to be the execution of his own plan. He only accepted it under pressure, and especially with a view to prevent Russian help for Turkey. The exaggeration of the threat from Ibrahim and the demonstration of the Shah of Persia convinced Chrzanowski of a Russian intrigue to force her help on Turkey. France, who was trying to take advantage of England's resentment of the Russians in Constantinople, might also, he suspected, have a share in this. These suspicions were not without grounds since this was the time when Palmerston in the talks with Nourri Effendi encouraged Turkey to resist and not to make any concessions to Mehemet-Ali. At the same time Palmerston secretly sought an agreement with France at the expense of Turkey. In a confidential note to Ponsonby he stated that after an unsuccessful attempt to scare Mehemet-Ali, he proposed to Thiers to leave to Mehemet-Ali all his acquisitions, except Arabia, Adana and Candia, provided that the old European feudal law was kept there. Thiers did not agree to Palmerston's proposal. At the time when these proposals were made most of the advantages would lie with Turkey. For Russian help in pushing Mehemet-Ali from Syria Turkey would have to pay more, and even this help seemed doubtful in view of the attitude of Austria and even Prussia. This information Chrzanowski obtained from the Prussians, with whom he established close relations in order to suggest to them the idea of conquering Estonia and Livonia, the old territories of the Teutonic Knights. In this suggestion, which greatly interested the Prussians, there might be the thought of creating a wedge between Prussia and Russia ³²²).

In the meantime in Turkey there was a government crisis. It was mainly a result of Reshid Pasha's intrigue. Husrev was exiled, and an incompetent old man, Rauf Pasha, was made head of the government. As a result of Reshid's and Risa Pasha's intervention, the seraskier Halil Pasha was also dismissed for abusing his office. Reshid Pasha became omnipotent. A good patriot but a weak man ³²³), he changed his mind easily and feared everything — the people of Constantinople, the concentration of the army troops, even the fleet if this was returned to him by Mehemet-Ali ³²⁴). The change of the government, and especially

320) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 6.5.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

321) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 26.5.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

322) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 9.6.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

323) Ibidem.

324) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.7.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

the fall of Husrev, might lead to Turkey's agreement with Mehemet-Ali, since at the same time the news arrived from Syria that Ibrahim had stopped the march of his army. As a result of this news the defence of Constantinople was abandoned, and consequently Chrzanowski's project of going to Asia was also deferred — an event which this time he did not regret ³²⁵). The recent change in Turkey (the result as usual of an intrigue), though it had put into prominence more honest people, might inspire some fears about the future of the country. In spite of the reforms, Turkey did not show any signs of regaining strength. A state of suspense and uncertainty was prolonged. Ponsonby, now in fear of growing French influence in the Near East, was ready to accept everything which could obstruct France's advance. He would gladly see even the Russians in Turkey, being convinced that a state of uncertainty would bring greater disadvantages to Mehemet-Ali than to the Sultan. Chrzanowski was increasingly isolated. Palmerston did not mention him in his correspondence for some time ³²⁶).

The reason why Ibrahim stopped the movements of his army soon became clear. There was a revolt of the Christian population in Syria, which was under severe oppression from Egypt. For the time being, it did not include the Druse, who also resented the Egyptian occupation and for this reason the revolt absorbed only part of Ibrahim's attention but did not speed up the resolution of the conflict ³²⁷). England still refrained from supporting the revolt, and Admiral Stopford was ordered to avoid any clashes with Egyptian ships. This revolt did not, however, pass unnoticed. It was encouraged from the English side, though this was mainly the responsibility of Ponsonby ³²⁸). Turkey gained some breathing-space on this front too. To the north Russia's attention was still absorbed in the Caucasus, where luck changed from one side to the other. The Circassians had a few defeats and proposed peace to Rajevski. The Russian commander demanded an unconditional surrender ³²⁹). Less successful were the Russian activities in the Eastern Caucasus. General Soloviev withdrew after a few clashes with Ismail, the leader of the Lesges, making thus way to the country of the Tchetchens. This was a signal for the revolt of these people, which then spread to the rest of Daghestan. General Grabe marched quickly towards the Caspian Sea. 20,000 extra recruits were sent to Georgia. From the Moscow region 18 battalions of the VIth corps were sent to Stavropol. Apart from this an extraordinary recruitment was ordered ³³⁰). These preparations were not directed against the Circassians themselves, who still had to carry the main burden of the war. The Russians did not succeed in their attempts to divide the Caucasian tribes against each other and the mistakes of the Russian campaign became apparent. These included: — the lack of one Commander-in-Chief for the whole area of operations;

325) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 9.6.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

326) Ibidem.

327) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 17.6.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

328) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.7.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

329) Ibidem.

330) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 16.8.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

badly timed concentration of the troops; the difficulties of supply-lines, which was made even worse by the bad harvest in the southern part of Russia. All these were accompanied, as always in Russia, by the corruption and extortion amongst the commissariat ³³¹).

The fighting in the Caucasus, whose small effects bore no relation to the number of forces engaged in it, put Russia in a difficult position vis-à-vis London and Paris. Thus a new possibility occurred for a Polish initiative, and Chrzanowski was ready to go to the Caucasus himself. This was prevented by the disagreement between England and France ³³²). The rest was done by the Anglo-Russian agreement and a new conflict in China, in which Russia might become even a partner of England ³³³). The formation of a body of Polish troops in the Caucasus depended on supplies and a constant support of at least one European power, a condition which it was difficult to meet under the present political situation. In the meantime more detailed news arrived about the Poles in the Caucasus. Rumours that there were Polish officers among the Circassians proved to be untrue, and probably originated out of a feeling of sympathy towards Poland, or possibly because of a difficulty in explaining the advance made by the Circassians in the technique of fighting. But the participation of lower rank officers, especially in organizing the artillery, could not be excluded ³³⁴).

The Egyptian-Turkish conflict was now ready to be resolved. The London negotiations ended in a Convention of 15th July, which decided upon the resolution of the Egyptian question. This convention resulted from the break up of the Anglo-French alliance. Palmerston who, as has already been stated, as early as in the beginning of 1839 was willing to replace the co-operation with France with an agreement with one of the other Powers, turned his attention towards Austria. But Austria was initially very indecisive. Suddenly Tsar Nicholas declared his readiness for an agreement, and a compromise was reached between England and Russia about the closing of the Dardanelles. Palmerston was ready to allow the Russian fleet into the Mediterranean. This created a situation in which even Austria could not remain indifferent about Russia's success in the Bosphorus, and also declared her willingness to help against Mehemet-Ali without France. In this way Palmerston's old plan of acting without France was revived. Palmerston gained confidence that the other Powers would stand by him. Although until the very last moment he sought an agreement with France, he decided to act without her and he forced this decision in spite of strong opposition from the Cabinet and the general hostility of English society towards Russia. The event, which Urquhart had been forecasting for three years — the end of the Anglo-French alliance, had come about. England broke with France and made an alliance with Russia ³³⁵).

331) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.7.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

332) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 17.6.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

333) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.7.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

334) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 17.6.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

335) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 17.9.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

— « Anglia odrzuciła raptem od siebie Francję i związała się z Moskwą, że została jej ścisłą alliantką i prawie ślepą służebnicą ».

M. KUKIEL, 243.

Palmerston's decision was assisted by the attitude of France herself, where an outburst of patriotism, expansionism and militant nationalism began. The Napoleonic legend reached its apogee, and patriotic feelings became popular throughout the whole nation. France began to increase her armaments on a considerable scale; her naval forces on the Mediterranean were expanded until France achieved there a supremacy for a while. France also planned to direct her army of 300.000 men to the Rhine. Thiers announced that France would attack in Europe, not in the Near East. France's attitude alarmed Prussia and Austria and awoke sentiments of German nationalism. It was at this time that the song « Die Wacht am Rhein » was composed. Austria and Prussia began military talks concerning mutual co-operation against France and discussed their common problems of defence, which had to cover an area as far as Piedmont. Thus it seemed that a revival of a great anti-French coalition took place.

In view of such radical changes in the relations between European Powers, the policy of the Czarotorski faction came to an end. England was seeking alliance with the partitioners of Poland, and this coalition was directed against an isolated France. Prince Czarotorski was thus confronted with the dilemma of being between the two disputing Powers, England and France, each of whom declared her friendliness for the Polish cause ³³⁶). Polish reasons of state required that Czarotorski should seek alliance with the only Power which was against the partitioners of Poland. This was France ³³⁷) who, the Prince believed, could not remain indifferent towards the decisions of the convention of 15th July ³³⁸). The parting between England and France caused by Russia was a political catastrophe for Prince Czarotorski. It was clear that the Poles would stand spontaneously by France. With the knowledge of Thiers, the Prince undertook to try to save the Anglo-French alliance by trying to mobilize public opinion in England and by influencing her statesmen. These efforts proved fruitless. Czarotorski lessened his connections with England and became more involved with France. But this change in his attitude did not lead him to a complete breach with England, from whence there came constant expressions of sympathy for the Polish cause. There is much evidence to suggest that the alliance of England with Russia was dictated by temporary circumstances and could not hide their fundamental antagonism. A longer-term view of the situation made the Prince retain his good relations with England, though from now on they had to be on

336) Czarotorski to Chrzanowski. 27.7.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

— « Dziwna byłaby komplikacja, gdyby się wojna rozpalila między dwoma narodami, którzy się głoszą naszymi przyjaciółmi ». M. KUKIEL, 242, 243, 244.

337) Ibidem. — « Jakakolwiek zapali się wojna, byle do niej gnębiciele Polski należeli, będzie to dla niej pora spróbowania znowu przeciw niem szczęścia, pomagania tej stronie, która z nimi zerwała ».

338) Ibidem. — « Ja ci dodam, że Francja postanowiła się jak najpotężniej uzbroić na lądzie i morzu i czekać wypadków, a jeśli zechcą wymagane rzeczy, których dozwolili nie możemy, takie były do mnie słowa tutejszego prezesa — więc my zapalimy ogień ».

« Rzecz niezawodna, że Francja nie będzie chciała ani mogła być widzem spokojnym i tylko biernym wypadkom, któremi drudzy zechcą pod jej nosem a bez niej rozstrzygać tu z orientu ».

a different basis ³³⁹). The turning from England towards France might result in a mood unsympathetic to Poles, but the Prince hoped that England would differentiate the Polish cause from France's policy. In spite of Czartoryski's desire to maintain good relations with England, Polish action in the Near East lost its *raison d'être* and Chrzanowski's post in Constantinople had to be abandoned. Already at the turn of 1839-40 the Prince foresaw the complications which would arise at the resolution of the Turkish-Egyptian question. He decided to withdraw from Constantinople. He did not restrain Chrzanowski's impatience any longer. He accepted and praised his movements and his attitude towards Ponsonby, and when the convention of 15th July was finally signed Czartoryski doubted whether Palmerston would want to keep Chrzanowski in Constantinople. This in any case could not help the Polish cause any longer. The Prince decided to recall Chrzanowski ³⁴⁰), but until the convention was finalized he did not make any formal suggestions. His tone became firmer, however, with every successive letter. On 7th August he absolved Chrzanowski from his duties in case the convention was ratified: «Your situation, General, is very delicate now. You have previously declared what you wish to do in case the treaty with Russia becomes effective. You are then *en règle* and you have the right to depart. The English will understand and you will have their respect » ³⁴¹).

The Prince left to Chrzanowski the freedom to decide when he should depart since this would depend on circumstances and the attitude of Lord Ponsonby ³⁴²). Ten days later he recommended to him a return route via the Danube and the Balkans, giving him some suggestions for Prince Sturdza about the possibility of a Polish uprising there. He still wondered whether the English would like to keep Chrzanowski as a guest and an observer, but the letter ended: «So we are waiting impatiently for you until we greet you in person » ³⁴³). On 8th September, when the preparations for war against Mehemet-Ali were almost complete, the Prince wrote: «I expect to hear soon that you are about to leave, General,

339) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 7.8.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

– «Radbym, żebyś się z niemi rozstał na stopie najprzyjaźniejszej. Trzeba im mówić że jeśli nam powinność każe wziąć się do oręża, będzie to przeciw ciemnościom, ale nigdy przeciw Anglii, którą zawsze za przychylną nam uważać będziemy i na której opiece nie przestaniemy rachować, bo jej własne dobro i dobro całej Europy wymagają Polski niepodległej ».

– «Istotnie przekonany jestem, że Anglicy zawsze rozróżnić będą sprawę Polski od polityki francuskiej. Trzeba więc z nimi zachować ile można dobre stosunki, bo w pewnych okolicznościach może trzeba będzie do nich znowu się udać ».

340) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 27.7.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

– «Położenie Generała, które już bywało trudne, trudniejszym stać się może, lecz już dwa razy potrafiłeś godnie odsunąć podobne trudności – równie trzymając się dalej przyjętej przez siebie linii, wyjdiesz i z dalszych zawiślań. Ja sądzę, że L. Palmerston do tego pomoże. Wątpię, żeby chciał długo jeszcze Generała na Wschodzie utrzymać, a na gotujących się ile zdaje okolicznościach, nicby pożądać czego nie było, jakżeby Generał mógł się z tamtejszego położenia oswobodzić ».

341) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 7.8.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

342) Ibidem. – «Na tych kilku myślach na prędcę wyrażonych i na swoim własnym poprzednim zastanowieniu się opierając się, Generał potrafił z trudnego położenia godnie się wydobyć, nic nie tracąc u Anglików. Od okoliczności tamtejszych i postępowania Lorda Ponsonby zależne musi dłuższe zatrzymanie się lub przędszy odjazd ».

343) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 17.8.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

and that I shall see you soon, which will truly rejoice me ». He did not insist on the route via the Balkans, leaving to Chrzanowski the choice of « what the duty and the profit of our cause require »³⁴⁴). A week later, when the English ships were already firing at the Syrian coast, he ended a letter to Chrzanowski with the words: « I am waiting for your first letter, General, in which I expect to find news about your departure from Istanbul, and maybe a return to us. I send this letter however in the hope that it will still reach you in Constantinople. Keep well, dear General, it is nice to finish with the words: "see you soon" »³⁴⁵).

These appeals of the Prince were unnecessary. Chrzanowski had exactly similar attitude towards the convention of 15th July and his opinion on the situation in the Near East did not differ from that of the Prince. In contrast to previous occasions, when he frequently used to panic, he was now quite tranquil and did not show any great enthusiasm to leave Turkey. Though he himself had already suggested his own departure in February, he did not return to the matter until the convention of 15th July was announced. Palmerston did not urge him to stay in Turkey any longer and Chrzanowski, like Czartoryski, doubted whether Palmerston would keep him in the English service. Also the attitude of Ponsonby changed. This some-time ardent enemy of Russia was now an ardent supporter of an alliance with her and bore a grudge towards Chrzanowski for his refusal to co-operate with the Russians. When England's co-operation with Russia became a fact, Chrzanowski's presence in his house became embarrassing to Ponsonby, though he still needed Chrzanowski's help and wanted to keep him in Turkey. This created for Chrzanowski a difficult problem of reconciling his loyalty to the Polish national question with England's interests in co-operation with Russia. Ponsonby, seeking the way out of this impasse, suggested, after consultations with the Turks, that Chrzanowski should enter the Turkish service as a subject of the Sultan. In this way Ponsonby revived the idea which two years previously he had categorically rejected, when the same suggestion had come from the Sultan. Chrzanowski was not willing to take the role of the Sultan's condottiere³⁴⁶). He saw clearly that he would soon be leaving Constantinople, which he decided to do as soon as the news arrived confirming the ratification of the convention. He deluded himself that there might be some unforeseen obstacles in the way of the ratification³⁴⁷). Neither the British Parliament nor popular

344) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 8.9.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

345) Czartoryski to Chrzanowski. 17.9.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

346) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 27.7.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

– « Co do mnie, jeżeli nie nastąpi jaka zmiana w ogólnym położeniu rzeczy, to będę musiał wracać. Z jednej strony L. Palmerston nie będzie mnie chciał tu trzymać, a nawet jestem tu niepotrzebny, a z drugiej tak nie mogę tu pozostać przy L. Ponsonby, jak myślałem w roku zeszyłym, bo stosunki moje z nim są teraz na innej stopie jak były dawniej. Jest teraz tak gorącym zwolennikiem aliansu z Moskwą, że przytomność moja w jego domu byłaby dla niego bardzo żenująca. Przytem miał już do mnie urazę za odmówienie działania podług jego woli co do Moskali, a teraz świeżo drugi do tego nieukontentowania powód. L. Ponsonby ułożył sobie z Turkami, żebym udając Turka wszedł w służbę Sułtana, przez trzy dni o to na mnie nalegał a ja odmawiałem ».

347) Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. 16.8.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485.

– « Tak jak cała ta konwencja niby dla utrzymania pokoju zrobiona, może spowodzić wojnę. Jeżeli to nastąpi, choć to nie taka jakby sobie życzyć można, zawsze jednak lepsza jak żadna. Może też jeszcze jaka przeszkoda zajdzie w ratyfikacjach, lecz jeżeli nie, za ich tu przybyciem zamyslałem opuścić Stambuł ».

opinion had commented on the matter yet, and the attitude of France could be of great importance. In the convention he saw, quite wrongly, the idea of a partition of Turkey. This thought was quite alien to England as it was to Russia, who did not a partition of Turkey, since, even without it, she reaped considerable advantages and went half-way towards realizing her aims. Through an agreement with England Russia contributed greatly to England's break with France and surmounted the possible obstacles from Austria; Prussia meanwhile could be « bribed », as in 1833, with the promise of giving her a part of Polish territory. While Chrzanowski was so deceiving himself, the news arrived that the Tories supported Palmerston. By this Palmerston gained freedom of action and therefore immediately took steps towards resolving the Near Eastern conflict. Instructions for military preparations were given, which were based upon Chrzanowski's plan of 1st August 1839. In this plan Chrzanowski recommended a landing from the sea, the first stage of which was to be the capture of the fortress of St. Jean d'Acre on the Syrian coast. The command over the forces which were to land was given to Napier. Part of the fleet at the Syrian coast was put under his orders. Ponsonby again became very active. He endeavoured to assist in the preparation of an expedition to help the Syrian revolt. 6 English ships were to bring from Constantinople 6.000 Turks and 8.000 rifles, followed by a further 5.000 rifles from Malta. Chrzanowski was not consulted about the execution of the plan. In spite of this he felt responsible for its preparation and expressed his opinion about it — an opinion which he then submitted in writing ³⁴⁸⁾. He was rather critical about the whole undertaking, since he foresaw great but unnecessary sacrifices among the population ³⁴⁹⁾. This was his last act before leaving his post.

The preparations for war were finished and in first days of September the invasion of Syria took place. As the English ships opened fire on the Syrian coast, Chrzanowski left Constantinople. On 18th September he set out on his return journey. At the last moment Ponsonby suggested to him once more that he remain in the Embassy as a guest. Chrzanowski, however, declined this invitation. This he did very tactfully, thereby making his host even better disposed towards him. They parted most amicably. Ponsonby regretted the loss of Chrzanowski but showed great perception of his situation, his attitude to his country's cause and his countrymen in exile. To Palmerston Ponsonby expressed the hope that Chrzanowski, after his return to Paris, would be able to persuade Prince Czartoryski and the Poles not to associate themselves with the policy of Thiers. Ponsonby added that the Polish cause had already suffered enough through the French ³⁵⁰⁾.

348) Ibidem. — « Choć nie pytany, dałem swe zdanie L. Ponsonby o tej ekspedycyi, a potem dałem go na piśmie, zrobiłem to sądząc, że odpowiedzialność za nierozsądne wojskowe urządzenie mogłaby bez tego w części ciążyć na mnie ». (The mentioned document does not exist).

349) Ibidem. — « Ekspedycyja ta w filantropiczmem niby celu przedsięwzięta, żeby mieszkańcy nie ginęli, może mieć za cały rezultat, że ich dziesięć razy więcej zginie ».

350) B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 8.9.1840. B.P. Ponsonby to Palmerston. 14.9.1840.

— « I am very sorry to lose him, but I cannot disapprove of his conduct when I consider his situation with respect to his fellow countrymen and I hope he will be able when at Paris to prevent Czartoryski being led away to commit follies by those Poles who

Chrzanowski went to Malta, not via the Danube as Czartoryski had suggested since he did not have any business in the Balkans. Prince Sturdza, that « clever and cautious Greek », could not be relied on, though his intentions might have been honest, and without outside help he was unable to take any initiative since on the Dniester there were tens of thousands of Russians.

Chrzanowski remained in Malta until 18th October in quarantine. Then he sailed to Marseilles. Whilst in Malta he sent to Prince Czartoryski his last report on his Turkish mission. In this he made France mainly responsible for the turn of events in the Near East. Chrzanowski accused France on ignoring England's interests and attempting to maintain the status quo. France, Chrzanowski declared, had grossly exaggerated the strength of Mehemet-Ali and her proposals of July were too late by several months. Whilst manoeuvring in this way, France at the same time had been making gestures towards Russia (whom she feared), and as a result she challenged the whole of Europe alone. Her naval forces, though in a good state, could not equal those of Britain, and a war with Germany would not be popular amongst the French people. The only advantage for the Polish cause from all this had been an awakening from a period of quiescence ³⁵¹).

One other reason for anxiety, Chrzanowski thought, was that France could seek a permanent agreement with Russia whilst the Anglo-Russian friendship was only temporary and had not resolved the longstanding conflict between England and Russia. The division between these two Powers was only a short matter of time. The first sign of a new initiative by France had been the arrival of Walewski shortly before Chrzanowski's own departure. Walewski had been the guest of the Russian Ambassador. Chrzanowski had spoken to him and only regretted that because of his own imminent departure he had been unable to see more of him ³⁵²).

have just been recalled there by Thiers – on purpose no doubts to do mischief. The cause of the Poles has already suffered enough by the French ».

Chrzanowski to Czartoryski. Malta. 6.10.1840. Arch. Cz. Ms. 5485. – « Co do mnie, w ostatnich czasach L. Ponsonby proponował mi zostanie nadal przy ambasadzie albo zostaną nieużyty jako jego gość na jakiś czas dłużej; i jednego i drugiego nie przyjąłem, jednak tak to moje odmówienie obracając, że rozstaliśmy się na bardzo dobrej stopie. Osiemnastego opuściłem Stambuł nie mogąc dłużej zostać, kiedy już armaty były wprowadzone w działanie ».

351) Ibidem. – « Istotnie tak to jest poplątane, że zdaje mi się, że nikogo nie ma, coby mógł przewidzieć jak się ta rzecz skończy, i nie może być inaczej, nigdzie nie ma stałej silnej woli, wypadki przeto wszystkich porywają. Jednak że rzeczy są w dzisiejszym stanie, główna wina jest Francji. Nic nie chciała robić, nie czuła, że Anglia miała interes wyjścia z tej pozycji status quo na Wschodzie, a zatem że przez żadne rezonowanie nie mogła być przyprowadzona do równej nieczynności. Francja miała przesadną opinię o sile i walności Mehemet Alego, a może raczej tylko udawała taką opinię, projekta angielskie krytykowała ze swojej strony nic nie proponując. Gdyby te propozycje, które w końcu lipca zrobiła, kilka miesięcy pierwej była podała, zdaje mi się, że wszelkie było podobieństwo, żeby się Anglia z małemi odmianami na nie była zgodziła. Na koniec Rosyją ciągle menażowała, nie ma przeto nic dziwnego, że na dwóch stołkach chcąc siedzieć, między nimi na ziemi usiadła. Tak się postawiwszy, przeszła z jednej ostateczności w drugą ».

352) Ibidem.

EPILOGUE

Whilst Chrzanowski was completing his mission, the last act of the drama in the Near East was taking place. In this drama Chrzanowski might have played a leading role, not in the cause of Russia but of the Allies in their attempt to safeguard Turkey.

Palmerston had gained a complete triumph. Without the assistance of Russia and by a lightning military action he ended the 10-year conflict between Mehemet-Ali and the Sultan. On 9th September, 1840, the British fleet under Admiral Stopford bombarded Beirut. A landing was then made from the British ships under the command of Napier assisted by Turkish forces and this was supported by the Syrian revolt on the land ¹⁾. On 15th September the town of Balrun surrendered and a stronghold on the coast between Tripolis and Beirut was captured ²⁾. During the following days the city of Sidon surrendered and the Emir Beshir Kassim proclaimed himself Prince of Lebanon ³⁾. As a result of the combined action on sea and land on 9-10th October Beirut itself fell ⁴⁾ and this marked the first defeat of Ibrahim who had been consistently triumphant till now ⁵⁾. The fate of Syria was decided by the capture of the fort of St. Jean d'Acre on the 4th November. The defeated Egyptian army evacuated Adana, Tarsus, Alexandretta, Aleppo, Jaffa and Jerusalem ⁶⁾. Ibrahim retreated to Damascus where the order from Mehemet-Ali to evacuate Syria reached him. He left Damascus on 30th December and went to Gaza, a defeated leader and a broken man. His army had been reduced to half of its previous strength as a result of defeats and desertions ⁷⁾.

Mehemet-Ali surrendered unconditionally and thereby lost all his previous gains ⁸⁾. In the treaty of 12th January, 1841, the Sultan left him with Egypt alone as an hereditary possession and demanded the return of the whole fleet ⁹⁾. This treaty was accepted by the four Powers — England, Russia, Austria and Prussia — and thus the object of the conflict between the European Powers was removed ¹⁰⁾. The security of the Ottoman Empire was now safeguarded by a concert of five Powers since France was now included. This concert lasted for twelve years until the time when the new threat towards Turkey from Russia resulted in the outbreak of the Crimean war.

1) Harold TEMPERLEY, *England, the Near East and the Crimea*, p. 120.

2) *Ibid.* p. 121.

3) *Ibid.* p. 123.

4) *Ibid.* p. 124.

5) *Ibid.* p. 125.

6) *Ibid.* p. 129.

7) *Ibid.* p. 134.

8) *Ibid.* p. 135.

9) *Ibid.* p. 138.

10) *Ibid.* p. 139.

ABBREVIATIONS

P.R.O. — Public Record Office, London.

Arch. Cz. — Archiwum Czartoryskich (Czartoryski Archives), Cracow.

B.P. — Broadland Papers.

III

DISSERTATIONES LITTERARIAE

J.A. TESLAR
(Paris)

POLAND IN THE POETRY AND LIFE OF THOMAS CAMPBELL

1.

Thomas Campbell was born in Glasgow on the 27th July 1777, the youngest child of a family of eleven. His father, Alexander Campbell, once a wealthy merchant engaged in trade with Virginia, had lost almost all his fortune during the American War of Independence, just a year before the birth of Thomas. He was a man of elevated ideas, pious and so goodnatured that, even in those times when strict discipline was the accepted rule, he « never raised a hand » to his children. Interested in theology, inclined to philosophical meditation, he counted among his friends such distinguished thinkers as Adam Smith, professor of Moral Philosophy, great traveller and author of *The Wealth of Nations*, and Thomas Reid, Hume's rival and critic. The poet's mother, Margaret, daughter of Alexander's business partner David Campbell, was much younger than her husband and different in temperament. She could be severe and even harsh, which is not to be wondered at with eleven children to look after, not to mention students taken as boarders to relieve the family's straitened circumstances. Regarded by all as an admirable manager and a clever woman it was she, moreover, who by her love of Scottish songs and music, introduced into the family a true appreciation of poetry.

A happy home, where moral standards were deeply respected, intellectual pursuits encouraged and liberal ideas fostered, created, together with a lively sense of beauty, an atmosphere in which the natural inclinations of young Thomas could develop freely. His early upbringing contributed in no small measure to open his heart to those high ideals of liberty, social justice and brotherhood of men which, abroad in the world in his time, made him embrace in the future, among other causes, also that of Poland.

In 1798 the Campbells moved to Edinburgh, but by that time the mind and sensibilities of Thomas were already formed, and it was Glasgow, his native city, which remained always first in his affection. The Glasgow of his youth was very different from the great commercial centre of our days. Only just beginning to lay the foundations of future prosperity, it was still surrounded by the cornfields and the hedgerows and the orchards of Lanarkshire. The boy's early visits to the « green waving woods on the margin of Cart », his strolls along the « romantic Clyde », as later his summer holidays in the Isle of Mull and in Downie, drew him under the spell of the wild beauty of Scotland. This love of his native land found many expressions in Thomas Campbell's poems.

Above all, however, Glasgow was then a scholarly city, proud of its ancient University and alive with intellectual and literary life. Into that life Thomas was plunged from his early youth, both by his family back-

ground and his education. After the completion of his studies at Glasgow Grammar School, where he learned Latin and Greek, excelling in verse translations, he was reported by his professor in Latin, Richardson, as *puer maximae spei, sapientiae et prudentiae* ¹⁾. Later, at the University of Glasgow he studied Roman Law, Moral Philosophy, Logic and English, but chiefly Classics. His verse translations from Greek and Latin poets and his moral essay on the *Origin of Evil*, brought him twelve academic prizes in succession and a foretaste of poetical fame. Classical themes, together with didactic rhetoric, were to have a strong influence on the style of his works. Although Thomas Campbell was to settle for life in London and died on French soil, his close links with the University of Glasgow were not restricted to his student days. Three times elected Rector of that University (1826-1829) he regarded this flattering distinction as one of the high moments in his experience of life. The dedication he felt for his Alma Mater remained ever unchanged, and when he worked on his plan for the future University of London and discussed what kind of men should be recommended for this institution, he gave as models his own old professors of Glasgow University.

Attracted from childhood by the Muses, but handicapped by poverty, Thomas Campbell long hesitated over the choice of a career. These hesitations (1796-1799) drove him successively to a lawyer's office, to chemistry, to the project of starting a literary magazine, and even to the idea of emigrating to America where his eldest brother had prospered. One by one all those projects were given up. The decision to adopt a literary career was to some extent the result of his association with Dr. Robert Anderson, the editor of *The British Authors*, and with the publisher Mundell who supplied him with occasional hack-work. However, what finally brought about the ultimate decision was the publication of a small volume of verse, entitled *The Pleasures of Hope with other Poems* ²⁾. Its unexpected and brilliant success suddenly placed Thomas Campbell, at the early age of twenty one, among the foremost poets of his day. This sudden fame was greatly due to the stirring lines on *The Downfall of Poland* included in the first work which presented the young poet to the British public.

2.

In 1794 two events made a powerful impression on the mind of the sixteen year old Thomas Campbell. The first was the trial in Edinburgh of Muir, Gerald and others for high treason ³⁾, which created uncommon interest throughout Scotland and aroused the indignation of some of the greatest statesmen of the age. Thomas arranged a visit to his uncle in

1) BEATTIE, William, M.D., *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, 3 vol., London, E. Moxon 1849, sec. ed. 1851.

2) *The Pleasures of Hope with other Poems*, Edinburgh, printed for Mundell and Son, and Longman and Rees, and J. Wright, London, 1799, 135 pp.

3) The example of the French people who introduced into their Parliament representatives of all classes led Thomas Muir, an advocate, and his friends to attempt to arouse in Scotland a favourable opinion towards such democratic measures in order to promote the Reform of Parliament. Their opponents, pointing out « la Terreur » as a warning, pressed the Government to suppress « the Friends of the People » and their idea of reform. Muir and the other outstanding members of the Reform Association were accused as being « guilty of sedition ». See: Peter MACKENZIE, *The Life of Thomas Muir, Esq.*, Glasgow, 1831.

Edinburgh in order to attend the Court proceedings in the Parliament House. All his life he remembered the judges, the prisoners, their speeches and the sentence pronounced. Public opinion was almost universally enthusiastic towards the accused. Although sentenced to transportation as traitors, they were regarded as heroic champions of liberty. After Gerald's speech in defence of his actions, Campbell was so moved, that turning to a stranger beside him, he said: « By heaven, Sir, that is a great man! » « Yes, Sir » — was the answer — « he is not only a great man himself, but he makes every other man feel great who listens to him ». This experience fixed for ever in the heart of the young « democrat » an ardent love of freedom.

The second event was the downfall of Poland after Thaddeus Kosciuszko's Insurrection, mercilessly crushed by the Russian invaders. This fact stirred so deeply the feelings and imagination of Thomas, that he was moved to write the poem *Downfall of Poland* which he inserted in his *Pleasures of Hope*.

It is known that the general idea of the poem *The Pleasures of Hope* and its title, were suggested to Thomas by Paul Hamilton, a school friend who in 1795 sent Campbell his own light poem entitled *The Pleasures of Solitude* and urged him with a jocose reference to Akenside's *Pleasures of Imagination* and Rogers' *Pleasures of Memory*, to write a similar poem. Of greater importance to us is the fact, that the sombre colour and dramatic power of the lines on *The Downfall of Poland* stand out in striking relief against the serene background of the rest of *The Pleasures of Hope*. It is interesting to see how the poet arrived at the idea of writing and inserting into a larger whole the passage on Poland, so completely different from all the preceding lines of the first part, as well as from the entire second part of *The Pleasures of Hope*.

In the eloquent description of the many « pleasures » brought to human life by « sweet Hope », the poet mingles pictures from nature with classical allusions and abstract personifications, such as: *Fancy, Wisdom, Pleasure, Glory, Man, Nature Peace, Virtue, Mercy, Death* and of course, *Hope*. In company with these he apostrophizes the *sacred Nine*, the *Aonian Muses*, and mentions Newton, Linneus (*the Swedish Sage*), Socrates (*Father Sage*), Plato, Shakespeare and two living men: Byron and Kosciuszko. Thus, his style is definitely that of the eighteenth century.

« The poem » — it was said — « captivated all readers by its varied melody, polished diction, generous sentiment and touching episodes: in picturing the horrors of war and the partition of Poland, the poet warmed to noble rage » ⁴⁾. According to J. Logie Robertson « the poem became suddenly popular for merits of genuine and eloquent passion and description with which it is enriched ». But he also stresses that « the graphic passage on *The Downfall of Poland* was wonderfully effective ... and long continued to be a stock piece for the exercise of schoolboy eloquence — displacing even Norval on the Grampian Hill » ⁵⁾.

After comparison of the passage describing the downfall of Poland with other parts of the mosaic-like poem, one is justified in claiming that *The Pleasures of Hope* owed its popularity more to that passage than to the descriptive merits of other sections. Contrasting sharply and grimly

4) CHAMBERS' *Cyclopaedia of English Literature*, 1906, vol. II p. 765.

5) In the Preface to the Oxford edition (1907).

with the mildness of the surrounding landscapes, this dark picture created a deep impression, still intensified by the general sympathy for Poland. Stevenson once justly said: « If a poet is to speak efficaciously, he must say what is already in his hearer's mind ». It was — Hadden writes pertinently — « just what Campbell did, as perhaps no English poet had done before ». He adds that « much of the success of the *Pleasures of Hope* was no doubt due to the circumstance that it touched with such sympathy one of the burning questions of the hour. The French Revolution, the partition of Poland, the abolition of negro-slavery — these had set the passion for freedom burning in many breasts, and *The Pleasures of Hope* gave at once vigorous and feeling expression to the doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man » ⁶⁾.

There was, however, a striking divergence between the general warm sympathy for Poland's cause and the official attitude of the British Government in this respect. The Polish question was an embarrassing one for the leaders of British foreign policy. At the end of the XVIIIth century, when France became England's enemy number one, the natural allies of England were Austria, Prussia and Russia, the very Powers bent on dismembering Poland. Prussia had been England's ally since the Seven Years' war, while later England desired to conclude a political and commercial treaty with Russia's Empress Catherine the Great. Thus, England viewed the first partition of Poland with complete indifference.

Later on, between the first partition (1772) and the second (1793), this attitude underwent some change. The political scene in Europe was shifting and, moreover, Britain, already established in India, saw in Russia a dangerous competitor in the East. In 1791, when a war between England and Russia seemed imminent, it was generally expected that Poland would fight at the side of Great Britain. Eventually, however, the English Prime Minister William Pitt abandoned his former idea of either political or economic alliance with Poland and accepted the second partition without protest. The same attitude was maintained by Great Britain at the time of the Kosciuszko Insurrection in 1794. The French Revolution and later the rising power of Napoleon, forced England again to seek in Russia, Prussia and Austria allies capable of overthrowing France, which was becoming a menace to the accepted political picture of Europe ⁷⁾.

Many enlightened minds, on the other hand, as well as public opinion in Great Britain, expressed a very different feeling towards the Polish question. Edmund Burke, who wrote in the *Annual Register* on the partition of Poland in 1772 said: « The present violent dismemberment and partition of Poland, without the pretence of war or even the colour of right, is to be considered as the first very great breach in the modern political system of Europe. It is not (say the politicians of the Continent) sapping by degrees the constitution of our great Western Republic; it is laying the axe at once to the root in such manner as threatens the total overthrow of the whole Poland was the natural barrier of Germany as well as of the Northern Crowns, against the overwhelming power and ambition of Russia ... a great writer of a former age affirmed that if ever

6) HADDEN, James Cathbert, *Thomas Campbell*, London 1899.

7) HARLEY J.H., *Poland, Past and Present*, London, Allen and Unwin, 1917 (Prologue)
See also: *The Cambridge History of Poland (1697-1935)* Cambridge University Press 1941, p. 176.

the Turks conquered Germany it must be through Poland; it may be with greater justice affirmed, that it is the road by which the Russians will enter Germany » ⁸⁾.

The political aspect, however, was not the only one to awaken sympathy for Poland. Another, even more important factor appeared with the proclamation of the new Polish Constitution of 3rd May 1791. Not only did it bear witness to the spiritual, social and political rebirth of Poland but, by its progressive tone, spoke directly to the minds and hearts of people inflamed by the spirit of liberty, which since the French Revolution was spreading through the air. Poland's cause became that of Liberty, and Kosciuszko, struggling against foreign tyranny, the champion of this high ideal.

« When Kosciuszko was at last felled by the power of the mailed fist at Maciejowice, it was felt that the spirit of freedom too, lay crushed and prostrate, and all that was most progressive in Western civilization was seriously imperilled » ⁹⁾.

The finest utterance of this general anxiety was given by Samuel Taylor Coleridge in his sonnet, written in 1794 and entitled: *Kosciuszko*. His voice was followed by a chorus of other expressions of admiration. After two years of Russian prison Kosciuszko arrived in London in 1796 ¹⁰⁾, accompanied by his lifelong friend, aide-de-camp and fellow prisoner, J.U. Niemcewicz ¹¹⁾. «Kosciuszko, the hero of freedom, is here », announced the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The newspapers were full of him. The whole of London made haste to visit him. The celebrities of the day, including Fox and Sheridan, the reigning beauties and the rulers of fashion, all alike thronged to his rooms. The sight of Kosciuszko awoke in Walter Savage Landor, then a mere youth, a sympathy for Poland that he never lost, and to which English literature owes one of his *Imaginary Conversations* ¹²⁾. After a fortnight's stay in London Kosciuszko went to Bristol, from where he was to sail for America. He was carried on board the ship, escorted by « a triumphal procession of his English well-wishers, against whom, only twenty years before, he had fought on American soil » ¹³⁾.

8) SUTHERLAND Edwards', *Polish Captivity*, 1863, v. I, pp. 233-5 and 287-9.

9) J.H. HARLEY, l.c. p. 109.

10) Russian prisoner of war, he was let free in 1796, but accepted his freedom from the Tzar only on condition that the other leading Polish prisoners, and about 12.000 other Poles in Russian prisons were also set free. See: Stephen P. Mizwa: *Tadeusz Kosciuszko, Polish National Hero in Great Men and Women of Poland*, New York 1941, Macmillan Comp. p. 139.

11) Julian Ursyn NIEMCEWICZ (1758-1841), poet, soldier and statesman. One part of his memoirs, *Notes on my Captivity in Russia*, was published in English, Edinburgh 1847.

12) Entitled: *Kosciuszko and Pontatowski*, see: Walter Savage LANDOR: *Imaginary Conversations* (1824-1846) and several reprints.

13) Monica M. GARDNER: *Kosciuszko. A Biography*. Revised 2nd ed. G. Allen and Unwin, London 1942, p. 120 ss.

Dr. Warner, who visited Kosciuszko in Bristol, gives a picture of the Polish hero in his *Literary Recollections*, vol. II, p. 132: « He spoke very tolerable English, though in a low and feeble tone, but his conversation replete with fine sense, lively remarks and sagacious answers, evinced a noble understanding and a cultivated mind. On rising to depart I offered him my hand: he took it. My eyes filled with tears; and he gave it a warm grasp. I muttered something about 'brighter prospects and happier days'. He faintly smiled and said: « A! Sir, he who devotes himself for his country must not look for his reward on this side of the grave! ». (Quoted in James FLETCHER's *History of Poland*, London 1831, p. 355).

Although he did not meet Kosciuszko personally, Thomas Campbell was well aware of the facts connected with him and his struggle for Poland's freedom. He certainly had read Coleridge's sonnet, for in his own lines on Kosciuszko he repeated, perhaps unconsciously, many expressions from this poem. In the first edition of *The Pleasures of Hope* he inserted in extenso, as a note to the line: *Presaging wrath to Poland — and to man!* — the account of the tragic events in Warsaw, published in the *New Annual Register* in 1794. In the later editions he cancelled this long note, and put in its place the following remark:

« The history of the partitions of Poland, of the massacre in the suburb of Warsaw and on the bridge of Prague, the triumphant entry of Suvorov into the Polish capital, and the insult offered to human nature by the blasphemous thanks offered up to Heaven, for victories obtained over men fighting in the sacred cause of liberty, by murderers and oppressors, are events generally known ».

As we have said, although inserted in a pseudo-classical « metrical essay », Thomas Campbell's poem *The Downfall of Poland* ¹⁴⁾ stands out in contrast to the moral dissertations of the whole by its strength, colour and deep sincerity. It contains two distinct parts, the first descriptive (lines 349-418), the second reflective (lines 419-440). The sequence of themes in the first part presents: 1. The invasion of Poland by Russian troops, 2. The call of Kosciuszko to the defence of the « bleeding » country, 3. The fierce fighting of the defenders, in spite of which « Kosciuszko fell » and with him: *Sarmatia fell unwept, without a crime*, 4. The dramatic picture of the massacre of Prague. The second part (lines 419-440), contains exhortations and reflections suggested by the scenes described in the first part. Their high moral tone, although rhetorical, is well balanced by the preceding tragic images.

It is generally observed that *The Pleasures of Hope* lack in homogeneous composition and continuity. This is due to the fact that the poem was written at intervals during a period of two years, the separate passages being later rearranged to present a sequence of illustrations of the blessed power of Hope in human life. We know from Chambers' *Biographical Sketches*, that « there were various passages in *The Pleasures of Hope* written two and three times over ». Redding records Campbell's own account of the process of composition: « He completed the sections separately, but not in the order in which they now appear. He said that it was composed much in that way. Each attribute or invocation being continuous in sense, and sometimes not, with the paragraph which follows, he could thus compose and then select and arrange, as his taste and fancy might dictate. When a new idea came into his mind, he could follow it out to completion, and afterwards perfect others that he had begun before and not completed, leaving the work of arrangement to the last » ¹⁵⁾.

Accordingly, let us consider more closely the form of the first part

14) See: Appendix I.

15) REDDING CYRUS: *Literary Reminiscences and Memoirs of Th. Campbell* (2 vol.) C.J. Skeet, 1860. We find similar remarks in CHAMBER'S *Biographical Sketches* and in MINTO'S *The Literature of the Georgian Era*, London 1894.

of *The Pleasures of Hope* (which includes *The Downfall of Poland*). It can be divided into eight sections:

1st lines 1 - 70 - in stanzas
2nd » 71 - 348 - in longer passages
3rd » 349 - 440 - in stanzas
4th » 441 - 464 - a passage of 14 lines
5th » 465 - 488 - in stanzas
6th » 489 - 502 - a passage of 14 lines
7th » 503 - 526 - in stanzas
8th » 527 - 604 - in longer passages.

Thus, in section 1 (Introduction), 3 (The Downfall of Poland), as well as in 5 and 7, an evident trace of stanza formation subsists. They differ from the longer passages in sections 2, 4, 6 and 8. This suggests that these two groups were written independently and in all probability at different periods of time.

The 1st section contains: 5 stanzas of 8 lines
 2 » » 6 »
 2 » » 4 »
 1 stanza » 10 »

The 3rd section contains: 5 stanzas » 8 »
 2 » » 6 »
 4 » » 10 »

Sections 5 and 7 each contains: 4 stanzas of 8 lines
 1 stanza » 6 »
 1 » » 10 »

It seems that all the stanzas originally consisted of 8 lines; but some the poet shortened by two lines, while to others two lines were added. Sometimes he inserted an entirely new 4 line stanza.

It is not a mere accident that 8-line stanzas are more numerous than the others. It suggests that the poem was originally composed in 8-line stanzas. Besides, our conclusion is that *The Downfall of Poland* (section 3) was written not only independently of, but before the other sections of the first part.

If the original manuscript were available for analysis, our conjecture might be proved conclusively. Unfortunately, all efforts to trace it have been fruitless. All we have to-day as confirmation of our assertion are the following details recorded by Redding, concerning the original manuscript of *The Pleasures of Hope*. «It is not possible to say» — he writes — «what numerous changes and alterations the poem underwent before it reached its last point of refinement. The original copy, it appears, consisted of no more than four hundred lines.... This manuscript now belongs to a gentleman who obtained it from Dr. Murray, a former professor of oriental languages in the University of Edinburgh; and it

stands in Campbell's handwriting » ¹⁶⁾. Redding says also that « it is probable, indeed almost certain, that the rough copy of *The Pleasures of Hope*, yet existing in manuscript, was all that the poet brought to Edinburgh », and he adds « it is probable that Dr. Anderson made so many suggestions in the way of alteration and emendation, that the poet set about the recomposition of the whole poem » ¹⁷⁾.

An analysis of the text in its present form affords internal evidence for our assumption that *The Downfall of Poland* was written before the rest of the poem. On studying the subject of *The Downfall of Poland*, we find that the division into descriptive and reflective sections is not arbitrary. The first section contains eight stanzas (lines 349-418), all of which were originally 8-line stanzas, and only in the second version did the poet add two lines at the end of the 4th and 5th stanzas (lines 381-2 and 391-2), and two at the beginning of the 6th (lines 393-4). On re-reading it with the additional distiches omitted, we see that the text is by no means mutilated in its essential descriptive elements, as the additional lines merely amplify the original version.

The second part (lines 419-440) which does not follow the 8-line stanza form, is surely of later date, being reflective and rhetorical. It was written after the poet conceived the plan of setting the picture of the battle of Warsaw in a longer poem.

Probably the first stanza was either added during Campbell's adaptation of *The Downfall of Poland*, or altered to suit the main theme of *Hope*, by the substitution of an entirely new initial couplet:

*Oh, sacred Truth! thy triumph ceased a while
And Hope, thy sister, ceased with thee to smile.*

Why and when did Campbell decide to make *The Downfall of Poland* a part of *The Pleasures of Hope*? He himself gave a clear indication of this in his analysis of the poem: « by a melancholy contrast of ideas we are led to reflect upon the hard fate of a brave People recently conspicuous in their struggle for independence ». Feeling that his lines on the sweet realm of *Hope* might sound somewhat flat and insipid, he enlivened them by the introduction of striking contrasts, one of which was the short poem (lines 349-418) on *The Downfall of Poland*. Framing it in the new and larger poem of *The Pleasures of Hope*, he added the reflective lines (419-440) which constitute the link with the rest of the poem.

This association of *Hope* with the fatal end of the Polish Insurrection seems paradoxical, but Campbell makes that temporary defeat the occasion for proclaiming the ultimate downfall of oppressors before the triumphant power of Truth, Virtue and Freedom.

This analysis of the form of the first part of *The Pleasures of Hope*, together with the testimony of Cyrus Redding concerning the first manuscript of it, and internal evidence from the actual text, justify the assumption that the passage on the *Downfall of Poland* (lines 349-418) was written first and separately, in rural Scotland in the beginning of

¹⁶⁾ REDDING Cyrus: *Literary Reminiscences and Memoirs of Th. Campbell*, (2 vol.) C.J. Skeet 1860.

¹⁷⁾ *Ibid.*

1797, shortly after the memorable visit of Kosciuszko to England. This poem was brought to Edinburgh by the poet in 1797 and then incorporated in the original *Pleasures of Hope*. This explains the difference in tone and mood between the impassioned verses on the *Downfall of Poland* and the smoothly flowing lines in praise of the blessings of Hope.

It may not be superfluous to stress that *The Downfall of Poland* is not only strangely different from the rest, but is also the best passage in the whole poem. The last editor of Campbell's *Poetical Works*, J. Logie Robertson, in his enumeration of Campbell's «fine, bold and varied poems» mentions, not *The Pleasures of Hope*, but *The Downfall of Poland*. It was *The Downfall of Poland* which earned great popularity for *The Pleasures of Hope*, and thus contributed to establish the literary reputation of its author.

3.

During the thirty years between the publication of *The Pleasures of Hope* and the Polish Uprising of 1830-31, Campbell's attitude towards Poland finds no expression in his poetry. One could even say that during those years spent in travel, family life, and much literary activity, he did not manifest his interest in Poland. Only very few traces point to the fact that, fundamentally, this attitude remained unchanged.

In 1804 — as Dr. Beattie records — Campbell had the offer of an appointment abroad. The chair of English Literature at the University of Wilno had just become vacant. This promised to ensure a permanent income, all the more important because at that time Campbell was already married. Moreover, Wilno attracted him. «The fame of Wilno», wrote the poet, «has been loud and popular...». In aspiring to this appointment Campbell had the support of Lord Minto, by whom he had been employed as secretary, and other men of influence. On their advice he allowed his name to be proposed to the Russian Minister. But he had his doubts whether such a step would be wise. His famous verses on the *Downfall of Poland* were rather a bad recommendation for a professorial post in Wilno. «The detection of having written such a passage» he wrote in a letter to Lord Minto «might bring me to the *knout*, or send me in a sledge to Kamtchatka!»¹⁸).

However, Campbell had other and rather nobler motives for abandoning the project. He foresaw — as Dr. Beattie explains — that, once installed at the University of Wilno, he could never, without dereliction of principle, express any opinions but those to which he had already given emphatic utterance in his poems. At first he had imagined that when firmly seated in the chair, he might have promoted the «regeneration of Poland», and thus have realized the wish nearest to his heart. But a little reflection showed the impossibility of such a course of action. All further negotiations were therefore discontinued. He preferred «the honour of advocating at home the cause of an oppressed People ... to the emoluments of this, or any other post, in the gift of Russia»¹⁹).

18) BEATTIE William, M.D.: *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, (3 vol.) London, E. Moxon, 1849. 2nd. ed. 1851.

19) *Ibid.*

During those thirty years of Campbell's various other activities and interests, some references to Poland are made in connection with his encounters with Poles, although mostly of an incidental character. The first Poles he met remain anonymous. In 1807 he notes that he had « a dinner with a descendant of Jan Sobieski ». Impossible to know who it could have been, nothing more definite is said about him. At Rouen in 1814, during his two months visit to France, he had « a conversation with a veteran officer, who had fought at Hohenlinden and remembered various details of the battle. He had served twenty years under Moreau and Buonaparte — a fierce looking soldier, but frank and consistent in his opinions ». « The soldier », adds Campbell, « gave us several Polish songs, which the lady (a pretty young French woman) requested to have translated. The sentiments of love, war, devotion, with their peculiar customs, were not always the most delicate, and the lady declared that she was *beaucoup choquée*; but she still called *encore!* and was answered by another song and another translation » ²⁰⁾.

Thus, through a chance meeting with an old veteran, Campbell became acquainted with some typical Polish soldiers' songs. They could not sound strange to someone brought up on Scottish ballads, and who was also the author of *The Downfall of Poland* and the *Songs of Battle*.

Later, in Vienna, Campbell had at last the opportunity of approaching other Poles, nearer to him in culture and social standing. This happened in the house of a certain Countess R., whose identity again remains unknown. « I have found », writes Campbell in a letter from Vienna of 29 September 1820, « a kind friend in the Countess R. All Vienna speaks not only well, but reverently of her. She is majestic like Mrs. Siddons, but very natural and gentle, an excellent scholar — for she helped me out with a quotation from Cicero, yet perfectly unassuming, almost to timidity. Her home is the *rendez-vous* of the best society in Vienna.... Here you meet a number of the Polish Nobility, of whom the women are extremely beautiful. The men are more like Englishmen than any foreigners I have seen. It is curious to find myself at home amongst them, and receiving invitations to call upon them, should I ever be at Warsaw! » ²¹⁾. Full of admiration for this Polish Countess R-ski, Campbell dedicated to her a poem written at the occasion of an excursion in common to the Fountain of Dorn, a beauty spot near Vienna. However, it is merely a poetical compliment to a lady and has nothing in common with Campbell's other poems on Polish subjects ²²⁾.

All those few and casual encounters with Poles, although apparently of no great importance, were however always mentioned and noted down by the poet. Their significance in our investigations would be, that they did not in any way modify his idealistic conception of Poles and their country.

20) Ibid.

21) Ibid.

22) Ibid. This compliment in verse was never published by Campbell. It was found among his papers by Dr. Beattie (II. p. 385). Beattie, as with many other names, is discreet to such an extent that he gives only the initial and the ending letters of the lady's name, R-ski. The assertion that she was Countess Rzewuski, does not seem to be right, as can be proved by the poem. This name must have not three but four syllables, as the rythm of the line demands.

From the year 1820 until 1831 there is no trace of Campbell's interest in Poland, nor any evidence of his further meetings with Poles.

Nevertheless, we can agree only in part with the comment on Thomas Campbell, expressed by Joseph Floryan in his article on the poet. Referring to the « beautiful and profound sonnet *To Kosciuszko* by Keats » and the imaginary conversations « of Kosciuszko and Poniatowski in Landor's famous book », the critic states: « there were great men besides Campbell to whom the tragic fate of Poland appeared as something more than an incidental subject fit only for artistic embroidery. As regards our poet Campbell such would be our final verdict on his relations to Poland, were it not for the activity he displayed on her behalf in a second portion of his life, thirty years after *The Pleasures of Hope* had been written »²³).

Nothing in the verses on *The Downfall of Poland* indicates that the subject was treated only as « fit for artistic embroidery ». Of course, the diatribe against the crime perpetrated on Poland was in Campbell's poem abstract, to some extent. Of course, he wrote then on Poland without knowing either Poles or their outraged country. Nevertheless, he was fully sincere in his fiery indignation against the oppressors, and no less so in his deep sympathy with the victims. After 1831 his fire, his indignation, and his sincerity, appeared still incomparably stronger.

Neither can we agree with J. Floryan that Campbell in the second part of his life displayed only « activity » on behalf of Poland. He did more: he wrote also three poems on Poland, so powerful and burning, that it may be truly said « he dipped his pen in his heart »²⁴).

4.

The heroic efforts of Poles to recover their independence by throwing in their lot with Napoleon failed with his defeat at Waterloo. During the Congress of Vienna, where the picture of Europe was being established, Lord Castlereagh spoke for Great Britain on the Polish question. The French historian, Thiers, summarizes Lord Castlereagh's argument on this point as follows:

« The partition of Poland was a crime, and it was not England who had always opposed it, that would now assert the contrary. She was therefore prepared to consent to the restoration of Poland, if it were done completely, honestly, and with suitable conditions... If for example, Austria, Russia and Prussia gave up the Polish provinces they held, and an independent Kingdom were formed with a Polish King... and in addition, the new Kingdom were endowed with liberal monarchical institutions, England was ready to approve and even to assist in the work at any expense to herself...

« If instead of this restoration, complete and European, a false and incomplete Kingdom were to be formed, called Poland for the sake of increasing its extent as much as possible, whilst in reality it belonged to Russia, this would be a mere illusion, to which Europe would never submit »²⁵).

23) Joseph FLORYAN: *Thomas Campbell in The Polish Review* vol. I. No. 4, London 1917.

24) Campbell's own words in a letter.

25) We quote this text in the English translation, as given in the chapter *The Congress of Vienna* by Dr. H. Montgomery HYDE. *The Cambridge Hist. of Poland*, II, p. 259.

Unhappily, the last eventuality mentioned by Lord Castlereagh was realized at the conclusion of Congress in 1815, and Great Britain was one of the guarantors of the «Congress Kingdom of Poland» of which Tzar Alexander took the title of «King».

Fifteen years of Russian rule in this phantom Kingdom, first under Tzar Alexander, and then under Tzar Nicholas and his brother Grand Duke Constantine, an arrogant soldier, ended in a National Uprising. Its dramatic development and tragic end go beyond the limits of our study. We would like, however, to stress that again the same divergence existing between public opinion and the official policy of the British Government had been manifest, as at the time of the National Insurrection of Kosciuszko.

The initial victories led the Polish National Government, instituted by the 1831 Uprising, to establish relations with the Western Powers, France and Great Britain. These efforts, like those of Kosciuszko, remained unsuccessful. In spite of public sympathy with the cause of Poland, the French Government was unfriendly, as it desired good relations with the Tzar of Russia. In England the Whig Government absorbed in the struggle for electoral reform, failed to pay much attention to Polish problems. The Tory party was fighting hard against all attempts at carrying into effect a reform of Parliament; the Polish National War for Independence, a regular war, unjustly called «revolution», was regarded as something that could support the Whig policy at home.

In September 1831 Warsaw fell, after tremendous losses on the Polish side. The utmost effort of the Nation ended in national catastrophe. A series of *Ukases* from the Tzar followed, abolishing all vestiges of constitutional right in Poland and destroying the national heritage. These measures were accompanied by deportations to Russia, imprisonments and police persecution. About ten thousand Polish exiles: the Insurrectional Government and the best elements of the nation, mostly officers of the National Army, were forced to leave Poland. The majority went to France, several hundred of them came to England.

It was at this time that Thomas Campbell first became acquainted with Poles — soldiers and statesmen — of renown and culture. He was already heart and soul with the Polish Rising. When in May 1831 he accepted the post of editor of a new magazine, *The Metropolitan*, he published in its first issue a long and vivid article entitled: «*Poland. A Narrative of recent events. Derived from Authority*»²⁶⁾. Already before, Campbell had expressed his own personal feelings in a letter, dated 11 March 1831 from London, and written to «a most intimate and sympathetic friend: «I have news to make me sad and news to make me savage. My poor brother Archibald is dead in Richmond in Virginia. Warsaw is taken, and a scene of butchery and horror! I had a letter from the place itself, dated 21st ult., from one of the Poles, approving of what I told him the Londoners meant to do, — namely, to send out

26) I. pp. 69-72 and II. pp. 92-103. The article has as title only one word: *Poland*. However, in the Contents this title is followed by the explanation: *Narrative of recent Events in Poland. Derived from Authority*. In all probability this «authority» was Prince Adam Czartoryski, Head of the National Government, whose portrait and biographical note was given in James FLETCHER'S *History of Poland* (1831), with the reprint of the above mentioned *Narrative* at the end of the volume. This supposition may be corroborated by the circumstance that FLETCHER'S *History of Poland* was printed for Cochran and Pickersgill, who were also publishers of *The Metropolitan*.

medals, saying: « Men of Poland, the hearts of Englishmen are with you! » But all is now over, and a brave nation is thrust a second time, assassinated, into her grave... All continental Europe, I distinctly anticipate, will be enslaved by Russia! I cannot disguise that the only antidote I have to the gloom of my mind, in forecasting what may be the fate of Europe, is the consolation of seeing free principles rooting themselves in England! Ay, and it is by their flourishing, and their fruits that — if the civilised world can be saved — it will be saved by England! I beg your pardon for descanting on politics; but ... as my soul has been attached to the cause of Poland, from youth to age, I may be pardoned for speaking my grief and wrath to the one heart in all the world, that most sympathises with me » ²⁷⁾.

The stirring news from Poland, moving him to « grief and wrath », quickened also the creative powers of the poet. In June 1831, while spending a few weeks at the sea, he wrote the beautiful *Lines on the view from St. Leonards*, which he himself considered one of his best works. Shortly afterwards came the *Lines on Poland*. These were followed by two even more burning poems: *The Power of Russia* and *To Sir Francis Burdett*, and by an outburst of feverish activity in the service of the lost cause of Poland.

There is one interesting circumstance which should be pointed out in connection with the *Lines on Poland*. When the poem first appeared in *The Metropolitan*, its title was followed by the words: « to be inserted in the new edition of *The Pleasures of Hope* ». This note, suppressed in later reprints, also appears in the original manuscript ²⁸⁾. This may lead to suppose that Campbell, linking up the new lines in honour of Poland with those written in his youth, wished to convince himself that he had been a fervent champion of the Polish cause all through his life, « from youth to age ». And not only Campbell himself, but his public took this belief for granted. In view of what was said above about the few traces of Campbell's interest in Poland during the thirty years between the two Insurrections, we cannot share to-day this somewhat illusory belief.

Nevertheless, the sincerity and eagerness of his championship of the Polish cause became manifest to all his friends — even somewhat puzzling to some of them — and were stressed by his biographers. Cyrus Redding tried to explain Campbell's « real mania » on the subject of Polish affairs. « Without a reference to the *Pleasures of Hope* the origin of this feeling is not discoverable. But on reading the passage commencing: "Warsaw's last champion" and terminating: "and Freedom shriek'd, as Kosciuszko fell!" — a clue is obtained to his zeal. He had not forgotten the generous

27) BEATTIE William M.D.: *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, E. Moxon, London 1849. The letter shows a discrepancy in dates, in fact Warsaw did not fall until the 7th September 1831. An explanation can perhaps be found in the following passage in the *November Insurrection* by Colonel B. Pawłowski from the *Cambridge History of Poland* (vol. II. p. 302); « The battle of Grochów » (a few miles from Warsaw on 25th of February 1831) « was undecided, for in spite of appearance of a Polish defeat, the Russian troops were not victorious. Dybicz had not destroyed the Polish forces and had not taken Warsaw ». But « the battle caused panic in the capital. Most of the Members of the Houses wished to leave as soon as possible the feelings of alarm were however mastered ». It seems probable that Campbell's correspondent wrote to him under the influence of this panic and was perhaps one of those who left the capital hastily.

28) The MS of the lines on Poland is in the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh: Small Collections: MS 1808 ff. 97-99.

feeling that he had nurtured in his youth, and it had fixed itself more deeply in his constitution by the passage of years »²⁹⁾.

On studying the themes developed by the poet in the *Lines on Poland*³⁰⁾, we notice at once this deepening of feeling. There is a striking difference between the two « Polish » poems, written at a distance of thirty years of each other. In *The Downfall of Poland*, the Polish struggle for independence, ending in blood, disaster and the smoke of the burning Capital, is for the poet a noble, but dark and mainly poetical picture, set for contrast in the serene atmosphere of pastoral scenes and rhetorical dissertations on Hope. In the *Lines on Poland* the mood is triumphant, and the personal feelings of the author completely involved:

*And have I lived to see thee sword in hand
Uprise again, immortal Polish Land! —*

The opening lines introduce us immediately into the main theme of the poem: Poland resurgent, whatever her fate, is indestructible. Rich in spirit, she shames all those who have abandoned her. And conscious of this shame the poet exclaims:

*Poles! with what indignation I endure
Th' half pitying servile mouths that call you poor:
Poor! is it England mocks you with her grief,
Who hates, but dares not chide, th' Imperial Thief?*³¹⁾

It is those who cannot aid Poland — continues the poet — who are poor indeed. Even in defeat, Poland has already won immortality:

*Wreathed, filleted, the victim falls renowned,
And all her ashes will be holy ground!*

However, this picture of hallowed death is immediately followed by the image of Poland's future resurrection. The sincerity of utter conviction makes those lines glow with enthusiastic ardour, placing them high among the poetical works of Thomas Campbell. If they never reached the popularity achieved by *The Downfall of Poland* this was due not to their lesser merit, but rather to the general feeling among the public, which sympathised with oppressed Poland, but did not believe in her future liberation. Aware of that, the poet continues with a bitter attack against the statesmen who reduce to empty words their « *deep damnation of the deed* », and against the nations who turn their eyes away from the sight of « Abel's blood ». Condemning in turn Germany and France, he does not spare England. It would be difficult to find in English literature

29) REDDING CYRUS: *Literary Reminiscences and Memoirs of Th. Campbell* (in 2 vol.) C.J. Skeet, 1860.

30) See: Appendix I.

31) Campbell's indignation in this respect is not just a literary turn of phrase. Dr. BEATTIE in his *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell* (vol. III pp. 80-81) gives the story of Campbell going to dine with some friends in Sydenham where he « drew a picture of the calamities of Poland and her exiled children. ... During the solemn protest that followed, a lady — evincing her sympathy by a familiar but expressive phrase — said in earnest but subdued tone: 'Poor things!' This ... the champion of Poland could not brook. 'Poor things! — he exclaimed — speak of Poles as poor things! What are you? — a mite!' And forgetting himself he was carried away by a strong feeling of resentment. ... He did not recover his equanimity during the rest of the evening ».

words more biting, directed against his own country by a British author. They sprang from Campbell's strong belief that Britain could have saved Poland merely by a demonstration of her naval power, a manoeuvre which Palmerston did, in fact, apply later at other occasions not concerning Poland.

The whole mood of the *Lines on Poland* is far removed from the atmosphere of gloom and lament that can be felt in *The Downfall of Poland*. There, a heroic dirge unrolls itself in frequent and stilted allusions to classical themes; here, the poem springs directly from hot, unrestrained feeling, where indignation is linked with fervent faith in victory.

Juvenal had once declared: *Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum*. We do not question Campbell's poetical talent, yet we must admit that many of his verses on Poland were certainly prompted by indignation. While re-editing his *Lines on Poland* in a separate pamphlet (for the benefit of Polish exiles), Campbell discovered that the fires of his indignation were by no means exhausted. This feeling gave birth to another poem entitled *The Power of Russia* ³²⁾. Here, he gave expression to his deepest belief that the whole future fate of Europe is linked with that of Poland, abandoned to Russian tyranny. After bitterly reproaching his own compatriots and the *heartless men of Europe* — *Goth and Gaul* who remained *cold, adder-deaf to Poland's dying shriek*, the poet shows the power of Russia as a threat to all free nations. Not only would they forfeit their liberty, but see all Europe's cultural treasures ruined by the rule of *knout and dungeon*, which for the breed of Russ take the place of law and ethics. The Russian tyrant must silence the Muses, for:

..... far from him away
Are all the lovely Nine, that breathe but Freedom's day.

Such calamities will be the consequence of the *Polish Eagle's fall*, which is *big with fate to man*. And the poet exclaims:

*Proud bird of old! Mohammed's moon recoil'd
Before thy swoop: had we been timely bold,
That swoop, still free, had stunn'd the Russ, and foil'd
Earth's new oppressors, as it foil'd her old.
Now your majestic eyes are shut and cold....*

And the poet's mind turns then to his *grief-consecrated friends*, the Polish exiles, especially to two most illustrious among them: Niemcewicz ³³⁾, Kosciuszko's close friend, soldier, politician and eminent writer, whose patriotic poems were banned in Poland by the Tsar, and Prince Adam Czartoryski ³⁴⁾, the noble statesman of European reputation. Having

32) See Appendix I.

33) Campbell misspells the name as Nimciewitz. In 1831 J.U. Niemcewicz was sent by the Polish National Government on a diplomatic mission to Great Britain, where he remained until 1833.

34) The political role of Prince Adam Czartoryski is well known to all historians of the XIXth century. See: *Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartoryski* ed. by A. GIELGUD, London 1888, in 2 vol.; the biography in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed. vol. VI and in the collective work on *Great Men and Women of Poland*, ed. by S. MIZWA, the Macmillan Company, New York 1941. In the biographical note on Prince Adam Czartoryski at the end of FLETCHER'S *History of Poland* (1831), the confiscation of his large estates in Podolia by Tsar Nicholas is mentioned, to which Campbell refers in his poem.

consecrated a few lines to those two champions of Freedom, Campbell ends his poem by a repeated warning to the European nations:

..... proudly may Polonia's bands
Throw down their swords at Europe's feet in scorn
Saying: « Russia from the metal of these brands
Shall forge the fetters of your sons unborn;
Our setting star is your misfortune's rising morn ».

We do not agree with J. Logie Robertson when in estimating the literary worth of Campbell's *Songs of Battle* he relegated the *Lines on Poland* to the last but one place. This poem is, in our opinion, much stronger and more noble than many others which he puts before it. We agree with him, however, in placing the *Power of Russia* immediately after the *Lines on Poland*. It is in fact an extension and continuation of the *Lines on Poland*. In it we find certain echoes of the first poem, but there are also new ideas and new warnings. The question of their validity is beyond the scope of a literary study.

Nevertheless, Campbell himself regarded his poems on Poland as something more than a purely literary expression of personal feelings. He intended them to carry the strength of a political argument. Concerning *The Power of Russia*, Beattie quotes some words written by Campbell himself: « A strange subject for verse — but, I begin to think that men reason better in verse than in prose — in rhyme than in reason... I had been for weeks trying to hammer into the head of my friend, Dr. Madden, my views as to the danger of the world from Russia — and to no purpose. But, when reading the poem to him, I came to the line: *The stripling Titan, strengthening year by year* — he said: « Now you have convinced me more than by all that you ever said in prose. Here then, a metaphor convinced a man »³⁵).

This political element is especially marked in the last poem of Campbell's Polish « series », written in August 1832 and entitled: *To Sir Francis Burdett*, with the subtitle: *on his speech delivered in Parliament, August 7, 1832, respecting the Foreign Policy of Britain*³⁶).

The personality of Sir Francis Burdett (1770-1844), one of the greatest English Parliamentary orators, was marked by his exceptional gifts, the strength of his convictions, and his courage in struggling for them regardless of the consequences. Educated at Oxford, he lived in Paris during the early days of the French Revolution. There he had the occasion of listening to the debates in the National Assembly. He also attended the meetings of several political clubs. A descendant of an ancient family, he married Miss Sophia Coutts, daughter of the celebrated banker, a fact of some interest here, as it shows his family connection with Lord Dudley Coutts-Stuart, noted for his devotion to Poland and her cause. In 1796 Sir Francis Burdett entered Parliament as Member for Boroughbridge (Newcastle). He also joined the Constitutional Association for promoting the Reform of Parliament³⁷). The courage with which he expressed his

35) BEATTIE William, *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, in 3 vol. London, E. Moxon, 1849. 2nd ed. 1851.

36) The poem was first published in *The Metropolitan*, Sept. 1832, vol. V. p. 1.

37) *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. VII, pp. 296-299.

opinions soon multiplied his political opponents, and even cost him several weeks of imprisonment in the Tower of London. At the same time, he became the beloved favourite of the English people. He owed this popularity to his constant effort to expose the abuses of the day — the increasing weight of taxation, the continued restraints upon the expression of public opinion, the misuse of power against those who opposed the government. William Hazlitt characterized him as one for whom « there is no honest cause which he dares not avow, no oppressed individual that he is not forward to succur », and he added: « His love of liberty is pure, as it is warm and steady, his humanity is unconstrained and free »³⁸⁾.

Such a man could not remain aloof from the problem of Poland and soon he found the opportunity of raising his voice in defence of her cause. The 7th of August 1832 was one of the « Polish Days » in the British Parliament. Colonel Evans, in proposing a motion « on the subject of the infraction by Russia of the Treaty of Vienna, with respect to Poland », read an address presented by the Poles and signed by leading personalities in Galicia, relating to the atrocious conduct of Russian authorities in Poland. Against Lord Palmerston's statement that « after what he knew, in the late war, the Poles and not the Russians were the aggressors, for they commenced the contest », and against some other similar voices, Sir Francis rose to speak in support of Colonel Evans' motion. His speech touched with equal stress upon both the moral and the political issues of the Polish question. He was convinced that « there was not an honest man in the House — that there was not an honest man in the country — that there was not an honest man in the civilized world », who did not feel the deepest indignation at the conduct pursued by Russia towards Poland, which « had been one series of acts of the most barbarous and uncontrolled tyranny ». He deplored the attitude of European Powers, guarantors of the Treaty of Vienna, who failed to help Poland in her struggle. « Abandoning all honourable feelings towards Poland, abandoning all sense of what was due to their own interest, they humbled Europe to the insolent pretensions of Russia... ». Was it too much to insist that Russia should perform her part of the contract of 1815, the most important portion of which related to the arrangements respecting Poland? Poland had an undoubted right to call on the other Powers of Europe to maintain her in that state of independence which was supposed to be assured to her by the Treaty of Vienna. The lack of their intervention at the right time not only covered them with shame, it was also a serious political mistake. Russia, prone to constant aggression, allowed by the cowardice of statesmen to take what she pleased from every neighbour whom she chose to invade, was growing to a dangerous strength. She would become a threat to the world if England permitted the continuance of « such unwise, such impolitic, such atrocious proceedings ». It was in Britain's interest to safeguard the existence of weaker nations. In the present altered state of the civilized world, all the former notions respecting the balance of power had become obsolete; the only balance of power worth thinking about was a strict alliance between France and England in a common effort to maintain the independence of the smaller States of Europe. If Britain had struck out in the case of Poland, France would

³⁸⁾ HAZLITT William, *The Spirit of the Age, or Contemporary Portraits*, London 1825, pp. 337-341.

have followed. In his opinion, said Sir Francis, Britain would have been perfectly justified, even on conservative principles, in going to war at the time the Poles were struggling against the tyranny of Russia. It would have been at once « a glorious, a politic and safe war ». The mere appearance of the British fleet in the Baltic would have checked Russia and decided the question of Poland's independence. He concluded by supporting Colonel Evans' motion.

However, this fervent appeal remained unsuccessful. After further discussion the motion was withdrawn ³⁹⁾.

Campbell's immediate reaction was his poem *To Sir Francis Burdett*. In it he expressed again his burning indignation, this time especially provoked by the growing gap between the true spirit of the British people and the official attitude adopted by their Government. This spirit spoke through the words of Sir Francis in Parliament, and his greatest claim to true patriotism:

*Is that thou hast come nobly forth to chide
Our slumbering statesmen for their lack of pride —
Their flattery of Oppressors and their fear —
When Britain's lifted finger and her frown,
Might call the nations up, and cast their tyrants down!*

Then, the tone of Campbell's poem rises to even greater vehemence than Burdett's oratory. Indeed, if we compare the speech and the poem, this seems to be the only difference in content between the two. The poet accepts and repeats all the main points of Sir Francis' attitude towards Russia and Poland, and as regards the British official view of this matter. Nevertheless, Campbell's verses cannot be considered as merely poetical applause in sympathy with an event of secondary political importance. In this poem Campbell expounded his own deepest political Creed, in which his love of Freedom, his « scorn for despots » and his devotion to the cause of the oppressed, coincide with a feeling of national pride as regards the true mission of his country. Britain, he says, is a great power in Europe, and her strength should be felt whenever Justice and Liberty are threatened. Britain's ancient pride and traditional probity should not permit her to flatter despots and to abandon innocent nations to their oppression. In the case of Poland, Britain should not abandon her without protest, if without actual help. Britain should intervene, not only to prove that she respects the rights of humanity, but also in her own interest. She should not cherish the illusion that she, in her *splendid isolation*, can remain free for ever. Once tyranny has trampled Europe under its feet, it will reach also for Britain. Thus Britain, in defending the liberty of other nations, would be fighting not only for a great ideal but for her own liberty.

These views, similar to those of Sir Francis Burdett, were shared by most noble spirits among the poet's contemporaries. But Campbell, basing them on the idea of interdependence of all free nations, added something to their scope, and gave them a new poignancy by their poetical expression. *To Sir Francis Burdett*, formulating the poet's lasting political Creed, proves that his young ideals, enriched by the common sense of

³⁹⁾ HANSARD'S *Parliamentary Debates*. Third series, Vol. XIV, comprising the period from the 3rd day of July to the 16th day of August 1832, London 1833, pp. 1209-1230.

later years, had matured unchanged into deep convictions. And yet, the last lines of the poem:

*Oh, feeble statesmen — ignominious times,
That lick the tyrant's feet, and smile upon his crimes!*

sound a certain note of despondency. In fact, the «poet of Hope» finished his years disillusioned. One day Horace Smith expressed some disappointment about the London University, Campbell's spiritual child and his pride, and asked his opinion of it. «Don't ask me» — answered Campbell — «about anything upon the success of which I have set my heart, for you may be sure it will be a failure. All attempts at improving my fellow-creatures I have given up for ever. I have at length come to the conclusion that our race is not destined to improve even if it does not relapse into comparative barbarism. I know you are a sanguine believer in a never-ceasing progress towards higher destinies. I am satisfied that man is an incorrigible rascal, whose innate brutality will ever predominate over his modicum of rationality»⁴⁰).

Bitterly aware, as Campbell was, of political corruption and wretched social conditions, the added disillusionment of the failure of the noble efforts of such men as Evans, Fergusson, Burdett and Lord Dudley Coutts-Stuart on Poland's behalf, led him to this pessimistic conclusion.

However, before falling into such deep dejection, he put all his heart, all his time and nearly all of his purse, at the service of the Polish exiles living in Great Britain.

5.

Concurrently with the *Lines on Poland* came Campbell's first efforts on behalf of Poland and the Poles: a contribution of 100 pounds to the Hospital in fighting Warsaw, another sum sent from an American legacy, and the republishing of the *Lines on Poland* for the benefit of wounded Polish soldiers. These gestures of sympathy had an immediate and widespread repercussion in Poland, where Campbell's reputation was well known and his poem on Kosciuszko greatly admired. The letter which accompanied his contribution was lithographed and circulated, while the original was sent, by her own request, to Princess Elizabeth Czartoryska, mother of Prince Adam, who hoped to place it one day among the treasures of her famous private museum in Puławy⁴¹). A letter of thanks came from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Polish National Government⁴²). Headlines appeared in the Polish press, declaring: «The gratitude of our nation is due to Campbell».

Greatly touched by all those expressions of gratitude, Campbell was also embarrassed by what he regarded as an exaggerated importance given to his person. Yet the Poles were right to call him «the staunchest friend they had in England». As soon as he returned to London from

40) REDDING Cyrus: *Literary Reminiscences and Memoirs of Th. Campbell*. C.J. Skeet, 1860.

41) BEATTIE William: *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, vol. III p. 438, letter of Princess Czartoryska dated 20 Dec. 1831.

42) Ibid. vol. III pp. 88 and 439, letter from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated 2.7.1831, signed Ar. Horodyski.

St. Leonards, he devoted all his time, all his energy and his whole heart to the advocacy of the Polish cause. As his biographer, Dr. Beattie, says, «his heart was in the subject of Poland: he could neither write, nor speak upon any other with common patience... His enthusiasm was not only strong, but lasting, and ... it had the effect of bringing over to the cause many able and liberal supporters» ⁴³). «No one», says Cyrus Redding, «could be more ardent than Campbell was in the Polish cause — it was almost a mania». And Dr. Madden, one of Campbell's closest friends, wrote at Dr. Beattie's request the following recollections: «Campbell's interest in Poland is well known. His devotion to it was a passion that had all the fervour of patriotism, the purity of philanthropy, the fidelity of a genuine love of liberty. I was with him on the day he received an account of the fall of Warsaw. Never in my life did I see a man so stricken with profound sorrow! ... Poland was his idol. He wrote for it — he worked for it — he sold his literary labour for it; he used his influence with all persons of eminence in political life ... for it. He threw himself heart and soul into the cause — he identified all his feelings, nay his very being with it» ⁴⁴).

From the very beginning Campbell remains in close touch first with the Polish envoys, and after the defeat of the Rising, with Polish exiles in London. When Prince Adam Czartoryski and the poet Niemcewicz arrive in England he is first to visit them and offer his services. In a letter to his sister dated January 17th 1832 from St. Leonards, he gives an account of his impressions: «The Prince, I found, if possible, a more interesting man than I had imagined. He lost 70.000 *l.* a year, with the near prospect of being the King of Poland.... but he is as calm and undepressed, as if he were in his own palace. Now and then, when I have sat beside him at dinner, I could overhear a stifled and deep sigh; but his gentleman-like self-command, suavity and dignity are most striking. He is now sixty-one, but looks much younger, and is a great deal handsomer than his portrait. As president of the Literary Union, I invited his Highness to dine with thirty of our members and, at the same time, asked Prince Talleyrand to meet him. Talleyrand sent me a note in his own hand, extremely regretting an express engagement to dine elsewhere, and mentioning the place. But, in spite of all his «regret», the old fox went immediately to Prince Czartoryski and told him that he — Prince C. — should not join «any political dinners at a London Club!» Prince Czartoryski sent for me, but being confined to bed with a cold, I could not go out. His friend then came to me and asked if the dinner was meant to be «public and political?» I assured him not, but only an expression of private regard for His Highness. «In that case» said his friend, «the Prince assures you that he will come» I was well enough to preside at the dinner.... I dined with the Prince next day at a private party, and before leaving town had several interviews with him» ⁴⁵).

Among the Polish exiles there were many in great need of help. By letters and personal application to his friends, Campbell collected funds just sufficient to relieve the more urgent cases. But as the number of

43) Ibid.

44) Ibid.

45) Ibid.

exiles increased, the problem became more complex and difficult. Then, Campbell's friend, Mr. Bach, suggested the idea of forming an Association. The poet accepted it with enthusiasm, and the *Literary Association of the Friends of Poland* was established. Although conceived with a philanthropic aim it soon widened the scope of its activity. On March 7th 1831, Campbell wrote to Mr. Gray, his adviser in all « philanthropic schemes »: « Let me consult you about a project that is very near my heart — an Association — a literary one, for collecting, publishing, and diffusing all such information respecting Poland as may tend to interest the public mind, and keep alive in it a strong interest with respect to the condition of the brave but ill-used nation ». And to his sister, in a letter dated March 23rd, he says: « We will rouse the public attention to the Poles in England and over Europe, by showing in authentic details, very little known, the unheard of cruelties which Russia is inflicting on them, in defiance of her treaties; even the treaty with Great Britain, in which we were made guarantees to the independence of Poland! »

The Society took chambers in Duke Street, St. James' Square, and Thomas Campbell was elected permanent president. Redding in his « Reminiscences » gives further details concerning the Association: the Earl of Camperdown, Lord Penmuire, G.S.W. Beaumont M.P. and T. Wyse M.P. were vice-presidents. There was a council consisting of fifteen members, among whom were W. Crawford, Colonel de Lacy Evans, M. Gore, W.W. Mackinnon M.P., C. Mackenzie, Captain J. Norton, G. Webster and others. There were also treasurer and honorary secretary. The latter was Mr. Bach, on whose shoulders the greater part of labour fell.

In order to avoid the suspicion of the Government and, above all, of the Russian Ambassador, the articles of the statutes were chiefly literary:

« *The Literary Association of the Friends of Poland*, is instituted for the diffusion of general knowledge of the history and events of the ancient Kingdom of Poland, and for collecting all such information as may tend to preserve in the public mind of Great Britain a lively interest in the condition of that country.... »

« The Society shall commence the formation of a Library, to consist especially of works treating on the history, geography, statistics and general literature of Poland, and also on the laws of the nations and the Public Law of Europe »

« The Anniversary Meeting of the Society shall be held on February 12, being the birthday of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, one of the most exalted and magnanimous characters in the annuals of mankind » ⁴⁶⁾.

This last article proves again Campbell's undying admiration for the Polish hero of his youth.

In 1832, an *Address of the Literary Polish Association to the People of Great Britain* was published and circulated in pamphlet form. Composed entirely by Campbell himself, it is one of the warmest appeals ever written by an English pen on behalf of Poland's rights and in condemnation of the outrages committed against her. Its contents, moreover, are the key to the poem *The Power of Russia* and the most authoritative commentary upon it. The address found its way to a large

46) These Regulations were published in the 1st number of *Polonia, or Monthly Reports on Polish Affairs*, published by the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland, August 1832, pp. 1-6.

public, drew many important members to the Literary Polish Association and rendered it very popular in London ⁴⁷⁾.

Campbell's initiative was soon followed in other towns in England, and during 1832 Polish Societies were formed in Birmingham, Hull, Warwick, Leeds, York, Manchester, Sheffield and Nottingham. His appeal was also warmly answered in Scotland. The Glasgow Polish Society paid him homage in carrying the resolution: « that thanks be voted to the illustrious townsman Thomas Campbell, the bard of Poland and of Hope, and the originator and President of the first Polish Association established in Great Britain » ⁴⁸⁾.

The London Association and the provincial Societies expended their programme in two main directions. First they tried to reach the ear of the public: meetings, declarations, pamphlets, books and periodicals such as *Polonia* in London or *The Hull Polish Record*, helped to spread reliable information concerning the rights of Poland, her past history and her present condition. Secondly, they endeavoured to influence Parliament by furnishing the Members with all historical and legal arguments in justification of Poland's claims. It was under the influence of the Association that R. Cutler Fergusson M.P. presented in April 1832 before the House of Commons the motion « that the Emperor of Russia holds the sovereignty over Poland on the terms and conditions on which he received it from the Congress of Vienna, and by no other title », accusing Tsar Nicholas of having based his rule over Poland « not on the Treaty, but on conquest ». Sir Francis Burdett, whose shattering speech inspired Campbell's poem was also in contact with the Association. These debates, and the affair of the Marquis of Londonderry whose appointment by the King as Ambassador to Russia (1835) was cancelled by the House of Commons because of his anti-Polish attitude — were the real triumphs which the Association achieved in the British Parliament. And the public opinion was openly with them.

The personal activities of Campbell as President of the Association were for him « a sacred duty which he would not abandon ». This dedication is continually reflected in his letters. « The affairs of Poland » — he wrote on 28th June 1832 — « are getting more and more interesting...

47) The full title of the pamphlet is: *Address of the Literary Polish Association to the People of Great Britain, to which is added a Letter from Samuel T. Howe, Esq. of the United States, to Thomas Campbell, Esq.* London, printed by George Eccles, 101 Fenchurch Street, 1832, (pp. 22). Very few copies of the pamphlet are now in existence. The Glasgow University Library possesses a printed copy preserved together with the original manuscript in Campbell's handwriting, which contains all the printed text (except the additional letter of Samuel T. Howe). This manuscript was kept by Adolphus Bach in a mahogany case together with the printed copy, and bequeathed by him to the « beloved Alma Mater of Thomas Campbell ». On the paper band around the Ms, its authenticity is confirmed in Bach's hand: « MS Address of the Literary Polish Association to the People of Great Britain, written by Thomas Campbell in 1832. Deposited in this case in 1852. A. Bach ». (Glasgow University Library, presented MS. 1171-1870; MS 2-X.7).

The Address was also published in Paris in a French translation: *Adresse de la Société Littéraire Polonoise de Londres au Peuple de la Grande Bretagne* (signé Th. Campbell), Paris, Imp. de Guirandot, 1832.

K. ESTREICHER gives in his *Bibliografia Polska* the title of another pamphlet written — as he notes in brackets — by Walewski Alexander and Campbell Thomas: *Poland. The Polish Question Shortly Stated by an Englishman*. London 1831. Unfortunately I could not find this pamphlet.

48) Quoted by Dr. GRZEBIENIOWSKI *The Polish Cause in England a Century ago* in the *Slav. Rev.* vol. XI, 1932-33.

We have got the subject into Parliament. We have auxiliary Polish Societies in the provinces. Everywhere the subject stirs up indignation and enthusiasm... The business of the Association has accordingly engrossed much of my time: I have a heavy correspondence to keep up ... I have letters in French, German and even Latin to write — for we have correspondents as far as Hungary... This very evening, Mr. Cutlar Fergusson's motion on the question of Poland comes on in the House of Commons. The decision of that question — whatever it be — will bring things to a crisis» And on July 31st he notes: « In order to be able in our monthly journal called « Polonia », to repel the doubts of Sir Robert Peel, I sat down with others to examine, and probe to the quick, the truth of those reports of Russian cruelty which have reached us... » On October the 5th he wrote to his sister: « ...hardly anything on earth can give me pleasure, for Poland preys on my heart night and day ».

In his service to the Polish cause, Campbell immersed himself also in the life of the Polish exiles. In continual contact with Prince Czartoryski and other prominent leaders, both civilian and military, he meets new arrivals, shares in their reunions, their discussions, their thoughts and problems. Above all, however, he is indefatigable in organizing help for those who are in need. His heart is deeply involved in this work, and his letters full of details in this respect. On November 5th 1832, he writes: « ... If you knew what I have undergone by finding myself... standing between the Polish exiles and utter famine! Numbers have arrived in London chased by Russian influence from Germany... » and on November 5th: « The increasing number of cases of distress among the Polish refugees has compelled Bach and myself to be as active as possible in stirring about for them. Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Dover have been most praiseworthy in their co-operation.... Lady Burdett has also been very kind, both in donations and promises of more ». On December 4th he states: « About four-score refugees have been supported or relieved and sent abroad, by our Society. But the task of doing so was left entirely to your humble servant and our indefatigable and worthy secretary, Adolphus Bach... » In this work, so full of warmest sympathy, Campbell's indignation is roused again by the contrast between the heroic glory of the Polish exiles and their present fate: « It was too much to see — he exclaims — the bravest of the brave weeping in gratitude for a morcel of bread! »

Fresh details of Campbell's pro-Polish activities are found in hitherto unpublished letters written by him to Prince Czartoryski and Niemcewicz ⁴⁹). In the first two of June 1832, to the Polish poet and the Prince respectively ⁵⁰), Campbell invites them to visit an important school in Hampstead in which he was particularly interested. His desire was to

49) These unpublished letters are in the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, in a collection called « Small Safe » (Campbell's MSS). This collection contains the remnants of Dr. Beattie's papers, assembled during his writing of *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell* and not incorporated in his work. Here we find some unpublished letters sent to Dr. Beattie in copies by Prince Czartoryski, as is confirmed by the following note: « *Le Prince Czartoryski présente ses compliments à Mr. William Beattie et il a l'honneur de lui communiquer, conformément à ses désirs, quelques lettres de Th. Campbell qui ont pu être retrouvées. Le Prince prie Mr. Beattie de vouloir bien excuser le retard de cet envoi, causé en partie par son éloignement de Paris, et d'agréer l'assurance de sa considération très distinguée.* Paris le 17 Juillet, 1847, Hôtel Lambert. (Note not signed, handwriting of one of the secretaries of the Prince).

50) See Appendix II: letter to J.U. Niemcewicz of 19.6.1832 and letter to Prince Czartoryski of 23.6.1832 (« Small Safe », Mitchell Library, Glasgow).

make these Polish patriots known to the youth of the school, who were enthusiastic for Poland and her cause. Moreover, another idea was already germinating in his head, and he expressed it in the third of the mentioned letters, that of 22 October 1832 to Prince Adam Czartoryski⁵¹⁾. His suggestion was that a similar school, a Polish College for the young generation of exiles, should be founded in Paris for the conservation and promotion of Polish ideals and culture. The necessary funds could be raised by subscriptions among members of the Polish Societies in England and abroad. This ambitious plan did not immediately succeed. However, the «Ecole Polonaise» did, in fact, come into being in 1843 under the auspices of Prince Czartoryski, and achieved renown and importance in the cultural annals of the Polish émigrés in France. It is interesting to state that the first initiative came from Campbell, and that his name can be mentioned in association with this important Polish educational institution.

This far-sighted idea shows that Campbell's interest in the Polish cause embraced other terrains of action than his own in Great Britain. Further proof can be found in his two letters to Count Louis Plater⁵²⁾. In the first he thanks the *Société Historique et Littéraire* in Paris for having elected him as member of that Society, in the second he keeps up the co-operation between the London Association and the Paris Society by discussing current problems of the work.

Nevertheless, all this feverish activity in which he was so deeply involved emotionally, was beginning to tell on Campbell's health. Dr. Beattie relates that «he was beset every hour of the day by appeals to his sympathy — solicitations for assistance, literary and pecuniary — and these to a man who had seldom the fortitude to resist a pressing request, became more and more intolerable»⁵³⁾. In May 1833, Campbell feels with regret that he must curtail some of his responsibilities and decides to resign from the presidency of the Association. Happily, the new president, Lord Dudley Coutts-Stuart, continued splendidly and with great zeal the work initiated by Campbell⁵⁴⁾.

Thus, Campbell's official duties came to an end, but not his personal interest in Polish affairs, nor his help whenever it was needed. In 1834 he visits the Polish Literary Society in Paris. In 1836 he is in Glasgow speaking to the Polish Society there. At the same time, from Edinburgh, he writes to Lord Dudley Coutts-Stuart concerning help for newly arrived Polish exiles⁵⁵⁾. In 1837 the London Association elects him to sit on the Committee for the Accounts of the Association. And all the time he

51) Letter to Prince Czartoryski of 22.10.1832. («Small Safe», Mitchell Library, Glasgow).

52) See Appendix II: two letters to Count Louis Plater, Actes de la Société Historique et Littéraire de Paris, No. 30, p. 153, 492/II of 12.10.1832, and No. 31, 492/III p. 337, of 9.12.1832.

53) BEATTIE William: *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, London, E. Moxon, 1849.

54) Thanks to the kindness of the late Earl of Harrowby I was able to copy the «Polish Correspondence» of Lord Dudley Coutts-Stuart and the Earl of Harrowby and have it prepared for publication. It contains more than six hundred letters of nearly two hundred persons, the most interesting being those of Prince Adam Czartoryski (51), General Ladislas Zamoyski (54), Count Valerian Krasinski (22), Dudley Coutts-Stuart (22 drafts of letters) and some confidential reports and documents. The Harrowby MSS present, at least in part, an important historical documentation for the times between the two Polish Insurrections, that of 1830/31 and 1863.

55) See Appendix II: Letter to Lord Dudley Coutts-Stuart, Harrowby MSS, Sandon.

remains in contact with the Polish leaders and British friends of Poland, ever ready to serve with advice or in any other way.

However, the passage of years turns the once fashionable poet, the idealistic enthusiast, into a tired, sick and disillusioned man. His muse seems to have deserted him, his energy is spent. In the autumn of 1843 Campbell goes to Boulogne with his beloved niece, Mary Campbell, and dies there some months later on the 15th of June 1844, attended by his physician and friend, Dr. Beattie. In the Boulogne local paper a glowing panegyric appeared stating his value as a man and patriot, and in the Paris press « noble tributes were offered to his memory as the Poet of Freedom, and the Friend of the Human Race ». On July the 3rd Campbell's remains were buried in the Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey. One of the Poles present, Colonel Lach-Szyrma, took a handful of earth, which had been brought for the purpose from the tomb of Kosciuszko and scattered it over the coffin as it was laid in its resting place.

6.

It is an interesting literary question: why did Campbell's reputation, so brilliant in his lifetime, vanish almost completely after his death?

In his essay on *Death* Francis Bacon says: « Who can see worse days than he that yet living doth follow at the funeral of his own reputation? » In this respect Campbell may be considered one of the most fortunate among poets. His fame never diminished during his lifetime. His first poem rapidly attained fame and had an exceptionally good sale: in three years seven large editions followed in quick succession. Even more astonishing was the sale of his poetical works during the last years of his life. Both the public's response to his poetry, and the verdicts of the prominent critics of his time, reveal a perfect concurrence of opinion between critic and reader. By both he was first held in highest esteem and later condemned to oblivion.

Campbell's poetry was much appreciated by such eminent literary figures as Byron, Goethe and Mme de Staël. In his biting satire on *English Bards and Scottish Reviewers*, Byron did not hesitate to hail Campbell as one of the greatest geniuses, though neglected ⁵⁶). In a letter to Murray of September 2nd 1814 Byron wrote: « ... he (Campbell) has an unpublished poem on a scene in Germany... which I saw last year, that is perfectly magnificent and equal to himself. I wonder he doesn't publish it » ⁵⁷). In another letter (of December 5th 1813) even when reproaching Campbell for having « abused Corinne's book », Byron added: Campbell « is the best of judges. I reverence and admire him... » ⁵⁸).

However, we must remember that « Byron looked up to Campbell with that tributary admiration which youthful genius is ever ready to pay its precursors » ⁵⁹).

56) « To the famed throng now paid the tribute due,
Neglected genius! let me turn to you.
Come forth, oh Campbell! give thy talents scope;
Who dares aspire if thou must cease to hope? »

57) *Hohenlinden*. MOORE in *Byron's Life* vol. III p. 109.

58) *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 292.

59) *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 91.

« I consider Campbell » said Goethe in a discussion on English poets, « as more classical than my favourite Byron and far above any modern English poet whose works have fallen in my way... In Campbell's poems there is strength, combined with great natural simplicity of style and a power of exciting high emotions, independently of brilliant epithets or metretic ornaments » ⁶⁰).

Of course, in declaring that Campbell was more classical than Byron, Goethe was not awarding the palm of priority to Campbell: his statement was no more than just discrimination between Campbell as a classical and Byron as a romantic poet. Goethe's praise of a great natural simplicity of style certainly related to such poems as *Hohenlinden* and *Ye Mariners of England*, and in this case the praise was justified. Also Campbell's « strength » and « power of exciting high emotions » are apparent both in the *Downfall of Poland* and in the above mentioned *Songs of Battle*.

Mme de Staël was an even more enthusiastic admirer of Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope*. In a letter to him ⁶¹) she wrote: « Pendant les dix années... Monsieur, le Poème anglais qui m'a causé le plus d'émotion — le poème qui ne me quittait jamais — et que je relisais sans cesse pour adoucir mes chagrins par l'élévation de l'âme — c'est "Les Plaisirs de l'Espérance" ».

As a few weeks earlier Campbell offered to superintend the translation » of Mme de Staël's « new work », this reply might have been calculated to dispose him more favourable to the forthcoming task. Yet the enthusiastic French authoress may certainly have been moved by Campbell's diatribes against the tyrants placed as they were against the background of his dithyrambs of « sweet Hope ». Thus, although the canons of criticism forbid us to accept without reservation the flattering opinions of the three eminent writers, the fact remains that their essential import is highly favourable to Campbell as a poet.

All English critics who wrote on Campbell's poetry are unanimous as regards his *Battle Songs*. They are considered as the best poetical production in that *genre* in English literature. As to other works opinions are divided. Hazlitt, for instance, preferred *Gertrude of Wyoming* to *The Pleasures of Hope*. According to him, Campbell in *The Pleasures of Hope* had not completely emancipated himself from the more artificial style of poetry, while in the *Battle of Hohenlinden* he reached the highest level of lyrical spirit and sound ⁶²). William Minto on the other hand, writing in the latter part of the century, said with a deeper insight: « The truth is, that beneath the smooth and glossy artificial crust of *The Pleasures of Hope* there was more of the spirit of the French Revolution than we find either in Wordsworth or in Coleridge... Campbell was directly influenced in the tone of the thoughts that he expressed in verse by the political circumstances of his time and though he pointed his moral specially

60) Quoted by B. III p. 441, as being an extract from a letter from J. Guillamard Esq. These words of Goethe were not written by himself, but were spoken in a conversation and recorded from memory by a stranger. Yet they seem to have been truthfully rendered and merit acceptance.

61) From Stockholm. 5th January 1813.

62) HAZLITT W. *Lectures on the English Poets*, London 1818, and *The Spirit of the Age or Contemporary Portraits*, published anonymously, London 1825.

against Russian tyranny in Poland, there shines through his verse unmistakable evidence of sympathy with the motives and aspirations of Revolutionists elsewhere»⁶³). This opinion is given further development by a foreign critic, George Brandes⁶⁴), who sees in Campbell «not only a national poet in the sense in which Wordsworth was one, but also, from his youth to his death, an enthusiastic lover of liberty... To him the cause of his country and the cause of liberty are one and the same thing, and in his best verse there is a spirit, a swinging march time, and a fire that entitles him, if only for the sake of half a dozen short pieces, to a place among great poets».

«Campbell», says Brandes, «is greatest in his poetry of freedom, in poems like *Men of England*, *Stanzas on the Battle of Navarion*, *Lines on Poland*, *The Power of Russia*, and such noble, profound expressions of spiritual freedom as that entitled *Hallowed Ground*. In such productions as these he plainly shows his spiritual superiority to the poets of the Lake School, who like him, wrote glorious verse in honour of the nations who were struggling for their independence. The Lake Poets honoured the struggle only when it was against the tyranny of Napoleon, England's enemy. Campbell makes no difference of this kind: in the name of freedom he often exhorts and even rebukes England, whereas to the other poets she is freedom's very heart and home...

«Campbell's joy at the liberation of Greece is as genuine as his grief over the fall of Poland: but the poem on Poland is more ardent, in its indignation, its hope, its lament that "*England has not heart to throw the gauntlet down*". And the verses on the power of Russia display as clear an understanding of the danger to civilization which lies in the success of Russia, and of the real significance of the defeat of Poland as if a statesman had turned poet»⁶⁵).

Compared with these words the judgement of Hadden⁶⁶) who said that: «the well-spring of poetry was not vouchsafed to Campbell. He worked from the outside, not from the depth of his own spirit», seems difficult to understand. His opinion, however, supports the view that in his own country Campbell's fame had vanished by the end of the nineteenth century. We may well wonder what were the reasons of this collapse?

As has been already mentioned, Campbell's poetical reputation arose from the popular appeal of his ideals and of the classical style in which they were expressed, a style greatly admired at that period. In addition, his arrival on the literary scene took place at a propitious moment of poetical *interregnum*. *The Pleasures of Hope*, *Songs of Battle* or *Gertrude*

63) MINTO William, *The Literature of the Georgian Era*, W. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1894.

64) BRANDES George, *Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature*, London W. Heinemann, 1905, vol. 4. pp. 189 ss.

65) In addition to George Brandes two other later foreign contributions to the comparative study of Campbell's poetry should be mentioned: *Wordsworth's Influence on Thomas Campbell* by Albert Morton TURNER, Modern Language Assoc. of America, vol. XXXVIII, Menasha, Wisconsin 1923, pp. 253-266, and *Lord Byrons Stellung zu den Klassizisten seiner Zeit* by Dr. Hartman Heinrich von TANGERHÜTTE, 1932.

66) HADDEN James Cathbert: *Thomas Campbell* (Famous Scots Series) publ. by Oliphant Anderson and Ferrier, Edinburgh-London, 1899.

of *Wyoming* were received with unbounded enthusiasm by his contemporaries. *Lochiel, Glenara and Ye Mariners of England* supplied quotations to all ranks of society. This popularity was not reduced to Britain. Two or three editions of *The Pleasures of Hope*, translated by Albert de Montemont, were followed by a German one. *Lochiel's Warning, O' Connor's Child* (before 1822) ⁶⁷⁾ and *The Last Man* (before 1830) ⁶⁸⁾ were translated into Polish. But by the middle of the century the whole mood of popular ideas and taste had already undergone a fundamental change. Moreover, there was something in the character of Campbell himself, his desire for fame mixed with exaggerated self-criticism, his hesitations often strangely mistaken, which checked the fund of impetuosity within him and kept him within the bounds of a transitional period.

The transitional position of Campbell between the classical school and the romantic one has been clearly expressed by Professor W. Macneille Dixon ⁶⁹⁾. George Saintsbury held the same opinion: « Campbell remains an interesting example, both in himself and to literary history, of the dangers of a transitional period » ⁷⁰⁾.

Campbell was always and generally regarded as a classical poet. All, from Lord Byron onwards allude to his « defence of Pope », but seldom mention his admiration for Burns, whom Campbell in his *Specimens* clearly praises as a *romantic poet*. Campbell was never in opposition to the Romantic Movement. What is more, in his own poetical works like *Battle Songs*, and such fine lyrics as *Lines on Revisiting a scene in Argyllshire* or the *Last Man*, he followed in form, in spirit and in creative elements, the writers of the romantic odes and ballads. His passion for liberty and revolutionary sympathies are also of a romantic, rather than classical tone. Yet, admitting and understanding the principles of the Romantic school, he always shrank from openly joining it.

Thus, we can sum up the *literary* cause of the « death » of Campbell's fame. The romantic school had triumphed definitely and Campbell who remained at the cross-roads and did not pass openly into the ranks of the new school, was totally superseded by the victorious romantic poets. But it happened that the *para-poetical* elements, namely his political ideals lost their meaning and value in the second half of the nineteenth century. With the triumphant reaction, with the domination of the « realistic » alliances amongst European monarchies, the democratic ideals of liberty and brotherhood among nations were more and more forcibly silenced. The international worker movement, Socialism, had not yet raised its voice. After 1840 Russia, Prussia and Austria were the dominant rulers of European foreign policy. The quadruple treaties, signed by Great Britain, Russia Prussia and Austria in London, the first in 1840, and the second in 1841, were the triumph of Lord Palmerston's foreign policy on

67) Mentioned in an article signed S. (Sienkiewicz or Szyrma?) *English Literature in Poland* in Blackwood's Magazine vol. XI. 1822 p. 329.

68) K. ESTREICHER in *Bibliografia Polska* states that *The Last Man* was translated by K. Piotrowski and *O' Connor's Child* by Lach-Szyrma (into verse), Kraków 1858. More recently S. Baliński translated *Lines on Poland* and J.A. Teslar *Ye Mariners of England, The Downfall of Poland and Lines on Poland*.

69) W. MACNEILLE DIXON: *English Poetry* p. 136.

70) G. SAINTSBURY: *The Prosody of the Nineteenth Century* in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. XII, p. 101.

the Turkish question and brought about a « Concert of Europe » in which Russia had, if not the leading and predominant position, at least an equal one to that of Great Britain.

From that time on, for Great Britain, as well as France — to use the words of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jules Bastide, — « Poland was no longer interesting » (1848).

A few sporadic protests of the British public opinion in favour of Poland remain again fruitless. From 1846 to 1848 a new but short lived pro-Polish Society presented a series of petitions to the House of Commons demanding « the intervention of the British Government for the restoration of the nationality of Poland ». Needless to say that these were just a few more noble voices crying in the wilderness.

After 1863, when the last hopeless Polish Insurrection was smashed by Russia, the cause of Poland lost its last defenders in Britain. The Societies of the Friends of Poland, so numerous after 1831, now disappeared gradually and silently.

As literature is a true mirror of the life of any nation, — literary homages to Poland and to her great sons, paid by English poets and writers — abundant in the first half of the XIXth century — ceased totally in the second half. The poems or prose of Coleridge (1794), Campbell (1799 and again 1831 and 1832), Jane Porter (1803), Keats (1816), Wordsworth (1816), Byron (some lines 1823), Savage Landor (1824), Cunningham (1832), Tennyson (1833) — were all written and published before 1840. After that we hear no more of Poland in English literature. There is silence on this subject among the statesmen and the common people of Britain, as well.

Thus, one of Campbell's biographers of that time wrote with sincerity: « *the Polish cause proved to be one of those phantoms on which Campbell uselessly wasted so much of his life* ».

The dominant chords of Campbell's lyre were love of freedom both individual and national and brotherly feeling towards his fellow creatures, the tone having, for natural resonance, scorn and hatred for tyranny and selfishness. These two chords sound particularly loudly in the four poems on Poland, a courageous public manifestation of the feelings widespread in Britain at that time. This political romanticism, however, was extinct and was superseded by the « positivism » so characteristic of the later half of the nineteenth century.

Who then could recite Campbell's burning lines against the tyrants? These lines would have sounded bitterly false. Campbell's poetry, so greatly and universally admired, read and quoted in his lifetime, fell out of fashion and was finally forgotten by the end of the century.

This, however, could not be its ultimate fate. Today Romanticism as well as Classicism belong to the past. Nobody can pretend to restore Campbell's fame and popularity to all their former vigour. But, although literary moods may change, yet the immortal idea even when silenced or forbidden for a spell, never dies. The noble ideas proclaimed by Campbell in sincerely inspired lines live for ever. His form too is not entirely worthy of contempt or oblivion.

With the beginning of the twentieth century, on the eve of the political changes in Europe and in the world, came the time for fuller and juster appreciation of Campbell's poetry and of his place in English literature. After the edition prepared by Campbell's nephew-in-law Lewis Campbell

in 1904, J. Logie Robertson, a fine critic and himself a poet, published his Oxford edition of *The Complete Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell* (1907). His feelings and thoughts at the end of his editorial are worth remembering: « I rise from a careful perusal of Campbell's poetry with a feeling of mingled surprise and indignation, that he is at present so much neglected and with the conviction that a later generation will do more honour to his memory than we have done. It is not enough to say that he had his fame in his lifetime, that he was well pensioned for what he did... One might reply that the services he rendered his country by his patriotic songs have not ceased or been superseded by any later master of the lyre; and though he is by no means equal, and his inequalities are far from microscopic, yet the author little deserves neglect who has written such fine, bold and varied poems ». (Here he gives the titles of the best poems of Campbell and he quotes among them *The Downfall of Poland*). « These and other such pieces will never be forgotten as long as the national heart responds to manly sentiment, or the imagination is capable of feeling the charm and magic influence of genuine poetry ».

In concluding, I wish to add to Logie Robertson's short list of Campbell's works of permanent value the other « Polish » poems. Of course, they too were marred by inequalities of style, by certain imperfections of form, by the roughness which is apparent here and there. They could have been much improved if the poet had revised them and given them a more concise shape, as he did in the case of the *Battle of the Baltic*. In strength and quality they fail to equal his best *Songs of Battle*. Still, by their noble elevation and burning flame of feeling they belong to, and enrich, the treasury of English poetry.

APPENDIX I

Four poems by Thomas Campbell:

1. The Downfall of Poland (*from The Pleasures of Hope*).
2. Lines on Poland.
3. The Power of Russia.
4. To Sir Francis Burdett.

1. THE DOWNFALL OF POLAND

(*The Pleasures of Hope*, Part I, lines 349-440.)

Oh! sacred Truth! thy triumph ceased awhile,
And HOPE, thy sister, ceased with thee to smile,
When leagued Oppression pour'd to Northern wars
Her whisker'd pandoors and her fierce hussars,
Waved her dread standard to the breeze of morn.
Peal'd her loud drum, and twang'd her trumpet horn
Tumultuous horror brooded o'er her van,
Presaging wrath to Poland—and to man!

Warsaw's last champion from her height survey'd,
Wide o'er the fields, a waste of ruin laid,—
« Oh! Heaven » he cried, « my bleeding country save!—
Is there no hand on high to shield the brave?
Yet, though destruction sweep those lovely plains,
Rise, fellow-men! our country yet remains!
By that dread name, we wave the sword on high!
And swear for her to live!—with her to die! »

He said, and on the rampart-heights array'd
His trusty warriors, few, but undismay'd;
Firm-paced and slow, a horrid front they form,
Still as the breeze, but dreadful as the storm;
Low murmuring sounds along their banners fly,
Revenge, or death,—the watch-word and reply;
Then peal'd the notes, omnipotent to charm,
And the loud tocsin toll'd their last alarm!—

In vain, alas! in vain, ye gallant few!
From rank to rank your volley'd thunder flew:—
Oh, bloodiest picture in the book of Time,
Sarmatia fell, unwept, without a crime;
Found not a generous friend, a pitying foe,
Strength in her arms, nor mercy in her woe!
Dropp'd from her nerveless grasp the shatter'd spear
Closed her bright eye, and curb'd her high career;—
HOPE, for a season, bade the world farewell,
And Freedom shriek'd—as KOSCIUSKO fell!

The sun went down, nor ceased the carnage there,
Tumultuous Murder shook the midnight air—
On Prague's proud arch the fires of ruin glow,
His blood-dyed waters murmuring far below;
The storm prevails, the rampart yields a way,
Bursts the wild cry of horror and dismay!
Hark, as the smouldering piles with thunder fall,
A thousand shrieks for hopeless mercy call!
Earth shook—red meteors flash'd along the sky,
And conscious Nature shudder'd at the cry!

Oh! righteous Heaven; ere Freedom found a grave,
Why slept the sword omnipotent to save?
Where was thine arm, O Vengeance! where thy rod,
That smote the foes of Zion and of God;
That crush'd proud Ammon, when his iron car
Was yoked in wrath, and thunder'd from afar?
Where was the storm that slumber'd till the host
Of blood-stain'd Pharaoh left their trembling coast
Then bade the deep in wild commotion flow,
And heaved an ocean on their march below?

Departed spirits of the mighty dead!
Ye that at Marathon and Leuctra bled!
Friends of the world! restore your swords to man,
Fight in his sacred cause, and lead the van!
Yet for Sarmatia's tears of blood atone,
And make her arm puissant as your own!
Oh! once again to Freedom's cause return
The patriot TELL—the BRUCE OF BANNOCKBURN!

Yes! thy proud lords, unpitied land! shall see
That man hath yet a soul—and dare be free!
A little while, along thy saddening plains,
The starless night of Desolation reigns;
Truth shall restore the light by Nature given,
And, like Prometheus, bring the fire of Heaven!
Prone to the dust Oppression shall be hurl'd,
Her name, her nature, wither'd from the world!

[II]

Ye that the rising morn invidious mark,
And hate the light—because your deeds are dark;
Ye that expanding truth invidious view,
And think, or wish, the song of HOPE untrue;
Perhaps your little hands presume to span
The march of Genius and the powers of man;
Perhaps ye watch, at Pride's unhallow'd shrine,
Her victims, newly slain, and thus divine:—
« Here shall thy triumph, Genius, cease,—and here
Truth, Science, Virtue, close your short career ».

Tyrants! in vain ye trace the wizard ring;
In vain ye limit Mind's unwearied spring:
What! can ye lull the winged winds asleep,
Arrest the rolling world, or chain the deep?
No!—the wild wave contemns your sceptred hand:
It roll'd not back when Canute gave command!

Man! can thy doom no brighter soul allow?
Still must thou live a blot on Nature's brow?
Shall War's polluted banner ne'er be furl'd?
Shall crimes and tyrants cease but with the world?
What! are thy triumphs, sacred Truth, belied?
Why then hath Plato lived—or Sidney died?

2. LINES ON POLAND

And have I lived to see thee sword in hand
Uprise again, immortal Polish Land!—
Whose flag brings more than chivalry to mind,
And leaves the tri-color in shade behind;
A theme for uninspired lips too strong!
That swells my heart beyond the power of song:—
Majestic men, whose deeds have dazzled faith,
Ah! yet your fate's suspense arrests my breath;
Whilst envying bosoms bared to shot and steel,
I feel the more that fruitlessly I feel.

Poles! with what indignation I endure
Th' half-pitying servile mouths that call you poor:
Poor! is it England mocks you with her grief,
Who hates, but dares not chide, th' *Imperial Thief*?
France with her soul beneath a Bourbon's thrall,
And Germany that has no soul at all,—
States, quailing at the giant overgrown,
Whom dauntless Poland grapples with alone?
No, ye are rich in fame e'en whilst ye bleed:
We cannot aid you—*we* are poor indeed!
In Fate's defiance—in the world's great eye,

Poland has won her Immortality;
 The Butcher, should he reach her bosom now,
 Could not tear Glory's garland from her brow;
 Wreath'd, filleted, the victim falls renown'd,
 And all her ashes will be holy ground!
 But turn, my soul, from presages so dark:
 Great Poland's spirit is a deathless spark
 That's fann'd by Heaven to mock the Tyrant's rage:
 She, like the eagle, will renew her age,
 And fresh historic plumes of Fame put on,
 Another Athens after Marathon,—
 Where eloquence shall fulmine, arts refine,
 Bright as her arms that now in battle shine.
 Come—should the heavenly shock my life destroy,
 And shut its flood-gates with excess of joy!
 Come but the day when Poland's fight is won—
 And on my grave-stone shine the morrow's sun—
 The day that sees Warsaw's cathedral glow
 With endless ensigns ravish'd from the foe,—
 Her women lifting their fair hands with thanks,
 Her pious warriors kneeling in their ranks,
 The scutcheon'd walls of high heraldic boast,
 The odorous altars' elevated host,
 The organ sounding through the aisle's long glooms,
 The mighty dead seen sculptured o'er their tombs;
 (John, Europe's saviour—Poniatowski's fair
 Resemblance—Kosciusko's shall be there;)
 The taper'd pomp—the hallelujah's swell,
 Shall o'er the soul's devotion cast a spell,
 Till visions cross the rapt enthusiast's glance,
 And all the scene becomes a waking trance.
 Should Fate put far—far off that glorious scene,
 And gulfs of havoc interpose between,
 Imagine not, ye men of every clime,
 Who act, or by your sufferance share, the crime—
 Your brother Abel's blood shall vainly plead
 Against the « *deep damnation* » of the deed.
 Germans, ye view its horror and disgrace
 With cold phosphoric eyes and phlegm of face.
 Is Allemagne profound in science, lore,
 And minstrel art?—her shame is but the more
 To doze and dream by governments oppress'd,
 The spirit of a book-worm in each breast.
 Well can ye mouth fair Freedom's classic line
 And talk of Constitutions o'er your wine:
 But all your vows to break the tyrant's yoke
 Expire in Bacchanalian song and smoke;
 Heavens! can no ray of foresight pierce the leads
 And mystic metaphysics of your heads,
 To show the self-same grave, Oppression delves
 For Poland's rights, is yawning for yourselves?

See, whilst the Pole, the vanguard aid of France,
 Has vaulted on his barb and couch'd the lance,
 France turns from her abandon'd friends afresh,
 And soothes the Bear that prowls for patriot flesh:
 Buys, ignominious purchase! short repose,
 With dying curses, and the groans of those
 That served, and loved, and put in her their trust.
 Frenchmen! the dead accuse you from the dust—
 Brows laurell'd—bosoms mark'd with many a scar
 For France—that wore her Legion's noblest star,
 Cast dumb reproaches from the field of Death
 On Gallic honour: and this broken faith
 Has robb'd you more of Fame—the life of life—
 Than twenty battles lost in glorious strife!
 And what of England?—is she steep'd so low
 In poverty, crest-fallen, and palsied so,
 That we must sit much wroth, but timorous more,
 With Murder knocking at our neighbour's door!—
 Not Murder mask'd and cloak'd with hidden knife,
 Whose owner owes the gallows life for life;
 But *Public Murder!*—that with pomp and gaud,
 And royal scorn of Justice, walks abroad
 To wring more tears and blood than e'er were wrung
 By all the culprits Justice ever hung!
 We read the diadem'd Assassin's vaunt,
 And wince, and wish we had not hearts to pant
 With useless indignation—sigh, and frown,
 But have not hearts to throw the gauntlet down.

If but a doubt hung o'er the grounds of fray,
 Or trivial rapine stopp'd the world's highway;
 Were this some common strife of States embroil'd;—
 Britannia on the spoiler and the spoil'd
 Might calmly look, and, asking time to breathe,
 Still honourably wear her olive wreath.
 But this is Darkness combating with Light;
 Earth's adverse Principles for empire fight:
 Oppression, that has belted half the globe,
 Far as his knout could reach or dagger probe,
 Holds reeking o'er our brother-freemen slain
 That dagger—shakes it at us in disdain;
 Talks big to Freedom's states of Poland's thrall,
 And, trampling one, contemns them one and all.

My Country! colours not thy once proud brow
 At this affront?—Hast thou not fleets enow
 With Glory's streamer, lofty as the lark,
 Gay fluttering o'er each thunder-bearing bark,
 To warm the insulter's seas with barbarous blood,
 And interdict his flag from Ocean's flood?
 Ev'n now far off the sea-cliff, where I sing,
 I see, my Country and my Patriot king!
 Your ensign glad the deep. Becalm'd and slow

A war-ship rides; while Heaven's prismatic bow
 Uprisen behind her on th' horizon's base,
 Shines flushing through the tackle, shrouds, and stays,
 And wraps her giant form in one majestic blaze.
 My soul accepts the omen: Fancy's eye
 Has sometimes a veracious augury:
 The Rainbow types Heaven's promise to my sight;
 The Ship, Britannia's interposing Might!
 But if there should be none to aid you, Poles,
 Ye'll but to prouder pitch wind up your souls,
 Above example, pity, praise, or blame,
 To sow and reap a boundless field of Fame.
 Ask aid no more from Nations that forget
 Your championship—old Europe's mighty debt.
 Though Poland, Lazarus-like, has burst the gloom,
 She rises not a beggar from the tomb:
 In Fortune's frown, on Danger's giddiest brink,
 Despair and Poland's name must never link.
 All ills have bounds—plague, whirlwind, fire, and flood:
 Ev'n Power can spill but bounded sums of blood.
 States caring not what Freedom's price may be,
 May late or soon, but must at last be free;
 For body-killing tyrants cannot kill
 The public soul—the hereditary will
 That downward, as from sire to son it goes,
 By shifting bosoms more intensely glows:
 Its heir-loom is the heart, and slaughter'd men
 Fight fiercer in their orphans o'er again.
 Poland recasts—though rich in heroes old—
 Her men in more and more heroic mould:
 Her Eagle ensign best among mankind
 Becomes, and types her eagle-strength of mind:
 Her praise upon my faltering lips expires:
 Resume it, younger bards, and nobler lyres!

3. THE POWER OF RUSSIA

So all this gallant blood has gush'd in vain;
 And Poland, by the Northern Condor's beak
 And talons torn, lies prostrated again!
 O British patriots, that were wont to speak
 Once loudly on this theme, now hush'd or meek!
 O heartless men of Europe—Goth and Gaul,
 Cold, adder-deaf to Poland's dying shriek;—
 That saw the world's last land of heroes fall—
 The brand of burning shame is on you all—all!

But this is not the drama's closing act!
 Its tragic curtain must arise anew.

Nations, mute accessories to the fact!
That Upas-tree of power, whose fostering dew
Was Polish blood, has yet to cast o'er you
The lengthening shadow of its head elate—
A deadly shadow, darkening Nature's hue.
To all that's hallow'd, righteous, pure and great,
Wo! wo! when they are reach'd by Russia's withering hate.

Russia, that on his throne of adamant,
Consults what nation's breast shall next be gored:
He on Polonia's Golgotha will plant
His standard fresh; and horde succeeding horde,
On patriot tomb-stones he will whet the sword,
For more stupendous slaughters of the free.
Then Europe's realms, when their best blood is pour'd,
Shall miss thee, Poland! as they bend the knee,
All—all in grief, but none in glory, likening thee.

Why smote ye not the Giant whilst he reel'd?
O fair occasion, gone for ever by!
To have lock'd his lances in their northern field,
Innocuous as the phantom chivalry
That flames and hurtles from yon boreal sky!
Now wave thy pennon, Russia, o'er the land
Once Poland; build thy bristling castles high;
Dig dungeons deep; for Poland's wrested brand
Is now a weapon new to widen thy command!—

An awful width! Norwegian woods shall build
His fleets; the Swede his vassal, and the Dane;
The glebe of fifty kingdoms shall be till'd
To feed his dazzling, desolating train,
Camp'd sumless, 'twixt the Black and Baltic main:
Brute hosts, I own; but Sparta could not write,
And Rome, half-barbarous, bound Achaia's chain:
So Russia's spirit, 'midst Slavonic night,
Burns with a fire more dread than all your polish'd light.

But Russia's limbs (so blinded statesmen speak)
Are crude, and too colossal to cohere.
O, lamentable weakness! reckoning weak
The stripling Titan, strengthening year by year.
What implement lacks he for war's career,
That grows on earth, or in its floods and mines,
(Eighth sharer of the inhabitable sphere)
Whom Persia bows to, China ill confines,
And India's homage waits, when Albion's star declines?

But time will teach the Russ, ev'n conquering War
Has handmaid arts: ay, ay, the Russ will woo
All sciences that speed Bellona's car,
All murder's tactic arts, and win them too;
But never holier Muses shall imbue
His breast, that's made of nature's basest clay;
The sabre, knout, and dungeon's vapour blue

His laws and ethics; far from him away
Are all the lovely Nine, that breathe but Freedom's day.

Say, ev'n his serfs, half-humanised, should learn
Their human rights,—will Mars put out his flame
In Russian bosoms? no, he'll bid them burn
A thousand years for nought but martial fame,
Like Romans:—yet forgive me, Roman name!
Rome could impart what Russia never can;
Proud civic rights to salve submission's shame.
Our strife is coming; but in freedom's van
The Polish eagle's fall is big with fate to man.

Proud bird of old! Mohammed's moon recoil'd
Before thy swoop: had we been timely bold,
That swoop, still free, had stunn'd the Russ, and foil'd
Earth's new oppressors, as it foil'd her old.
Now thy majestic eyes are shut and cold:
And colder still Polonia's children find
The sympathetic hands, that we outhold.
But, Poles, when we are gone, the world will mind,
Ye bore the brunt of fate, and bled for humankind.

So hallow'dly have ye fulfill'd your part,
My pride repudiates ev'n the sigh that blends
With Poland's name—name written on my heart.
My heroes, my grief-consecrated friends!
Your sorrow, in nobility, transcends
Your conqueror's joy: his cheek may blush; but shame
Can tinge not yours, though exile's tear descends;
Nor would ye change your conscience, cause, and name,
For his, with all his wealth, and all his felon fame.

Thee, Niemcewicz, whose song of stirring power
The Czar forbids to sound in Polish lands;
Thee, Czartoryski, in thy banish'd bower,
The patricide, who in thy palace stands,
May envy; proudly may Polonia's bands
Throw down their swords at Europe's feet in scorn,
Saying—« Russia from the metal of these brands
Shall forge the fetters of your sons unborn;
Our setting star is your misfortunes' rising morn ».

4. TO SIR FRANCIS BURDETT,

ON HIS SPEECH DELIVERED IN PARLIAMENT, AUGUST 7, 1832,
RESPECTING THE FOREIGN POLICY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BURDETT, enjoy thy justly foremost fame,
Through good and ill report—through calm and storm—
For forty years the pilot of reform!

But that which shall afresh entwine thy name
With patriot laurels never to be sere,
Is that thou hast come nobly forth to chide
Our slumbering statesmen for their lack of pride—
Their flattery of Oppressors, and their fear—
When Britain's lifted finger, and her frown,
Might call the nations up, and cast their tyrants down!

Invoke the scorn—Alas! too few inherit
The scorn for despots cherish'd by our sires,
That baffled Europe's persecuting fires,
And shelter'd helpless states!—Recall that spirit,
And conjure back Old England's haughty mind—
Convert the men who waver now, and pause
Between their love of self and humankind;
And move, Amphion-like, those hearts of stone—
The hearts that have been deaf to Poland's dying groan!

Tell them, we hold the Rights of Man too dear,
To bless ourselves with lonely freedom blest;
But could we hope, with sole and selfish breast,
To breathe untroubled Freedom's atmosphere?—
Suppose we wish'd it? England could not stand
A lone oasis in the desert ground
Of Europe's slavery; from the waste around
Oppression's fiery blast and whirling sand
Would reach and scathe us! No; it may not be:
Britannia and the world conjointly must be free!

Burdett, demand why Britons send abroad
Soft greetings to th' infanticidal Czar,
The Bear on Poland's babes that wages war.
Once, we are told, a mother's shriek o'eraw'd
A lion, and he dropt her lifted child:
But Nicholas, whom neither God nor law,
Nor Poland's shrieking mothers overawe,
Outholds to us his friendship's gory clutch;
Shrink, Britain—shrink, my king and country, from the touch!

He prays to Heaven for England's King, he says—
And dares he to the God of mercy kneel,
Besmear'd with massacres from head to heel?
No; Moloch is his god—to him he prays;
And if his weird-like prayers had power to bring
An influence, their power would be to curse.
His hate is baleful, but his love is worse—
A serpent's slaver deadlier than its sting!
Oh, feeble statesmen—ignominious times,
That lick the tyrant's feet, and smile upon his crimes.

APPENDIX II

Letters:

To J.U. Niemcewicz	19 Juin 1832
» Prince Czartoryski	22 Juin 1832
» » »	22 Oct. 1832
» Louis Plater	12 Oct. 1832
» » »	9 Déc. 1832
» Lord Dudley Stuart	20 Sept. 1836

« Small Safe » Mitchell Library, Glasgow
[Letter to J.U. Niemcewicz]

Chez le Dr. Evans, North End Hampstead
19 juin 1832

J'ai une faveur à vous demander par laquelle vous me feriez honneur, et par laquelle il est aussi presque possible que vous pourriez aider mes faibles efforts dans la cause sacrée de votre patrie.

Il y a à Hampstead un grand établissement pour l'éducation de la jeunesse, dans lequel je n'ai aucun intérêt personnel, mais où j'ai un vif et profond intérêt pour mon amitié envers le Chef de la maison et pour mon zèle dans les différentes branches de l'éducation qu'on y poursuit, et qui est soutenu avec habileté par un de mes amis (Dr. Evans) un savant homme. Toutes les sciences utiles y sont enseignées, aussi bien que les langues modernes; et le faux système de pédanterie, si fréquent dans nos écoles publiques, y est mis de côté.

Les jeunes gens de cet établissement me sont attachés presque autant qu'à leur maître, et j'ai ainsi une influence sur un nombre de jeunes esprits qui sont tous dans une bonne classe de société, où peut-être un jour quelques uns d'eux figureront parmi nos législateurs. Maintenant ces jeunes élèves, aussi jeunes qu'ils sont, sont tous portés jusqu'à l'enthousiasme vers la cause des braves Polonais. Pendant ces derniers troubles ils avaient coutume d'entourer leur Maître matin et soir, avides des dernières nouvelles de la Pologne et souvent ils demandaient avec tristesse et même avec des larmes: « Pourquoi donc toutes les nations ne viennent-elles pas à l'aide des braves Polonais? »

Leur congé recommence Samedi prochain où ils ont l'intention de jouer une comédie française et de réciter de la poésie. Je ne leur ai jamais accordé auparavant de réciter mes vers dans une telle occasion. Mais cette année-ci il répéteront mon poème sur la cause de la Pologne.

Auriez vous la bonté, illustre Comte, de nous honorer de votre présence, elle ferait une impression irrévocable sur les coeurs de mes jeunes amis.

Si vous pouvez venir, j'irai vous prendre Samedi prochain à midi dans une voiture.

Agréez etc.

Thomas Campbell.

« Small Safe » Mitchell Library, Glasgow
A S.A. le Prince Czartoryski

North - End - Hampstead,
22 Juin 1832

Mon Prince

C'était seulement par mon respect pour votre Altesse que je n'osais prendre la liberté de vous inviter à la fête de cette école dans laquelle je prends un si vif intérêt. Si vous daignez y venir demain nous en serions pleins de reconnaissance et votre présence devrait faire une impression irrévocable dans les coeurs des jeunes élèves. Ces chers enfants sont enthousiasmés dans notre noble cause, mais ils ne montreront leur sensibilité que d'une manière modeste et silencieuse. Je suis impatient de me faire l'honneur de la connaissance de votre fils et j'espère en temps et lieu de mériter son amitié. J'étais extrêmement fâché d'avoir été absent de chez moi lorsque votre Altesse eût la bonté venir à Sussex Chambers, et j'ignorais votre adresse.

Agréez etc.

Thomas Campbell

« Small Safe » Mitchell Library, Glasgow
Letter to Prince Czartoryski

Sussex Chambers, Duke Street, St. James
London, October 22, 1832

Mon Prince

Il y a quelque temps que notre société a conçu une idée nouvelle pour servir la cause Polonoise. J'espère que votre Altesse l'approuvera. Ce serait d'établir à Paris un collège pour entretenir et instruire autant de jeunes Polonais qu'il serait possible de le faire avec les moyens que nous pourrions nous procurer. C'est par une souscription publique et générale dans toute l'Europe que nous nous proposons d'en soutenir les frais. Il y a dans notre société plusieurs membres (entr'autres Mr. Bach et moi) qui souscrivent, chacun de son côté, cent francs et nous espérons de recevoir l'appui de toutes les parties de l'Angleterre. C'est aux amis de la Pologne qui se trouvent hors de l'Angleterre de donner du mouvement à ce projet, s'il leur paraît aussi important que je le pense. Pour moi je considère que

si le plan venait à réussir, il procurerait un bien immense à votre patrie. Il devrait garantir en quelque sorte l'existence de la cause Polonoise.

Ayez la bonté, mon Prince, de me donner deux mots de réponse à ce sujet et de me faire savoir quand est-ce que je puis espérer le plaisir de vous revoir chez nous.

Accueillez etc.

Thomas Campbell

In his letter to Count Louis Plater Campbell warmly thanked the *Société Littéraire Polonoise* in Paris for having elected him member of the Society:

Sussex Chambers, Duke Street, St. James's
Londres

12 Oct. 1832

N. 30, p. 153, 492/II

Actes de la Société Hist. et Littéraire Polonoise à Paris

Monsieur,

J'ai reçu hier votre lettre m'annonçant que je viens d'avoir l'honneur d'être élu membre de votre Société. Agréez, Monsieur, de ma part pour cette communication les remerciements les plus vifs qui peuvent sortir d'une âme sincère. Comme je regarde la dernière lutte de votre Patrie contre la Tyrannie comme le spectacle le plus touchant que l'Histoire moderne ait peut-être jamais donné, les sentiments d'admiration et de respect pour le nom de Pologne que j'ai chéri depuis ma jeunesse se sont élevés dans mon âge plus avancé jusqu'au dévouement par les événements récemment arrivés. Oui, Monsieur! malheureuse comme a été votre noble cause, je m'estime plus honoré d'en être compté le ferme Ami, que si tous les rois de la Terre me comblaient de titres et de distinctions.

La Société Polonoise que j'ai organisé ici continue d'aller sur un bon pied vu l'indifférence malheureusement trop générale parmi les Anglais à l'égard de la Pologne. Nous avons l'espoir de voir bientôt le nombre de nos membres s'accroître. Nous serons toujours heureux et fiers de conserver des relations avec votre société.

Veillez recevoir, Monsieur, l'assurance de la parfaite considération avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être

votre très obéissant serviteur
Thomas Campbell, Prés.

A Monsieur le Comte Louis Plater

N. 31, 492/III, p. 337

Actes de la Société Hist. et Littéraire Polonoise à Paris

Monsieur

La Société Littéraire des Amis de la Pologne à Londres me charge de vous dire bien des remerciements pour les communications que vous avez bien voulu lui faire par votre honorée du 18 Nov-bre; elle reconnaît

l'avantage qui doit nécessairement résulter d'une correspondance régulière et suivie, et elle tendra toujours la main fraternelle à tout ce qui pourra servir la grande Cause de l'Emancipation Polonaise à laquelle nous sommes tous dévoués d'âme et de coeur. Nous vous sommes bien obligés pour l'extrait de quelques Journaux de Paris relativement à nos efforts dans ce pays, et nous avons le plaisir bien vif de vous annoncer que la Cause Polonaise gagne des partisans chez nous de jour en jour. De nouvelles Sociétés se forment spontanément et entretiennent des relations les plus amicales avec nous. Nous les engageons fortement d'entretenir une correspondance suivie entre elles, comme nous n'avons rien plus à coeur que de voir le lien de sympathie s'affermir entre les amis de la Pologne de ce pays par les moyens les plus naturels de l'affection et de l'amitié. C'est pourquoi nous ne prétendons pas vouloir exercer aucune suprématie sur les sociétés locales, autre que celle qui résulte de la déférence pour nos Conseils quand on en désire. Outre celles de Hull et Birmingham, dont la composition vous est déjà connue, il s'en est formé une à Glasgow, sous la Présidence de Sir D.K. Sandford, Ecuyer, trois Vice-Présidents, James Lumsden, Esq., Alexandre Whitelaw, Esq. et I.B. Hay, Esq., d'un Trésorier, Dugald Moore, Esq., d'un secrétaire John Gullan, Esq. et de vingt trois membres composant le Conseil permanent. Une autre société s'est formée à Newcastle on Tyne, nous ne connaissons pas encore la composition de son Comité comme elle ne vient que de s'établir. Elle sera probablement sous la Présidence de Monsieur Charles Attwood, homme très estimé dans cette ville; une troisième vient de se former à Norwich sous la Présidence de Mons. John Marshall, alderman de cette ville. Cette nouvelle vous réjouira sans doute, et nous osons vous prier de vouloir bien ouvrir des relations amicales avec elles qui ne peuvent qu'avoir des résultats bien favorables à la Cause. Les sociétés de Birmingham et de Glasgow ont célébré le 29 Novembre, la première par dîner Public, l'autre par un « Public meeting » de la plus haute respectabilité. Nous avons l'honneur de vous envoyer les Gazettes de Glasgow, contenant les discours et les résolutions prises à cette occasion. Le Polonais qui fut si bien reçu à Glasgow est un excellent jeune homme, étudiant de l'Université de Wilna que nous y avons envoyé. Les séances ordinaires de notre Société durant la saison de 1832/33 viennent de commencer et nous avons l'honneur de vous envoyer quelques cartes désignant les séances. Les papiers lus dans ces réunions formeront les articles imprimés après dans notre Polonia, Journal qui paraîtra chaque trimestre dès l'année prochaine. Le premier volume de la Polonia étant complet avec la publication du N^o V de Décembre, le premier Numéro du second volume paraîtra le 1-er Avril 1833, le 2-e Numéro du 2nd vol. le 1-er Juillet etc. de manière que la Société publiera deux volumes chaque année, un arrangement qui donnera beaucoup plus de stabilité à notre entreprise; nous ne cesserons cependant pas de publier mensuellement des Extraits de notre Correspondance étrangère et domestique et d'autres informations intéressantes et nous vous prions beaucoup de nous mettre à même de les enrichir par vos communications des événements journaliers en Pologne et ailleurs.

Nous avons fait traduire en Polonais les débats de la Seconde motion de Mons. Cutlar Fergusson sur les affaires de la Pologne par Mr. Niedzewitzki, un jeune homme que nous estimons beaucoup; nous vous l'enverrons bientôt et nous vous prions de vouloir en soigner l'impression de 500 Exemplaires aux frais de notre société dans le format des premiers Dé-

bats et bien vous charger de la distribution comme vous le jugerez le plus utile pour encourager vos frères de la Pologne.

Nous abonnons avec plaisir sur deux Exemplaires du recueil des gravures que votre Compatriote très distingué Mr. Antoine Oleszcynski va publier; nous croyons sans doute que chaque Société locale dans ce pays souscrira au moins sur un Exemplaire et nous vous assurons que nous contribuerons très volontièrement à tout ce que pourra servir à encourager cette entreprise aussi noble que patriotique. Veuillez à cet effet adresser une lettre à chacune des Sociétés déjà établies et référer sur nous sur la haute valeur de l'ouvrage comme objet d'art. Le 4-me Numéro de la Polonia vous sera sans doute parvenu par l'entremise de Mr Hoffman, auquel nous avons adressé un paquet pour la distribution des exemplaires par Mr. le Général Romarino qui s'est chargé de l'expédition à son départ d'ici. Le 5-me Numéro contient entre autre un article que nous devons à votre bienveillante Communication.

Agréez Monsieur le Comte l'expression de notre considération distinguée

Le Président Thomas Campbell

Le Secrétaire Adolphe Bach.

Londres ce 9 Déc. 1832

Monsieur le Comte Louis Plater

Vice-Président de la Société Littéraire Polonaise à Paris

I.P. Oserions-nous vous prier de nous envoyer les Discours Complets de M.M. Bignon et Lafayette au sujet de la Pologne dans les Débats sur l'adresse au Trône?

Letter to Lord Dudley Coutts-Stuart

Harrowby MSS, Sandon

Edinburgh Sept.20.1836

My Dear Lord,

I received your letter last night, containing the subscriptions towards supporting the last arrived Poles, who were not provided for by the last grant from Parliament. I think you are quite right in pushing a subscription for this object, tho' I rather disagree with your opinion, if I understand you rightly, that the Government is to be blamed for not extending the charity to the last arrived. I am ashamed to send you so small a sum, but I beg you to accept (the sum) of £ 5 as my subscription.

I have met with some zealous friends of our Polish Cause here, particularly with a Quaker family, the Cruickshanks. It is true that they almost broke my heart one day, in telling me of the failure of the Polish Schools in France; but I have a project in petto for assisting them which I will explain to you when we meet. Continue to consider me, my Dear Lord D. Stuart, as personally bound to you not only by personal friendship, but by the strong feeling which I entertain towards you as my truest brother and coadjutor in the Polish cause.

Yours truly

T. Campbell.

TYMON TERLECKI
(Chicago)

A CRITICAL REAPPRAISAL OF MICKIEWICZ'S
LECTURE ABOUT THE THEATRE *)

The so-called sixteenth or « theatrical lecture », given by Adam Mickiewicz on April fourth 1843, during his third course on Slavic literatures in the Collège de France, is one of the strangest documents one can imagine. In its original French text it runs into some five thousand rather loosely arranged words. And yet, it was to have a most unexpected career, unequalled in scope and influence by any of Mickiewicz's other Paris lectures.

At the time, it passed practically unnoticed. Compared with the stormy newspaper debates which had been raging around other problems, opinions and propositions raised by Mickiewicz from the first chair of Slavic literatures in Paris, a not very significant stricture in a pamphlet of an anonymous critic, and a scornful mention in Krasieński's private correspondence, can hardly be called a considerable echo to the « theatrical lecture ».

The weighty reaction to it came almost exactly fifty years later - I shall have to postpone the argumentation supporting this dating until another occasion. For the moment it will suffice to say that after its resurrection Mickiewicz's text entered upon a somewhat strange existence. It was taken out of its historical context and acquired an independent life during the following fifty years. During that time, it was treated uncritically as a kind of holy writ, as a revelation, a sacral text - a treatment somewhat similar to that reserved by Marxists for Marx's and Lenin's words. It suffered the usual fate of all such texts. It was interpreted *in vacuo*, or rather in a different spiritual, cultural and artistic context. It was quoted and commented upon piecemeal. Each interpreter took the liberty of putting into it, « reading into it », what he himself was preoccupied with, for what he wanted to find a support. This is another story, rather intricate but fascinating, which must also be postponed until a later time.

My aim today is to go beyond this subjective approach of which I also have been guilty, and to reintegrate Mickiewicz's « theatrical lecture » into its proper historical context. What I intend to do is not an act of faith, but a bit of historical research. I consider it a starting point, an indispensable preparation for the study of the lecture's « second life », a background to what happened to this text at the turn of the century and after.

*) A paper presented at the First Congress of Scholars and Scientists convened by the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, New York, November 1966.

The sixteenth lecture, seen in this historical and critical light, appears to be the outcome of several crises.

The first was the crisis of the Polish romantic drama in relation to its contemporary stage; for, in fact, Polish romantic poetry was primarily dramatic in form. It achieved in such works as «The Forefathers' Eve», «Kordian», «Lilla Weneda» and «The Undivine Comedy» a daring synthesis of national and universal scope. In spite of older assumptions (suggested, among others, also by Mickiewicz's «theatrical lecture»), this great dramatic poetry was, by its very nature, intimately linked with the theatre of its era. The just mentioned works were not *Buchdrama* or *Lesedrama*. They became such in time, out of a spirit of contradiction and opposition, out of necessity, by losing the hope of actually being produced on the stage. But the future proved beyond any doubt that their unfitness for theatrical production was only one of semblance.

At the beginning of the eighteen-forties, this impression of unfitness for production was very strong. Mickiewicz had failed to force his way into the French stage. Słowacki relinquished all attempts at this after his first vain effort. Krasiński, for personal reasons — his social standing and his very ambiguous political position — did not even try, nor even take into account such a possibility. The few relatively poor public theatres in Poland were inaccessible to all of them, because the first two were political emigrés and the third was what is to-day called an internal emigré (*emigrant wewnętrzny*).

Consequently Słowacki, a born playwright, as well as a keen observer and connoisseur of the European theatre, stopped visualising his dramas on the boards of a stage. Krasiński dropped the dramatic medium altogether. Mickiewicz was the most extreme in that he was the most confident of them. Speaking from the chair in Paris, he announced a kind of embargo of the theatre, a kind of spiritual retaliation against it —he postponed the theatrical realisation of the Polish, of the whole Slavic drama, until a more remote future.

Interestingly enough, the Polish poets did not know that they had a *socius doloris* in Richard Wagner. At the same time, in this very same Paris, he too was vainly storming the gates of the theatres. His reaction was very similar to that of Mickiewicz; his evolution after his failure convergent with the line adopted by the professor at the Collège de France. And what is perhaps most curious: Wagner was to play a significant role in the later life of Mickiewicz's «theatrical lecture». But this is yet another story.

The motivation of Mickiewicz's proposition in 1843 was partly overt, partly implicit. His last lecture in April of that year brought a general conclusion to the detailed, highly enthusiastic, although somewhat erroneous and biased analysis of «The Undivine Comedy» which he had given in four almost immediately preceding lectures (VIII, IX, X, XI). But even more than to Krasiński, the argumentation referred to the unnamed work of the poet-professor himself, to his «Forefathers' Eve». This personal concern is betrayed in one sentence: «*aucun théâtre ne suffirait même à représenter "La Comédie Infernale"*» - «There is no theatre fit to stage, even the "Undivine Comedy"». This sentence implies the addition: «let alone "The Forefathers' Eve"».

The second crisis which prompted the «theatrical lecture», was of a broader nature. It involved the whole romantic theatre, especially the French, which formed the narrower orbit, the proper frame of reference

for the Polish drama of that time. It is hard to say, at least for the moment, what Mickiewicz observed directly and what he guessed, what he intuitively felt. A few illustrative details may be sufficient for our purpose.

In exactly the same year in which the «theatrical lecture» was delivered — 1843 — Victor Hugo, the standard-bearer of Romanticism on the stage, was defeated by a certain François Ponsard, author of «*Lucrèce - tragédie à l'antique*», the first of the antiquarian dramas which were to become the rage of the Parnassians in the second half of the nineteenth century. This incident might not have been noticed by the professor of the Collège de France, but he was more or less aware of a larger and deeper phenomenon.

The fulfillment of the romantic dream of the theatre «to see everything, to show everything» brought with it a feeling of weariness and disillusionment. Some eminent French writers, such as Prosper Mérimée and Alfred de Musset, rejected theatre of this kind. Mérimée ridiculed its melodramatic bent. Musset called its love for the spectacular, the imposing, the pompous «*la ménagerie*», and opposed to it «*le spectacle dans un fauteuil*». The attitude opposed to the spectacular was at the time of Mickiewicz's lecture, or slightly later, outspokenly supported by Théodore de Banville, a poet of the younger generation, the future representative of «*Le Parnasse*». He repeatedly backed the thesis that «the miracles of stage production killed poetry». He also stressed that «*la pièce à spectacle*», though visually effective, was, as a rule, dramatically void. Banville was moreover the first who fought against illusionism in décors and costumes; he wanted them to be, not copies of reality, but allusions to reality.

These two crises — of the Polish drama and of the French theatre — coincided and were put into focus by a third one: Mickiewicz's own crisis. Between the first and the second year of his professorship at the Collège de France he met Andrzej Towiański, embraced his mystic doctrine, accepted his leadership and became his fervent apostle. This is a well-known fact which, not long ago, was penetratingly analysed by Professor Wiktor Weintraub.

What is not sufficiently realized, what was not understood or, as a rule, was forgotten by the «confessors», — those pious interpreters of the «theatrical lecture» — is the fact that it also bears the undeniable mark of the same Towiański inspiration. Its tenets and conclusions are valid within Towiański's gospel, Towiański's teaching. On the other hand, it shows how total was Mickiewicz's acceptance of this teaching. It affected also his views on the theatre, as one of the domains of life and one of the forms of spiritual action.

In this respect, the «theatrical lesson» is an adventist, millenarianist pronouncement, an act of faith in the new *millennium*, in the approach of the new epoch. Briefly and simply it is a prophetic message. This character is stressed by its liturgical framework. Mickiewicz delivered his lecture at the end of the first term, at Easter time. And its closing metaphor sounds as if it had been inspired by the mysteries of the Passion and Resurrection. It hails «*le drame sérieux où l'on évoque de la tombe, pour ainsi dire, les personnages des saints et des héros*» (the serious drama which, so to say, rouses from their graves the figures of saints and heroes). The adventist, millenarianist, «resurrectionist» meaning of the lecture is expressed, not metaphorically but intellectually, in the twice

repeated formula: « the drama announces the end of one, and the beginning of another epoch ». This formula clearly and succinctly contains within itself the three crises which Mickiewicz faced when speaking publicly in 1843 about « the Slavic drama ».

Such is the broad, historical context of the sixteenth lecture. It forms a firm ground for a critical appreciation of the lecture's content and structure and of its glaring infirmities: its incoherencies, twists and contradictions, but also its lasting hypnotic impact. Such a critical appreciation will, in turn, open the proper perspective for dealing with the later life of this unique document: it will help to explain why it was so misused, so arbitrarily interpreted and why, on the other hand, it became the source of such unexpected inspirations.

The whole matter is worth taking up, not merely for these reasons, nor only for the sake of the creative personality of Mickiewicz. To an equal, or perhaps even to a greater degree, it is worth taking up because of its existence independently of its creator. Without Mickiewicz's « theatrical lesson » Stanisław Wyspiański would never have become a dramatic writer — at least not the one he is today. And what is even more certain and better documented — the Polish monumental theatre of Leon Schiller would never have come into being.

The « theatrical lecture » is an exceptionally striking example of the disparity and incommensurability of cause and effect. But pragmatism teaches us that the effect justifies and glorifies the cause — and gives it its real measure.

JOAN DELANEY
(Berkeley)

A POLEMICAL PLAGIARISM:
« TWO EARLY CRITIQUES OF EDGAR ALLAN POE
IN POLISH AND IN RUSSIAN »

In 1861 the works of a bizarre American genius, Edgar Allan Poe, drew the attention of the Polish reading public through the pages of *Biblioteka Warszawska*. Translated into French preeminently by Charles Baudelaire during the late 1840's and 1850's, Poe possessed a European reputation which had already outstripped his fame in his native land. French, Spanish, and German collected editions of his tales had appeared, and occasional translations occurred in periodicals in other languages including Russian. What were probably the first lengthy discussions of Poe in Polish and Russian literary journals were printed almost simultaneously in 1861. Despite the reliance on Baudelaire almost inevitable in a European critique of Poe written at that time, these articles have their own peculiar interest, which, as will be seen, is not totally confined to the literary.

Baudelaire himself derived his factual information from printed American sources, notably Rufus Griswold. Poe's literary executor in the United States, Griswold edited his works immediately after the author's death in 1849 and appended a memoir of Poe which is a model of character assassination, under the guise of objective and honest evaluation, Griswold suppressed evidence and presented calumnies and half-truths supported by deliberately falsified documents supposedly from Poe's own hand. American and British journals compounded the injury, to that a subsequent century of scholarship has been required to sort out even part of the truth. Nor was Griswold, jealous and malicious as his acts show him to have been, totally to blame for the misinformation. Poe himself is the source for some of it. For instance, the romantic story of running away from home to join the Greek rebellion à la Byron and ending up in St. Petersburg without a passport stems from an autobiographical account given by Poe to Griswold for an anthology the latter was editing. The tentative evidence that Poe's sailor-brother actually was in Russia and that Poe simply adapted the story of his adventures does not help a great deal ¹⁾.

Baudelaire, in his major essays on Poe, printed in 1852, 1856, and 1857, instinctively rejected some of Griswold's slanders but added his own

1) The most authoritative account of Poe in English is that of Arthur HOBSON QUINN, *Edgar Allan Poe, a Critical Biography*, New York - London, 1941. See also *The Letters of Edgar Allan Poe*, John Ward OSTRUM, ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1948.

coloration to the story ²⁾. The image of Poe as the sensitive genius choked by a crassly materialistic environment was created by Baudelaire and tinged European writings on Poe throughout much of the nineteenth century.

These, then, were the factual materials at hand when Felicjan Faleński prepared the article which headed the October 1861 number of *Biblioteka Warszawska* ³⁾. Gomulicki dates Faleński's interest in Poe from 1846, when the Forgues translation of « Descent into the Maelström » was printed in *Revue Britannique* ⁴⁾. However, it was the appearance in 1856 and 1857 of Baudelaire's collected Poe translations which seems to have fired Faleński's intention of naturalizing Poe in Polish as Baudelaire was doing in French ⁵⁾. In addition to his critical article, the same volume of *Biblioteka Warszawska* offered anonymously two Faleński translations of Poe stories, « Pogadanka z mumią » and « Porwanie do Maëlstromu », along with an editorial note promising several more of his « nowele » in subsequent numbers ⁶⁾. His own burgeoning interest in the American writer, then, evidently urged Faleński to place him in a fittingly broad context; perhaps other elements as well prompted the treatment he accorded the author and his background.

Faleński's article, « Edgar Allan Poe i jego nowele », falls into three parts. Beginning « Może o żadnem społeczeństwie nie pisano tyle, co o Stanach Zjednoczonych », he proceeds to characterize in seven pages the society in which Poe lived and wrote, developing the anti-American interpretation of Baudelaire. There are in this view strong echoes of Alexis de Tocqueville. The second, biographical section of the article (pp. 8-20) relies heavily on Baudelaire, who in turn used various American sources. The dependence on Baudelaire is indicated through a variety of particulars, such as the use of 1813 as Poe's birthdate. Griswold, using Poe's own data, gave 1811. Baudelaire, relying perhaps on a contradicting source or possibly attributing more autobiographical quality than was warranted to the story « William Wilson », insisted on 1813 as Poe's own statement of the fact. He was actually born in 1809. The third section of Faleński's article is devoted to a thorough and competent analysis of Poe's prose works, including the then-unavoidable comparison and contrast with Hoffmann.

All of this is a worthy introduction of Edgar Allan Poe to the Polish reading audience, combining a measure of secondhand material with a large portion of original literary criticism and some highly individual interpretation. What is one's surprise, then, to find in the November 1861 number of the St. Petersburg journal *Russkoe Slovo*, over the signature

²⁾ However, Baudelaire's 1852 article has been proven a plagiarism from two American sources. Cf. W. T. BANDY, *New Light on Baudelaire and Poe*, *Yale French Studies*, No. 10, 65-69.

³⁾ 1861, Vol. IV, 1-44.

⁴⁾ Jullusz Wiktor GOMULICKI, *Duch od pragnień (O Felicjanie Faleńskim)*, *Ateneum*, listopad 1938, 809.

⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, 813.

⁶⁾ A third translation, *Przypomnienia jakie miał August Bedloe*, appeared in *Biblioteka Warszawska*, 1862, II, s. 531 n. Gomulicki (818) gives also: *Upadek domu Usher*, *Kłosy*, 1867, I, s. 147 n., 155 n. and *Istotna prawda o znanym zdarzeniu z osobą niejakiego Waldemara*, *ibid.*, s. 276.

« E. Lopushinskij », an article that is in large part identical with the one which appeared a month earlier in Warsaw ⁷⁾. The interval of time between them is short indeed, though the actual issue date of a nineteenth-century journal did not necessarily correspond exactly to that on its title page. The impulse to look further for a common source for both articles is lessened, however, upon further scrutiny. Aside from his history of interest in Poe, Faleński's article (dated « W Strykowie, d. 11 lipca 1861 r. ») has features which seem to mark it as by-and-large an original composition written by a Pole, derivative only in that it embodies certain information and opinion in a form in which they were widely disseminated in Europe. And even this borrowed material is interspersed with comparisons and observations bearing the mark of original thought.

The case is rather different with the Lopushinskij article. Entitled « Edgar Poe, amerikanskij poet », it is somewhat shorter and on the whole less personalized than its Polish counterpart. To define the exact relationship of the two articles it is perhaps best to treat of the second and third parts first. The biographical sketch is all but identical in the two, even its phrasing and syntax. Among the most telling points are the duplication of the figures of speech and the presence in both of the analogy of Don Carlos to describe the hinted relationship of Poe to his stepfather's second wife. But above all there is the singular misreading of Poe's wife's maiden name. In *both* articles « Virginia Clemm » becomes « Wirginia Cleram ». One can almost see the author puzzling over his own handwritten notes and mistaking the first « m » for « ra », or a printer making the same sort of error. This is indeed reason to believe that the Polish article served as Lopushinskij's source, since it is difficult to imagine such an error being made originally by one using cyrillic script.

As for the literary critique, which occupies the remaining half of the article, again the parallel - one might say identity - is unmistakable. There is nothing in the Lopushinskij article which is not also in Faleński's. The reverse is not true, however, for at times a paragraph of illustrative material used by Faleński seems to have been judged unnecessary by Lopushinskij.

There is also a curious detail concerning the translation of the title of Poe's poem « The Haunted Palace », which is quoted near the end of the essay. Faleński cites it as « Pałac nawiedzany ». The Russian has, strangely, « Nevidimyj zamok », a translation which would be inexplicable if made from English or French. Yet a hurried translator might have mistaken « nawiedzany » for « niewidziany »--if he were working from Polish.

One might multiply these instances of duplication in the sections just considered. But what has been said should be enough to demonstrate that they indeed belong to the same piece of writing. However, the matter takes a new turn when attention is focused on the first section of the articles. Here the question is no longer one of wholesale borrowing, but

⁷⁾ This signature does not, to my knowledge, appear elsewhere in Russian literary criticism or even in the *Russkij biograficheskij slovar'* (Spb. 1914). It is not unlikely that this was a Pole living and working in Russia. We know of more than one such instance concerning persons of that name. The entry « Zenon Lopushinskij » occurs in the *Peterburgskij Nekrolog* (Spb. 1912), with the date « 27 okt. 1893 » and the notation: « Nadpis' po-pol'ski (katolicheskoe kladbishche na Wyborskoj storone) ». *Wielka encyklopedia powszechna ilustrowana* (Warszawa 1911) lists « Łopuszyński, Konstanty, lekarz », who, after studies at Wilno, « doktoryzował się później w Petersburgu, dokąd się przeniósł na pobyt stały w r. 1840 ».

of variation on a theme. It is this, no doubt, which made the « borrower » feel justified in signing his name to the article. And here a decidedly new element of interest enters. A careful scrutiny of these two introductions reveals an underlying difference in attitude between the two writers, a difference which may be highly significant from an extra-literary point of view and which thus adds a new dimension to a literary discussion.

Both writers begin with the paradox of America: how is it that a country of such great natural beauty and wonder has become a symbol for, as Faleński puts it, « gorączkowego ruchu, ducha spekulacji, realizmu w życiu »? He goes on immediately to pay tribute at least to the gigantic energy manifested in a land where « nic nie ma powszedniego, nic oklepanego-wszystko wyjątkowe ». It is a mixed, involuntary admiration, however. He comes close to Baudelaire's expression when he speaks of America as « owa ogromna pół-giełda, pół-rękodzielnia, ... podobna do niezulego bożyszcza Dżaggrenautu ». For Faleński America's great fault is her lack of reflectiveness. Her citizens live in haste and act always according to what will bring most profit. « Pośpiech zbyt mało zostawia czasu do obejrzenia się, do zstąpienia w siebie ». This, he notes parenthetically, makes the American a prey to all sorts of charlatans and strange spiritual doctrines. Furthermore, where there is no past, there can be no fatherland. « Narodowość » is a pure abstraction. There is nothing to remember when a nation is as « bezwzględnie dzisiejszy » as is America. And how is a poet to live, from whence draw inspiration in such an atmosphere of haste, trade and industry? As for the writers America has already produced, he dismisses Cooper as an unimaginative, monotonous follower of Walter Scott; Irving, writing of the past and of Europe, is a « parweniuszem, zazdrosnym tradycy, a nie umiejącym ich cenić »; Longfellow, her most important poet, is a mere « przybranem dzieckiem Ameryki, zrodzonym z matki Europy », who loves, in the words of Mickiewicz, « wybiegać za wioski granice » or to turn to the past.

Lopushinskij's treatment of American literature is identical, even to the line from Mickiewicz and a substantial quotation from William Cullen Bryant, used to describe America's search for tradition. Modest divergence comes in the Russian description of America itself. Not that the writer questions the blighting power of a commercial atmosphere. But he dwells most on the paradox of a great natural beauty which yet fails to inspire great poetry. Having begun his article by observing, « Nowhere, it would seem, could poetry find for itself more receptive soil than in America », he continues: « Whereas in old Europe sobriety of thought, armed with cold analysis of actual phenomena, drives out man's fantastic dreams, in America nature and newly-born civilization favor them ». A puzzled and regretful note sounds in his analysis when he remarks that poetry, having been transplanted there from Europe, like « a flower under strange skies, gave forth neither fragrance nor natural freshness ». The theme is the same, but the emphasis is different.

The variation becomes more prominent and more meaningful, however, when one considers the treatment of the American Civil War, then only a few months old. Faleński describes America as « ta wielka anomalia polityczna, z czołem miedzianem, uwiecznionem 33 gwiazdami, (z których kilka stało się już spadającymi) ». Immediately there follows the Jugernaut image of which he says: « niektórzy ciągną jej rydwan w pocie czoła, inni popychają naprzód tę kamienną ideę, niektórych druzgocze ciężar mechanizmu kół jej ». Then, having spoken elsewhere of her as

a young organism bearing within itself the germs of consumption, he continues this figure: «oto Ameryka córka podstarzałej Europy,-zbyt młode dziecko, które się nie uchowa. Dalekoż ona zajdzie, wzięwszy sobie złotego cielca za przewodnika?». And with grim satisfaction he concludes: «Co nam do tego-niech idzie naprzód-Bóg ją zatrzyma kiedy czas będzie».

Whatever the truth in the picture, such virulent expressions sound strangely, concerning a distant country, whose foundation less than a century before embodied political ideals so sympathetic to Polish thought. It is true that some of his descriptions of America are echoes of de Tocqueville's. Furthermore, a Pole writing in 1861 might well have been impressed by the final pages of the first volume of *De la démocratie en Amérique*, where the French historian predicts the similar development of two great nations, democratic America and tsarist Russia ⁸⁾.

However, a closer look at the international situation in the summer and fall of 1861 makes the matter startlingly clear. As early as April of that year France had contemplated intervention in the Civil War on the side of the South ⁹⁾. In May England recognized the Confederacy as a belligerent, thus placing it on a level with the Union ¹⁰⁾. Russia, on the other hand, had attempted to avert the outbreak of strife and later made her sympathy with the North plain at every juncture ¹¹⁾. Nor were these signs of altruism on any side. Says an American historian, Bailey, «The policy of Russia was dictated solely by self-interest, which demanded that she lend no encouragement to a movement calculated to disrupt the Union....United the American states had been a real check to Great Britain; divided they would be her easy prey» ¹²⁾. Russia was of course still smarting from defeat in the Crimean War. Furthermore, as the situation in Poland again neared the boiling point, it was clear that an insurrection would look for support to Britain and France. If Tsar Alexander wished Russo-Polish difficulties to be regarded as a domestic affair, it behooved him to view the American conflict similarly. Also, while lending moral support to the Union, he might quietly frustrate British and French aspirations ¹³⁾.

All of these attitudes were duly reflected in the press of the respective countries ¹⁴⁾. Hence it is natural enough to find them manifested even

8) Alexis de TOCQUEVILLE, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1864), Vol. II, pp. 430-431.

9) Benjamin P. THOMAS, *Russo-American Relations 1815-1867* (Baltimore, 1930), pp. 129-130.

10) Thomas A. BAILEY, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York, 1955), p. 349.

11) *Ibid.*, p. 125.

12) *Ibid.*, p. 127. Bailey also quotes from a Russian diplomatic despatch dated a very few months later, 4 January 1862, in which Tsar Alexander is represented as wishing for the early restoration of the Union «not only because of the cordial sympathy which unites the two countries, but moreover because the maintenance of its power interests in the highest degree the general political equilibrium». *Ibid.*, p. 126.

13) William Appleman WILLIAMS, *American-Russian Relations 1781-1947* (New York-Toronto, 1952), p. 20.

14) Bailey relates that «from the first the Journal de St. Petersburg, the official court newspaper of the Tsar, stressed the news of Union victories, sometimes suppressed despatches telling of Union reverses, warned the populace against giving credence to reports received from Reuter's Telegraphic Bureau in London, and, in short, showed uncompromising favor to the Union cause». P. 127 and note.

in a piece of literary criticism. Predictably, then, in treatment of the American conflict Lopushinskij diverges sharply from Faleński's position. Without any direct reference to the civil strife in America, he speaks of « a land with two different civilizations, with two opposing poles, with tribes of all parts of the earth, a land sown with the bones of black slaves and tombs of free persons ». And he asks pacifically, should not all of this present superb material for « the sensitive soul of the poet »?

But what of the poet who is the subject of the articles? Faleński's first mention of Poe as « biedny Prometeusz XIX wieku » is immediately juxtaposed with the figure of Cyprian Norwid, resting uneasily in that « ziemi obiecanej », and at first opportunity shaking « złotodajny proch jej ze swego obuwia ». The rest of the brief passage is based on Norwid's experiences rather than on Poe's. All of this is missing from the Russian version, understandably. But a more significant juxtaposition of Poe with another figure reminiscent of Polish Romanticism occurs in the final paragraph, which is lopped off completely by Lopushinskij. From Prometheus Poe becomes the persecuted prophet, an even more arrestingly Romantic figure in the context. « Ma Ameryka swoje proroki, które udręcza na wszelki przypadek, w obawie zapewne, czy nie są fałszywymi ». Then, after further excoriation of American commercialism, Faleński suddenly at the end of the article raises the « prorok » « w niebo », as it were, and a new image emerges: « Tam także człowiek mający skroń promienistą, potrzebuje zapewne zwlec z siebie ozdobę nie jedną, żeby mu przebaczone wreszcie złote wkoło głowy światła, których niepodobna zrealizować na dolary ».

Such a glorification of Poe's position almost outdoes that of Baudelaire, if indeed the Polish critic wished to be taken literally. One somehow doubts that his admiration of Poe reached such heights. At any rate, consideration of the passages here discussed and their alteration or omission in the Russian leads one to see the essay in a new light. It does indeed contain noteworthy criticism of the American's prose, as well as full biographical detail, insofar as this was then available. It is furthermore a vehemently anti-American tract, which may or may not have been inspired in part by sympathy for Poe and other maltreated poets. One senses keenly the more proximate provocation, however. For his part, the translator — if such he was — carefully cleared the essay of any statements offensive to his Russian readers' feelings.

Thus we have, beyond what seems at first to be a forthrightly literary discussion of a foreign writer new to Polish readers, an intriguing case of literary borrowing and apparently also of hidden polemic.

FINITO DI STAMPARE CON I TIPI DELLA
TIP. EDIGRAF - ROMA TEL. 8271694
IL 30 DICEMBRE 1968

INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM POLONICUM ROMAE
VIA DEGLI SCIPIONI 284 - ROMA

ELEMENTA AD FONTIUM EDITIONES

- Vol. I — *Polonica ex Libris Obligationum et Solutionum Camerae Apostolicae*. Collegit J. LISOWSKI, pp. XV+292, 704 doc. (A.D. 1373-1565) Ind. nom. propr. 1960. (Archivum Secretum Vaticanum).
- Vol. II — « *Liber Disparata Antiqua Continens* » Praes. E. WINKLER, pp. XVIII+190, 281 doc. (ante a. 1424) 19 facs. Ind. nom. propr. 1960. (Archivum Capituli Trident.).
- Vol. III — *Repertorium Rerum Polonicarum ex Archivo Orsini in Archivo Capitolino*, I pars. Coll. W. WYHOWSKA-DE ANDREIS, XVIII+162, 1144 doc. (A.D. 1565-1787) 29 tab. Ind. nom. propr. ind. chron. 1961.
- Vol. IV — *Res Polonicae Elisabetha I Angliae Regnante Conscriptae ex Archivis Publicis Londoniarum*. Ed. C. H. TALBOT, pp. XVI+311, 166 doc. (A.D. 1578-1603) 9 tab., Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. glossarum verb. ang. ant. 1961.
- Vol. V — *Repertorium Rerum Polonicarum ex Archivo Dragonetti de Torres in Civitate Aquilana*. Ed. P. COLLURA, pp. XI+86, 483 doc. (A.D. 1568-1682) 4 tab. 1962.
- Vol. VI — *Res Polonicae Iacobo I Angliae Regnante Conscriptae ex Archivis Publicis Londoniarum*. Ed. C. H. TALBOT, pp. XI+396, 281 doc. (A.D. 1603-1629) 8 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. glossarium verb. ang. ant. 1962.
- Vol. VII — *Repertorium Rerum Polonicarum ex Archivo Orsini in Archivo Capitolino*, II pars. Coll. W. WYHOWSKA-DE ANDREIS, pp. XIV+250, 1205 doc. (A.D. 1641-1676) 11 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1962.
- Vol. VIII — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, I pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. X+214, 157 doc. (A.D. 1514-1576, 1720-1791) 7 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1963.
- Vol. IX — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Regni Daniae*, I pars. Coll. L. KOCZY, pp. XII+184, 98 doc. (A.D. 1526-1572) 8 tab. Ind. nom. propr. 1964.
- Vol. X — *Repertorium Rerum Polonicarum ex Archivo Orsini in Archivo Capitolino*, III pars. Coll. W. WYHOWSKA-DE ANDREIS, pp. XVI+343, 1399 doc. (A.D. 1568-1676) 12 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1964.
- Vol. XI — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, II pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. VIII+287, 214 doc. (A.D. 1567-1578) 7 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1964.
- Vol. XII — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, III pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. V+291, 163 doc. (A.D. 1571-1576), 5 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron., 1964.

INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM POLONICUM ROMAE
VIA DEGLI SCIPIONI, 284 - ROMA

- Vol. XIII — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Musei Britannici*, I pars. Ed. C. H. TALBOT, pp. XVI+175 (A.D. 1598), 2 tab. Ind. nom. propr. 1965.
- Vol. XIV — *Collectanea ex rebus Polonicis Archivi Orsini in Archivo Capitolino Romae*, I pars. Ed. W. WYHOWSKA-DE ANDREIS, pp. VI+234, 177 doc. (A.D. 1575-1668), 4 tab. Ind. nom. propr. 1965.
- Vol. XV — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, IV pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. VI+340, 211 doc. (A.D. 1576-1586), 5 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1966.
- Vol. XVI — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, V pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. VII+336, 227 doc. (A.D. 1587-1589), 5 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1966.
- Vol. XVII — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Musei Britannici*, II pars. Ed. C. H. TALBOT, pp. VII+311, 169 doc. (A.D. 1411-1616), 2 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1967.
- Vol. XVIII — *Collectanea ex rebus Polonicis Archivi Orsini in Archivo Capitolino*, II pars. Ed. W. WYHOWSKA-DE ANDREIS, pp. VIII+256, 140 doc. (A.D. 1669-1676), 4 tab. Ind. nom. propr. 1968.
- Vol. XIX — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, VI pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. VIII+429, 121 doc. (A.D. 1556-1620), 4 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1968.
- Vol. XX — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Regni Daniae*, II pars. Ed. K. LANCKOROŃSKA et J. STEEN-JENSEN (in typis).
- Vol. XXI — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, VII pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ (in praeparatione).
— *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Parmensi*. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ (in praeparatione).

DEPOSITARII:

« International Book Distributors » LIBRERIA
117-120, piazza Montecitorio - 00192 ROMA

Institutum Historicum
Polonicum Romae
284, Via degli Scipioni
00192 ROMA

Pretium: Lire 5.500, \$ 9.50, £ 4.00.