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- 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.).
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- 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., glossarium 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.
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- 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.
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- 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.
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- 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.

PROFESSOR PASZKIEWICZ

With deep regret we announce the death of Professor HENRYK PASZKIEWICZ who passed away in London on 8th December 1979. Professor Paszkiewicz was a vice-president of this Institute and a member of the Editorial Board of *Antemurale*. An appreciation of his life and work will appear in volume XXIV.

POLISH HISTORICAL INSTITUTE IN ROME

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1979**

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FONTES

ADAM ZIELIŃSKI
(FEIJÓ, PORTUGAL)

LES “CARTAS REGIAS” POLONAISES AUX ARCHIVES DE
LISBONNE
TORRE DE TOMBO

L'Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, archives centrales du Portugal, renferme nombre de documents inestimables. Sa dénomination date de l'époque où ceux-ci étaient conservés dans une des tours de l'ancien château mauresque qui surplombait la capitale (*Tombo* signifie “archives”). Lors du terrible tremblement de terre qui, en 1755, ravagea Lisbonne et fit 30.000 victimes, la tour s'écroula et maints précieux dossiers furent anéantis. Ceux que l'on put sauver furent transportés dans l'ancien couvent St. Benoît (siège actuel, après sa reconstruction, du Parlement et du Gouvernement), et c'est une de ses ailes qui abrite encore aujourd'hui ces documents.

Parmi eux se distinguent particulièrement les “*Cartas regias*”, c'est-à-dire les lettres de souverains de divers pays, adressées aux rois portugais. Conservées dans un coffre-fort, leur classement occupe de nombreux dossiers dont le numéro 11 contient la “*Correspondência dos soberanos da Polónia, Ordem de Malta e Terra Santa para os Reis de Portugal*”. Le dossier compte 27 lettres venant de Pologne ; huit d'entre elles portent la signature d' Auguste III, deux celle de l'interroi, le primat Ladislas Łubieński, et dix-sept sont signées par Stanislas-Auguste. La plus ancienne est du 28 décembre 1755 — d'à peine deux mois après le tremblement de terre — mais elle ne fait pas mention de la catastrophe. La destruction de la ville explique le manque de lettres antérieures. La dernière missive de Stanislas-Auguste est datée du 31 (sic) novembre 1788.

Les lettres d'Auguste III sont toutes adressées à Joseph I^{er}, qui lui survécut, puisqu'il mourut en 1777. L'une d'elles recommande au roi deux religieux de la Congrégation des pères Maristes, qui se rendaient au Portugal où se trouvait, depuis 1754, à Balsamão, un couvent de cette Congrégation, fondé par un moine polonais, Casimir Wyszynski. Toutes les autres sont des épîtres purement protocolaires, notifiant des congratulations à l'occasion du mariage de la fille ou de la naissance du petit-fils du roi Joseph I^{er}. Notre attention est attirée par l'écriture grossière d'Auguste III, à en juger

par sa signature laborieusement apposée au bas des pages remplies d'une écriture baroque savamment calligraphiée.

Les deux lettres, du 1^{er} décembre 1763, émanant du primat Łubieński, revêtent un caractère spécial. La première, écrite en français et adressée à "Monsieur", sans désignation de destinataire, annonce l'envoi d'un émissaire extraordinaire, le "Comte Poninski", chargé de notifier le décès d'Auguste III, et demande, pour lui, d'être reçu en audience par le roi. La teneur de la lettre laisse supposer qu'elle fut adressée au secrétaire d'Etat, en fonction de 1750 à 1777, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, plus connu comme Marquis de Pombal. La deuxième, rédigée en latin, est adressée impersonnellement au "Serenissime Rex" et représente des lettres de créance du même Comte Poninski. On remarquera le libellé de la signature : "Senatus Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae", au nom duquel, comme au sien propre, "V. Lubienski, Primat" signait la missive.

Les autres lettres émanent de Stanislas-Auguste. La première est une notification, brève mais olographe, de sa désignation au trône de Pologne ; elle est écrite en français et datée du 9 septembre 1764. Adressée au "Roi Très-Fidèle", sans mention de nom, elle était destinée à Joseph I^{er} encore siégeant sur le trône portugais. La lettre suivante, en latin cella-là, notifie déjà officiellement son élection et son couronnement. Les trois qui suivent, également en latin, sont de simples lettres protocolaires de condoléances ou de félicitations. Une autre lettre, du 13 septembre 1771, écrite à nouveau en français et adressée anonymement au "Roi de Portugal", débute par la formule sacramentelle "Monsieur Mon Frère". Elle annonce l'échec de l'attentat préparé par les Confédérés de Bar : "complot qui a failli M'ôter la vie."

La lettre qui suit, du 27 octobre 1772, écrite en latin et contre-signée par Młodziejowski, revêt un caractère très formel. C'est une protestation contre le 1^{er} partage de la Pologne et elle en appelle à la conscience de "Tu Rex Fidelissime, generosum pectus habens". C'est le document de loin le plus intéressant de toute la collection. Le même appel — identique ou approchant — fut envoyé à toutes les cours européens et publié par l'historien polonais Karol Lutoszański dans un recueil de documents "Les Partages de la Pologne et la lutte pour l'indépendance", tome I^{er} (Lausanne-Paris, 1918).

Les difficultés d'accès à cette collection nous ont incités à entreprendre la publication. Les toutes dernières lettres de Stanislas-Auguste sont, comme certaines précédentes, des félicitations et des condoléances protocolaires. A la mort de Joseph I^{er}, elles s'adressaient à la reine Maria — Serenissima Princeps, Soror et Cognata

Nostra Carissima — ou, exceptionnellement, à son époux, portant le titre honorifique de roi Pierre III.

Certes les lettres que nous publions n'apportent rien de nouveau à l'histoire de la Pologne de la deuxième moitié du XVIII^{ème} siècle, elles n'en sont pas moins remarquables en tant que preuve palpable de la continuité des liens diplomatiques entre la Pologne et le Portugal. Fait notable : le ton plus chaleureux des épîtres de Stanislas-Auguste, en comparaison avec celui des lettres d'Auguste III, et ce malgré les liens de sang qui unissait ce dernier à la cour portugaise : Maria Anna Josepha, fille de l'empereur Leopold I^{er} Habsbourg et mère du roi portugais Joseph I^{er}, était la tante de Maria Josepha, épouse d'Auguste III.

Dans les pages qui suivent, les lettres sont citées soit intégralement soit en abrégé ; quant aux lettres particulièrement intéressantes, elles sont reproduites aussi en fac-similé.

Je profite de cette occasion pour remercier le dr. José Pereira de Costa, directeur de l'ANTT pour le concours bénévole qu'il a bien voulu prêter à mes recherches.

I

*Envoyeur: Auguste III (*17.10.1696 + 5.10.1763). Electeur de Saxe, roi de Pologne (1733-1763).*

*Destinataire: Joseph I (*6.6.1714 + 24.2.1777). Roi de Portugal (1750-1777).*

*Contreseing: C. de Brühl. Il s'agit du comte Heinrich von Brühl (*13.8.1700 + 28.10.1763), conseiller principal d'Auguste III, portant depuis 1746 le titre de "premier-ministre" (saxon).*

Lieu: Dresde.

Date: 28 Décembre 1755.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 1-1v^o.

*Faire-part annonçant la naissance d'un petit-fils. Il s'agit d'Antoine, *27.12.1755 + 6.6.1827. Roi de Saxe, en 1827, sous le nom d'Antoine I. Fils de Frédéric Christian, électeur de Saxe et de Marie Antoinette Walpurgis, fille de l'empereur Charles VII.*

Augustus Tertius, Dei Gratia Rex Poloniae, Magnus Dux Lithuaniae, Russiae, Prussiae, Mazoviae, Samogitiae, Kyoviae, Volhyniae, Podoliae, Podlachiae, Livoniae, Smolensciae, Severiae, Czerniechoviaequae, Dux Saxoniae, Iuliaci, Cliviae, Montium, Angriae et Westphaliae, Sacri Romani Imperii Archi-Marschallus et Elector, Landgravius Thuringiae, Marchio Misniae, nec non

Superioris ac Inferioris Lusatiae, Burggravius Magdeburgensis, Comes Princeps Hennebergensis, Comes Marcae, Ravensbergae, Barbii et Hanoviae, Dominus Ravensteinii Serenissimo et Potentissimo Principi, Domino Iosepho, eadem gratia Regi fidelissimo Portugalliae et Algarbiorum citra et ultra mare in Africa, Dominus: Guineae, Conquisitionis, Navigationis et Commercii Aethiopiae, Arabiae, Persiae, Indiaeque, Fratri et Consanguineo Nostro Charissimo, salutem.

Serenissime et Potentissime Princeps, Frater et Consanguineus Charissime. Cum pluribus Nobis constet testimoniis, Maj^{tem} Vestram pro amico et benevolo Ipsius erga Nos animi affectu lubentissime ea, quae grata et laeta Nobis eveniunt, percipere, haud differendum existimamus, quo minus Illam de felici partu, quo Serenissima Princeps Regia et Electoralis, Nurus Nostra dilectissima, hesterno die filium Principem in lucem edidit, certiore reddamus. Quemadmodum spem non dubiam alimus, Maj^{tem} Vestram ex recenti hoc, quod Domui Nostrae Regio Electorali accessit, incremento parem Nobiscum laetitiam hausturam esse, ita novum hoc amicitiae Ipsius documentum inter ea reponemus, quibus Maj^{ti} Vrae jam sumus obstricti, rogantes Illam, velit Se habere persuasum, Nos vicissim cuncta, quae Ipsi Familiaequae Ejus Regiae fortunata et jucunda obtingere poterunt, sincera cum animi hilaritate nunquam non esse accepturos. Quod reliquum est Maj^{ti} Vestrae valetudinem quam optimam inter prosperos rerum successus serio apprecamur. Dabantur Dresdae die 28. Decembris, 1755.

bonus Frater et Consanguineus

Augustus Rex

(C. de Brühl)

ad Regem Portugalliae.

II

Envoyeur: Auguste III (voir I).

Destinataire: Joseph I (voir I).

Contreseing: C. de Brühl (voir I).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 6 Octobre 1757.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 2-2v^o.

*Faire-part annonçant la naissance d'une petite-fille. Il s'agit de Marie-Amalie, *26.9.1757 + 20.4.1831. Fille de Frédéric Christian et de Marie Antoinette Walpurgis (voir I).*

Augustus Tertius, Dei gratiâ Rex Poloniae, . . . Dux Saxoniae, . . .
Serenissimo et Potentissimo Principi, Domino Josepho, eâdem gratia
Regi Fidelissimo Portugalliae . . . Fratri et Consanguineo Nostro
charissimo Salutem.

Serenissime et Potentissime Princeps, Frater et Consanguinee
charissime. Accepto ante aliquot dies nuntio, Serenissimam Principem
Regio-Electoralem, dilectissimam Nurum Nostram, Dresdae
die vigesimo sexto mensis praeteriti felici partu Principem Filiam
enixam esse, quae in Sacro Baptismate Maria Amalia nominata fuit,
Majestatem Vestram de optatissimo hocce Domus Nostrae Regio-
Electoralis incremento certiore reddendam esse duximus. Cum
jam dudum de sincero et probato Majestatis Vestrae erga Nos et
Domum Nostram affectu persuasi simus, nullum Nobis dubium est,
Eandem in partem laetitiae Nostrae venire, et tam Serenissimae
Puerperae, quam Principi Ejus recens natae, salutem et bonam
valetudinem libenter apprecari. Ex Nostra parte Majestati Vestrae
parem valetudinem quam optimam inter prosperos rerum successus
serio et voto expetimus. Dabantur Varsaviae die 6^{to} Octobris, 1757.

Maj^{is} Vrae

bonus Frater et Consanguineus
Augustus Rex
(C. de Brühl)

ad Regem Fidelissimum.

III

Envoyeur: Auguste III (voir I).

Destinataire: Joseph I (voir I).

Contreseing: C. de Brühl (voir I).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 4. Novembre 1757.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 3-3v^o.

*Lettre de recommandation d'Alexius Fischer et de Raphael de
Buffa, de l'ordre de pères Maristes établi en Pologne, envoyés
au Portugal. Sur leur mission, voir: Boleslaw Jakimowicz
M.I.C.: "The Marians in Portugal" dans "Antemurale" vol.
XXII, pp. 55-89.*

Augustus Tertius, Dei gratiâ Rex Poloniae, . . . Dux Saxoniae, . . .
Serenissimo et Potentissimo Principi Domino Josepho, eâdem Gratia
Regi Fidelissimo Portugalliae . . . Fratri et Consanguineo Nostro
charissimo salutem.

Serenissime et Potentissime Princeps, Frater et Consanguinee

charissime. Cum Ordo Religiosorum Marianorum Immaculatae Conceptionis Beatae Virginis Mariae a Nobis et Republicae Poloniae in singularem protectionem susceptus et in Regno Portugalliae nuperrime plantatus, ad foundationem suam ibi firmitus stabiliendam duos ex Congregatione Polona Mariana Patres Conventus Rasnensis in Lithuania, scilicet Alexium Fischer, et Raphaelem de Buffa in Lusitaniam mittere decreverit, cum ampla augmentandae ibidem Religioni inchoatae commissione a Superioribus delegatâ, Majestatem Vestram pro Suo in Sanctissimam fidem Christianam studio et cultu obnixè rogamus, ut Ordinem hunc in honorem Immaculatae Conceptionis Beatissimae Mariae Virginis institutum, eiusque Religiosos omnes et singulos, in Regno Majestatis Vestrae degentes, imprimis vero Patres supranominatos Sibi commendatos habere, et eorum in promovendo pio opere, quod meditantur, labores et conatus Regia protectione Sua benevole adjuvare dignetur. De caetero Majestati Vestrae valetudinem quam optimam inter prosperos rerum successos serio apprecamur. Dabantur Varsaviae, die 4. Novembris 1757.

Majt^{is} Vrae

bonus Frater et Consanguineus

Augustus Rex

(C. de Brühl)

ad Regem Portugalliae.

IV

Envoyeur: Auguste III (voir I).

Destinataire: Joseph I (voir I).

Contreseing: C. de Brühl (voir I).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 26 Novembre 1757.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. l. 4-4^{vo}.

Faire-part annonçant la mort de la reine Marie Joséphine, décédée le 17 Novembre 1757. Marie Joséphine, née le 8.12.1699, était la fille de l'empereur Joseph Habsbourg.

Augustus Tertius, Dei gratiâ Rex Poloniae . . . Dux Saxoniae . . . Serenissimo et Potentissimo Principi Domino Josepho, eâdem gratiâ Regi Fidelissimo Portugalliae . . .

Serenissime et Potentissime Princeps, Frater et Consanguineus charissime. Non sine acerbissimo doloris sensu Majestati Vestrae notum facimus, Divine Numine ita jubente, Serenissimam ac Poten-

tissimam Principem et Dominam, Mariam Josepham, Poloniarum Reginam, natam Principem Hungariae, Bohemiae, utriusque Siciliae, Archi-Ducem Austriae et Electricem Saxoniae, Consortem Nostram dilectissimam, die XVII. currentis mensis Novembris, cum injuriis et offensionibus, quas ab infensissimo hoste per anni, et quod occurrit spatium, invicto ac heroice animo pertulerat, resistere amplius non posset, curis magis et animi moerore, quam morbi in pulmonibus haerentis violentiâ consumptum, per repentinam et placidam mortem ad coelestem gloriam transiisse. Non dubitamus, pro ea quae Majestati Vestrae Nobiscum intercedit amicitia, Eandem luctum, quem ex moestissimo casu sentimus, Suum facturam, et uti speramus, compatiendo levaturam esse. Nossa ex parte Deum rogamus, ut tristes omnes eventus a Majestate Vestra Domoque Ipsius Regia diutissime avertere, Eidemque valetudinem quam optimam inter prosperos rerum successus impertire dignetur.

Dabantur Varsaviae, die 26. Novembris, 1757.

Maj^{ties} Vrae

bonus Frater et Consaguineus

Augustus Rex

(C. de Brühl)

ad Regem Portugalliae.

V

Envoyeur: Auguste III (voir I).

Destinataire: Joseph I (voir I).

Contreseing: C. de Brühl (voir I).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 26 Avril 1759.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11, Fl. 5-5v^o.

*Faire part annonçant la naissance d'un petit-fils. Il s'agit de Maximilien, *13.4.1759 + 3.1.1838, fils de Frédéric Christian et de Marie Antoinette Walpurgis (voir I).*

Augustus Tertius, Dei Gratia Rex Poloniae, . . . Dux Saxoniae, . . . Serenissimo et Potentissimo Principi Domino Josepho, eadem Gratia Fidelissimo Portugalliae . . . Fratri et Consanguineo Nostro charissimo Salutem.

Serenissime et Potentissime Princeps, Frater et Consaguinee charissime. Cum Serenissimus Princeps Regio-Electoralis Filius Noster dilectissimus, litteris ante dies aliquot Dresdâ transmissis

certiores Nos fecerit, Conjugem Ipsius charissimam Principem filium felici partu iterum enixam fuisse, in Sacro Baptismatis fonte Maximiliani nomine compellatum, Majestatis Vestrae exoptatum hoc Regiae Domus Nostrae augmentum celare non debemus, cum certissima Nobis spes sit, Majestatem Vestram, pro benevolo Suo erga Nos affectu, laeto animo percepturam esse, quidquid fausti Nobis et jucundi accidere poterit. Nos equidem Deum Omnipotentem summopere rogamus, ut Majestati Vestrae Regiaeque Ipsius Domui optatissimos rerum successus et omnigenam felicitatem abunde largiatur. Dabantur Varsaviae, die 26^{ta} Aprilis, 1759.

Maj^{tis} V^{trae}

bonus Frater et Consaguineus

Augustus Rex

(C. de Brühl)

ad Regem Portugalliae.

VI

Envoyeur: Auguste III (voir I).

Destinataire: Joseph I (voir I).

Contreseing: C. de Brühl (voir I).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 5 Septembre 1760.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 6-6v^o.

*Lettre de félicitation à l'occasion des noces de D. Maria, princesse de Brésil, fille de Joseph I avec l'enfant Pedro, frère du roi et oncle de la fiancée. Il s'agit de D. Maria (*1734 + 1816), qui accéda au trône en 1777 sous le nom de D. Maria I. Son époux (*1717 + 1786) prit le titre honoraire de roi et le nom de Dom Pedro III.*

Augustus Tertius, Dei Gratiâ Rex Poloniae . . . Dux Saxoniae . . .
Serenissimo et Potentissimo Principi Domino Josepho, eâdem Gratiâ
Regi Fidelissimo Portugalliae . . .

Serenissime et Potentissime Princeps, Frater et Consaguinee charissime. Jucundius sane nihil, nec auditu gratius Nobis accidere potuisset, quam laetissima ista per litteras Majestatis Vestrae Nobis facta denunciatio Nuptiarum Serenissimae Brasiliae Principis Dominae Mariae Filiae Majestatis Vestrae charissimae, et Fratris dilectissimi Serenissimi Infantis Domini Petri, quae ad augendam faustissimae solennitatis laetitiam, ipso Natali Majestatis Vestrae die celebratae fuerunt. Quare non solum pro amica felicissimi hujus

Connubii significatione gratis Ipsi rependimus, quantum possumus, maximas, sed etiam pro Majestatis Vestrae et Principum recens junctorum salute ac omnigena prosperitate vota facientes optamus ex animo, ut Summum Numen Majestatem Vestram Regiamque Ipsius Domum constanti valetudine et perpetue rerum successu beare, ac incolumes omnes quam diutissime custodire velit. Dabantur Varsaviae, die 5^{ta} Septembris, 1760.

Maj^{ties} V^{rae}

bonus Frater et Consaguineus

Augustus Rex

(C. de Brühl)

ad Regem Portugalliae.

VII

Envoyeur: Auguste III (voir I).

Destinataire: Joseph I (voir I).

Contreseing: C. de Brühl (voir I).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 13 Mars 1761.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 7-7v^o.

*Faire-part annonçant la naissance d'une petite-fille. Le nom de la nouveau-née y est indiqué comme étant Thérèse, alors que dans les Tables Généalogiques de la maison de Wettin (Dworzaczek, Table 71) le nom de la princesse, née à la date indiquée, figure comme Marie Anne (*27.2.1761 + 26.11.1820). Fille de Frédéric Christian et de Marie Antoinette Walpurgis (voir I).*

Augustus Tertius, Dei Gratia Rex Poloniae . . . Dux Saxoniae . . . Serenissimo et Potentissimo Principi Domino Josepho, eâdem Gratia Regi Fidelissimo Portugaliae . . .

Serenissime et Potentissime Princeps, Frater et Consaguinee charissime. Per litteras Serenissimi Principis Regio-Electoralis, Filii Nostri dilectissimi ante dies aliquot Monachio Allatas, certiores facti sumus charissimam Nurum Nostram die vigesimo septimo Februarii felicissimo partu Principem Filiam emisisse, qua in Sacro Baptismate Theresia cognominata fuit. Non possumus non Majestati Vestrae pro Nostro in Eandem sincero affectu et amicitiae nexu, hanc Regiae Prolis accessionem significare, nulli dubitantes, faustum hunc et jucundum eventum quem Divina Nobis gratia indulsit, gratum Ipsi quoque fore et acceptum. Ex Nostra parte Deum Optimum Maximum precamur, ut Majestati Vestrae Domui-

que Ipsius Regiae, omnigenam felicitatem cum prosperrima valetudine quam diutissime largiatur.

Dabantur Varsaviae die 13^{tia} Martii, 1761.

Maj^{tis} V^{rae}

bonus Frater et Consaguineus

Augustus Rex

(C. de Brühl)

ad Regem Portugalliae.

VIII

Envoyeur: Auguste III (voir I).

Destinataire: Joseph I (voir I).

Contreseing: C. de Brühl (voir I).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 24 Septembre 1761.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 9-8v^o.

*Lettre de félicitations à l'occasion de la naissance d'un petit-fils, le prince de Beria (sic). Il s'agit de D. José (*21.8.1761 + 11.9.1788), fils de D. Maria et de D. Pedro. Le titre de prince de Beira (et non de Beria) — d'après le nom d'une des provinces portugaises — a été créé par le roi D. João V en 1734, à l'intention de sa petite-fille D. Maria, future reine D. Maria I, qui le porta jusqu'à la mort de son grand-père, en 1750, année où elle lui substitua le titre de princesse de Brésil, réservé à l'héritier présomptif. Ce titre, créé en 1645 par le roi D. João IV, a été en usage jusqu'en 1822 c'est-à-dire jusqu'à la proclamation de l'indépendance du Brésil.*

Augustus Tertius Dei Gratia Rex Poloniae . . . et Dux Saxoniae . . . Serenissimo et Potentissimo Principi Domino Josepho, eadem Gratia Regi Fidelissimo Portugaliae . . .

Serenissime et Potentissime Princeps, Frater et Consaguinee charissime. Summa cum animi laetitia ex litteris Majestatis Vestrae intelleximus, Serenissimam Dominam Mariam Brasiliae Principem ac Brigantiae Ducem, Filiam Majestatis Vestrae Dilectissimam, felicissimo partu filium qui Beriae (sic) Princeps declaratus est, enixam fuisse. Cum nihil Nobis jucundius accidere possit, quam de faustis rerum eventibus, quos Divina Providentia Majestati Vestrae indulget frequentius edoceri, non possumus non Ipsi exoptatissimum hoc Regiae Domus incrementum ex animo gratulari, summo-pere Deum Optimum Maximum rogantes, ut recens natum Principem cum Serenissima Puerpera salvum et incolumem servare, et

Majestati Vestrae, cui amicitiam Nostram et deditissimum animi affectum omni tempore probatissimum esse cupimus, omnigenam felicitatem quam diutissime impertiri dignatur.

Dabantur Varsaviae die XXIV Mensis Septembris, Anno Domini MDCCLXI.

Majestatis Vestrae
bonus Frater et Consaguineus
Augustus Rex
(C. de Brühl)

ad Regem Portugalliae.

IX

*Envoyeur: Ladislas Alexandre Łubieński (*1.11.1703 + 20.6.1767),
archevêque de Gniezno, primat de Pologne et, en tant que tel,
interroi à la mort d'Auguste III.*

Destinataire: Inconnu. (Probablement le Marquis de Pombal, secrétaire d'Etat sous le règne de Joseph I.)

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 1 Decembre 1763.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 9.

Lettre annonçant le départ pour le Portugal du comte [Joseph Łódzia] Poniński, chargé de notifier le décès du roi Auguste III et sollicitant pour l'envoyé une audience chez le roi Joseph I.

Monsieur

L'événement fatal de la mort inopinée du Roi Auguste III de glorieuse mémoire m'ayant obligé de prendre les rênes abandonnées du Gouvernement, après avoir rempli par des prières publiques le devoir de demander l'assistance du Ciel, mon premier soin a été avec le Senat de faire part aux Puissances Amies et Alliées de la République de la perte qu'Elle vient de faire, et qui l'expose aux circonstances toujours critiques d'un Interregne. Pour cet effet en qualité d'Interrex et de l'avis du Senat j'ai chargé Mr le Comte Poninski Staroste Ostoski (?) de se rendre près de Sa M^{té}, afin de Luy notifier de notre part la Mort déplorable de notre Chef et de La supplier de la continuation de Son amitié et bienveillance pour la République ; j'ai l'honneur d'adresser Mr le Comte Poninski à Votre Excellence et de la prier d'avoir la bonté de luy procurer l'audience de Son Souverain, pour qu'il puisse s'acquitter de sa commission, selon les Instructions dont il est muni.

Il a entre autres celle de ne rien negliger pour meriter la confiance de Votre Excellence, et ses bons offices pour la Republique dans les occasions qui se presenteront ; je profite de celley pour temoigner à Votre Excellence, les sentimens de l'estime et consideration tres distinguée avec la quelle je suis.

Varsovie ce 1: Xbre 1763

Monsieur
de Votre Excellence
le tres humble et tres
obeissant serviteur
V Łubienski Primat m.p.

X

Envoyeur: Ladislas Łubieński (voir IX).

Destinataire: Roi de Portugal (Joseph I — voir I).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 1 Decembre 1763.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 10-10vº.

Lettres de creance du comte [Joseph] Łodzia Poniński, chargé de notifier la mort d'Auguste III (voir IX). Poniński fut décoré par Joseph I de l'ordre du Christ, des documents correspondants se trouvent à la Bibliothèque d'Ajuda à Lisbonne (Coleção Pombalina. Cod. 672, fl. 119) et à l'Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Habilitações da Ordem de Christo, J.M.97 N° 47) et ont été publiés par Henrique de Campos Ferreira Lima dans son ouvrage: "Relações entre Portugal e a Polónia" — Vila Nova de Famalicão — 1934 — pp. 22-23).

Serenissime Rex.

Longissimum Viarum intervallum, quo a Serenissima Majestate Vestra Regnisque suis Serenissima Polona Respublica est dissita, nullum tamen Ej ponit obicem, quin debitam Officiorum Suorum significationem Ejdm transmittere intermittat. Pervagatam enim Serenissimae Majestatis Vestrae Famam Nominis maximo, ac eõ quõ par est cultu Polona etiam reveretur Respublica. Pro hac igitur sita in Serenissimam Majestatem Vestram observantia, cum in eo acerbissimo Orbitatis casu constituta sit, ut Serenissimo Rege suo Augusto III. è vivis erepto, nihil praeter gravissimum dolorem sit reliquum ipsi maximum sperat se allaturam levamen, cum eundem Serenissimae Majestati Vestrae communicaverit. Cum vero ad hac

singularis Serenissimae Majestatis Vestrae, Cuj se vehementer commendatam cupit, accedet Benevolentia, tum certe nihil erit, quod majori studio desiderare videatur: Hunc tristissimum Serenissimae Reipublicae Polonae Statum Magnificus ac Generosus Comes Łodzia Poninski de communi Senatorum utriusquè Gentis assensu missus Ablegatus perfert Serenissimae Majestati Vestrae, quem unà mecum Serenissimae Majestati Vestrae commendans, prosperrimosquè Regni sui precans Successus, profundissimae Venerationis Cultu permaneo.

Sacrae Regiae Majestatis Vestrae
Senatus Rⁿⁱ Poloniae et Magni
Ducatus Lithuaniae
ad Officia paratissimi
meô ac Eorundem Nomine
V Łubienski Primas m.p.

Varsaviae Die 1.
Decembris A^o 1763.

XI

*Envoyeur: Stanislas Auguste (Stanislas Auguste Poniatowski
*17.1.1732 + 12.2.1798), élu roi de Pologne le 7.9.1764, con-
traint à abdiquer le 25.9.1795, après le 3-ème partage de la
Pologne.*

Destinataire: Roi Très Fidèle (Joseph I — voir I).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 9 Septembre 1764.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 12.

Lettre autographe annonçant son élection au trône de Pologne.

Monsieur mon Frère. Appellé au Trône de Pologne par une Election également libre et unanime de Ma Nation, Je satisfais à une de mes premières attentions, en faisant part à Votre Majesté de cet evenement d'autant plus heureux qu'il s'est passé d'une maniere entierement legale et tranquille. En occupant cette place, Je chercherai avec plaisir des occasions, où je pourrois prouver à Votre Majesté les sentimens, avec lesquels Je suis sincerement.

Monsieur mon Frère
de Votre Majesté
Le bon frère et ami
Stanislas Auguste Roy

a Varsovie
ce 9. de Sept: 1764.
au Roi Très Fidèle.

XII

Envoyeur: Stanislas Auguste (voir XI).

Destinataire: Joseph I (voir I).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 5 Septembre 1765.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 13.

*Confirmation formelle des notifications antérieures de l'élection
et du couronnement.*

Stanislaus Augustus Dei gratiâ Rex Poloniae, Magnus Dux Lithuaniae, Russiae, Prussiae, Masoviae, Samogitiae, Kijoviae, Volhyniae, Podoliae, Podlachiae, Livoniae, Smolensciae, Severiae, Czerniechoviaequae. Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi Domino Iosepho eâdem gratiâ Lusitaniae et Algarbiorum citra et ultra mare Regi Fidelissimo, in Africa Domino, Gvineae, et conquestionis, navigationis, commercijque, Ethiopiae, Arabiae, Persiae, Indiaequae. Fratri et Cognato Nostro Charissimo salutem ac mutui affectus et omnis prosperitatis continuum incrementum.

Serenissime ac Potentissime Princeps Frater et Cognate Noster charissime. Ut quo semper Serenissimos Praedecessores Nostres, Regnumque hoc Nostrum Poloniae Majestas Vestro complexa est amore ac Benevolentîâ, pari etiam Nos prosequi velit; Praesentes, quibus de electione nostra ad Regnum hoc Die Septima Septembris subsecuta, et de felici Coronatione Die Vigesiâ Quintâ Novembris Annô immediate elapsô feliciter jam peracta Majestatem Vestram reddimus certiores, Eandem permoveant. Quemadmodum vero nihil unaquam magis Cordi Nobis futurum est, quam ut constantem Majestatis Vestrae amicitiam nobis demereamur, ita cum id unum a Majestate Vestra exoptamus; quin nobis eandem exhibeat, constanterque servet, et de pari nostro in se affectu ac propensione nusquam dubitet, poscimus. Prosperrimos Regnorum successus, ac incolumem vitae diuturnitatem a DEO T.O.M. Majestati Vestrae precamur. Dabantur Varsaviae Die V Mensis Septembri A^o D. MDCCLXV. Regni vero nostri Primo Annô.

Majestatis Vestrae
Bonus Frater et Amicus
Stanislaus Augustus Rex.

XIII

Envoyeur: Stanislas Auguste (voir XI).

Destinataire: Joseph I (voir I).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 18 Octobre 1766.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 14-14vº.

*Lettre de condoléances à l'occasion de la mort du prince Emmanuel, oncle de Joseph I. Il s'agit de l'infant D. Manuel (*3.8.1697 + 3.8.1766), fils du roi Pedro II et de sa 2-ème épouse Maria Sofia de Neuburg.*

Stanislaus Augustus Dei Gratia Rex Poloniae . . . Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi Domino Josepho Primo eâdem gratiâ Portugalliae . . . Regi Fidelissimo . . . Fratri et cognato Nostro charissimo, Salutem ac Felicitatem. Serenissime ac Potentissime Princeps Frater et Cognate Noster Carissime! Nuperrime pervenere ad Nos Maiestatis Vestrae Literae, funesti casus ferentes Nuntium, Serenissimum Principem Dominum Emmanuelem Patruum Eius desideratissimum, mortalitatis diem finisse. Tanta fatalitatis ergo causâ, Maiestatem Vestram ac Regiam Eius Domum iusto dolore eo plus pressavi, gravatamque, quo magis Illi Serenissimo Principi suo Patruo prae Excelsis conspicuisque animi dotibus, et Summis qualitatibus Nobis omnibusque Nationibus memoria perennaturo, Ipsam addictam fore perspicimus. Nos etenim Eius modi Luctûs dolorisque Maiestatis Vestrae partem suscipimus, graviusque exinde maeremus quo maiorem et intensiorem erga Ipsam animi et sinceri studij Nostri indesinenter servandi habeamus voluntatem. Interea abhinc ut adversa quaevis a Maiestate Vestra Regiaque Eius Domo procul absint, et cuncta laeta ac prospera circa diuturnum Ipsius Regimen faveant, a Deo consolatore omnium ex corde precamur. Dabantur Varsaviae Die XVIII. Mensis Octobris Anno Domini MDCCLXVI Regni vero Nostri III. Anno.

Maiestatis Vestrae
Bonus Frater et Amicus
Stanislaus Augustus Rex

XIV

Envoyeur: Stanislas Auguste (voir XI).

Destinataire: Joseph I (voir I).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 20 Juin 1767.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 15.

Lettre de félicitation à l'occasion de la naissance du prince de Brésil.

*Il s'agit de D. João (*13.5.1767 + 10.3.1826), fils de D. Maria, future reine D. Maria I et de D. Pedro (voir VI). Il régna de 1816 à 1826 sous le nom de D. João VI.*

Stanislaus Augustus Dei Gratia Rex Poloniae, . . . Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi, Domino Josepho Primo eâdem Grâtia Portugalliae . . . Regi Fidelissimo, . . . Fratri et Cognato Nostro Charissimo salutem, ac mutui Affectus omnisque prosperitatis continuum Incrementum.

Serenissime ac Potentissime Princeps, Frater et Cognate Noster Charissime. Quam gratô, ac jucundo recepimus Animô Majestatis Vestrae Literas, quibus et sinceram erga Nos voluntatem testata est, et laetissimum de Nato nuper Brasiliae Principe dedit Nuncium, eo facilius Majestas Vestra percipiet, quo intimius de reciprocis, propensissimisque erga. Se sensibus Nostris persuasa esse voluerit. Quemadmodum vero summopere de hoc auspicatissimo Majestatis Vestrae solatio gaudemus, ita non minus Ipsi, quam Nobis gratulamur, quod Regiam Majestatis Vestrae Domum novo splendore, Nos vero Novo Amico Principe auctos gloriari juste possimus, Cui dum cuncta secunda, tum illud etiam intensis votis exoptamus, ut bono Dominiorum Suorum diu et feliciter vivat, atque toti Regiae Domui Ipsius omnia semper fausta, ac fortunata succedant. Dabantur Varsaviae Die XX Mensis Junij Anno Domini MDCCLXVII. Regni vero Nostri III. Annô.

Majestatis Vestrae
Bonus Frater et Amicus
Stanislaus Augustus Rex.

XV

Envoyeur: Stanislas Auguste (voir XI).

Destinataire: Joseph I (voir I).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 20 Avril 1771.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 16.

*Lettre de condoléances à l'occasion de la mort de D. Maria Francisca Dorothea (*21.9.1739 +14.1.1771), fille de D. José I et de sa femme D. Mariana Vitória de Bourbon.*

Stanislaus Augustus Dei gratiâ Rex Poloniae, . . . Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi Domino Josepho Primo eâdem gratiâ Portugalliae . . . Regi Fidelissimo, . . . Fratri et Cognato Nostro carissimo salutem ac felicitatem.

Serenissime ac Potentissime Princeps Frater et cognate Noster carissime. Non sine ingenti animi N^{ri} maerore accepimus. Serenissimam Infantem Dominam Franciscam Dorotheam filiam dilectissimam tertio genitam Majestatis Vestrae die 16 elapsi mensis Januarii, vitam hanc com immortalis commutasse. Tristis istiusmodi Nuntius eo Nos vehementius afflixit, qui magis eximias animi dotes et virtutes Regiae Virginis perspectas et commendatas habuimus. Non suppetit Nobis alius modus gravi huic dolori leniendo, quam enisce Deum O.M. precari, ut Majestatem Vestram totamque Ejus Serenissimam Domum, nove semper solationum et felicitatum incremento auctam, diutissimeque sospitem et incolumem servet. Dabantur Varsaviae die XX Mensis Aprilis Anno Domini MDCCLXXI Regni vero Nostri VII Anno.

Majestatis Vestrae
Bonus Frater et Amicus
Stanislaus Augustus Rex

XVI

Envoyeur: Stanislas Auguste (voir XI).

Destinataire: Joseph I (voir I).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 13 Novembre 1771.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 17.

Notification de l'attentat manqué perpétré contre Stanislas Auguste par les Confédérés de Bar, en opposition contre sa politique étrangère. Le but en était, apparemment, le rapt du roi, visant à le forcer d'adhérer à la Confédération.

Monsieur Mon Frere. Les marques d'amitié que J'ai reçues en differens temps de Votre Majesté, Me prescrivent de L'informer Moi même du complot criminel qui a failli M'oter la vie.

J'ai été assailli le 3. du courant entre 9. et 10. heures du soir en rue, par 40. hommes à cheval, qui après M'avoir porté plusieurs coups, M'ont entraîné, blessé hors de la Ville. Sauvé enfin par un retour miraculeux du chef de cette bande sur lui même. Je Me trouve aujourd'hui par la Grace de Dieu hors de peril pour Ma Vie, Mes blessures n'étant point jugées jusqu'à present dangereuses.

J'espere que Votre Majesté voudra bien prendre à cet evenement la part que J'ai lieu d'en attendre et etre persuadée des sentimens d'estime et d'amitié dans les quels Je suis.

Varsovie, le 13. 9bre
1771.

Monsieur Mon Frere
De Votre Majesté
Le bon Frere
Stanislas Auguste Roy.

au Roi de Portugal.

XVII

Envoyeur: Stanislas Auguste (voir XI).

Destinataire: Joseph I (voir I).

Contreseing: Młodzieiowski (Młodziejowski, Młodziejewski). Il s agit d'Andrzej M. (1717-1780), évêque le Poznań, nommé en 1764 sous-chancelier et, en 1767, grand chancelier de la Couronne.

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 27 Octobre 1772.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 18-18v^o.

Lettre sollicitant le roi de Portugal de protester auprès les cours de Berlin, de St. Petersbourg et de Vienne contre le 1er partage de la Pologne. Des lettres semblables ont été également adressées à plusieurs autres cours européennes.

Stanislaus Augustus Dei gratiâ Rex Poloniae. . . . Serenissimo et Potentissimo Principi Domino Josepho Primo eâdem gratiâ Portugalliae, . . . Regi Fidelissimo, . . . Fratri et Cognate Nostre carissimo salutem ac felicitatem.

Serenissime et Potentissime Princeps Frater et Cognate Noster carissime. Innotuit, credo, iam pridem Majestati Vestrae Fidelissimae, quid sibi Tres Aulæ, Viennensis, Petropolitana ac Beroli-

nensis, in damnum Poloniae mutuis Pactionibus unitae agendum constituerint, praestiterintque. Nunc habitô nuper, ad quaerendum publicis calamitatibus remedium, Senatus Consultô, constituimus Majestatem Vestram rogare enixo, ut pro commune Regum, Regnorumque causa, officia sua apud easdem aulas interponere velit. Non Tibi, quaeso, persvadeat Rex Fidelissime, ingens illa terrarum longinquitas, quibus Regna haec nostra inter se dividuntur, ut parum curare videaris ad ultima Occidentis littora constitutus, quid premat Orientem. Novit optime Maiestas Vestra, quid tam arctô nunc inter se nodô universa Europae negotia coniungantur, ut nullum omnino Regnum damna pati posso, quin alia etiam eodem ictu plus minusde commoveantur: commerciiis, affinitatibus, negotiis unimur, quibus nihil impervium. Quod si nulla inter Nos Regnumque maiestatis Vestrae necessitudo esset, quicumque Principum, uti Tu Rex Fidelissime, generosum pectus habet, indolere sane debet casibus Nostris, Regnique olim florentissimi acerbis vicibus ingemiscere. Non enim illud, perpetua com Vicinis pacis cura ab insultu, non bene merita ab injuriis, non sacerrima mutuum faederum placita a vi defenderunt. Invadimur, discerpimur, occupamur, et quidem ab Ejs, qui nobiscum perpetuam amicitiam ac fidem colere, tum per se tum per Praedecessores suos interposito jurejurando promiserunt. Testis est horum responsio Nostra ad declarationes dictarum trium aularum, in qua et jura Nostra summatim exposuimus, et indebitum Nobiscum agendi modum, confisi innocentiae Nostrae, ac bonitati Supremi Regum Judicis Dei ostendimus. Quae quidem responsio Nostra cum per Legatum Majestatis Vestrae jam Viennâ Ulissyponem transmissa sit, preces Nostras repetimus, rogamusque iterum atque iterum Majestatis Vestram, ut causae Nostrae apud dictas Aulas Patronum benevolum agere non gravetur. Nihil Majestas Vestra Christianae Reipublicae utilius praestabit, quam si operâ sua Regnorum Moderatoribus, qui subjectis sibi populis justitiam administrent, eandem justitiam colere persvaserit. Deum O.M. interea pro incolumitate Majestatis Vestrae precamur. Dabantur Varsaviae die XXVII Mensis Octobris Annô Domini MDCCLXXII. Regni vero Nostri IX. Annô.

Majestatis Vestrae
Bonus Frater et Amicus
Stanislaus Augustus Rex
(Młodzieiowski)

XVIII

Envoyeur: Stanislas Auguste (voir XI).

Destinataire: Joseph I (voir I).

Contreseing: Młodzieiowski (voir XVII).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 2 Août 1774.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 19-19^{vo}.

*Lettre de félicitations à l'occasion de la naissance d'une petite-fille
du roi, fille de D. Maria, princesse de Brésil et de D. Pedro.
il s'agit de Clementine (*9.6.1774 + 26.6.1776).*

Stanislaus Augustus Dei gratiâ Rex Poloniae, . . . Serenissimo
ac Potentissimo Principi Domino Josepho Primo eadem gratiâ
Portugalliae . . . Regi Fidelissimo, Fratri et Cognato Nostro
carissimo salutem ac felicitatem.

Serenissime ac Potentissime Princeps, Frater et Cognate Noster
Carissime. Communis et Majestati Vestrae et toti Ejus Regiae
Familiae laetitia e felici faustoque partu Serenissimae Dominae
Mariae Principis Brasiliae, novae prolis incremento eandem
cumulante exorta, tanto abundatiore in Nos alveo redundavit,
quanto pro arctioris amicitiae Nostrae ratione impensius ijs omni-
bus adficimur, que cum Majestatis Vestrae prosperitate quocunque
demum vinculo connectuntur. Itaque delatum Nobis hujusce faus-
tissimi eventus nuntium eo laetitiae sensu accepimus, quem prae-
conceptae spei respondentes successus excitabant, et quo damnatos
voti svavissimi permoveri oportebat. Neque vero ijs sese limitibus
contineri partitur amicitiae Nostrae conjunctissima necessitudo,
sed prosperitates alias ex alijs profluentes animo complexa, inque
futurum prospiciens, sum recens natae Principi Ejusque Serenis-
simae Matri longissime protensum, atque ab omni adversitate im-
mune vitae curriculum, tum Majestati Vestrae et illum ipsum, et
quidquid amplissimis Ejus dominatui subjectis Ditionibus, Popu-
lisque beandis deservire potest, a Deo Ter Optimo Maximo com-
precatur. Dabantur Varsaviae Die II^{da} Mensis Augusti Anno
Domini MDCCLXXIV. Regni vero Nostri X Anno.

Majestatis Vestrae
Bonus Frater et Amicus
Stanislaus Augustus Rex
(Młodzieiowski)

XIX

Envoyeur: Stanislaus Auguste (voir XI).

Destinataire: Joseph I (voir I).

Contreseing: Młodzieiowski (voir XVII).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 25 Fevrier 1777.

*Lettre de félicitations à l'occasion de la naissance d'une petite-fille du roi, fille de D. Maria et de D. Pedro. Il s'agit d'Isabel (*22.12.1776 + 14.1.1777).*

Stanislaus Augustus Dei Gratia Rex Poloniae . . . Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi Domino Josepho Primo eadem Gratiâ Portugaliae . . . Regi Fidelissimo . . . Fratri et Cognato Nostro Carissimo salutem et felicitatem.

Serenissime ac Potentissime Princeps Frater et Cognate Noster Carissime. Plurimum latari semper consuevimus, quotiescunque Majestati Vestrae aliquid fausti evenit. Facile Majestas Vestra cognoscet vel exindè, qua animi voluptate literas suas die 22. Decembris anno elapso ad Nos datas de felici puerperio Serenissimae Dominae Mariae Brasiliae Principis Filiae Majestatis Vestrae dilectissime nuntias accepimus. Gratulationis Nostrae de hujusmodi prosperrimo eventu summa est, precavi etiam atque etiam, ut Supremum Numen Majestatem Vestram natam que neptem Principem cum tota Serenissima Ejus Domo diutissime sospitem et incolumem servet. Dabantur Varsavia Die XXV. Mensis Februarij Anno Domini MDCCLXXVII Regni vero Nostri XIII Anno.

Majestatis Vestrae
Bonus Frater et Amicus
Stanislaus Augustus Rex
(Młodzieiowski)

XX

Envoyeur: Stanislas Auguste (voir XI).

Destinataire: Marie I (voir XIV). D. Maria Francisca, princesse de Brésil, fille de Joseph I, monta sur le trône après la mort de son père (24.2.1777).

Contreseing: Młodzieiowski (voir XVII).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 24 Avril 1777.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 21-21vº.

*Lettre de condoléances à l'occasion de la mort de Joseph I, et de félicitations de l'accession au trône, avec référence au mariage de l'infante D. Maria Francisca Benedicta, fille de Joseph I et donc soeur de Marie I, avec le fils de celle-ci D. José (*21.8.1761 +11.9.1788), prince de Beria (sic — voir VIII), neveu de la jeune mariée.*

Stanislaus Augustus Dei Gratiâ Rex Poloniae, . . . Serenissimae ac Potentissimae Principi Dominae Mariae eâdem gratiâ Portugalliae et Algarbiorum citra et ultra mare Reginae Fidelissimae in Africa Dominae Guineae, et Conquisitionis, Navigationis, et Commercii Aethiopiae, Arabiae, Persiae, Indiaeque etc. etc. Sorori et Cognatae Nostrae Carissimae salutem ac felicitatem.

Serenissima ac Potentissima Princeps Soror et Cognata Nostra Carissima. Ex litteris divae memoriae Serenissimi Parentis Majestatis Vestrae de die 21 Februarii ad nos datis (: quibus Nos de faedere connubii a Serenissimo Principe Beriae nepote Suo cum Serenissima Infante Domina Maria Francisca Benedicta Filia sua initi certiores reddidit :) uti magnam animi sensimus voluptatem; ita nuntius de fatis Ejusdem Serenissimi Parentis Majestatis Vestrae per litteras ad Nos die 24 Mensis ejusdem delatus, justissimo Nos dolore affecit; eoque magis ille augetur, quo penitius menti Nostrae praestantissimarum Illius virtutum et dotum singillatim vero amicitiae, quam Nobis conservabat, obversatur memoria. Levat nihilominus acerbitatem maioris illud, quod minime dubitamus, Majestatem Vestram in Lusitanici Regni Haereditate ac possessione Serenissimo Parenti vita funero succedendo. Nos sua etiam amicitia Regnumque Nostrum complexuram. Nos interea Majestatem Vestram de mutuo nostro studio et officiis intime persuasam esse cupimus, simul ac Deum Optimum Maximum precamur, quo Majestatem Vestram felicissime regnantem secundet et diutissime incolumem servet. Dabantur Varsaviae Die XXIV Mensis Aprilis Annô Domini MDCCLXXVII Regni vero Nostri XIII Anno.

Majestatis Vestrae
Bonus Frater
Stanislaus Augustus Rex
(Młodzieowski)

XXI

Envoyeur: Stanislas Auguste (voir XI).

Destinataire: Pierre III (voir VI).

Contreseing: Młodzieiowski (voir XVII).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 4 Juillet 1777.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 22.

Lettre de félicitations, en réponse à une lettre de Pierre III annonçant le couronnement de D. Maria I.

Stanislaus Augustus Dei Gratia Rex Poloniae, . . . Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi Domino Petro Tertio eadem Gratia Portugalliae et Algarbiorum citra et ultra mare Regi Fidelissimo, in Africa Domino Guineae et conquisitionis, navigationis et commercii Aethiopiae, Arabiae, Persiae, Indiaeque etc. etc. Fratri et Cognati Nostro Carissimo Salutem ac felicitatem.

Serenissime ac Potentissime Princeps, Frater et Cognate Noster Carissime. Summa animi voluptate recepimos nudius tertius literas Majestatis Vestrae pridie Idus Maii anni currentis datas, quibus Majestas Vestra notum Nobis fecit Serenissimam consortem suam coronatam fuisse Reginam Portugalliae tertio Idus praefati mensis, proindeque Majestatem Vestram in fundamento primaevae Legis Lamecensis Regio nomine Regiisque honoribus gaudere. Fastigii tanti decus Majestati Vestrae eo candidius gratulamur, quo luculentius in hoc eventu Summi Numinis voluntas patuit. Et dum Majestatem Vestram apprime persuasam fore cupimus, nihil Nos magis in votis habituros, quam ut amicam, quâ Majestatem Vestram prosequimur, voluntatem, sapius probatam reddamus Deum O.M. enixe deprecamur, ut Majestatem Vestram et Regiam Eius Familiam tum proprio solatio, tum Regni sui bono diu servet incolumem et laetis quibuscunque ditet eventibus. Dabantur Varsaviae Die IV Mensis Julii Anno Domini MDCCLXXVII Regni vero Nostri XIII Anno.

Majestatis Vestrae
Bonus Frater et Amicus
Stanislaus Augustus Rex
(Młodzieiowski)

XXII

Envoyeur: Stanislas Auguste (voir XI).

Destinataire: Marie I (voir XIV).

*Contreseing: Mniszech. (Il s'agit de Michał Jerzy Wandalin M..
*1742 + 1806. Nommé, en 1780, secrétaire du Department des
Affaires étrangères du Conseil permanent, poste qu'il occupa
jusqu' en Mai 1781. Depuis le 23 Août 1783, Grand Maréchal
de la Couronne.)*

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 9 Mars 1781.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 23.

*Lettre de condoléances à l'occasion de la mort de la reine Anna
Maria Victoria, veuve de Joseph I et mère de Marie I (voir
XV).*

Stanislaus Augustus Dei Gratia Rex Poloniae . . . Serenissimae
ac Potentissimae Principissae Dominae Mariae Eadem Gratia Por-
tugaliae . . . Reginae Fidelissimae . . . , Salutem ac felicitatem:

Serenissima ac Potentissima Princeps Soror et Cognata Nostra
Carissima: Annam Mariam Victoriam Reginam, Majestatis Vestrae
Parentem Carissimam, debitum mortalitati persolvisse, exnuper-
rimis Olyssipona Literis perspeximus: Non dubitamus tam atroci
ac lugubri demortuae genitricis spectaculo, filiale Majestatis Vestrae
pectus acerbissimo dolore concussum extitisse; cum Nos etiam ad
quos, et si in tanta terrarum longinquitate virtutum ejus claritudo
pervenerat, amissam optimam Principem magnopere doleamus. Et
illa quidem non tam annis, quam meritis plenissima, cum iam in
beatorum sedibus, quemadmodum speramus, pro caduco hoc ac
mortali diademate immortalem coronam consecuta sit, nihil Nobis
optandum restat, quam ut arbiter ac metator annorum Deus,
Majestatem Vestram, bono Reipublicae Christianae, Nostroque
solatio quam diutissime sospitem servet. Dabantur Varsaviae in
Regio Nostro Palatio die IX. Mensis Martii Anno Domini 1781.
Regni vero Nostri XVII. Anno.

Majestatis Vestrae
Bonus Frater et Cognatus
Stanislaus Augustus Rex
(Mniszech)



Auguste III de Pologne (1733-1763)



Joseph I de Portugal (1750-1777)



Ladislav Ľubieňski, primat de Pologne, interroi en 1763-4



Stanislas Auguste de Pologne (1764-1795)



Marie I de Portugal (1777-1816)



engraved by J. B. de la Haye, after the original by the Royal Academy of Sciences, and the Royal Academy of Letters.

Pierre III de Portugal (1777-1786)

AUGUSTUS SEPTIMUS, DEI GRATIA, REX
 Poloniae, Magnus Dux Lithuaniae, Russiae, Prus-
 siae, Marchiae, Samogitiae, Nigoviae, Polyniae, Podoliae,
 Podlachiae, Livoniae, Smolensciae, Severiae, Cerniechoriague,
 Dux Saxoniae, Juliaci; Tertia, Meritum, Esnagriae et
 Westphaliae, Sacri Romani Imperii Archicamerarius
 et Elector, Landgravius Thuringiae, Marchio Misniae, nec non
 superioris ac inferioris Lusitaniae, Burgravius Magdebur-
 gensis, Comes Princeps Hennebergensis, ComesMarca, Ravens-
 bergae, Barchin et Franciae, Dominus Ravensteinii, Cerenis-
 simo et Potentissimo Principi Domino Josepho, eadem
 Gratia Regi Fidelissimo Portugalliae et Algarbiorum,
 citra et ultramarine in Africa, Domino Guineae, Conqui-
 sitionis, Navigationis et Commercii Aethiopiae, Arabiae,
 Persiae, Indiaeque Sc. Fratri et Consanguineo Nostro
 charissimo Salutem. Serenissime et Potentissime
 Princeps, Frater et Consanguineo charissime. Cum
 Ordo Religiosorum Marianorum immaculatae Conceptionis
 Beatae Virginis Mariae a Vobis et Republica
 Poloniae in singularem protectionem susceptus et in
 Regno Portugalliae nuperime plantatus, ad fun-
 dationem suam ibi firmiter stabilendam duos ex
 Congregatione Pleno Mariana Patres, Conventus
 Rationensis in Lithuania; scilicet Alexium Fischer, et
 Raphaellem de Buffa in Lusitaniam mittere decreverit,
 cum ampla augmentandae ibidem Religionis inchoatae
 commissione a Superioribus delegata, et Majestatem
 Vestram pro hac in sanctissimam fidem Christianam
 studio et cultu obnixo regamus, ut Ordinem hunc in



honorum immaculatae Conceptionis Beatissimae Mariae
Virginis institutum, ejusque Religiosos omnes et
singulos, in Regni & Majestatis Vestrae degentes,
imprimis vero Patres, supra nominatos sibi commen-
datos habere, et eorum in promovendo pio opere,
quod meditantur, labores et conatus Regia protecti-
one sua bene vole adjuvare dignetur. De cetero
Majestati Vestrae celeritatem quam optimam
inter prosperos rerum successus serio appreciamur.
Dabantur Varsaviae, die 4. Novembris, 1757.

Maj.^{tu} V^{ra}

bonis Fratres et
Consanguineus
Augustus Rex.

Alex. Michx

ad Regem Portugalliae:

Monsieur Mon Frere Appelle' au Trône de
Pologne par une Election également libre et una-
nime de Ma Nation, Je faisais à une de mes
premières attentions, en faisant part à Votre
Majesté de cet événement d'autant plus heureux
qu'il s'est passé d'une manière entièrement légale
et tranquille. En occupant cette place, je chercherai
avec plaisir des occasions, où je pourrais prouver
à Votre Majesté les sentimens, avec lesquels Je suis
Sincèrement

Monsieur Mon Frere



à Varsovie
ce 9. de Sept. 1764

de Votre Majesté
Le bon frere et Ami
Stanislas Auguste Roy

au Roi Très Fidèle.

12th



Sceau de Stanislas Auguste

(1) ~~Amolatus~~ ~~Chryseus~~ ~~et~~ ~~gratia~~ ~~Repositum~~ ~~magis~~ ~~duo~~
~~Ethereia~~, ~~Russia~~, ~~Finavia~~, ~~Masovia~~, ~~Samogitia~~, ~~Lithuania~~,
~~Polthymia~~, ~~Podolia~~, ~~Podlascia~~, ~~Lithuania~~, ~~Amolatus~~, ~~Finavia~~, ~~Samogitia~~

(1) ~~Remissimo~~ et ~~Potentissimo~~ Principi Domino Josepho. Primo
eodem ~~gratia~~. ~~Polugallia~~, et ~~Algarbium~~ ~~citra~~ et ~~ultra~~ ~~mare~~ Regi
Fidelissimo; in ~~Africa~~ Domino Princeps, Conquistationis, Navigati-
onis et commercii ~~Althiopia~~, ~~Arabia~~, ~~Persia~~, ~~Indiague~~ ~~et~~ ~~fratri~~
et ~~Cognato~~ ~~Nostre~~ ~~carissimo~~ ~~salutem~~ et ~~felicitatem~~. ~~Serenissime~~
et ~~Potentissime~~ Princeps ~~Frater~~ et ~~Cognato~~ ~~Noster~~ ~~carissime~~

Innotuit, credo, iam priorem Maiestati Vestra Fidelissima,
quid sibi ~~Frater~~ ~~Capla~~, ~~Vienensis~~, ~~Petropolitana~~, et ~~Berolinensis~~,
in ~~dominium~~ ~~Fratri~~ ~~mutus~~ ~~factiombus~~ ~~unita~~ ~~agendum~~ ~~constitu-~~
~~erint~~, ~~prostituerintque~~. Nunc habito nuper, ad quaerendum
publicis calamitatibus remedium, Senatui Consulto constitutum
Majestatem Vestram rogare ~~curae~~, ut pro communis Regum, Ro-
ynonumque causa, officia sua apud Caesaris aulas interponere velit.
Non sibi, quaso, persuadeat Rex Fidelissimus ingens illarum
longinquitas, quibus Regna haec nostra inter se dividuntur, ut
parum curare videaris ad ultima occidentis littora constitutus,
cum premat Orientem. Novit optime Maiestas Vestra,
quae tam arcto nunc inter se nodi Universa Europa negotia
comungantur, ut nullum omnino Regnum carina pati possit
quin alia etiam eodem ictu plus minusve commoveantur: commo-
viciis, affinitatibus, negotiis unimur, quibus nihil impervium.
Quod si nulla inter Nos Regnumque Maiestatis Vestre necessitas
esset, quicumque Principum, uti Tu Rex Fidelissimus, generosum
pectus habet, indolere sane debet casibus nostris, Regnumque
clim florentissimi acerbis vicibus ingemiscere. Non enim
illud, perpetua cum Vicinis pacis cura ab insultu, non bene merita
ab injuriis, non saeculorum mutuum fœderum placita à vi defœverunt.



1773.

Invidiam, discipimus, occupamus, et quidem ~~de~~ ^{de} ~~his~~ ^{his}, qui
nobiscum perpetuam amicitiam ac fidem colere, hinc per se tum
per Praeceptores suos interposito iurejuramento promiserunt
Sed et horum responsio nostra ad deducationes dictarum
trium Aularum, in qua et jura nostra summatim exposuimus,
et indebitum nobiscum agendi modum, confisi innocentiae nostra
ac bonitatis Superiori Regum Judicio Dei ostendimus. Quae
quidem responsio nostra cum per Legatum Maiestatis Vestrae
jam Sienna Alissypone transmissa sit, preces nostras repetimus,
rogamusque iterum atque iterum Maiestatem Vestram, ut causa
nostra apud dictas Aulas Patronum benevolam agere non gra-
vetur. Nihil Maiestas Vestra Christianae Republicae utilius
praeestabit, quam si opera sua Regnorum Imperatoribus, qui
subiectis sibi populis iustitiam administrant eandem iusti-
tiam colere persvaserit. Deum O.M. interea ~~pro~~ ^{pro} ~~inobi~~ ^{inobi},
unitate Maiestatis Vestrae precamur. (Dabatur Varisavi)
Die XXVII Mensis Octobris Anno LXXXIII. M. D. C. C. L. I. I. I.
Regni vero nostri IX. Anno

Maiestatis Vestrae
Fidus Frater et Amicus
C. Augustus F. C.

Allochis ~~id est~~

XXIII

Envoyeur: Stanislas Auguste (voir XI).

Destinataire: Pierre III (voir VI).

Contreseing: Mniszech (voir XXII).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 9 Mars 1781.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 24.

Lettre de condoléances analogue au N° XXII.

Stanislaus Augustus Dei Gratia Rex Poloniae, . . . Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi Domino Petro Tertio eadem gratia Regi Portugalliae . . . Regi Fidelissimo, . . . Fratri et Cognato Nostro Carissimo, Salutem ac felicitatem.

Serenissime ac Potentissime Princeps, Frater et Cognate Noster Carissime. Literae Majestatis Vestrae exeunte mense Ianuario Olissipona scriptae, tristissimum Nobis attulerunt nuncium de fatiis Serenissimae Reginae Viduae Socrus Carissimae Majestatis Vestrae. Dolemus vehementer ereptam vivis Principem, quae Regium Natalium splendorem meritis ac virtutibus adaequans, amorem sibi apud subditas gentes, reverentiam apud exterarum, abunde comparavit. Si communi rerum humanarum sorte sublatam ex oculis Majestatis Vestrae deplorat, istud sibi solatium aliquod adferre debet, quod Nos quoque impartem doloris venimus, atque a Supremo vitae dispensatore abundantiam dierum, ac multifariam prosperitatum copiam Majestati Vestrae una cum tota Domo Serenissima enixis precibus deprecemur. Dabantur Varsaviae die IX mensis Martii, Anno Domini 1781. Regni vero Nostri XVII anno.

Majestatis Vestrae

Bonus Frater et Amicus

Stanislaus Augustus Rex

(Mniszech)

XXIV

Envoyeur: Stanislas Auguste (voir XI).

Destinataire: Marie I (voir XIV).

Contreseing: Okęcki (Il s'agit probablement d'Antoni Onufry O. qui, depuis 1775, était évêque auxiliaire de Młodziejowski (voir XVII) dans le diocèse de Chełmno).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 11 Juin 1785.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 25.

Lettre de félicitations à l'occasion des noces de l'Infant D. João (futur roi João VI, voir XIV) avec la princesse espagnole Carolina Joachima ainsi que de la princesse Maria Anna Victoria avec l'Infant espagnol Gabriel.

Stanislaus Augustus Dei Gratia Rex Poloniae . . . Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi Dominae Mariae eadem gratia Portugaliae . . . Reginae Fidelissimae . . . Sorori et Cognatae Nostrae Carissimae salutem ac felicitatem.

Serenissima ac Potentissima Princeps Soror et Cognata Nostra Carissima. Ex Literis Majestatis Vestrae die 12. Aprilis datis gratissimum accepimus Nuntium de feliciter celebrato Matrimonio inter Serenissimum Portugaliae Infanтем Joannem Filium Majestatis Vestrae dilectissimum cum Serenissima Hispaniae Infante Carolina Joachima Serenissimi Principis Asturiensis Filia eademque Serenissimi Regis Hispaniarum nepta et Serenissimam Portugaliae Infanтем Mariam Annam Victoriam Filiam Majestatis Vestrae dilectissimam cum Serenissimo Hispaniae Infante Gabriele Serenissimi Hispaniae Regis Filio. Imus certe in partem gaudij quod tam faustus eventus Majestati Vestrae universaeque Ejus Domui adtulit ac pro sincera Nostra erga Eam amicitia ex animo vovemus, ut praesens solatium nulla unquam adversitate turbetur, Deusque O.M. Majestatem Vestram quam diutissime servet incolumem. Dabantur Varsaviae die XI. Mensis Junij Anno Domini MDCCLXXXV. Regni vero Nostri XXI. Annô.

Majestatis Vestrae
Bonus Frater
Stanislaus Augustus Rex
(Okęcki)

XXV

Envoyeur: Stanislas Auguste (voir XI).

Destinataire: Pierre III (voir VI).

Contreseing: Okęcki (voir XXIV).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 11 Juin 1785.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 26.

Lettre de félicitations analogue au N° XXIV.

Stanislaus Augustus Dei Gratia Rex Poloniae . . . Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi Domino Petro Tertio eadem gratia Portugaliae . . . Regi Fidelissimo . . . Fratri et Cognato Nostro Carissimo salutem ac felicitatem.

Serenissime ac Potentissime Princeps Frater et Cognate Noster Carissime. Ex literis Majestatis Vestrae die 12 Aprilis datis gratissimum accepimus Nuntium de feliciter celebrato Matrimonio inter Serenissimum Portugaliae Infantem Joannem Filium Majestatis Vestrae dilectissimum cum Serenissima Hispaniae Infante Carolina Joachima Serenissimi Principis Asturiensis Filia eademque Serenissimi Regis Hispaniarum nepta et Serenissimam Portugaliae Infantem Mariam Annam Victoriam Filiam Majestatis Vestrae dilectissimam cum Serenissimo Hispaniae Infante Gabriele Serenissimi Hispaniae Regis Filio. Imus (?) certe in partem gaudij quod tam faustus eventus Majestati Vestrae universaeque Ejus domui adtulit, ac pro sincera Nostras erga Eam amicitia ex animo vovemus, ut praesens solatium nulla unquam adversitate turbetur, Deusque O.M. Majestatem Vestram quam diutissime servet incolumen. Dabantur Varsaviae die XI. Mensis Junij Annô Domini MDCCLXXXV. Regni Nostri XXI. Annô.

Majestatis Vestrae
Bonus Frater et Amicus
Stanislaus Augustus Rex
(Okęcki)

XXVI

Envoyeur: Stanislas Auguste (voir XI).

Destinataire: Marie I (voir XIV).

Contreseing: Okęcki (voir XXIV).

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 24 Juillet 1786.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 27.

*Lettre de condoléances à l'occasion de la mort du roi Pierre III
(voir VI) époux de la reine.*

Stanislaus Augustus Dei Gratia Rex Poloniae, . . . Serenissimæ ac Potentissima Principi Dominae Mariae eadem Gratia Portugaliae . . . Reginae Fidelissimæ, . . . Soror et Cognatæ Nostræ Carissimæ salutem ac felicitatem. Serenissima ac Potentissima Princeps Soror et Cognata Nostra Carissima. Etsi sincerè doleamus Serenissimum Principem Dominem Petrum Portugaliae et Algarbiorum Regem Fidelissimum Majestatis Vestrae Patronum et Conjugem dilectissimum die 25. Maii sublatum esse è vivis, volumus tamen recensendis hac ex questa occasione animi nostri sensibus immorare, ne et nostram tristitiam cumulemus et obductor jam Majestatis Vestrae dolores renovare videamur. At Deum O.M. enixe praecamur ut

hunc acerbum eventum quo Majestatem Vestram et totam Ejus Serenissimam Domum afflixit aliis solatiis abunde compenset, et diutissime felicem ac sospitem servet. Dabantur Varsaviae die XXIV. Mensis Julij — Anno Domini MDCCLXXXVI. Regni vero Nostri XXII Annô.

Majestatis Vestrae
Bonus Frater et Cognatus
Stanislaus Augustus Rex

(Okęcki)

XXVII

Envoyeur: Stanislas Auguste (voir XI).

Destinataire: Marie I (voir XIV).

*Contreseing: Hyacinthus Malachowski (Hyacinthus — Jacek M., *1737 +1821, nommé en 1780 sous-chancelier et, en 1786, grand chancelier de la Couronne).*

Lieu: Varsovie.

Date: 21 Novembre 1788.

Signe: C.F. Pasta 11. Fl. 28.

Lettre de condoléances à l'occasion de la mort de l'Infant D. José.

**21.8.1761 +11.9.1788, prince de Brésil et héritier présomptif.*

Stanislaus Augustus, Dei Gratia, Rex Poloniae, . . . Serenissimae Principi Dominae Mariae, Dei Gratia Portugaliae . . . Reginae Fidelissimae; Sorori et Cognatae Nostrae Carissimae, Salutem ac felicitatem.

Serenissima Princeps, Soror et Cognata Notra Carissima. Perlatus ad Nos in Epistola nuper recepta Nuntius, de erepto hac vita in ipso aetatis flore maximae spei Serenissimo Principe Brasiliae, Filio Majestatis Vestrae, ac contra omnium ardentissima desideria citius aeternitatis iter ingresso, longe Nobis tristissimus accidit, summoque Nos dolore affecit. Conjicimus facile, ac perspicimus, quantopere animus Serenissimae Majestatis Vestrae, ut pote Matris optimae, percussus affectusque sit, adeo grandi damnô. Non est profecto, nisi se ipsa superior, atque Divina voluntate, more Christiano, plene conquiescens mens, cujusmodi est Majestatis Vestrae, que possit ex hac tanta jactura profectos lenire ac ferre dolores. Cupimus maximoperè persvasum esse Majestati Vestrae, Nos, non solum participes maxima partis tristitia ac doloris, ex hoc ingenti damno profecti esse; verum etiam apud Deum Omnipotentem

Nostris precibus adnixuros, ut idem ipse, cui nuper placuit hujusmodi doloris et tristitia causam, ex occultis suis iudicis permittere, maximis post hac solatiis atque amplissimis bonis in Majestatem Vestram, totamque Regiam Domum redundantibus, cumulatissime id compenset. Dabantur Varsaviae, die XXI Mensis Novembris Anno Domini MDCCLXXXVIII.

Majestatis Vestrae
Bonus Frater et Cognatus
Stanislaus Augustus Rex

(Hyacinthus Małachowski)

STANISŁAW KIRKOR
(NEW YORK)

UN NOUVEAU SUPPLEMENT A LA CORRESPONDANCE
DE NAPOLEON 1er

PIECES INEDITES CONCERNANT LA POLOGNE
1808-1815

Pendant les années 1858-70 furent publiés à Paris, par ordre de Napoléon III, 32 volumes de la "Correspondance de Napoléon 1er". Plus tard, furent publiés en France plusieurs lettres, ordres et décrets de Napoléon 1er, qui n'avaient pas été inclus dans la publication officielle susmentionnée. Professeur Adam Skalkowski a fait lui aussi une contribution importante, en se limitant toutefois aux documents signés par Napoléon et concernant la Pologne. Il a publié notamment:

- *"Supplément à la Correspondance de Napoléon 1er. L'Empereur et la Pologne"* Paris, 1908.
- *"En marge de la Correspondance de Napoléon 1er. Pièces inédites concernant la Pologne. 1801-1815"* Varsovie, Paris, 1911.

Toutes ces publications n'ont pas épuisé la source des documents signés par Napoléon 1er et concernant la Pologne. Pendant mes recherches aux Archives Nationales de Paris et aux archives du Service Historique de l'Armée au Château de Vincennes, recherches continuées, après mon départ d'Europe, avec l'aide de mes jeunes amis français, j'ai trouvé un grand nombre de documents inédits concernant la Pologne ou les Polonais, signés par Napoléon 1er. Ces documents peuvent être classés en deux groupes :

- (1) *Les documents d'intérêt général, notamment ceux qui concernent les diverses formations militaires polonaises des armées de Napoléon;*
- (2) *Les documents concernant divers officiers polonais, leurs nominations, avancements, retraites, décorations de la Croix de la Légion d'Honneur, donations, etc. . . .*

Professeur Skalkowski a publié plusieurs documents appartenant au deuxième groupe. En suivant son exemple, je devrais publier un grand nombre de documents dont j'ai obtenu les photocopies, convaincu cependant qu'un plus grand effort devrait me permettre

d'en obtenir un nombre encore plus important d'un genre identique, dans les Archives Nationales de Paris. Cela resterait tout de même une publication toujours incomplète et son importance serait plutôt limitée par le caractère même des documents contenus.

Je me suis alors décidé à limiter ma publication aux documents d'intérêt général du premier groupe. Il m'a paru nécessaire d'ajouter à chacun de ces documents un commentaire expliquant son caractère et son importance.

Napoléon signait très rarement les documents de son nom entier ou des trois ou quatre premières lettres. Il signait généralement d'un N ou d'une griffe, "avec cette terrible griffe, cet N zigzaguant qui, parfois, écorchait le papier", selon l'expression de Louis Madelin. Cette griffe donnait à tous la sensation de la présence réelle de l'Empereur dans les cabinets de ceux qui recevaient les documents ainsi signés (Louis Madelin "Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire", vol. VI, p. 82). C'est de cette griffe que sont signés les documents que je tiens à publier. Ils appartiennent à l'histoire fabuleuse d'un Grand Homme et à l'histoire de la Nation Française au sort desquels, à la même époque, la Nation Polonaise lia son propre sort. La chute de Napoléon a scellé le sort de la Pologne pour un siècle entier.

I

LETTRE AU MARECHAL ALEXANDRE BERTHIER, PRINCE DE NEUCHATEL, MAJOR GENERAL DE L'ARMÉE D'ESPAGNE, AVEC UNE ANNOTATION DE NAPOLEON CONCERNANT LA VEUVE DU MAJOR SZOTT.

Au Camp de Saragosse, le 3 juillet 1808

Altesse Sérénissime!

Le Corps des Officiers du 3ème Régiment de la Vistule réclame votre puissante protection auprès de sa Majesté, pour la Veuve du Major Szott commandant ce Rég(imen)t(,) qui vient d'être tué à l'attaque de Saragosse le 2 juillet par un boulet de canon. Sans le secours de Sa Majesté cette veuve ne sera pas en état de retourner en Silésie à Breslau d'où elle est née.

L'Etat de service du Major, sont autant de titre pour elle, tant à votre protection, qu'à la munificence de Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi.

Nous supplions votre Altesse Sérénissime de vouloir bien agréer les sentiments de notre profond respect.

Pour le Corps des Officiers du 3ème Rég(imen)t
de la Vistule
Le Colonel Lieutenant Commandant le Régiment
Michalowski

Rapport à l'Empereur
(une griffe)

Envoyé à Monsieur Maret pour me proposer d'accorder une
pension à cette veuve, et pour la voir ici et lui donner du
secours. Bayonne le juillet 1808.

N(apoléon)

(Archives Nationales, cote AF IV 317)

Commentaire : Les trois régiments d'infanterie de la Vistule, faisant partie de l'armée française, sont allés en Espagne en juin 1808 et ont pris part au siège de Saragosse. Le dernier, le 3ème régiment de la Vistule, sous le commandement de Major Jean Szott, parti de Bayonne et marchant jour et nuit, est arrivé sous les murs de cette ville le 29 juin. Général Verdier, qui commandait les troupes françaises aux pieds de Saragosse, lança une attaque générale le 2 juillet. Cette attaque échoua : les Français et les Polonais eurent environ 200 morts et 300 blessés. Parmi les tués se trouvait Major Szott, âgé de 38 ans, officier qui s'était distingué pendant les guerres de Pologne et d'Italie. Les officiers polonais en route d'Italie s'étaient trouvés en Silésie au cours de l'été 1807. C'est là que Major Szott épousa une fille de Breslau (Wrocław en Polonais) qui l'accompagna ensuite jusqu'à Saragosse.

II

DECRET CONCERNANT UNE PENSION ANNUELLE ET VIAGERE A LA VEUVE DU MAJOR SZOTT

Au Palais de Bayonne, le 17 juillet 1808.

Napoléon, Empereur des Français,
Roi d'Italie et Protecteur de la
Confédération du Rhin,

Nous avons décrété et décrétons ce qui suit :

Art. 1er

Il est accordé une pension annuelle et viagère de 1200 fr(ancs)
à la Dame Szhott (Frédérique Sophie Adolph) née à Breslau, le
9 juin 1786, Veuve du S(ieur) Jean-Baptiste Szhott Major du
3ème régiment de la Vistule, tué devant Saragosse le 2 du
présent mois.

Art. 2

Cette pension sera payée par semestre à dater dudit jour 2
juillet.

Art. 3

Nos Ministres de la Guerre et du Trésor public sont chargés,

chacun en ce qui le concerne, de l'exécution du présent décret.

Napol(éon)

Expédition été le 25 juillet au Ministre de la Guerre et le 26
dud(it) (mois) à celui du Trésor.

(Archives Nationales, cote AF IV 317)

Commentaire: La somme de 1200 fr. a été insérée par la main de Napoléon.

III

DECRET CONCERNANT LA FORMATION DU DEUXIEME REGIMENT DE LANCIERS DE LA VISTULE

Au Palais des Tuileries, le 7 février 1811.

Napoléon, Empereur des Français, Roi d'Italie,
Protecteur de la Confédération du Rhin,
Médiateur de la Confédération Suisse.

Nous avons décrété et décrétons ce qui suit :

Art. 1er

Il sera formé un nouveau Régiment de Lanciers de la Vistule
qui sera composé de quatre escadrons chacun de 250 hommes.

Art 2

Les Officiers et Sous-Officiers seront tirés des cheveu-légiers
Polonais de Notre Garde.

Art. 3

Ce régiment se réunira à Sedan. Il sera tiré du Dépôt de cette
arme qui est à Sedan, deux cents hommes qui passent le com-
plet, pour former le fond de ce Régiment.

Art. 4

Nos ministres de la Guerre, de l'Adm(inistrati)on de la Guerre,
des Finances et du Trésor Public sont chargés de l'exécution du
présent décret.

Napol(éon)

Expédié le 8 février aux M(inis)tres de la guerre, de l'adm(inis-
trati)on de la guerre, des finances et du Trésor.

(Archives Nationales, cote AF IV 523)

Commentaire: Le régiment de lanciers polonais, formé en Italie en 1799, a
passé par la Silésie, la Westphalie et la France, en Espagne en 1808. Sous
ce nom de Régiment de Lanciers de la Vistule, il est devenu célèbre par ses
faits d'arme (M. A. Thiers "Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire" Paris,
1849 — vol. IX, p. 44). Napoléon décida alors de former un deuxième régi-
ment du même genre, qui lui permettrait ainsi de donner des avancements
aux sous-officiers et officiers du 1er régiment de cheveu-légiers de la Garde
Impériale.

IV

*DECRET CONCERNANT LA NOMINATION DU CHEF
D'ESCADRON COMTE THOMAS LUBIENSKI, COLONEL DU
DEUXIEME REGIMENT DE LANCIERS DE LA VISTULE*
Au Palais des Tuileries, le 7 février 1811.

Napoléon, Empereur des Français, Roi d'Italie,
Protecteur de la Confédération du Rhin,
Médiateur de la Confédération Suisse,

Nous avons décrété et décrétons ce qui suit :

Art. 1er

Le Sieur Lubienisky, chef d'escadron du 1er régiment de cheveau-
légers de Notre Garde, est nommé Colonel du 2e régiment de
Lanciers de la Vistule, créé par notre décret de ce jour.

Art. 2

Notre ministre de la Guerre est chargé de l'exécution du
présent décret.

N(apoléon)

Expédié au M(inis)tre de la Guerre le 8 février

(Archives Nationales, cote AF IV 523)

Commentaire : La nomination du Comte Lubieniski fut suivie, le 17 février
1811, par la nomination du capitaine adjoint major Jacques Antoine Moreau
au grade de major du nouveau régiment. Les nominations des autres
officiers polonais de ce régiment portent la date du 6 avril 1811.

V

LA DECISION DE NAPOLEON CONCERNANT LES UNI- FORMES DE LANCIERS POLONAIS

Ministère de
la Guerre

Rapport à Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi.
Du 6 mars an 1811.

Bureau de
l'Inspection

Doit-on conserver
aux Lanciers de la
Vistule les bonnets
Polonais?

Les Lanciers Polonais ont une coiffure par-
ticulière qui consiste dans des Bonnets dits
polonais, dont le 1er Régiment faisait usage, au
moment où il passa au service de Sa Majesté.

Oui.
Paris le 10 mars
1811.

N(apoléon)
No. 860.

A l'occasion de la création du 2ème Régiment de même arme, le Ministre Directeur de l'administration de la Guerre a élevé la question de savoir, s'il ne conviendrait pas de substituer aux Bonnets polonais, le schako de la cavalerie légère française ; il se fonde pour appuyer ce changement, sur ce que d'après l'examen qu'il a fait faire par le Directoire de l'habillement, la dernière coiffure coûterait moitié moins et sur ce que d'après une décision générale les corps hors ligne doivent recevoir le schako affecté à l'arme à laquelle ils sont assimilés.

L'uniforme des Lanciers de la Vistule est entièrement différent de celui des autres troupes françaises : Ces étrangers paraissent tenir à la coiffure de leur pays dont l'effet est d'ailleurs agréable et martial et je ne pense pas que les raisons d'économie mises en avant par M-r le Comte de Cessac, doivent déterminer à la changer.

J'ai cependant cru devoir soumettre la question à Sa Majesté, je la prie de décider si les Bonnets Polonais seront conservés, ou si on leur substituera le schako français.

Le Ministre de la Guerre
Duc de Feltre

(Archives Nationales, cote AF IV 523)

Commentaire : La lance fut l'arme de la cavalerie légère polonaise. De là elle a passé aux autres armées et les uniformes et schakos de lanciers de ces armées étaient généralement basés sur le modèle polonais, de même que les uniformes de hussards étaient partout modelés sur les uniformes de hussards hongrois. En France, Maurice de Saxe, fils naturel du Grand Electeur de Saxe et roi de Pologne August II, a introduit en 1743 un régiment de lanciers, composé de volontaires polonais ; ce régiment n'exista que jusqu'à l'an 1762. Après les partages de la Pologne, l'Autriche introduisit des régiments de lanciers — uhlands — dans son armée, en 1784, la Russie en 1797. Les schakos et uniformes de lanciers autrichiens étaient presque les mêmes que ceux des polonais. L'Angleterre organisa les régiments de lanciers en 1816 et leur donna des schakos et uniformes similaires aux modèles polonais, suivant la tendance générale.

VI

DECRET CONCERNANT LA FORMATION DE NEUF REGIMENTS DE LANCIERS DANS L'ARMEE FRANCAISE

Au Palais de St. Cloud, le 18 juin 1811.

Napoléon, Empereur des Français, Roi d'Italie,
Protecteur de la Confédération du Rhin,
Médiateur de la Confédération Suisse,

Nous avons décrété et décrétons ce qui suit:

Art. 1er

Le 1er Régiment de Dragons prendra le nom de 1er Régiment de cheveau-légers.

Le 3ème de Dragons prendra le nom de 2e Regt de cheveau-légers

Le 8ème id. id. de 3e Regt de cheveau-legers

Le 9ème id. id. de 4e id.

Le 10ème id. id. de 5e id.

Le 30ème id. id. de 6e id.

Le 1er Rég't de Lanciers polonais..... de 7e id.

Le 2ème id. id. de 8e id.

et le 30ème de Chasseurs..... de 9e id.

Art. 2

Ces 9 Régiments seront montés, équipés et armés comme les lanciers.

Le Ministre de la Guerre fera un règlement pour déterminer l'uniforme de ces 9 Régiments et tout ce qui sera relatif à l'arme des cheveau-légers.

L'artillerie sera chargée de leur faire fabriquer les lances.

Art. 3

Les cadres de deux Escadrons, (à) savoir l'Etat Major, les officiers, sous-officiers et trompettes et 10 hommes par compagnie, au choix du Colonel, des 1er, 3ème, 8ème, 9ème et 10ème Régiments de Dragons, rentreront en France à leurs Dépôts respectifs.

Les autres hommes du 1er Régiment seront incorporés dans les Escadrons que le 2e et le 4e Rég(imen)t de Dragons ont en Espagne ;

Ceux du 3e Regt dans les Escadrons du 6e et 11e

— du 8e — dans les Escadrons du 15e et 25e

— du 9e — dans ceux du 14e et 26e

— du 10e — dans ceux du 17e et 27e

Art. 4

Les officiers, sous-officiers et soldats, entrés en service avant le 1er janvier 1809, qui font partie du détachement que les 1er, 3e, 8e, 9e et 10e Régiments de Dragons ont fournis tant dans les Régiments de marche du Portugal ou du Midi, qui sont à Saintes, que dans la composition du Dépôt de Saintes, ou qui font partie des colonnes passant des différents points de l'Espagne pour remonter dans ces dépôts, seront renvoyés au Dépôt de leur Régiment pour servir à la composition du Régiment de cheval-légers, et en former le noyau.

Art. 5

Les chevaux de ce même régiment, soit qu'ils fassent partie des 2 régiments de marche du Midi ou du Portugal, soit qu'ils arrivent du Dépôt de Saintes avec les détachements partis le 15 juin, seront, de même qu'il a été réglé pour les hommes, incorporés, (à) savoir :

Ceux du 1er Régiment dans les détachements du 2e et 4e Régiment de Dragons qui sont à Saintes.

Ceux du 3e Rég't dans les détachements du 6e et 11e

Ceux du 8e — dans les détachts du 15e et 25e

Ceux du 9e — dans les détachts du 14e et 26e

enfin ceux du 10e dans les détachements du 17e et 27e.

Art. 6

Les Régiments de Dragons, devenus régiments de Cheval-légers, n'étant plus considérés comme faisant partie de l'armée d'Espagne, cesseront d'être compris dans l'ordre donné aux dépôts, d'expédier tous les 15 jours pour le Dépôt de Saintes, ce qu'ils ont de disponible.

Art. 7

Des inspecteurs aux Revues seront envoyés pour dresser procès-verbal de la situation des dépôts des Rég(imen)ts de Dragons devenus régiments de cheval-légers, en casques, sabres, bottes, selles, brides, chevaux, habits, etc. . . et tout ce qui serait propre à l'arme des Dragons sera envoyé au Dépôt de Saintes pour y être employé aux remotes de ce Dépôt.

Quant aux effets d'habillement qui seraient dûs par les Dépôts à des hommes incorporés dans les Régiments de Dragons conservés en Espagne, ces effets seront envoyés par les Dépôts à Bayonne où ils seront remis à des agents des Corps dans lesquels les hommes sont incorporés.

Art. 8

Le 30e Régiment rentrera en France et rejoindra son Dépôt dans la 6e Division militaire.

Tous les chevaux, ainsi que tous les effets—d'habillement, d'harnachement et d'équipement—tels que les (?), selles, sabres, etc. . . . propres à l'arme des Dragons, seront également dirigés sur le Dépôt de Saintes pour servir aux remontes de ce Dépôt.

Art. 9

Nos Ministres de la Guerre et de l'Administration de la Guerre, sont chargés chacun en ce qui le concerne, de l'exécution du présent décret (*qui ne sera pas imprimé*)

Napoléon)

Note: Les mots entre parenthèses ont été ajoutés de la main de Napoléon.

Expédié le 19 juin aux M(inis)tres de la Guerre et de l'ad(ministrati)on de la Guerre et pour le Cabinet.

(*Archives Nationales, cote AF IV561*)

Commentaire: Déjà pendant la première guerre de Pologne (1807) Napoléon put s'apercevoir de l'utilité de la lance. A l'approche de la nouvelle guerre avec la Russie, il résolut de tirer profit de la lance au cours de cette guerre et d'ajouter aux deux régiments de lanciers polonais sept régiments de lanciers français, c'est-à-dire, de convertir en régiments de lanciers six régiments de dragons et un régiment de chasseurs. Il fit venir des instructeurs dans le maniement de la lance du Duché de Varsovie et il compta au général Konopka, antérieurement Colonel du 1er régiment de lanciers de la Vistule, la revue d'inspection de cette nouvelle instruction.

Les régiments de cheval-légers français ont reçus des bonnets et uniformes spéciaux. Toutefois, les régiments 7ème et 8ème ont conservé leurs schakos et uniformes polonais.

VII

DECRET CONCERNANT LA FORMATION D'UNE COMPAGNIE D'ARTILLERIE DESTINEE A CHACUN LES REGIMENTS DE LA LEGION DE LA VISTULE.

Au Palais de l'Elysée, le 13 mars 1812.

Napoléon, Empereur des Français, Roi d'Italie
Protecteur de la Confédération du Rhin,
Médiateur de la Confédération Suisse,

Nous avons décrété et décrétons ce qui suit :

Art. 1

Les quatre régiments d'infanterie de la Légion de la Vistule, formés en vertu de notre décret du 14 juin 1808, auront chacun une compagnie d'artillerie.

Art. 2

Cette compagnie devra pouvoir servir deux pièces de canon, trois caissons de munition, une forge de Campagne, deux

caissons à cartouches, deux caissons pour le pain et un caisson d'ambulance garni. Elle sera composée, conformément aux dispositions du décret du 9 juin 1809, de la manière suivante:

- un lieutenant
- un sous-lieutenant
- trois sergents
- trois caporaux
- 20 canonniers
- 2 ouvriers
- et 40 soldats du train

Total 70 hommes

Art. 3

Nos Ministres de la Guerre et de l'Administration de la Guerre sont chargés de l'exécution du présent décret.

Napoléon)

Expédié le 13 mars 1812 au M(inis)tres (de la) Guerre & (de l')Ad(ministrati)on de la Guerre

(Archives Nationales, cote AF IV 641)

Commentaire : Les trois premiers régiments d'infanterie de la Légion de la Vistule ont été formés selon le décret du 24 juin 1808 (le nouveau décret dit par erreur du 14 juin 1808), publié par Professeur Skałkowski dans "En marge . . ." pages 32-34. Le quatrième régiment a été ajouté à la Légion de la Vistule en 1810. Chaque régiment était composé de deux bataillons. Les trois premiers régiments se trouvaient en Espagne à partir de juin 1808 et se distinguèrent à diverses occasions. A l'approche de la guerre avec la Russie Napoléon décida de rappeler tous ces régiments d'Espagne et d'en former une division à la suite de la Jeune Garde. A cette fin, il décida d'augmenter la force de chacun de ces régiments par la création d'un troisième bataillon et d'une compagnie d'artillerie pour chacun d'eux. Le décret concernant la formation des troisièmes bataillons n'a pu encore être trouvé. Ces bataillons ont bien été formés.

VIII

DECRET CONCERNANT LA FORMATION DU CORPS POLONAIS

Au Quartier Imp(éri)al de Haynau, le 7 juin 1813.

Napoléon, Empereur des Français, Roi d'Italie,
Protecteur de la Confédération du Rhin, etc. . .

Nous avons décrété et décrétons ce qui suit :

Art. 1er

Le corps Polonais, commandé par le Prince Poniatowsky, est pris à la solde de la France à compter du 1er juin 1813.

Art. 2

La solde, l'habillement, l'équipement, le harnachement, les chevaux d'artillerie et de remonte, et en général tout ce qui est nécessaire pour mettre ce Corps en état, seront payés par les fonds du Ministère des Relations extérieures, Budget de 1813.

Art. 3

Tous les régiments polonais qui sont déjà à notre service, (à savoir ceux du Corps du Général Dombrowsky, les 4e, 5e et 9e Régiments Polonais*) et ce qui appartient à la Légion de la Vistule, se trouvant à Erfurt ou à Wittenberg, entreront dans l'organisation du susdit Corps du Prince Poniatowsky et à dater du 1er juin 1813, seront également payés par le Ministère des Relations extérieures.

Art. 4

Il n'est rien innové quant aux 3 Régiments d'infanterie et au Régiment de Cavalerie en garnison à Danzig. Ils continueront à être payés sur les fonds de notre Ministère de la Guerre.

Art. 5

Nous nous réservons de statuer ultérieurement sur tout ce qui est relatif aux Garnisons des places de Zamosc et de Modlin.

Art. 6

Nos Ministres de la Guerre, de l'Administration de la Guerre, des Relations extérieures et du Trésor, sont chargés, chacun en ce qui le concerne, de l'exécution du présent Décret, qui sera envoyé directement au Major Général et au Directeur Général de l'administration de notre Grande Armée.

Napoléon)

Expédié le 7 juin au Prince Major Général, au Ministre des Relations Extérieures, au Directeur de l'administration de l'armée, à l'Intendant Général de l'armée, au Payeur Général de l'armée, à l'Inspecteur Général du Trésor et à l'Inspecteur en chef aux (?) de la Grande Armée, et le 12 juin aux Ministres du Trésor, de la Guerre et de l'Administration de la Guerre.

(Archives Nationales, cote AF IV 774)

Commentaire : Après la retraite de Russie de la Grande Armée et l'occupation du Duché de Varsovie par les troupes russes, le Prince Poniatowski quitta le Duché en mai 1813 avec la nouvelle armée du Duché, composée de 16000 hommes, pour rejoindre en Saxe la Grande Armée, en passant par les terres autrichiennes. Napoléon, averti de sa marche, signa à Haynau (Silésie) le décret du 7 juin 1813 concernant le Corps Polonais. D'après ce

* par erreur, on a mentionné les régiments polonais 4, 5, et 9 au lieu de 4, 7 et 9.

décret, les régiments de la Légion de la Vistule qui jusque là faisaient partie de l'armée française, devaient être transférés au Corps Polonais du Prince Poniatowski. Pour les anciens survivants de la Légion de la Vistule cette jonction avec l'armée nationale signifiait la réalisation de leurs vieux rêves. Le Corps du Prince Poniatowski arriva à Zittau (Saxe) le 16 juin 1813 et, le même jour, Napoléon ordonna que tous les détachements de la Légion de la Vistule, qui se trouvaient à Erfurt et à Wittenberg, fussent dirigés sur Zittau pour y être incorporés au Corps polonais ("Correspondance de Napoléon 1er" vol. XXV, 20128). Puis, Napoléon changea d'opinion et décida de retenir le reste des troupes de la Légion de la Vistule dans l'armée française et, le 18 juin 1813, il signa un décret concernant leur nouvelle organisation comme Régiment de la Vistule (Skalkowski "Supplément. . .", pp. 33-34). Cela entraîna la publication d'un nouveau décret concernant le Corps polonais, ce qui fut fait le 27 juin 1813 (Skalkowski "Supplément. . .", pp. 34-42).

IX

ANNOTATION DE NAPOLEON SUR LE RELEVÉ DES ETATS DE SITUATION DU CORPS POLONAIS, APRES LA BATAILLE DE LEIPZIG.

Relevé des Etats de Situation du Corps Polonais.

Infanterie

L'effectif de l'infanterie polonaise, au 21 9-bre, est de 1713 hommes.

Il manque pour l'habillement, l'équipement et l'armement de cette infanterie:

- 703 habits
- 700 vestes
- 861 pantalons
- 714 bonnets de police
- 712 capotes
- 691 schakos
- 1.182 chemises
- 1.450 guêtres, noires ou grises
- 645 fusils
- 669 baïonnettes
- 256 sabres
- 599 gibernes
- et a(utres)

Cavalerie

1er Rég. de chasseurs à cheval. (Situation au 20 9-bre)
effectif et présent 191 hommes

96 chevaux dont 10 non-disponibles

Tous les effets d'habillement et d'équipement sont hors d'état d'être réparés. Il manque au Régiment .

- 5 carabines
- 20 paires de pistolets
- et 18 sabres

2ème Rég^t de lanciers. (Situation au 29 9-bre) Effectif 435 hommes dont 373 présents, il y a 277 chevaux dont 73 seulement disponibles, les autres ne pourront servir qu'après un long repos. Tous les effets d'habillement et d'équipement de même que ceux d'armement sont dans le plus mauvais état, il n'y a pour armement que 73 lances, 75 carabines, 178 paires de pistolets et 287 sabres.

8ème de lanciers. (Situation au . . . 9-bre) effectif 353 hom(mes) présents 330. 239 chevaux dont 100 seulement disponibles, il manque :

- 353 habits, gilets, pantalons
 - 110 bonnets carrés
 - 353 id. de police
 - 250 manteaux
 - 706 chemises
 - 353 portmanteaux
 - 200 selles, bridons, couvertures
 - 333 lances
 - 114 carabines
 - 239 paires de pistolets
 - 320 sabres
- et a(utres)

3ème Régim^t de lanciers.

Effectif 218 h(ommes) dont 195 présents. 83 chevaux dont 39 disponibles.

Tous les effets manquent pour l'habillement, l'équipement et l'armement.

4ème de lanciers.

Effectif 357 h(ommes) dont 299 présents et 58 aux hôpitaux ou en arrière.

154 chevaux dont 108 seront disponibles dans deux mois, les autres plus tard.

Les effets d'habillement et a(utres) existants ont tous besoin de réparation. Il manque 153 habits

357 pantalons
et a(utres)

Il n'y a ni linge ni chaussure. Le harnachement et l'armement manquent en grande partie.

6ème de lanciers.

Effectif 205 hommes — présents 173 — le reste aux hôpitaux ou en arrière.

127 chevaux dont 81 seulement disponibles.

Les effets de toute espèce manquent.

16ème de lanciers. (Situation au 1er X-bre)

Effectif 33 hommes — présents 31

Il n'y a pas de chevaux.

Tous les effets manquent.

13ème de hussards. (Situation au 28 9-bre)

Effectif 118 hommes — présents 112

Il y a 76 chevaux dont 65 disponibles.

Tous les effets manquent.

14ème de cuirassiers. (Situation au 29 9-bre)

Effectif 76 hommes — présents 71

18 chevaux dont 15 disponibles.

Les cuirasses et presque tous les effets manquent.

Régiment de Cracus. (au 28 9-bre)

Effectif 257 — présent 250

152 chevaux dont 30 seulement sont disponibles.

Les effets manquent.

Gendarmerie. (au 29 9-bre)

Effectif et présent 21 hommes

9 chevaux dont 3 seulement dispo(nibles).

Tous les effets manquent.

Récapitulation

Infanterie (effectif)

1 713 hommes

Cavalerie (effectif)

1er de chasseurs à cheval	191 h(ommes) —	96 chevaux disponibles et non disponibles.
2ème de lanciers	435	277
3ème id.	218	83
4ème id.	357	154
6ème id.	205	127
8ème id.	353	239
16ème id.	33	...
13ème de hussards	118	76
14ème cuirassiers	76	18
Régim-t de Cracus	257	152
Gendarmerie	21	9

Total de Cavalerie 2 264 hom(mes) 1 231 chevaux

Total g(éné)ral 3 977 hommes

Il manque au complet de l'habillement et de l'armement en effets principaux et par aperçu :

2 550 habits

2 100 capotes ou manteaux

4 755 chemises
645 fusils
1 380 carabines
1 600 pistolets
1 700 lances
1 670 sabres

Renvoyé au Ministre de la Guerre pour faire faire un travail particulier sur l'organisation des Polonais, et sur les mesures à prendre relativement à ce Corps.

A Paris, le 7 décembre 1813.

Napoléon

Expédition. Envoyé à M. Lebarbe (?)
pour s'en occuper d'urgence d'en faire part
aux autres divisions. (une griffe)

No. 1992

(Collection privée de M. T. Zablocki à Londres)

Commentaire : Le 19 octobre 1813, le Corps polonais avait pour tâche de couvrir la retraite de la Grande Armée à Leipzig. Déjà réduit considérablement au cours des luttes des journées précédentes, ce Corps fut alors presque entièrement anéanti. Le Régiment de la Vistule, attaché à ce Corps, subit le même sort. Seule la division du Général Dombrowski, qui avait été attachée à un autre Corps, subit des pertes moindres. Le Général Dombrowski, conduisant les restes de sa division et ceux du Corps polonais, passa le Rhin avec la Grande Armée, le 1er novembre et conduisit ses troupes à Sedan. Napoléon demanda des renseignements quant à ces troupes et aux projets relatifs à leur réorganisation. Le Relevé, publié ici, contribua à la formation des projets définitifs. L'état lamentable du Corps Polonais, présenté par ce Relevé, était principalement dû au fait que, par erreur, on a fait sauter prématurément le pont sur la rivière Elster, à Leipzig, et alors plusieurs détachements polonais de l'autre côté de la rivière, pour éviter la captivité, l'ont traversée à la nage, parfois avec leurs chevaux, en perdant leurs effets et l'équipement au cours de cette traversée. Le décret du 18 décembre 1813 (publié par Skalkowski dans "Supplément . . . I", pp. 47-49) prescrivait la formation des trois régiments de la cavalerie polonaise et celle du régiment d'Infanterie de la Vistule.

X

APPROBATION DE NAPOLEON CONCERNANT LE RAP- PORT DU MINISTRE DE LA GUERRE RELATIF A LA COM- POSITION DE L'ETAT MAJOR DU CORPS POLONAIS.

Ministère de
la Guerre

Rapport à Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi.

Bureau de
l'Etat Major

Du 9 mars 1814.

CORPS POLONAIS

On propose de fixer
la Composition de l'Etat
Major du Corps Polonais.

Sire,

M. le Général de Division Dabrowski qui commande le Corps Polonais a demandé qu'il fut attaché à ce Corps un nombre d'officiers Généraux et d'Etat Major proportionné à sa force. Ce Corps se compose ainsi qu'il suit :

- 1 Régiment d'Infanterie
- 2 Régiments de Lanciers
- 1 Régiment d'Eclaireurs
- 4 Compagnies d'Artillerie à pied
- 1 Compagnie d'Artillerie à cheval
- 1 Compagnie de Sapeurs. Elle reçoit l'ordre de se rendre à l'Armée.

J'ai l'honneur de proposer à Votre Majesté de fixer ainsi qu'il suit la Composition en Généraux et Officiers d'Etat Major.

- 1 Gal de Div(is)ion Comman-Le Gal Dabrowski, déjà pourvu d(an)t en chef,
 - 1 Gal de Brigade Vice Président Le Gal Axamitowski, déjà du Conseil d'Administration pourvu
 - 1 Adjud(an)t Command(an)t L'Adj-t C-t Falkowski, déjà Chef d'Etat Major, pourvu
 - 1 Gal de Brigade Commandant Le Gal Sierawski
 - 1 Gal de Div(isi)on Commandant Le Comte Pac, déjà pourvu
 - 1 Gal de Brigade Le Gal Klicki id.
 - 1 id. Le Gal Toulowski id.
(devrait être Tolinski)
 - 1 Chef d'Etat Major Le Colonel Roedel id.
 - 1 Commandant Le Chef d'Escadron Schwerin
 - 1 Commandant Le Gal Dabrowski est invité à le désigner
- 6 Capitaines Adjoints à l'Etat Major dont 3 pour l'Etat Major Général, 1 pour la Brigade d'Infanterie et 2 pour la Division de Cavalerie.

Je prie Votre Majesté de me faire connaître si Elle approuve que l'Etat Major du Corps Polonais soit ainsi composé.

Le Ministre de la Guerre

Duc de Feltre

Au Quartier Impérial de Rheims, le 15 mars 1814.

Approuvé

Napoléon)

Expédié le 20 dud(it) (mois) à la Guerre et au Très(or)

(Archives Nationales, cote AF IV 859¹)

Commentaire : Le régiment d'infanterie s'est particulièrement distingué au cours de la défense de Soissons, le 2 mars 1814, et au cours de la bataille d'Arcis-sur-Aube le 20 mars. C'est pendant cette bataille que Napoléon est entré dans le carré de ce régiment alors qu'il y eut lieu une grande attaque de la cavalerie ennemie.

Les Lanciers polonais ont pris part à diverses charges avec distinction.

XI

LE RAPPORT DU MINISTRE DE LA GUERRE ET LE DECRET CONCERNANT LA NOMINATION DU COLONEL THOMAS LUBIENSKI, GENERAL DE BRIGADE.

Ministère de
la Guerre

Bureau de
l'Etat Major

Lubienski,
Colonel du 7^e Régiment
de Cheval-légers

On propose de le nommer
Général de Brigade

Rapport à Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi.

Du 9 mars 1814.

Sire,

M. le Colonel Lubienski, qui commande le 7^e Régiment de cheval-légers, a demandé sa démission.

Il résulte des renseignements qui m'ont été donnés par M. le Général Comte de Pac, que M. le Colonel Lubienski a été porté à faire cette demande, par la peine qu'il a ressentie de n'avoir point obtenu le grade de Général de Brigade qui a été accordé à des

officiers polonais moins anciens que lui. M. le Comte de Pac a rendu d'ailleurs le meilleur témoignage de la manière dont M. Lubienski a toujours servi. Il a formé lui-même son Régiment qui ne laisse rien à désirer pour la tenue.

Cet officier est âgé de 27 ans. Il sert dans l'armée française, depuis 1806; a trois ans de grade de Colonel, et a fait 5 campagnes. Il est officier de la Légion d'Honneur.

Si l'intention de Votre Majesté est de nommer M. le Colonel Lubienski Général de Brigade, je la prie de signer le projet de décret ci-joint.

Le Ministre de la Guerre
Duc de Feltre

(Archives Nationales, cote AF IV 859¹)

Minute du Decret Imperial

Au Quartier Imp(éri)al de Rheims, le 15 mars 1814.

Napoléon, Empereur des Français, Roi d'Italie,
Protecteur de la Confédération du Rhin,
Médiateur de la Confédération Suisse,

sur le Rapport de Notre Ministre de la Guerre, nous
avons décrété et décrétons ce qui suit :

Art. 1er

Le Colonel Lubienski, commandant le 7e Régiment
de cheveu-légers, est nommé Général de Brigade.

Art. 2

Notre Ministre de la Guerre est chargé (de
l'exécution du présent décret).

N(apoléon)

Expédition été le 20 dud(it) (mois) au
Ministre de la Guerre.

(Archives Nationales, cote AF IV 859¹)

Commentaire : Le 7e Régiment de cheveu-légers a pris part aux grandes charges menées par la cavalerie française, le 14 février 1814, à Vauchamps, et le 13 mars à Rheims.

XII

ANNOTATION DE NAPOLEON SUR LE RAPPORT CONCERNANT LE RECRUTEMENT DE VOLONTAIRES, POUR LE REGIMENT DE LA VISTULE, PARMI LES PRISONNIERS DE GUERRE

Ministère de
la Guerre
Bureau de
l'Inspection

Rapport à Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi.

Du 23 mars 1814

On rend compte à sa Majesté
des dispositions qui ont été
faites pour assurer le recrutement
du Corps Polonais,
conformément à ses ordres.

L'Empereur me prescrit par son ordre du 14 de ce mois de faire recruter dans les prisonniers de guerre, quelques véritables Polonais pour maintenir au complet le Régiment de la Vistule.

J'ai l'honneur de rendre compte à Sa Majesté qu'en exécution de son ordre du 19 février dernier, j'ai chargé, le 23 du même mois, le G(énéral) Dabrowski d'envoyer de suite à Tours, où les prisonniers faits par la Grande Armée devaient être réunis momentanément, des officiers sûrs et intelligents avec un détachement, afin de choisir les sujets susceptibles de servir ; ils n'ont toutefois été autorisés à admettre que les hommes originaires du Grand Duché de Varsovie, conformément à l'ancien mode de recrutement.

[Le G(énéral) commandant la 22e Division devait retenir à Tours, conformément aux instructions que je lui avais adressées, tous les Polonais, dans le cas où les recruteurs n'arriveraient pas assez tôt ; cette disposition n'a pas été remplie ; le cas prévu s'est réalisé ; les officiers chargés du recrutement ne sont arrivés qu'après la répartition des prisonniers de guerre dans les divers dépôts ; néanmoins ils sont restés à Tours pour y attendre les autres convois. Afin d'éviter tout inconvénient de cette nature, J'ai renouvelé mes instructions au Général Bonnard ainsi qu'au Général Dabrowski qui a dû diriger d'autres officiers recruteurs sur Rodez, Clermont-Ferrand et autres villes où les prisonniers de guerre polonais ont été envoyés.]

Les opérations de recrutement sont surveillées afin de ne recevoir que les Polonais nés dans le Grand Duché ; aussitôt leur arrivée au Dépôt Central, ils sont incorporés soit dans le Régiment de la

Vistule soit dans les Eclaireurs. Toutes les mesures ont été prises pour que les intentions de Sa Majesté soient exactement remplies.

Le Ministre de la Guerre,

(Service Historique de l'Armée, Vincennes, cote XL 2)

Note : Le paragraphe entre parenthèses a été biffé par Napoléon qui a écrit de sa main "détail inutile".

Commentaire : Pendant la Campagne de France, en 1814, Napoléon remporta plusieurs victoires et fit de nombreux prisonniers de guerre. Le Régiment de la Vistule combattit vaillamment. Ce document est intéressant car il prouve le souci qu'avait Napoléon de maintenir ce régiment au complet. Dans ce texte préparé par le Ministère de la Guerre, Napoléon a biffé un paragraphe qu'il considérait comme 'détail inutile', sans toutefois y poser sa signature.

XIII

DECRET CONCERNANT LA NOMINATION DU LIEUTENANT BYSTROWSKI

Au Palais des Tuileries, le 26 mars 1814.

Napoléon, Empereur des Français, Roi d'Italie,
Protecteur de la Confédération du Rhin,
Médiateur de la Confédération Suisse,

Sur la proposition de notre Ministre de la Guerre,
(nous) avons décrété et décrétons ce qui suit :

Le S(ieur) Bystrowski, lieutenant dans le 8e Régiment de Lanciers polonais, est admis à servir dans son grade à la suite du 6ème Régiment de Chasseurs.

Notre Ministre de la Guerre est chargé de l'exécution du présent décret.

Pour l'Empereur et en vertu des pouvoirs qu'il nous a conférés.

Marie Louise.

Expédition a été envoyée le même jour au Ministre de la Guerre.

(Archives Nationales, cote AF IV 859³)

Commentaire : Napoléon a ordonné que les officiers surnuméraires du Corps Polonais pouvaient être admis dans l'armée française. Le Lieutenant Bystrowski, alors âgé de 24 ans, était l'un d'eux. Ce document est intéressant par sa rareté et par le fait qu'il contient la signature de l'Impératrice Marie Louise.

XIV

ANNOTATION DE NAPOLEON SUR LE RAPPORT DU MINISTRE DE LA GUERRE CONCERNANT LES REGI- MENTS POLONAIS, PENDANT LES CENT JOURS.

Ministère de
la Guerre

Bureau de
l'Inspection

Rapport à Sa Majesté l'Empereur.

On rend compte à sa
Majesté de la *formation*
des *Régiments* polonais
d'*infanterie* et de
cavalerie

Du mai 1815

Sire,

Le Régiment d'Infanterie polonais et le 7e Régiment de Lanciers
composé d'hommes de la même nation, ont été organisés à Soissons,
le 23 avril.

Au moment de la formation, ces Corps ont présenté la situation
suivante :

Régiment d'Infanterie	15 officiers	310 sous-officiers et soldats	
7e Régiment de Lanciers	8 —	252 —	
	—	—	
Total	23 —	562 —	
	—	—	

Tous les militaires qui composent ces Corps sont animés du
meilleur esprit et plein de dévouement à la personne de Votre
Majesté.

J'ai donné des ordres pour qu'on y envoyât tous les Polonais
qui se trouvent en France ou qui pourront y arriver.

Le Ministre de la Guerre
M(aréch)al Prince d'Eckmühl

Approuvé. Paris, le 7 mai 1815.

N(apoléon)

No. 314

A exécuter

Le 8 mai 1815

Le Ministre de la Guerre

M^{al} Prince d'Eckmühl

(Service Historique de l'Armée, Vincennes, cote XL 2)

Commentaire : Ce document est unique par le fait qu'il donne des chiffres
exacts sur la composition des régiments polonais, à la date du 23 avril 1815.
Le Rapport a été signé par le Prince d'Eckmühl, maréchal Davout.

(N° 10, nouvelle forme de 1811)

2^e série
indivisible

(Imprimé aux Chanceries, le 7. février. 1811.

Napoléon Empereur des Français, Roi d'Italie
Protecteur de la Confédération - Du Rhin, Médiateur
de la Confédération Suisse.

expédié le 8 février
aux M^{rs} de la guerre,
des finances & des affaires
étrangères.

Nous avons décrété et décrétons ce qui suit :



Art. 1^{er}.

Il sera formé un nouveau Régiment de Lanciers de
la Vistule qui sera composé de quatre escadrons, chacun
de 250 hommes.

Art. 2.

Les officiers & les officiers seront tirés de chaque
régiment Polonais de Notre Armée :

Art. 3.

Cette année sera mise à Sedan. Il sera tiré du
Dépôt de cette année qui est à Sedan, des escadrons de
qui passeront le compte, pour former le fond de ce
régiment.

Art. 4.

Nos Ministres de la guerre, de l'admⁿ de la guerre
des finances et du Trésor Public sont chargés
de l'exécution du présent décret.

Le 7^{fév}

Napoléon

Ministère
de la Guerre.

Motus
de Recherche.

Lubienski, Colonel, commandant
le 7^e Régiment de Hussars - Vignot.

Minute de Décret Impérial.

Enregistrée N.º

F.º

Sommaire du Décret.

Le comte Général de Brigade



Au quartier Imp^{al} de Meisels, le 15 Mars 1814.

Expedition
de
le 20^e Mars.
au Ministre de la
Guerre.

Napoléon, Empereur des Français,
Roi d'Italie, Protecteur de la Confédération
du Rhin, Médiateur de la Confédération
Suisse, sur le Rapport de Notre Ministre
de la Guerre, nous avons décidé & résolu ce
qui suit :

Art 1^{er}
Le Colonel Lubienski, commandant le 7^e Régiment
de Hussars - Vignot, est nommé Général de Brigade.

Art. 2
Notre Ministre de la Guerre est chargé

Décret du 15 mars 1814 concernant la nomination du comte
Thomas Lubienski Général de Brigade

Ministère
de
la Guerre.

Bureau
de l'Inspiration

On rend compte à Sa Majesté
de la formation des Régiments
polonais d'infanterie et de cavalerie

Rapport

à Sa Majesté l'Empereur.

Deux Mai 1815

Sire,



Le Régiment d'Infanterie polonais de la 1^{re} Division
Régiment de Lanciers composé d'hommes de la même
nation, ont été organisés à Soissons le 23. Avril.
Au moment de la formation, ces Corps ont présenté
la situation suivante :

Régiment d'Infanterie	15.	Officiers	310.	Sous-officiers	Soldats
7 ^e Régiment de Lanciers	8.	—	—	—	252.
Total	23.	—	—	—	562.

Tous les militaires qui composent ces Corps, sont animés
du meilleur esprit et pleins de dévouement à la personne de
Votre Majesté.

J'ai donné des ordres pour qu'on y envoyât tous les
Polonais qui se trouvent en France, ou qui pourront y arriver.

Le Ministre de la Guerre

M. de Wittmann

STANISŁAW BÓBR-TYLINGO
(HALIFAX, CANADA)

JAMES BUCHANAN AND POLAND IN 1854

On the 30th March 1854, James Buchanan, American minister to Great Britain, received a card from the deputation of the "Polish Central Democratic Committee" in London, requesting him to appoint a day on which he would grant them an audience. Prudently, Buchanan answered that he would be happy to receive them on Wednesday next. In the meantime he should esteem it a favour if they would intimate to him the topics on which they desired to converse, so that he might be prepared to conduct the interview in a manner satisfactory to both parties. Stanisław Worcell, in name of the committee, hastened to inform the minister of the object of the requested audience.¹ It thought it its duty, "on the eve of the day, when Poland, availing herself of the struggle in which her oppressors were at present involved" would claim her imprescriptible rights to national independence and freedom, to lay before the government of the United States her present situation, wishes and intentions, in order thereby to enable "the only power interested in the triumph of Liberty" to avail itself of its political relations with European powers "of the new element thus introduced into the constitution of Europe." For this purpose the committee had prepared a memorial to be presented to the President which would be intrusted to the minister for perusal and transmission.²

The interview took place on the 3rd of April. The deputation consisting of Stanisław Worcell, Antoni Żabicki and Leon Zienkiewicz delivered the memorial with the request that the minister would forward it to the President of the United States. The deputation remained a short time. Worcell, the chairman, presented in conversation, very briefly, some of the views which were at length contained in the memorial. He appeared to be "a discreet, sensible, gentlemanly individual." Żabicki and Zienkiewicz participated but little in the conversation, Buchanan was "almost entirely a listener."³

¹ NA — National Archives, Washington, M 30/61, Great Britain, 11-IV, 10-III-1854. Part of correspondence is published in: Moore John Bassett. *The works of James Buchanan*, 1908-1911.

² Annex A.

³ Report of Buchanan, 11-IV-1854, Moore, IX, p. 179.

The memorial included everything that could be expected: the praise of American democracy, the recollection of Polish participation in American war of Independence, the names of "Pulawski" and Kościuszko, the necessity of Polish independence to protect Europe from Russia and her further encroachments, and the naive confidence in "wisdom and generosity" of the United States.⁴

Buchanan found the memorial "a very interesting paper". It was certain, commented the minister, that the partition of Poland had been "a deliberate act of high-handed robbery and cruel oppression", without a parallel in modern history. Every friend of liberty, of simple justice, must hope that "an over-ruling Providence" would redress the outrage and vindicate the right.⁵ To Buchanan the Polish problem was a well-known one. He had represented his government in St. Petersburg during the November uprising and had witnessed the Russian barbarity towards the defeated country. While visiting the Kremlin in Moscow he noted in his diary: "The glorious standard of Poland which waved triumphantly over many a well fought field, but which the most exalted courage and self-devotion could no longer maintain against brutal and barbarian force, is there exhibited. The white eagle has been obliged to cower beneath the double-headed monster of Russia. May is again soar! through to all human appearance it has sunk forever". ". . . The bitterness against them (the Poles) is extreme, and there is scarcely a monument of antiquities in Kremlin which does not relate to battles lost and won between the two nations. Their mutual enmity is truly hereditary."⁶

Leaving St. Petersburg in 1833 Buchanan did not forget the Russian barbarities. He mentioned them in his speech of August, 1840;⁷ four years later he publicly condemned the dismemberment of Poland by the despotic sovereigns who had divided its territory "against the consent of the brave and patriotic Polish nation".⁸

The meeting with the Polish deputation was not the only occasion for the American minister to comment upon the allied war aims. A few weeks later Kossuth presented also a memorial to be delivered to the President of the United States.⁹ Forwarding it to Washington Buchanan expressed the hope that the existing complications might result in such a reorganization of at least some European states as would relieve the downtrodden people from the

⁴ Annex B.

⁵ Moore, loc. cit.

⁶ Moore, II, June 1833, p. 354, 359.

⁷ Speech before the Pennsylvania State democratic convention at Lancaster, — Moore, IV, 5-VIII-1840, p. 316.

⁸ Speech on the annexation of Texas, 8-VI-1844, Moore, VI, p. 29.

⁹ NA. M 30/61, 20-IV-1854. It is not published in Buchanan Works.

oppression under which they now suffered from nations foreign to them which they detested. "Hungary, Poland and Italy ought to be independent of Russia and Austria; even with a view to the much applauded European doctrine of the balance of Power".¹⁰ He reiterated his "strong sympathies" for the Poles, Hungarians and Italians in his private letters and official reports. "I confess—wrote he to William L. Marcy, Secretary of State—that my sympathies have been strongly enlisted in favour of the Poles, Hungarians and Italians. These people, almost to a man, detest the foreign despotism which have blotted their Nationalities from the map of Europe, and every lover of freedom must ardently desire that they should succeed in recovering their independence, though the prospect at present is far from encouraging".¹¹ And nothing had contributed so much "to elevate the Sultan's character throughout the world" as his refusal to surrender Hungarian and Polish refugees to Austria and Russia.¹²

The Polish memorial that we publish¹³ did not have any political significance. The Polish democratic party did not possess any influence on the government of belligerent powers, but it confirmed the known fact that the American friendship towards Russia did not blind her in the XIX-th century to the brutality of her friends towards Poland. That in this case such condemnation was coming from the future President of the United States had its own historical importance.

ANNEX A

The
Polish Democratic Committee,
58, Regent Square, Gray's Inn Road,
London

April 2d- 1854

Sir,

Anxious to comply with the wish expressed in your kind note of March 31st, the Polish Central Democratic Committee hasten to inform you of the object of the requested audience. It thought it its duty, on the eve of the day, when Poland, availing herself of the

¹⁰ Moore, IX, 21-IV-1854, p. 186.

¹¹ Buchanan to Marcy, private letter, 22-XII-1854. Report No. 52, 27-XII-1854, Moore, IX, pp. 289, 291.

¹² Buchanan to Marcy, 27-XII-1854, ib.

¹³ NA. M 30/61. Moore noted: "This memorial, addressed to the President of the United States, is an interesting document, but it fills twenty closely written pages."—Moore, IX, p. 179, note 1.

struggle in which her oppressors are at present involved, will claim her imprescriptible rights to national independence and freedom, to lay before the government of the United States of North America her present situation, wishes and intentions, in order thereby to enable the only power interested in the triumph of Liberty, to avail itself in its political relations with the Old World of the new element thus introduced into the constitution of Europe. For this purpose the Committee has prepared a Memorial to be presented to the President of the United States, which on Wednesday next it will have the honour to intrust to your hands for perusal and transmission. Confident in the exactness of its statements, the Committee will be happy if they attract the attention of the American Government.

I have the honour to remain with the greatest respect

Sir

in behalf of the Polish Central
Democratic Committee,
Your most dutiful and obedient
Stanislaus Worcell, Member of
the European, and of the Polish
Central Democratic Committee.

the Honourable James Buchanan
Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States.

ANNEX B

To the President of the United
States of America
The Memorial of the Polish Central
Democratic Committee.

Poland everyway oppressed as she is, may worthily understand the grandeur and the bearing of American Policy. She does understand them; she appreciates both the inner meaning of the manifestations of American sympathy with the elements of the European future; and also the reserve imposed on those manifestations by existing international relations; and respecting that reserve, but profiting by the last and perhaps the most significant of those manifestations, she through us, would place in the hands of the Government of the New World those information which she knows to be indispensable to every State preparing to actively influence the future destinies of Europe.

It is to this, by their position, by their power, by the renovating principle which in the strength of their youth they inaugurated in Modern History, that the United States of North America seem to be called. In proclaiming themselves Independent and at the same time Republican, in the face of a World yet altogether Monarchical, they boldly took the initiative of that progressive movement which was to draw all Peoples after them, and assured themselves the first place in the new order of things created by them.

And as if the Republican principle itself had needed to preserve the affiliation of its historical development along the Ages, the only great Republic of the Worm-eaten Europe of that day, Poland expiring under the violence of Royal Conspirators and the deleterious influences of Monarchical elements which had been introduced into its bosom, sent the latest of her Heroes of the past to die under the walls of Savannah,¹ and borrowed from the war for American Independence the Hero-initiator of her future—Kościusko. To the American monument of Puławski responds the mound raised to Kościusko upon his Natal shore, by the hands of all Poland,² and since the mighty shades hovering over them grasp hands athwart the thickness of the Terrestrial Globe; the indissoluble pact is sworn of the common destinies of America and Poland.

For since then Poland has not one instant ceased to live in the shroud with which the Kings had wrapped her; and at the moment in which America is preparing to give back to her a Mother, Europe, that youthful life whose germs were hers, and to preside over her future destinies, Poland finds herself ready to re-enter the lists and to reconquer the existence which the Monarchies refuse her.

It is this last fact which should be known to America it is of this that we are to inform her and we are competent to do it, for representing in the Emigration the renovating principle of Poland, that of its future vitality, we have since 1830 mixed in all the manifestations of Polish National life, from those of the Martyrs of the Expedition of Colonel Zaliwski, in 1834, to those of the Prisoners issuing triumphantly in 1848 from the dungeons of Berlin, and the unknown names which since even until now, have borne witness to the vitality of their country before the Inquisitors and the Executioners of Vienna, of Berlin, of Warsaw and of Petersburg.

It is also we, the Polish Democratic Society, who have furnished chiefs to those sons of Poland, who wanting Battlefields in their own country have sought them; since 1849, in Hungary, in Italy, in

¹ Kazimierz Pułaski, 1747-11-X-1779, organiser of a Polish legion in the American Army, died of wounds sustained in the battle of Savannah.

² Kościuszko mound raised 1820-1823 in the Republic of Cracow.

Germany, bearing the Polish flag wherever floated that of Freedom of which it was the inseparable companion.

But it is not of the subterranean life of Poland that we would bear witness, nor even of that eccentric life which, lacking scope to manifest itself within, broke the vase and spread itself beyond, in the form of emigration or of legion. All that is known, ascertained, incontestible, and more, all that is of the past. What we would bear witness of, is the near future of Poland and those elements of the present which already guarantee its infallible advent.

Confidants of the secret thoughts of our people through a thousand channels worn, underneath bars, frontier barriers and seas, by the repressed love of Liberty on one side and the Exiles love of Country on the other, in order that they might communicate together and concert the means of reunion—we simply tell you—*it is so*; and establish the fact. But if it is not permitted us to furnish the proofs of its existence, of that general, universal disposition of Men's minds, which but dissembles itself the more carefully as it thereby assures itself a prompter and completer satisfaction, of that sullen fermentation, progressing in a manner so uniform, though rapid, as to be imperceptible until the moment in which the Vase is broken—we can and we are about to prove *that it cannot be otherwise*, and that if the Cabinets of our oppressors misunderstand this fact, and by the measures which they take and the events which they provoke are rendering it inevitable, it is because the principle upon which they base themselves is a principle of death, a fatality, blinding them, and pushing them to self-destruction.

One of the grounds of security upon which our Oppressors are so foolishly slumbering is the apparent inaction of Russian Poland in 1848. This inaction was fatally imposed upon it by its position then, and this position is now reversed.

Nowhere more than in Poland has a general movement need of time to ripen and burst forth, for a double reason peculiar to this country: on the one hand the want of great centres of population and the difficulty of communication between widely strwn villages, and on the other the marked separation between the People and the Noble Class.

This separation is one not only of interests, but also of habits, of beliefs, of affections, and, in most of the Provinces, of dialect or language. The only sentiment which unites them is their love of Country; but that so differently conceived that the proper moment for rising could not be the same for both classes unless it should be imposed upon them both by European events. It is to the treasons of the Nobility that the People attributes the defeat of the

efforts in which it has taken part since 1794,³ and though the Nobles may be now ready to join in a popular movement because they are convinced that without it their own force would be insufficient, the People would not obey the appeal of the Nobles unless it obtained from them further guarantees than they have already given. For the Polish Nobility alone the meaning of 1848 was clear; so the People remained everywhere passive, except in the Grand-duchy of Posen, where being nearer to events, it better understood them and responded with an ardour of patriotism which even the Nobles, whose policy was one of expediency, thought it necessary to calm. Besides it needed for the mutual understanding of the two classes for a common movement, and still more for any concert between population dispersed over an immense territory, more time than elapsed between the triumph of February and the fall of Rome and Hungary, without taking into consideration the bad effect produced on the public mind by the dealings of the French Government with the Partitioning Cabinets, the Massacres of June, and the triumphs of the Reaction at Vienna, Berlin and Dresden, in Baden and in Lombardy, the bloody suppression under the very eyes of the French Ambassador of the rising in the Grand-duchy of Posen, and the bombarding of Cracow and Lemberg. The Russians, waiting, were concentrated in Poland for the new effort they were purposing to make in Hungary against the European Revolution, and Poland had to remain a moveless spectator of the grand Drama played under her eyes without the great majority of her inhabitants comprehending what it meant.

Both time and a direct appeal were wanting.

Now she has already had the one and is about to hear the other.

And it was not at the first shot fired on the Danube that the time of preparation began, but indeed in that same year 1848 which appeared to have made so little impression upon the Polish People.

What the Massacres of Gallicia, organized by Metternich and conducted by Szela, had hindered in 1846, the Revolution of 1848 accomplished. The serfs of Gallicia were emancipated, were admitted to the National Representation, saw their former Lords hold

³ Unfortunately, the political expediency prevailed at this point upon the author's better judgement and knowledge of their national history.

Karl Marx writing ten years later his outline of Polish History commented on the same period: "Mit allen ihren Mängeln erscheint diese Konstitution (May constitution) mitten in der preussisch-russisch-österreichischen Barbarei als das einzige Freiheitswerk, das Osteuropa je selbstständig aufgerichtet hat. Und zum ewigen Ruhm des polnischen Adels sei es gesagt, diese Konstitution sie ging ausschliesslich von den bevorrechteten Kreisen, dem Adel, aus. Die Weltgeschichte bietet kein anderes Beispiel dieser Art von ähnlichem Adel des Adels." — Marx Karl: *Die polnische Frage*, 'S-Gravenhage, 1961, p. 124.

out their hands to them and sit down beside them on the Legislative benches; and although the Austrian Government has endeavoured to have the honour of this attributed to itself, yet, since it has afterwards exacted from the Peasants the price of the ceded lands and the abolished soccage labour, since it has also done away with the Representative Chambers to which the Revolution had called them, some hundred thousands of emancipated Peasants—proprietors now in Gallicia are to the Millions of Polish serfs under Russian domination a living testimony of what they have to expect from the Revolution in Poland.

This great, this decisive question of the future destinies of Poland—this of the emancipation of the Serf and of the throwing open the land to be cultivated by him for his own use, free from all feudal charge and without indemnification for the Proprietor, which had been discussed and affirmatively resolved in the Polish Emigration for a number of years, has been since then regarded by the Class of Territorial proprietors in Poland as in fact decided; and the Peasants' unbelief of the promises of their Lords; till then not followed by deeds; has had to give way to the evidence of the accomplished fact in the Provinces which the Revolutionary movement had passed over. This immense progress forward the fusion of the Classes, from which the independence of Poland must proceed, has been found accomplished since 1849. The propaganda of the Alliance between the National and the Social ideas thenceforth slowly extended among the unemancipated People and progressed there uninterruptedly, while above it each of the triumphs of the Reaction threw trouble, disheartening, and too often doubt and apostasy in the souls of the Noble and privileged Classes. From this arise the erroneous judgements of Tourists in Poland, as to the spirit of the populations, of which they never touch but a single surface-layer, without ever having time or means to sound its depths.

It was in this disposition of mind that the affairs of Turkey found Poland. Their action on the masses was *doubly decisive*.

Certainly the Nobility could see and did see in it a complication from which the derangement of the European equilibrium might issue, and thence an occasion of new-National efforts. But accustomed to judge of events from the relations of the Journals, and reading there how all the Powers of Europe were determined to maintain peace or at least the *status quo* of territorial divisions, by confining the war to the limits of Turkey, it thought, conscious of its own powerlessness that it might content itself with waiting some deliverance from without, something like the Napoleonist

intervention of old time in the affairs of Poland. From that nothing could result, except, at very most, a change of Masters.

But the People judges not from such premises; and consequently it arrives at different conclusions. It has trades and believes in them; it has impulses and it follows them. Its acts are determined by its feelings more than by its reason, or, rather, the popular reason, which we improperly call instinct, takes special count of its affections, its wants, its faith, and the facts which meet its understanding, without complicating them with calculations and arguments beyond its reach. Now the events which are passing in Turkey, by their proximity as well as by their notoriety, are especially of a nature to impress it and to determine it to a rising.

For a year past it has seen its fields traversed by two immense avalanches of Soldiers coming from the North and precipitating themselves Southward into the yawning gulfs of Wallachia and the Caucasus. There the Turkish Scimitar⁴ lays them low, for the Cannon roars, the Te-Deum in the Churches resound unechoed, but none return to bear witness of the victories they have won. On the contrary mysterious voices whisper in the ear that word—defeat, and the faces of every regiment that arrives are more downcast and more pale than those that went before. And yet these Armies are not enough, they are being exhausted, they are shrivelling up, for sealed papers come to the village. Registrars, which, when they are opened, condemn nine of every thousand Peasants to the hell of Military service. At this mournful news the Steppes are peopled with fugitives, the Forests with banditti, and in the villages only old men, women, and children are left. The Chorela never so unpeopled them as now the pitiless fears of the Tzar. For how can the Tzar be without fear, whom even the Turks are beating, while England and France are arming against him. France who formerly in spite of England, could pass one night at Moscow, and only be driven thence, according to the popular sentence, by the Generals *Frost* and *Famine*. Now France is no more in the eyes of the People of Poland the France of 1812 but that of 1848, it is the Revolution which enfranchised our Brothers in Galicia; it is Emancipation it is Freedom; it is Poland. Heretofore between the Free People and Poland rose the insurmountable wall of the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian forces, united together in one fascis of Royal Conspiracy; today this conspiracy is dissolved, Russia isolated, and her army, the principal barrier, removed from the West to the South. Between the West and Poland there is no more barrier; access to Poland is left free to the European Revolution: for what

⁴ A Turkish curved sword broadening towards the point, in French: "le cimeterre."

matters to the People the letter of Napoleon III and his Conservative assurances? Does it know them? Can they have on its imagination the same influence as the memory of the Revolutions of France, Vienna, Berlin, Venice, Rome and Hungary? All these Revolutions, which six years ago did not move it, have since appeared to it clothed with the prestige of the past. Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Rome, Venice, Hungary—They all mean *Liberty*. Poland, it is Liberty; and more, it is Independence, glory, bravery. And Liberty is the abolition of the Russian recruiting system, the abolition of soccage labour, the abolition of a vexatious police, it is the proprietorship of the land; it is freedom for Religious worship, free trade, markets open for its grain and cattle; it is, in a word, wealth, prosperity, well-being. This is how the good sense of the People of Poland sums up the present question, and solves it with one single argument: the Turks can beat the Russians; why may not the Poles?

Under the circumstances any Appeal would determine them to rise,—no matter whence it might proceed, from a town, the fields, or the forests, from a Cossack or a Noble, from the Steppes of the Ukraine or a Fleet in the Baltic—provided it is sufficiently noised abroad to be heard throughout the country, and of sufficient duration to reach its farther frontiers. But this Appeal has already reached them, and now stirs their minds, reheartens them and sharpens their scythes and lances. And this Appeal is an old Legend, an accredited prophecy, an article of the Popular faith. It is that Apocalyptic prediction of the Cossack Wernyhora.⁵

This prophecy, uttered after the confederation of Bar, on the banks of the Dnieper, and conceived in a sense eminently Polish, has since penetrated into all the Provinces of Poland, and found believers everywhere among the People.

This prophecy, in old yellow manuscripts passing from hand to hand among our Grand fathers, was preserved by them, if they were Noble, with that sort of veneration which attaches to a curious monument of the visionary patriotism of old time; but if they belonged to the People, was learned by heart as a confirmation of their hopes and a guarantee of their realization. After having very clearly predicted the total dismemberment, the utter fall of Poland, it indicates in Apocalyptic images the fruitless efforts which will be undertaken for its relief, and ends with the prediction of an universal cataclysm, terminated by a War, in which the Turks, allying with Poland, shall come to water their horses in the Vistula, but which shall be decided by the Maritime intervention of England.

⁵ Wernyhora lived in the second half of the XVIIIth century. He prophesied the independence of Poland; his prophesy was published for the first time in insurrectionary Warsaw in 1830.

Then, says Wernyhora, all Poland will rise, glorious and triumphant, and engage in one great and last battle, in a locality of the Ukraine, which he mentions by name, and pursue the fleeing Russians into a defile, also mentioned, where our final triumph shall be sealed by their utter extermination. In the minds of the great majority of the People of Poland the names mentioned in this prophecy have passed into the condition of a sacramental formula; they are a part of the articles of its belief, and have taken over its determinations the authority of a Commandment of the Most High.

Here again may find place what has already so many times in History put the systemic doubt of scepticism to the proof: the pretended effect will have determined the cause, the prediction will have produced its own fulfilment and the fact will have taken place solely because it had been announced. It is not only very natural, but also necessary, inevitable, fated, in the eyes of whoever knows the circumstances and dispositions of the People as we know them. The People of Poland, following the events of the present War, will rise because it will find motives determining it to rise and will not be able to hinder itself from obeying them; it will rise because these motives are suggested to it, not by a system of policy of which it understands nothing, nor by conspirators in whom it could have no confidence—and who, moreover, once discovered, would draw into ruin both their plans and the end they proposed to attain,—but by greater events having a clear and positive meaning for it,—by a redoubling of oppression caused by the Conscription and by Military and Police exactions,—by the wandering life to which all the young and robust generation has been reduced, and the mutual contact into which it has been thrown in the forest depths which served it as hiding place,—by the recollections of 1848, which only by now have had time to ripen in its mind,—by the hopes of Freedom and ameliorations, which it connects with them,—by its legitimate desire of holding territorial property,—but its love of Family, of Kindred, and of Country, and its hate of the Foreign Oppressors,—by the spectacle of the fear and consequent weakness of those whose defeats on the Danube are the first satisfaction accorded to its thirst for Vengeance, as well as an encouragement to its daring,—by the vague belief that the Peoples which triumphed six years ago continue to live, all stricken down as they are, and that they as like itself profit by the divisions of their Oppressors,—by its traditions, its beliefs, its recollections, and its prophecies. It will rise, in fine, because, for the first time since the partitions not only throughout the eight Palatinates of the so-called Kingdom of Poland, as in 1830, or in the Grand-duchy of Posen and the Republic of Cracow, as in 1846 and 1848,—but also in Lithuania and

Volhynia, in the Ukraine, in Podolia, in Gallicia, everywhere even to Little Russia beyond the Dnieper and White Russia beyond the Dzwina,—its passions find themselves in accord with the desires of the Nobles, who this time will obey the appeal of the People, even though they should not conspire on their own account and will throw themselves into the ranks to win at the point of the lance some compensation in consideration and renown for the position lost to them by the Revolution. And now what will be the consequences of this rising to the future of Europe? This, for the sake of our cause, and in accomplishment of the duty which we have to fulfil toward the Peoples our brothers,—this is what we are about to examine.

As W. Drummond very pertinently said in the English House of Commons, without Poland there can be no useful or profitable issue to the War of Europe against Russia—Leave them its frontiers of 1826, and the first misunderstanding between England and France, to say nothing of Prussia and Austria—heterogeneous bodies whose interests draw them together without however uniting them—will open to it again the way to Constantinople; which, besides, is accessible to it from two opposite sides,—from the North across the Danube and the Balkan, from the South across Thessaly, Macedonia, and Epirus. And henceforth Constantinople is necessary to Russia, not only as its outlet to the Mediterranean, but because it must have the Greco-Slavonian World in order to reconstitute for its own advantage the Empire of the East. The Slavonian World alone would have no historic meaning; would remain incomplete, or must bring Austria and Europe down upon it, as it would be forced to incroach upon them; besides, it is less rooted in Russian traditions than the Byzantine tendencies, which since Vladimir the Single handed at Kijow and John Basilides at Moscow have pursued Tzarism even to the Winter Palace, and there, in our days, baptized the Grandsons of Catherini, and then the sons of Nicholas with the names of Alexander, Constantine, and Michael. Authentic or apocryphal, the Testament of Peter I reveals the real thought of the Tzars: Poland as the means, Constantinople for the end. If we would not that Russia should have Constantinople, we must not leave it the means of conquering it; we must take from it Poland, its first stage on the road to the Empire of the East. Master of Poland, Russia sooner or later renews the Empire of the Porphyrogeniti.

And Poland in the hands of Russia serves it to attain a double end, an end yet nearer, in the normal situation of Europe, than the destruction of the Ottoman Empire; an end which Russia is attain-

ing pacifically, silently, by the aid not only of its underground Agents, its hired writers, the secret societies it organises in the Border-Countries, but also by the growing influence of its Religious, Commercial and Industrial relations,—we are speaking of the concentration of Moscow and Petersburg of the direction of all the Slavonian Peoples of that grand system of absorption which they name *Russian Pan Slavism*. Let it keep Poland, and some fine day Russia will see its protectorate invoked by all the Slavonians of Germany and Turkey, from the Styrian Alps in the West and the Hartz Mountains at the North to the Balkan at the South and Varna in the East—hauling then into its immense net those Roumanian Populations for which it now contends, with Turkey, and adding to the Crowns of Kazan and Astracan those of Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro, Dalmatia,—Illyria, Croatia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. Then it will no longer need to displace a large number of its troops; it will have only to excite troubles, and after having let the Germans and the Turks be driven out by the Slavonian populations to step in to stop the effusion of blood and to establish an order of things permitting it to act as protector against all future oppression. The Slavonian Empire will be founded at one swoop.

The reason of this is that Russia is at the present time the only great Slavonian power; and so offers to the Slavonian population oppressed by the German, Ottoman, or Magyar races, the only element wanting to them for constituting themselves Nationally—the leverage of its strength.

No!—Russia has no force of attraction on a great portion of these Peoples but that of its material power. Silesians, Moravians, Illyrians, Dalmatians, Croats, and now an immense majority of Tcheks belong to a different faith, to the Latin Church; and in their language approach much nearer to the Poles, who with them constitute the Western branch of the Slavonian dialects, than to the Russians. And as to the Slavonians of the South who, without belonging to the Russian Church, belong yet with it to the great Eastern Church having Constantinople for Religious Metropolis, it is Independence and Liberty and not Tzarism, to which they aspire, for which they invoke assistance and not domination, and an assistance they would gladly exchange for the friendship and brotherly support of a free, a strong, and a Republican Poland. Even among the Cossacks of Little Russia, there are none who do not in their hatred of Tzarism turn their hopeful eyes toward an alliance with a Poland reconstituted upon new bases, in whom they know from the Polish pupils of their University of Charkow, so

numerous since the closing of the Universities of Wilna and Krzemieniec, that they would find not a Master but a friend.

Let Poland rise then (and we have proved that she will rise) and, risen, let her maintain herself in the rank of independent Nations, rejoicing in the plenitude of their rights, and Russia will find itself deprived of all possibility either of putting itself at the head of the Greco-Slavonian world by the conquest of Constantinople, or of establishing the Panslavonian Empire, of which else in a very near future the possession is unfailingly assured to it.

Poland then is a necessary element of the new European equilibrium, an indispensable guarantee for the security of the Western States, and consequently a condition *sine-qua-non* of any definitive treaty, an end forcefully prescribed for the operations of the present war, if any profit is to be drawn from it for Humanity, for Europe, or for the belligerents themselves.

However, we can not, and we should not, dissemble that the rising of Poland will completely alter the conditions of the present struggle and that if, on the one hand, it assures the security and progress of the Peoples allied with Turkey, it may, on the other hand, menace more than one of their Governments, detach Austria and Prussia from the alliance, and remake, to the advantage of Liberty and Right, that Map of Europe which was drawn by Despotic force. It is vain that the Governments of France and England assure their respective Countries of the acquisition of the two great German Powers to their confederation against Russia. This acquisition is owing only to the assurance given by Napoleon to Austria and Prussia of his help against any Revolutionary attempt. Now France may keep down Italy and by maintaining tranquillity there hinder any outbreak in Hungary. But when Lord Clarendon in the same speech in which he announces to the House of Lords the good news of the Austro-Prussian alliance, lets peep out the possibility of the re-establishment of Poland (if it is that which he really means under the denomination of portions of territory taken from neighbouring Powers) he forgets that this re-establishment would be a death-blow to his two allies. The Poland of 1815, even if augmented by all the Provinces which have fallen to Russia, would not satisfy the exigences of the awakened National sentiment. The limbs violently separated by their dismemberments would rejoin each other. Deprived of Galicia and the Grand-duchy of Posen, Poland would not feel itself living with proper life which alone can assure its existence and stability, for it would not be on the recognition of its right but on the conveniences of the intervening Powers that its new existence would be dependent. Galicia and Posnania would rise

and proclaim themselves Polish; and then Austria and Prussia, not finding in their alliance with France and England the promised security, would seek it in new combinations hostile to the two powers. But such an arrangement will never be: for Poland conscientiously feels her duty in the present crisis, and will rise without waiting for permission, knowing that to wait is to abdicate. Then Hungary will follow it, and with Hungary Italy; then the population of Germany, — Dresden, Berlin, Vienna, Carlsruhe, Hesse; and Schleswig,—will feel themselves revive; then France seeing her Government on a wrong track, and involved in inextricable complications for the sake of its alliances with worm-eaten Despotisms, will return to the Republic, and the year 1848 will be repeated, with more experience and consequently with more perfectness and success. We know not if all this enters into the calculations of the English Government; but it all results from what we know to be the disposition of the Polish populations; and this is why we submit it for the consideration of the only Government altogether disinterested in these matters, or rather the only one that can find in it a satisfaction of the principle after which it exists, the Government of the United States of North America.

We do not think it necessary to discuss here the supposition—inadmissible according to us—of the consequences to result from a completely passive attitude on the part of Poland. Let it suffice us to establish summarily that for each of the other oppressed Nations —Italy, Hungary, France, etc.,—the difficulties thrown in the way of their emancipation, on the one hand, by the Franco-Austrian alliance, being immense, and those occasioned to the Allied Powers, on the other hand, by the insurrection of the Greek Provinces; being very great, those Powers would be led to conclude a hasty peace on the first advances made to them by Russia, leaving intact in Europe an order of things so oppressive and monstrous that, even if the dangers now menacing them from Russia should be removed, Revolution would remain imminent and peace be less assured and more precarious than ever.

It is to prevent this return to the deplorable *status-quo* of the present time that,—to make use of a celebrated remark applied to the Supreme being, if the Insurrection of Poland is not in the order of inevitable destinies, it ought to be invented; the more necessary is it, consequently; this insurrection being a fact foreseen to take count of it in all plans relative to European affairs, and for every State preparing to influence them to take some pains to facilitate its bursting forth and the bearing of its fruits, for the general well-being and for its own stability in Europe.

We should think ourselves unjust toward the United States if, misunderstanding the generous nature of the intentions with regard to Europe, we were to insist upon the advantages which its emancipation would render to their influence, their power, their commerce, and their material prosperity. It is so fine a thing for colonies, emancipated by their own heroism and elevated to the rank of Powers of the first order to return to the Mother Country Youth, vigour, development, and political progress; for the germs of civilization which they had taken from her and the Liberty that they had known how to snatch with armed hands from her unjust ambition, that mere views of material interests, however, vast they may be in themselves, seem as nothing compared with it. Without stopping further then at this, and without availing ourselves of the recollections which the sons of the Heroes of the War of Independence preserve of their Fathers Polish comrades—Pulawski, Kosciuszko, Niemcewicz—after having demonstrated the benefits which the rising of Poland in the present war, upon the rear of the Russian Armies, would bring to Europe, by striking her enemy to the heart and putting an end to the War of Kings, as well as by deciding the final European Revolution,—after proving that in the present situation nothing else but this rising could have the same effect,—we will content ourselves with explaining the conditions which may facilitate its success.

These conditions are of two kinds: moral and material.

The moral consist of the collectiveness, the unity and the universality of the effort; and depend consequently to a certain extent on the support which the Insurrectionary Government will find in its spontaneous recognition by free nations. This Government will only be installed by the Insurrection itself—that is to say, by the armed People; and will make itself known to friends and enemies by its blows upon these last. But before it can become a power, it must have been a party, an Association, a principle, and it is in this state of embryo that the epoch begins in which the sympathetic and effective, if not the official, recognition of free Nations is especially necessary to it. To sympathize with and to assist the party is to ally with the Government which shall issue from it. Now, as there are two classes and two sorts of interests in Poland, there are also two parties in the Emigration: that of privilege and Monarchy, round which rallies the Polish Aristocracy, and that of Democracy, representing the People, its aspirations and its rights.⁶

⁶ Very simple and naive analysis of Polish political life. For better understanding of it see: Brock Peter: *Nationalism and populism in partitioned Poland*, London, 1973.

We have shown above how only from this last the Insurrection and its Government can proceed, and how the individuals belonging to the first will come perforce to join it,—the party of the Aristocracy now resting all its hopes and basing all its calculations upon the initiative of the Cabinets of France and England, the object of whose policy is quite another thing from the restoration of Poland. In the choice of the party with which henceforth the different Governments ought to connect themselves there can be no mistake. With the Monarchial party, that of Pretenders and Diplomats, the Monarchical Cabinets will be connected: we do not deplore it. But to the Democratic party, that of the people, of the National and Humanitarian Revolution, to the party recognized by the European committee, allied with France, with Italy, with Hungary, with Germany, with Moldo-Wallachia, with revolutionary Russia,—to that belongs henceforth the alliance, the support, the recognition of the Republics already constituted. Its flag has from the beginning been carried in the Emigration by the Polish Democratic Society, from whose hands the Country received it and adopted it in 1846, and toward which today the Polish People turn their eyes to see what greeting it meets with from the Peoples, what support it may hope for in its efforts. Every mark of sympathy from America for the Polish Democracy is more than an encouragement; it is a redoubling of strength for the coming Insurrection of Poland.

Connected with the moral conditions of a successful rising is the written and oral, the public and private, the printed and epistolary propagandism which must precede action and move it from a directing centre. It is upon us this task devolves and to us that the disposal of the material means necessary for its accomplishment is intrusted. We pass then to the material conditions of a successful rising.

Of these conditions the Central Committee of the Polish Democratic Society is in a clear way of realizing one of the principal: the disarming of a portion of the hostile forces in Poland, through their defection at the moment of action. For this it has been only necessary to revive in the Russian Army the remembrance of the generous intentions of Pestel, Mouravieff, Bestujeff, Ryleieff and Kachowski, and to knit between the Democrats of the two countries a sincere alliance, based upon the recognition of common objects and of mutual rights. This Alliance has been concluded at London, a centre of Russian propagandism has been established, numerous, varied, and popular writings have been published, communications opened; and the ardour with which the writings are demanded, and new materials furnished, proves that the Revolutionary representa-

tives of the two countries do not mistake as to the existence of the elements they represent and the effect they reckon upon producing.

There remain for the preparatory period, perhaps already very limited, the gathering of the Refugees, especially of those who are most distant from their Country, at fixed point whence they might be transported nearer and kept in readiness to enter the Country armed at the first moment of the Insurrection; the means of transport for them and also for those who must precede them; and, while waiting, their keep and outfit.

For the period of action supplies of arms and munitions of War of which the Arsenals in the Enemies' hands can furnish but a very small part, and that not immediately nor everywhere. The supplies of arms should be contracted for and kept ready in depots where they might be handy at any moment for the use of the Insurrection.

For both periods funds, with which the Insurrection, notwithstanding the Revolutionary means of which it ought to make use, will probably be ill supplied at the beginning, but which, rich in the immense resources of the Nation, once constituted, it could easily reimburse. This need can only be met by the National credit, the resources of the Class which now contains the germ of the future Revolution being null, and the Wealthy Classes being interested not in nourishing but in retarding the Insurrection, waiting the Country's restoration from Cabinets which are disposed to do nothing for it. It is then for the States which would have a Poland by the hands of her own sons,—that is to say, the only Poland capable of filling the part of Protector and Civilizer, to which she is called,—it is for the States which—feel the necessity of a Poland, which believe in the actual present existence of the elements of her approaching resurrection, and which can reckon upon her,—it is for them from today to open an account with her, not with the object of provoking a rising, which in every case is inevitable, but, by facilitating and hastening her success, to ward off many sufferings, many struggles, and much of blood shed from Poland, and many mistakes and calamities from the other Peoples of Europe.

This is what the Central Polish Democratic Committee strong in its convictions and in the truth of the facts here brought under notice, and confident of the wisdom and generosity of the Government of the United States, submits to it, in witness of its unbounded confidence and as pledge of the decisive part which Poland will take in the approaching struggle of the Peoples. It will believe it has attained its aim, if in its relations with the Governments and with

the Peoples of Europe, during the present crisis, the Government of the United States keep count of the facts and assurances contained in this communication.

London March 10th 1854

38 Regent Square

Grays Inn Road

On behalf of the Polish Democratic Society

The Polish Central Democratic Committee

Stanislaus Worcell

Anthony Zabicki

Leo Zienkowicz

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF MICKIEWICZ'S *GRAŻYNA*

MICKIEWICZ'S *GRAŻYNA* AS A POEM OF ANGER,
MOVEMENT AND POWER*

Grażyna has already been thoroughly analysed—or so it would seem. But there is reason to doubt whether the real essence of the poem has been recognized. Hence, the present commentary.

Much has been written about this first attempt at an epic by the author of *Pan Tadeusz*. The sources of the poem have been discussed, as well as its Classicism or pseudo-Classicism, the Romanticism or pre-Romanticism of the work, its scenic virtues and structural faults. The strength of Litawor's psychological traits and the weaknesses of *Grażyna*'s have been underlined; the language and its archaic forms amply considered.

From all of these immensely valuable studies¹ *Grażyna* emerges as something of a "set book". In the memory and consciousness of the Polish reader it is virtually a school text, a book "for the young". To the researcher and the literary historian, however, the work is of unique value—a preview in embryo, as it were, of the future greatness of Mickiewicz.²

Returning to "*Grażyna*" many times during his long life, the present author has come to the conclusion that *Grażyna* is a masterpiece in its own right. This view necessarily depends on subjective elements of aesthetic appreciation, but it is the author's conviction that it is precisely those who are not reading *Grażyna* as a school-book who read it aright. One hundred years after the poet's death, this is the time and place to draw attention to the true virtues of *Grażyna*.

* Originally published in Polish in *Adam Mickiewicz, 1855-1955. Księga w stulecie zgonu*. London [1958], pp. 349-359.

¹ There is a masterly review of these in the monograph by Kleiner and, more recently, a bibliography in the English volume by Weintraub.

² After writing the present essay the author came across the view of Konrad Górski (*Pamiętnik Literacki*, 1948, "Uwagi o Grażynie", p. 169), which accords perfectly with the above argument: "*Grażyna* is a work in which many faults and non-sequiturs have been noted (...). But despite all reservations the work is alive, though not equally accessible to all. The plot is so far removed from the spiritual complexities of today's world, that it might seem pitched at the intellectual level of the young, which is why it inevitably figures on every school reading list. The poem reveals its full merit only to those who can find their way into the period setting and the archaic Polish which the poet has so perfectly mastered..."

But, as I hope to demonstrate in the present essay, it is not only archaeological and linguistic merits which make of *Grażyna* a living poem.

I do not intend to repeat the results of previous studies to which I am nevertheless greatly indebted. Nor shall I dwell on the somewhat artificially accelerated action of the poem, nor yet the rather rudimentary characterisation. Similarly, I shall pass over the heathen-Slavonic customs said to be represented, in supposed contrast to the Christianity of the Teutonic Knights. Nor shall I give a précis of the story, but rather assume that school has taught us all we need to know about *Grażyna* and the background of the emergent Romantic movement against which the work was written.

From the very first line the reader is steeped in the dynamism of the poem, underlying which—most probably—is the poet's own impatient and imperious character. Although the style and external form are still Classical—not to say pseudo-Classical, the rapid forward momentum of the poem's psychological content is a force that casts and moulds, in the poet's crucible, lines supple as they are and bursting with life.

To illustrate this more clearly: the beginning of the poem works upon us like a musical overture, setting the tone for all that follows. It is not, as Bruchnalski and Kleiner would have it, a simple matter of the picturesque quality of moonlight.³ The picturesqueness is expressed in movement—things do not just *exist*, they happen.

The darkness deepened, fierce the northwind blew
While, in the troubled sky, the moon on high
Amid the scudding stormclouds as they flew
Showed but in part and fleetingly her eye.
Earth brought a vaulted edifice to mind—
Heaven, its arches shaken by the wind—
The moon, a lattice whence the light shone through. (1-7)

The light itself is in motion: darkness deepens, clouds scud and fly, the moon changes shape in the mist; all of this culminates in the astonishing mobility of the architecture—

Heaven, its arches shaken by the wind (6)

where the moon itself, depicted now as an eye, now as a window, participates in the movement . . .

This dynamic rather than static quality also distinguishes the description of the mountain-top castle, and the waters which fill the moat:

³ cf. Bruchnalski, *Grażyna* 1922, p. XXXIV. Kleiner, *Mickiewicz*, I, 322.

Casting its shadow over dyke and dune—
 A giant grey pillar which appeared to fall
 Into the moat where twixt stone walls age-old
 The waters heaved beneath their greenish mould. (10-13)

Quite apart from the careful rendering of shades of colour—grey shadow, greenish mould—what strikes the reader is the dynamic movement involved in the casting and falling of the shadow, and especially in the heaving of water in the narrow confines of the castle moat. It is the inspiration of the poet heaving in an attempt to break out of the confines of metrical form . . .

Movement and energy are again the keynote when the poet describes events involving people:

When something far across the field they spied—
 Three shapes advancing swiftly o'er the mead,
 The branch-like shadows blackening on their trail;
 So fast they came, each must bestride a steed—
 And gleamed so bright, each must be wearing mail. (17-21)

The interplay of light and shadow, still Baroque yet already Romantic, ranges from the shining armour to the blackening shadows. Rembrandt in movement.⁴

2

Looking closely, we find that Mickiewicz instills the same dynamic of movement, even an explosive quality, into his description both of the inner workings of his characters' minds and their external manifestations. The poet is enthralled and carried away. It is when this happens that we discover the finest lines attempting to break free from the iron constraint of the metre.

By the crucifix and rosary, the envoys were recognized for what they were—Teutonic Knights:

⁴ Commentators so far have not grasped this aspect of the poetry of *Grażyna*. Thus Bruchnalski compares the description of the bright gleaming and the blackening shadows of the Teutonic Knights with Walter Scott's Sir William of Deloraine, who arrived at the gate of (Melrose) abbey, where moonlight cast shadows. But what matters in Mickiewicz's work is not that moonlight casts shadows, but that these shadows acquire the role and value of poetic movement—

The branch-like shadow blackening on their trail: (19)

This quasi-branch of some mysterious tree of the moonlit night determines the value of the line. In the *Slowacki Centenary Volume* (London 1951) the poet Jerzy Pietrkiewicz drew attention to this use of metaphor.

.....

- And whispered to each other as they stood:
40 Look at the scurvy dog, a Black Cross Knight,
Fattened, no doubt, on draughts of Prussian blood!
Oh, if we sentries here were in command
The knave would take a tumble in the moat.
I'd bow his haughty head with my own hand—" (39-44)

Thus, the impatient anger of the Lithuanians is the counterpart of the heaving waters in the castle-moat. But already—foreshadowing the spirit of *Pan Tadeusz*—we perceive the poet with his half-smile ready to restore epic calm:

- So they exclaimed, while he ⁵ seemed not to note,
Yet hear he did, astonished by their scorn—
He knew the tongue of man, though German-born! (45-47)

Hidden here in the Polish original is a double meaning. The etymology of the Polish word *Niemiec*, meaning German, is *niemy* (dumb). Moreover “the tongue of man”, i.e. human speech, is identified in a very basic sense with the Lithuanian language—or with Polish.

The sudden arrival of the Teutonic Order's envoys transfers attention to Litawor, supposedly asleep in his bedchamber, for it is late and the Prince is tired. However he is not asleep:

- 60 But why was it that even now there crept
A glint of lamplight from Litawor's tower?
.....
And doubtless weary limbs for slumber yearned.
Yet slept he not. (60-64)

And now the first, anxious and disquieting characterization of the Prince—as a creature of fire and brimstone, bathed in chiaroscuro, à la Rembrandt. This is already Romantic in essence, but still Baroque—the poetry of anxiety and motion, vaguely apprehended in the changing light, but too clearly in the Prince's face:

- Inside Litawor's room, on table placed,
A lamp burned dimly with a flickering glow
While back and forth the Prince his chamber paced
Then stood immersed in thought, with head bent low , (76-79)
.....
As Rymwid of the Germans told his lord.
Litawor listened but vouchsafed no word,

⁵ i.e. envoy of Teutonic Order.

Instead he flushed, then sighed, grew pale again,
 His face betraying signs of care and pain.
 He seized the lamp and made to trim it right,
 Shearing the wick but, seeming not content,
 He turned it down too far and choked the light—
 I know not if by chance or with intent.⁶ (82-87)

Now it is the moonlight *together* with the nervous pacing to and fro of the Prince which produces the chiaroscuro effect.

For he could not his soul's turmoil conceal, (88)

.....
 Once more the chamber floor he swift bestrode
 And, by the brilliance of the moon's bright sphere
 Which through the iron grille upon him flowed,
 The Prince's dire concern was all too clear—
 That furrowed brow deep consternation showed;
 His eyes flashed fierce from countenance obsessed,
 His lips with grim intent were tight compressed. (92-98)

Just as the water in the moat heaved between mould encrusted walls, so now Litawor pants with emotion.

The deep emotion shows also in the orders given to Rymwid, orders which are naturally concise—but eloquent in the choice of verb forms, the distorted syntax and unusual word-order.

Let ducal flags be carried to the yard
 And, in the castle, torch and fire be lit! (111-112)

.....
 120 And provender for man and beast bespoken!
 Each wife shall for her husband swift prepare
 As much as man may eat from morn till eve!
 Whose steeds are grazing, haste to market square,
 Well fodder them, beset the road and leave! (120-124)

.....
 Let all upon the road to Lid' be found—
 Go, wait me—fresh, equipped in war-attire! (127-128)

Sentences are piled on one another, out of sequence, as the rhetorical symbol of anxiety.

And, for good measure, the poet adds these magnificent lines:

For when he spoke, though words of great portent
 He voiced, they sped not one upon another,
 It seemed that only half of them were spent
 While half within his breast did chill and smother. (133-136)

⁶ This is an echo of Walter Scott's "Rokeby". Cf. Ujejski, *Ruch Literacki*, 1931: Kleiner, l.c., p. 345.

Such is Litawor. And that is why Rymwid hesitates, why he
“balances and weighs”:

knowing his youthful lord (145)

.....

And, loath a bog of reasoning to ford,
Plots in his inmost depths rash acts and deeds
And will no thought for obstacles afford
Or hindrance which, in him, but fury breeds? (147-150)

The impression of controlled but overwhelming strength is
heightened by the contrast with Rymwid’s immutable composure—

A grave affair he scents in fickle phrase. (144)

The contrast is all the more apt in that—precisely in answering
the words of Nestor-Rymwid, Achilles-Litawor again reveals his
character:

Though I am loathe that deeds not yet achieved
Should to another’s eye their forms unmask—
A plan in cogitation’s dusk conceived
Tis ill too soon in sunlight’s gleam to bask;
Let actions such, close to accomplishment—
Like lightning, first destroy ere flame is spent! (232-237)

Expressed in this way, in such language, even Litawor’s circum-
locutions acquire metaphorical strength. So it is with the purely
pseudo-Classical artifice for describing fire-arms, new to the
Lithuanians:

And every soldier bears an iron snake
On lead and powder fattened what is more;
When such toward the foe its neck doth rake,
Its venom flashes forth, the steel jaws roar—
With fire or thunder, kill or wound or break
Whom marksman’s trusty eye doth set before— (264-269)

Hidden in this periphrasis is a great deal of the drive and power
of expression which distinguished the later Mickiewicz.
So much for the portrait of Litawor.

3

Rymwid is the very personification of balance, composure and
Classical self-control. But even he explodes with the power and
drive that pervade the whole poem.

Reconcile German with Lithuanian?

Easier to bring together Lithuanians and Poles. The young poet's smile seems to appear again, as it did when the envoy, though German, understood "the tongue of man":

Forsooth, mayhap that neighbours ill-disposed
Twixt whom for many years has flourished hate,
Clasp hands at last and, angry hearts reposed,
Each crying "Friend!" their old dislike abate.
Indeed, bad neighbours even more estranged—
The Lithuanians and Poles have oft
In banquet-hall themselves conjointly ranged
And joyed neath single roof in slumber soft—
For common ends have wielded each the sword: (288-296)

Even that can come to pass—and here an eloquent crescendo takes the place of an outburst:

But even more inimical again
Than Lithuanians and Poles abhorred—
Have been since untold ages—snakes and men!
And yet if to his trusting cottage portal
Man doth the snake invite as chosen guest—
If, to the glory of the gods immortal,
The Lithuanians begrudge not food nor rest—
The homely viper fawning in his hand
Will share his meal and sip his goblet's wine
And round his drowsy, childlike breast a band
Of tempered brass, unscathed, will entwine! (297-307)

And, to end the crescendo, despite Rymwid's calmness, comes the thunderclap:

Naught can secure the Teuton serpent's trust—
Nor kindliness, entreaty, gift nor plea!
Did Prussian not and prince vast quantity
Of land, men, and gold into its gullet thrust?
Eternal greed! Though it has gorged so much,
It rends its throat our paltry scrap to clutch! (308-313)

This calmness of Rymwid is terrifying!

In all Lithuania is none
Who knows not of their craft and pride immense,
Who would not shun them like the pestilence—
Would not a hundred times their help refuse,
Who, ere he sought their aid, would die in fight
And red-hot iron in his palm would chose
Before the hand of a Teutonic Knight! (323-329)

But let us remember that Litawor has been tempted. Pride and his envy of Witold prevail over his hatred for the Teutonic Knights. It is now time to examine the *hubris* of Litawor, this overweening pride on which the tragic catastrophe is hinged. This pride, too, comes through to us in the splendid verse of Mickiewicz with shattering power and anger.

4

Litawor's *hubris*. It is failing and his sin—but what sympathy we feel for him, when reading these lovely lines. The power and depth of lyric intensity and longing is such that one can almost forgive him the future death of Grażyna . . .

Envy of Witold? Certainly, but the sins of Witold are also grave. Litawor is always on horseback, forever travelling and fighting, whereas the treacherous Witold is seeking to deprive him of Lida—his inheritance:

To Witold thus the town will be restored—
Some other land will mitigate my lot!
Some patch of swamp or desert will atone—
To such a dwelling-place he doth invite;
Has thither put his kith and kin to flight
And Lithuania will rule alone. (352-357)

After all these years of a knight's nomadic wandering, Litawor yearns for a settled existence.

Lord God! Tis Witold's rampant pride ensures
Our land is ever mounted for the fray.
His wish our breasts in iron-mail immures!
Our helmets have upon our foreheads grown
While sack and battle rage from day to day!
Around the whole wide world our arms have flown— (362-367)

All of this to the greater glory of Witold:

380 Have I not seen the haughty Teuton keeps
On which the Prussians cast their fearful eyes?
Yet Witold's castle closer to the skies
At Wilno or the Trockian Lake attains! (380-383)

And, here, as is so often the case with Mickiewicz, strength blends with charm, while an autobiographical note is suddenly struck in Litawor's historical oration. There is so much of Mickiewicz himself in Litawor! :

The beauteous vale of Kowna did I see,
 Where naiads' hands in summer and in spring
 Make smooth the lawns, with red flowers garnishing;
 That is the loveliest of vales on earth:
 But Witold's palace, wondrous to relate,
 Of fresher grass and blossoms knows no dearth. (384-389)

Such were the carpets and tapestries. As we have seen already, the Polish poet weaves allusions to Poles into the speech of the Lithuanians, and does so with quiet relish:

All nature's varied weaves by fairies made
 This work of Polish captives far excels! (393-394)

This almost a foretaste of "Trzech Budrysów" . . .

With these words of quiet charm and reflexion, the poet throws all the more sharply into relief the *hubris* of the hero:

400 And what did all my wounds and toil avail?
 What profited from infancy my cares,
 Next swaddling-bands to don a suit of mail
 And, like a Tartar, drink the milk of mares?
 All day I rode, a horse's mane each night
 As pillow served when slumber did prevail.
 By trumpet roused, I rode by dawning light (400-406)

And, following upon this recital of hardship, injustice and servitude comes the outburst:

Tis time we tumbled him—his power withstood—
 Tis time from our submission we were freed!
 While yet burns youthful spirit in my breast—
 While sword yet hearkens to firm hand's behest— (443-445)

In the best tradition of Homer and Tasso, but with all the immediacy of regal Polish, the *hubris* and revolt of the hero find expression not in speech and argument but in action—and reaction:

Speech failed Litawor but his sword gave voice:
 He started suddenly, leapt to his feet—
 What flame was that which flashed above his head— (454-456)

for it was dark, Litawor having angrily extinguished the light:

Plunged like a star let fall from heaven's arcs,
 Whose streaming tresses scatter glowing sparks—
 So in a curve the glittering sabre sped
 460 To smite the floor and, at his mighty stroke,
 Upon the flags a myriad sparks awoke. (457-461)

Thus did Roland smite the rock at Roncevaux with his sword Durandal, thus did Guillaume d'Orange, hero of the old French *chansons de geste*, stamp about in anger till the straps of his foot-wear gave way. All of them faithfully observed the precepts of epic style . . .

It was in such a rage that Litawor decided to ally himself with the Teutonic Knights, nor would he change his mind under the pressure of Nestor-Rymwid's persuasion.

There was to be no rest that night for Litawor:

He laid him down, not that his hope was great
Of sleeping, but that Rymwid might desist; (476-478)

Poet and reader may well imagine the hero's ensuing agony of sleeplessness.

Now, and only now—midway through the poem—the role of Grażyna begins.

5

The poet, as is his custom, starts gently before leading on to the funeral aspect of the story.

For the time being, we are shown only a bright, rich tapestry: already in the early years of Wilno and Kowno we can recognize the future author of 'Pan Tadeusz'.

Though she had passed beyond the dawn of youth
And neared in woman's years the noonday shine,
The grace of maid and matron did, forsooth,
Her countenance delightfully combine.
Her seriousness amazed, her freshness charmed.
In her was summer glimpsed through spring, it seemed;
A flower whose youthful blush age had not harmed—
A fruit which yet in fullgrown ripeness beamed. (492-499)

.....
And when the princely couple were beset
By hosts of servants, as in dwarfish wood
Two stately poplars close together set—
Their noble heads above all others stood. (504-507)

Who else in Poland had written like this since the days of Kochanowski and Szymonowicz? Not even Tremblecki so much admired by the young Mickiewicz.

Upon Grażyna — this gracious person — falls the shadow of Litawor's *hubris*; that, in effect, is the hidden structural essence of this work.

It is when Rymwid speaks to the Princess, wishing not to reassure her but to impart his own anxiety, that we sense the consummate power of the verse. Nothing could be further from the development of this poem than pseudo-Classical detachment:

for his words are not
Such as in heated hour from young lips spring,
Whose flame burnt dim the memory hath forgot;
Nor by such project is in tangled ring
Of ill-timed wishes sterile thought begot—
A whimsy swift as smoke-clouds vanishing.
These sparks within his soul betray the fire—
This smoke betokens an explosion dire! (556-563)

Again anger and strength. A volcano in eruption. All of a sudden, we are on the threshold of Konrad's great improvisation:

Myśl z duszy leci bystro nim się w słowach złamie,
A słowa myśl pochłona, i tak drżą nad myślą,
Jak ziemia nad połkniętą, niewidzialną rzeką. . .

(Thought flies swiftly from the soul till it breaks into words,
The words absorb the thought, and quiver over it,
As does the earth above a river swallowed up, invisible. . .

Transl. by Andrzej Folkierski)

That which has become in the improvisation the river of the spirit—swallowed up and invisible—appears in *Grażyna* as the fire of the spirit. But the two are comparable: thought as an elemental force.

Grażyna is so much a reflexion of Litawor, her husband, that we know her almost exclusively by her silences. But these are full of tragic menace, for they reflect—as in a speechless mirror—Litawor's inner conflict:

Then they began a discourse ranging wide.
Though Rymwid to its subject guessed the clue,
He caught the content not, in echo fused;
The walls threw back the sound, the words confused. (592-595)

Here is a masterly blend of stillness and echo: the echo, as it were, multiplied, reverberating into a magnified stillness. . .

In this poem, first epic masterpiece of Mickiewicz, there is a sort of conflict between light and shade that vies with the interplay of sound and silence.

Rymwid lends ear; alas, their words in flight
The thievish wind entirely dissipates. (614-615)

The poet renders this interplay of light, shade, sound and silence

with unsurpassed mastery in rhythmic gradations of stillness, so to speak, as the scene recedes:

Now did the moonlight on their armour play,
Now rang the music by their hoofbeats shed,
650 Now horse did whinny loud and toss its head—
Into the darkness—faint and far away,
Till hill and forest cloaked them as they fled. . . (678-652)

Finally, by the poet's magic, this technique of masterly imprecision—this flickering whether of light or sound, becomes the very process of thought-formation out of the dark depths of uncertainty. This is a very psychological insight into the birth of thought through the gradual dissipation of darkness and doubt. Unexpectedly, it is this that emerges as the essential character trait of Grażyna; it is this that explains the true nature of her silence. As a personality she will not become any more tangible:

With eyes tight shut, in silence there she stood,
Her forehead bowed while over some vague thought,
Some project dark and distant, seemed to brood.
Whose hazy contours beckoned, then were caught;
770 Her face lit up with a sudden change of mood:
The scheme matured and ripened to decree— (766-772)

So deeply engrossed is Mickiewicz with the poetic problem of the emergence of thoughts and their ripening into decrees—for every proposition becomes a judgement and hence a decree—that even Rymwid catches the habit from Grażyna:

He drew fresh breath, cut short his pace ere long
And stopped to think, his eyes upon the ground.
Thought long he mused, no fruitful thought he found;
790 The many happenings and forebodings
A noisy tumult made within his brain—
Nor could his weary wits dominion gain. (787-792)

This is a splendid psychological truth: thoughts come of themselves from nowhere and fly away again like cosmic rays from space. It is for the mind, for *reason* to select, catch and hold on to one of them and master it.

In *Grażyna* the young Mickiewicz succeeded in describing the very action, thrust and flight of the *thought-process*. Not just thought itself (*la pensée*) but the thinking of it (*le penser*) . . .

Lastly, two snapshots so full of vigour, menace and commanding strength, that we are at once made aware of the enchanted power that is dormant in the persons of Litawor and Grażyna. Yes, Grażyna too.

—as sable cloud
First rumbles then its lightning doth discharge—
So sped he to attack the Master proud: (957-959)

The thundery image of Litawor's fury as the Black Knight recalls the effect of the hailstorm in *Pan Tadeusz*.

What of Grażyna? a woman, weak, wounded, dying in male armour?

“The game is played, old friend,” the voice was low;
Avaunt! Bare not my breast! Pay honour due
To this my secret; (973-975)

An imperious command in defence of her *womanhood*. This last line—the final command of the Princess—is a symbol and summary of the story's poetic content—this tale of a woman dressed in a hero's armour.

So much for my analysis, reminders and premises on the strength the reader may reach his own conclusions.

Grażyna is not a thoroughly mature and flawless masterpiece. The list of structural faults and deficiencies in characterization and action is a long one. Why, then, is it a masterpiece? Wherein lies its beauty?

The virtue of *Grażyna* resides in its elemental drive and abundant energy. This I have tried to bring out. It is not true of the entire poem but of certain passages, thanks to which, the whole work becomes a thing of beauty typical of Mickiewicz. In short, Litawor is unmistakably an expression of Mickiewicz himself, his genius and nature—as were Konrad and Jacek Soplica later and *Farys* before that. Given the author's age, *mutatis mutandis*, *Grażyna* affords us a preview of the poet's character all the more precious for being so subconscious. A poet's youth is redolent of charm and the enchanted secret of creativity.

If this is so, then *Grażyna*, despite its epic and pseudo-Classical epic features, does contain a substantial lyric element—not, however, lyricism or sentimentality. In Schiller's meaning of the terms, the poetry of *Grażyna* is more naive than sentimental.

Again, if this be so, then the abiding character-traits of Mickiewicz were already apparent in his youth, notwithstanding subsequent

evolution, *Towianism* or his latter-day quality of a seer—a feature which was so significantly to complete his spiritual image.

The fact is that he who knows how to listen out for the unique sound (not to employ Towianski's term *ton*) of such a personality, must of necessity recognize in *Grażyna* the first notes of great music to come.

NOEL CLARK
(LONDON)

TRANSLATING *GRAŻYNA*

I began to translate Mickiewicz's *Grażyna* half-way through the War, as an officer-cadet with the slightly eccentric hobby—for a British infantryman that is—of studying the Polish language. A soldier's kitbag had no space to spare for a mobile library but, with careful management, could be made to accommodate a slim, school paper back edition of *Grażyna*, a modest dictionary and a Polish grammar. The translation project, I promised myself, would help to preserve an academic discipline temporarily abandoned, and would, at the same time, improve my tenuous grasp of the language and widen my vocabulary. In addition, as it turned out, the self-imposed task of turning the poem into English, as time and circumstance allowed, in canteen, barrackroom, train and troopship, led me to plague every available Pole with tedious questions aimed at establishing the precise flavour and feel of any word or phrase that was giving me trouble. Some of those I consulted were, naturally enough, embarrassed. But all, I suspect, were in some way touched by what must have seemed a rather bizarre obsession for a foreigner in the closing phase of World War II.

By the time the job was done, so was the War—and I was in West Africa. Two years of persistent if frequently interrupted familiarity with *Grażyna* had the curious effect of engendering in me what I think of now, thirty-five years later, as a kind of spiritual affinity with the youthful author—my contemporary, a century removed.

My ambition was modest: to follow Mickiewicz as closely as possible in content, language, tone and rhyme—not to transmute but merely to transmit. The English to match the deliberately archaic style of the original came readily to hand—a distillation of the language used by some of our own romantic recreators of the past, poets and writers as varied as Byron and Tennyson, as disparate as Walter Scott, Harrison Ainsworth and Jeffrey Farnol. I did not then know and, indeed, have learned only recently that two earlier versions of *Grażyna* in English already existed—one the work of L. Jabłonski (Paris 1851) as a supplement to the translation of *Konrad Wallenrod*, ed. by J. Tysiewicz; the other by D. P. Radin

in *Poet Lore* (Boston 1940) t.46, reprinted in *Poems, translated by various hands* and edited by G. R. Noyes (New York 1944).

The translation itself I had come to regard privately as a small personal token of homage to the culture of a country that had suffered unspeakably and a people known only by repute—or, at best, by random contact with the Polish Forces serving overseas.

It was, of course, a romantic notion. But this, after all, was a romantic poem and the elements which most appealed to me were those which I also seemed to discern in what I knew of Poland's history and sensed in the character and makeup of Poles I chanced to meet—such as the audience of Polish servicemen and women who responded with such incredible warmth to an evening of poetry at a desert camp near Tel el Kebir; a Polish officer who took the trouble to read to me slowly, so that I could understand, from the anthology of Polish verse he carried in his own knapsack; and that other Polish officer who betrayed no surprise at all to discover me on deck one day, frantically searching for a rhyme to fit the sense, as we sailed for the Guinea Coast.

Given such all-pervading madness, what, after all, was so crazy about attempting to translate *Grażyna*?

A couple of years later, back in London, I sent my work to the late William John Rose, Director of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London University, whose reaction was encouraging. Another energetic well-wisher was the late Marian Hemar, poet, playwright and satirist, who tried to enlist the help of the International PEN in publishing my translation. Alas, *Grażyna* was destined to languish many years in typescript, amid the files of a peripatetic foreign correspondent. In Vienna, a few years ago, I felt an urge to re-read and, here and there, to amend my version. I sent it home to a colleague who passed it to the late Professor Robert Auty. He wrote regretfully from Oxford that interest in Romantic epics seemed to be at "the lowest possible ebb." Five years later, Jan Krok-Paszkowski, of the BBC, included some extracts in a series of programmes devoted to English and Polish poetry in translation.

Now that, finally, my *Grażyna* is in print I owe a debt of gratitude to those I have mentioned for their generous encouragement but also to Professor Jerzy Peterkiewicz of the London School of Slavonic and East European Studies and to Boleslaw Taborski—both of them writers and poets—for urging me to seek the advice of Dr. M. Danilewicz Zielińska, without whose kindly perception and skilful advocacy, this version of *Grażyna* could scarcely have hoped to see the light of day. . . .

Noel Clark

Adam Mickiewicz

GRAŻYNA

Translated by Noel Clark

1 The darkness deepened, fierce the northwind blew
While in the troubled sky, the moon on high
Amid the scudding stormclouds as they flew
Showed but in part and fleetingly her eye.
Earth brought a vaulted edifice to mind—
Heaven, its arches shaken by the wind—
The moon: a lattice whence the light shone through.

On Novogrodek's peak the castle wall
Stole for its own the silver of the moon,
10 Casting its shadow over dyke and dune—
A giant grey pillar which appeared to fall
Into the moat where twixt stone walls age-old,
The waters heaved beneath their greenish mould.

The townsfolk slept, the castle fires grew grey
But on the towers, upon the ramparts wide,
The guards with watchwords slumber kept at bay
When something far across the fields they spied—
Three shapes advancing swiftly o'er the mead,
The branch-like shadows blackening on their trail;
20 So fast they came, each must bestride a steed—
And gleamed so bright, each must be wearing mail.

The galloping horses neighed, their hooves rang clear
Along the valley as the three drew near.
They checked their mounts. The leader gave a cry,
Then loosed his brazen horn without reply.
Now twice and yet again he woke the night
Before a sentry's bugle met his call.
Then came the creak of bolts by torches' light
And, with a crash, the drawbridge was let fall.

30 The guards rushed forth, roused by the horses' rattle,
The strangers and their dress to see and know:
The first full armour wore as, long ago,
The German custom was before a battle:
On snow-white hood, a cross of black as crest,

From golden cord a cross hung on his breast;
A horn slung at his shoulder, lance held high —
A rosary for a belt and sword on thigh.

The Lithuanians knew the marks at sight—
And whispered to each other as they stood:
40 “Look at the scurvy dog, a Black Cross Knight,
Fattened, no doubt, on draughts of Prussian blood!
Oh, if we sentries here were in command
The knave would take a tumble in the moat.
I’d bow his haughty head with my own hand—”
So they exclaimed, while he seemed not to note,
Yet hear he did, astonished by their scorn—
He knew the tongue of man, though German-born.

“The Prince is home?” “He is, but he’s asleep—
Your embassy, I fear, has come too late.
50 We cannot now admit you to the keep
Until tomorrow—” “When? I cannot wait!
At once! This instant! Though the day is dead,
Litawor must be told that we are here—
If blame should come, then be it on my head!
But take this ring—a token—to your Peer;
No more is needed—when he sees this sign,
He’ll know my name, our business he’ll divine!”

Silence lapped the castle as it slept.
Why not? ’Twas autumn and the midnight hour.
60 But why was it that even now there crept
A glint of lamplight from Litawor’s tower?
That very day from travel he’d returned
And doubtless weary limbs for slumber yearned.

Yet slept he not. A scout was sent to see.
He was awake but neither palace sentry
Nor courtier, nor councillor would he
At that hour answer, let alone give entry.
In vain the envoys uttered threat and prayer,
Nor menace yet, nor plea availed them aught.
70 They ordered that Rymwid be roused and brought,
Who back and forth the Prince’s will did bear—
His chief in Council and right hand in war—
His second self the Prince had dubbed his aide;

In camp or keep at all hours, unafraid,
Rymwid could find his master's open door.

Inside Litawor's room, on table placed,
A lamp burned dimly with a flickering glow
While back and forth the Prince his chamber paced
Then stood immersed in thought, with head bent low,
80 As Rymwid of the Germans told his lord.
Litawor listened but vouchsafed no word,
Instead he flushed, then sighed, grew pale again,
His face betraying signs of care and pain.
He seized the lamp and made to trim it right,
Shearing the wick but, seeming not content,
He turned it down too far and choked the light—
I know not if by chance or with intent.

For he could not his soul's turmoil conceal,
Nor yet dismay with cheerfulness disguise,
90 But wished that looks and gait might not reveal
The secrets of his heart to servant's eyes.
Once more the chamber floor he swift bestrode
And, by the brilliance of the moon's bright sphere
Which through the iron grille upon him flowed,
The Prince's dire concern was all too clear—
That furrowed brow deep consternation showed;
His eyes flashed fierce from countenance obsessed,
His lips with grim intent were tight compressed.

Then, suddenly, he paused and took a chair,
100 Pretending to be wholly unconcerned,
Bade Rymwid bolt the doors; when he returned
Addressing him with faintly mocking air.

"You, Rymwid, brought me from Wilno the news
That Witold strong, of favours prodigal,
To nominate me Lida's duke did choose;
The dowry of my wife—these holdings all—
As my own property, like conquered lands,
Were all to pass into my faithful hands. . . ."
"True, sire—" "Then, having to these gifts regard,
110 Let us most honourably act as doth befit—
Let ducal flags be carried to the yard
And, in the castle, torch and fire be lit!
Where are the buglers? At the midnight hour

- Let them beset the town—in market place
 To all four winds proclaim with utmost power,
 Sounding their trumpets without rest nor grace
 Until the cavalry entire be woken;
 Let every breast with armour be protected—
 Let blades be sharpened, arrows be collected
 120 And provender for man and beast bespoken!
 Each wife shall for her husband swift prepare
 As much as man may eat from morn till eve!
 Whose steeds are grazing, haste to market-square,
 Well fodder them, beset the road and leave!
 And, ere the sun from far Szczorsowian bound
 The tomb of Mendog tips with morning fire,
 Let all upon the road to Lid' be found—
 Go, wait me—fresh, equipped in war-attire! ”
- Thus spoke the Prince. True did his speech no less
 130 Than wonted measures for the road arrange.
 But why so suddenly at hour so strange?
 And why with such a show of ruthlessness?
 For when he spoke, though words of great portent
 He voiced, they sped not one upon another,
 It seemed that only half of them were spent.
 While half within his breast did chill and smother.
 Such manner augurs evil to my mind—
 Such voice serves not cool thoughts of peaceful kind.
- Litawor now falls silent, seems to wait
 140 For Rymwid with his orders to depart.
 Rymwid speaks not and leaves his exit late;
 What he has heard and witnessed since the start
 Within his mind he balances and weighs—
 A grave affair he scents in fickle phrase.
- What can he do, knowing his youthful lord
 The counsel of another seldom heeds
 And, loath a bog of reasoning to ford,
 Plots in his inmost depths rash acts and deeds
 And will no thought for obstacles afford
 150 Or hindrance which, in him, but fury breeds?
 For Rymwid, faithful Counsellor of State
 And honoured Lithuanian cavalier,
 Great obloquy for certain 'twould create
 If he averted not a cause for fear:

Advise or hold his peace? These thoughts he shared
And, hesitating, then the former dared.

- “Sire, where’er your wishes deign to rest
Nor horses, no, nor men shall ever lack.
But point the way and, at our lord’s behest,
160 We’ll thither, looking ne’er before nor back—
And Rymwid, aye forsooth, will not go last!
But, Sire, think differently upon the crowd—
The mob, blind tool to serve your purpose bowed—
Yet men whose souls for greater things are cast!
Your father, though himself he oft desired
To pluck from hiding wealth of future deeds—
Yet, since he thereto humble swords required,
First to the Council learned men must needs
Invite. And oft I sat with free decision
170 And there expressed my thoughts without provision:
Forgive thus if devoted voice now dares
Avow what to my lips my heart conveys.
Long have I lived, indeed, and my grey hairs
Are bowed with weighty deeds and lengthy days—
And now I see—not evil, I pray God—
But yet an act, to old men—youthful, odd.

- If thus for Lida you set out so soon
To seize possessions which are yours today,
This swift descent which savours of the fray
180 Will subjects new and old alike repugn:
Yours will, like conquerors, a victory scent
Which Lida’s men will term imprisonment.

Throughout the land the seed of rumour rife,
Seized by the common ear and then resown,
Will spawn a bitter fruit which once full-grown
Makes mock of honour, concord turns to strife—
And they will cry your lusting greed for spoil
In setting foot upon a foreign soil.

- Not so the ancient custom did ordain,
190 Whenever princes of this country would
Set out to claim a throne of their domain:
These princes well my years recall and, should
You wish, Sire, in the self-same path to tread,
Rely on me, you shall not be misled!

First, heralds we shall order everywhere;
Both knights who in the town did close remain
And who to rustic manor did repair—
All to the Castle shall inform their train.
Let nobles old of house and kin be there
200 And, for security and fine display—
With lavish guard let these around you stay.

I can, myself, while you your guests prepare,
Tomorrow even, or two mornings hence,
With servers and his priestly reverence,
And food required for banquet hie me there;
Thus all may be made ready in advance—
Lest mead or venison be lacked by chance.

Not only peasants yield to such dominion,
But nobles, too, to goodly cheer fall prey.
210 Seeing at once such generous display,
They will thenceforth accord you good opinion.
In Lithuania, in Zmudz—'twas ever so—
Sire, if you doubt me—ask the old who know! ”

He wandered to the window, eyed the night—
“It blows; I doubt tomorrow will be bright.
Methinks a charger by the tower I see—
A rider leaning on his saddle-bow—
Two more who lead their mounts I notice now:
Their garb suggests a German embassy.
220 Shall they be summoned? Or, doth it befit
Your will to them by servant to transmit?”

The casement half ajar he made to close.
He looked and spoke as with indifferent mien
But purposely this question he did pose
Some tidings of the messengers to glean.

Litawor, hurriedly replying, said:
“Whene’er I seek some counsel or debate
With strangers—never crediting my head—
Then your opinion do I foremost rate:
230 All claim to my respect and faith you hold—
As young in battle as in Council old!

Though I am loathe that deeds not yet achieved
Should to another’s eye their forms unmask—

A plan in cogitation's dusk conceived
'Tis ill too soon in sunlight's gleam to bask;
Let actions such, close to accomplishment—
Like lightning, first destroy ere flame is spent!
So lose no time with questions of this kind—
When? Tomorrow! Where? To Zmudz!" "But stay!
240 That cannot be!" "It must—and will, I say!
Now you shall hear all that I have in mind.

I ordered all to arm and mount their steeds—
Therefore so suddenly did opt for war,
Because I know that Witold armies leads—
Attack upon my journey holds in store:
To Lida he would lure me in this way,
To catch or kill his fascinated prey!

So, with the Master of the Order, I
Forthwith a secret treaty did engage:
250 His knights will aid me in the war I wage—
In payment I shall partial gains supply.
If envoys have arrived—as I believe—
That proves the Master's words did not deceive.

So, ere the seven stars have veiled their lights,
The Lithuanian strength let us augment—
Adding three thousand mounted Teuton knights—
Full twice as many infantry were lent.
I—at the Master's court—did intimate
The like of steeds and soldiers 'twould entail,
260 Of stature than our forces far more great,
From head to foot well proofed in iron mail.
You know how brave their sword-blades hack and slash—
Our spearsmen put to shame for ruthless dash!

And every soldier bears an iron snake
On lead and powder fattened what is more;
When such toward the foe its neck doth rake,
Its venom flashes forth, the steel jaws roar—
With fire or thunder, kill or wound or break
Whom marksman's trusty eye doth set before—
270 By such was Gedymin, our grandsire, fell'd
When he—long since—Wielona's ramparts held!

'Tis all prepared—by secret, covert ways—
Tomorrow when Witold, too trustingly,
In Lida but a feeble guard arrays—
Attack, burn, pillage, slay and sack shall we! ”

Rymwid, bewildered by this direful news,
Stands there amazed, uncertain in his mind:
Pondering means as he the facts reviews—
But fevered thoughts die mingled, ill-defined.
280 No time to judge effects dare he afford,
In grief and anger he exclaims, “My lord!
God grant that I such day may never know
When brother 'gainst his brother lifts his hand!
Our blades were notched upon the German foe—
Must we today whet swords by them to stand?
Dispute is evil but concord more dire—
Wouldst link us? Sooner water join to fire!

Forsooth, mayhap that neighbours ill-disposed
'Twixt whom for many years has flourished hate,
290 Clasp hands at last and, angry hearts reposed,
Each crying ‘Friend!’ their old dislike abate.
Indeed, bad neighbours even more estranged—
The Lithuanians and Poles have oft
In banquet-hall themselves conjointly ranged
And joyed 'neath single roof in slumber soft—
For common ends have wielded each the sword;
But even more inimical again
Than Lithuanians and Poles abhorred—
Have been since untold ages—snakes and men!
300 And yet if to his trusting cottage-portal
Man doth the snake invite as chosen guest—
If, to the glory of the gods immortal,
The Lithuanian begrudge not food nor rest—
The homely viper fawning in his hand
Will share his meal and sip his goblet's wine
And round the sleeping infant's breast a band
Of tempered brass, unscathed, will entwine!

Naught can secure the Teuton serpent's trust—
Nor kindness, entreaty, gift nor plea!
310 Did Prussian not and prince vast quantity
Of land, men, gold into its gullet thrust?
Eternal greed! Though it has gorged so much,
It rends its throat our paltry scrap to clutch!

- Through allied strength alone is safety earned:
 For nigh a year our bands have marched in vain—
 Their citadels have razed, their hamlets burned—
 The hateful Order—dragon-like—unslain,
 As one head's lopped, a second one then rears
 And each one severed tenfold reappears!
- 320 Let us cut all! His pains are vain indeed
 Who would sincerely us and them make one.
 Nor lord nor simple peasant doubts their greed—
 In all of Lithuania is none
 Who knows not of their craft and pride immense,
 Who would not shun them like the pestilence—
 Would not a hundred times their help refuse,
 Who, ere he sought their aid, would die in fight
 And red-hot iron in his palm would choose
 Before the hand of a Teutonic Knight!
- 330 But Witold threatens? E'en if allies lack,
 Can we yet not alone assert our sword?
 Or is the countenance of things so black
 That this foul cockle of our home discord
 The hand of brother's love cannot uproot
 And arms be kept for foreign foes' pursuit?
- Whence can you be assured your charge is just—
 That Witold, once again rapacious growing,
 Spins treachery, belying all discussed—?
 Pray hear me, Sire, and authorise my going
- 340 These parleys to renew—"Good Rymwid, stay!
 To Witold's contracts I am not unused.
 Twelve hours ago, one thought his mind infused;
 Some novel whim has captured him today.
 I yesterday did trust his princely oath
 That I the soil of Lida should inherit;
 Today he plots anew despite his troth:
 By force the news of our furlough did ferret—
 When all my knights are homeward bound, of course,
 While he at Wilno camps his waiting force!
- 350 Today he claims that Lida listeth not
 To countenance myself as overlord;
 To Witold thus the town will be restored—
 Some other land will mitigate my lot!
 Some patch of swamp or desert will atone—
 To such a dwelling-place he doth invite:

Has thither put his kith and kin to flight
And Lithuania will rule alone.
But look at his decision: well he knows
By different means the selfsame goal he nears—
360 He seeks to dominate his friends and foes—
To crush and trample underfoot his peers.

Lord God! 'Tis Witold's rampant pride ensures
Our land is ever mounted for the fray.
His wish our breasts in iron-mail immures!
Our helmets have upon our foreheads grown
While sack and battle rage from day to day!
Around the whole wide world our arms have flown—
Now smiting Teutons, now o'er Tatran heights
Our men 'gainst Polish villages are thrown—
370 Thence seeking errant Mogul's camping sites
To sweep across the steppes like vessels blown.
The treasure which from fortresses we tear—
The living who escape the sabre's edge—
Whom hunger gnaws not dead and fire doth spare—
We sacrifice to him—our privilege!
He waxes fat upon our trials and pains,
From Finnish Gulf unto the Chazars' Sea—
Has seized all towns—in such a one he reigns,
In such a castle wields authority.
380 Have I not seen the haughty Teuton keeps
On which the Prussians cast their fearful eyes?
Yet Witold's castle closer to the skies
At Wilno or the Trockian Lake attains!
The beauteous vale of Kowna did I see,
Where naiads' hands in summer and in spring
Make smooth the lawns, with red flowers garnishing;
That is the loveliest of vales on earth;
But Witold's palace, wondrous to relate,
Of fresher grass and blossoms knows no dearth.
390 The floors are draped with carpetings ornate—
The walls are tapestried with fine brocade
Of silver leaves and golden flower-bells;
All nature's varied weaves by fairies made
This work of Polish captives far excels!
Glazed window-panes his castle lattice grace,
Transported from the world's extremities
Which like a Polish rider's armour blaze,

Or, like the Niemen in the sun's warm eyes—
Cold 'neath the snow, as he reveals his face.

- 400 “And what did all my wounds and toil avail?
What profited from infancy my cares,
Next swaddling-bands to don a suit of mail
And, like a Tartar, drink the milk of mares?
All day I rode, a horse's mane each night
As pillow served when slumber did prevail.
By trumpet roused, I rode by dawning light
And, at the time when children of my age—
Astride of sticks with wooden swords did fight,
Securely in the streets their wars did wage
410 And grey-haired mothers or young sisters fair
Amused with playful semblance of the fray—
Did I, meanwhile, pursuit of Tartars share
Or Poles in sabre-skirmish seek to slay!

- Howe'er, from Erdwil's time have I thought not
The limits of our property to spread.
Look at these walls of forest oak begot,
Or at my palace with its bricks of red;
Walk through the halls where our forebears did dine,
Seek crystal goblets, plundered metals' gloss—
420 Instead of golden plate, the damp stones shine—
Instead of carpets, tawny crust of moss!
From fire and storm what conquest did I claim?
Rich treasures and dominions? Nought—save fame!

- But Witold men whose heads were glory-crowned
Surpassed, outshone, till they were seen no more.
As though they had a new Mindowe found
The minstrelsy at banquets him adore—
In tuneful strings and grand prophetic rhyme
Commend him gleaming to an age unborn!
430 But who vouchsafes to make our name sublime?
To save it from oblivion's strand forlorn?

No matter! Let him fight and win anew—
His name and coffers likewise so enrich!
But let him his voracious fangs subdue—
For father's or for brother's land not itch!
Did Witold not in peaceful days gone by
Our country's capital to force expose—

- O'errun the strongholds of nobility
 And from the throne Olgierdowic depose
 440 To rule himself? And loves so well to reign—
 His envoy, like Krywejta's courier, could
 A prince create or his destruction gain!
 'Tis time we tumbled him, his power withstood—
 'Tis time from our submission we were freed!
 While yet burns youthful spirit in my breast—
 While sword yet hearkens to firm hand's behest—
 And while on eagle wings my noble steed,
 Which I procured in past Crimean plunder,
 Whose like to you yourself I did accord—
 450 Ten similar are in my stables yonder
 On which I lavish faithful care and board—
 While yet my horse, my blade—while I've the choice—”
 Here anger choked the breath and stole his tongue
 Speech failed Litawor but his sword gave voice:
 He started suddenly, leapt up and swung—
 What flame was that which flashed above his head,
 Plunged like a star let fall from heaven's arcs
 Whose streaming tresses scatter glowing sparks?
 As in a gleaming curve his sabre sped
 460 To smite the floor where at such mighty stroke
 Upon the flags a myriad sparks awoke.

- Thereon they both were silent once again.
 First spoke the Prince: “Of idle words no more!
 Already night's brief span is partly o'er!
 Soon shall we hear the second cock's refrain.
 You know my orders; hasten to obey
 And I'll to bed to ease my spirit's ill—
 And soothe my weary body, too, I pray.
 Three days I slept not . . . Darkness lingers still.
 470 Howe'er the moon is hornèd full today—
 So dawn will early break! Let's swift fulfill
 To Kiejstut's sons in Lida all we spoke
 And worthily bequeath them—ash and smoke!”

This having said, he clapped his hands and straight
 Two servants leapt their master to assist.
 He laid him down, not that his hope was great
 Of sleeping, but that Rymwid might desist;
 And he, aware his efforts were in vain—
 To argue more or longer to remain—

480 Did leave. But of his duty to the Prince aware,
His orders he proclaimed, called all to horse;
Then once more to the castle did repair
As though he'd fain renew their intercourse.
But no, his footsteps otherwise were bent—
Towards the castle's left wing now he plied,
Where falls the drawbridge on the city side—
Through cloisters to my lady's chamber went.

Litawor had in fact as consort claimed
The daughter of a wealthy Lidan squire
490 Whose beauty shamed all daughters of the shire:
Grażyna, or 'the lovely Princess' named.
Though she had passed beyond the dawn of youth
And neared in woman's years the noonday shine,
The grace of maid and matron did, forsooth,
Her countenance delightfully combine.
Her seriousness amazed, her freshness charmed.
In her was summer glimpsed through spring, it seemed;
A flower whose youthful blush age had not harmed—
A fruit which yet in fullgrown ripeness beamed.
500 In more than looks could none approach her fame —
In all the castle she did proudly vaunt
That next Litawor's sturdy warrior frame
She equally her slenderness could flout.
And when the princely couple were beset
By host of servants, as in dwarfish wood
Two stately poplars close together set —
Their noble heads above all others stood.
Alike in looks, in stature, too, made one —
With all her heart the male she did proclaim.
510 The needle, loom and playthings such did shun
To seek with weapons strong a nobler fame.
And oft the huntress on her mettled steed,
In rugged bearskin cuirass surely cased —
White lynx-paws on her forehead interlaced —
Amid the marksmen's noisy throng, indeed —
To his delight — she oft-times in this guise,
Returning from the field, of lowly horde
And castle-servants, too, deceived the eyes:
Thus stealing homage due unto her lord.

520 She, close to him in pleasure and in care,
The solace of his grief and partner wed

- Partook not only of his heart and bed —
 Likewise his thoughts and e'en his power did share:
 Wars, courts and even secret parliaments
 Were often subject to her influence;
 But of this fact no stranger was aware,
 For, greater she than simpler womankind
 Who dominate the house with pleasure rare,
 And therein cause to vaunt their prowess find —
 530 She carefully from outward eye did hide
 The power she wielded in her husband's heart:
 The watchfullest — those closest to her side
 Could learn but slowly, dimly and in part.

 Wise Rymwid had however well assessed
 Wherein his sole assistance might repose
 And, thfore, to the Princess did disclose
 All he had learned and all his foresight guessed —
 Offence to ancient custom sanctified
 That shamed the Prince, besmirched the nation's pride.

 540 This news Grażyna strongly did impress —
 But, mistress of herself, for all she heard,
 A specious disbelief she did profess
 While nought her calm of voice and visage stirred.
 "I know not," said she, "if Litawor less
 Importance lends to wife's or nobles' words
 I do know that his own advice he heeds,
 Moreover turns his thoughts and words to deeds!
 However, if the sudden flame of ire
 A fickle storm within his breast ignites —
 550 And, as befalls sometimes in youthful flights —
 His lust for power or equity doth fire,
 Mayhap that time and quiet thought will tire
 His burning ardour, set his mind to rights —
 Oblivion our anxious words may smother;
 Meanwhile, let's none alarm or fright eachother."

 "Take heed, mylady, for his words are not
 Such as in heated hour from young lips spring,
 Whose flame burnt dim the memory hath forgot;
 Nor by such project is in tangled ring
 560 Of ill-timed wishes sterile thought begot —
 A whimsy swift as smoke-clouds vanishing.
 These sparks within his soul betray the fire —
 This smoke betokens an explosion dire!

I know mylord now longer than a day —
Since he was twelve have served him faithfully,,
Yet I cannot recall to mind, I say,
Such frank and lengthy speech, discourse so free.
Delay boots not; his orders I'll obey,
For, ere the dawn — and such is his decree —
570 To Persiek's tomb I must conduct our force;
The night is fine and swift shall be our course! “

“Tomorrow — what dread word! Oh, woe is me!
I will not that throughout our land be said
That brother fell on brother lustily
And so, in blood, Grażyna's dowry paid!
I'll parley with the Prince immediately —
At once — though dawn cannot be long delayed;
Away, ere day-break frights the dew of night,
I trust a fair reply to bring to light!

580 They bade farewell, deliberation ended,
And both to single goal alike made speed.
Grażyna left the room, her way she wended
Through secret chambers with the Prince to plead.
Rymwid, as swift, the gallery ascended:
Towards the Prince's door his footsteps lead;
He dares not enter but, with ear and eye,
Bowed to the keyhole, Rymwid plays the spy.

Not long he waited till a bolt withdrew.
A whiteclad figure entered from the side.
590 Litawor started up. “Who's there?” he cried.
“Who else but I?” — a female voice he knew.
Then they began a discourse ranging wide.
Though Rymwid to its subject guessed the clue,
He caught the content not, in echo fused;
The walls threw back the sound, the words confused.

Their speech, one moment brisk, the next more blurred,
Now slowing down, grew harder still to hear.
The Princess said the most, he scarce a word,
But now and then to laugh he did appear.
600 The Princess fell upon her knees. He stirred,
Perhaps to lift her or to thrust her clear;
And then more heatedly their words flowed on
And once more he was silent, whereupon,

No sound was heard. The whiteclad shape again
Moved towards the door, the noisy bolt shot to;
Whether she won or dared no more in vain,
The Princess to her chamber swift withdrew;
The Prince his bed did hastily regain.
'Twas obvious from the sudden hush profound
610 He easily relapsed in slumber sound.

In vain Rymwid a moment longer waits;
Upon the steps below and still in sight
The envoys stand with whom a page debates.
Rymwid lends ear; alas, their words in flight
The thievish wind entirely dissipates.
The page then points towards the gate; aright
He guesses what the gesture indicates.
It roused the Teuton warrior's awful pride
Who sprang to horse and mounted as to ride.
620 "Were I an envoy not," he cried, "I swear
Upon this cross which is the Master's token,
That for the insult which this day I bear,
A swift revenge my sword-arm had bespoken!
I waxed mid monarchs, embassies did share —
But neither Emperor nor Pope has broken
The rules of court as has your Princeling done!
Beneath the heavens bare to wait the sun—
Then go with but an underling's command!
I give you warning, we shall not be caught
630 But will repay this pagan sleight of hand!
'Gainst Witold we were summoned as we thought—
Now you, it seems, with him would jointly band!
But let us see if Witold's might will check
The sword-blade now suspended o'er your neck!

Go tell the Prince—if to believe he's loath—
He need but ask and gladly I'll repeat,
Though ten times make the selfsame answer mete—
Now and forever, for a warrior's oath
Inviolatè endures as Gospel troth!
640 My right hand executes my lips' resolve:
The snare you set for us shall soon, my friend—
As though for your own harm contrived, devolve
On you——this very day, ere night doth end!
I—Dietrich von Kniprode—guarantee it,
Chief of the Order! We'll away, so be it!"

He paused, then after but a brief delay,
Nought having heard, out through the gates they sped.
Now did the moonlight on their armour play,
Now rang the music by their hoofbeats shed,
650 Now horse did whinny loud and toss its head—
Into the darkness, faint and far away,
Till hill and forest cloaked them as they fled.

“Fare you right well! May God but grant my prayer
Forever from our land may you be banished,”
Said Rymwid, smiling, as the riders vanished.
“Thanks to you, Princess, blessed change so fair,
So unexpected! Now, who has the right
To boast the knowledge of another’s heart?
That voice in anger raised and threatening air?
660 I sought in vain my counsel to impart!
It seemed he fain would ape the eagle’s flight
The swifter then on Witold’s head to fall—
While but a smile, a honeyed word—’twas all—
Disarmed his rage and set his mind to right.”
No wonder! Greybeard had forgot, in truth,
Grażyna’s beauty and Litawor’s youth!

So talking to himself, he raised his eyes
Lest lamplight from Litawor’s chamber gleamed—
But darkness shrouded all. In some surprise,
670 Rymwid reclinbed the stairs with vain surmise
Litawor might recall him, though it seemed
To wait was fruitless—so the sentry deemed—
They tried the doors—all still and dark inside—
The Prince in deepest slumber did abide.

“A wonder truly! I can scarcely guess
Along what paths events have moved today.
An hour ago, the Prince, in sore distress,
Ordered his knights to muster for the fray
And now he sleeps who was at dawn to start!
680 Tarry the knights the Germans did engage
While, empty-handed, they themselves depart!
Who sent them packing? ’Twas mylady’s page!

To judge by what their private talk foretold,
Though, true, no other phrases did I hear
Save lengthy pleas—mylord’s rejoinders cold—

Despite his orders, now it would appear,
The Princess hazarded a step most bold—
By faith in woman's charms, mayhap, misled!
Alas, on this occasion, so I fear,
690 Has she too daringly her wings outspread!
In truth, she oft gave proof of valour such—
But this, methinks, would be to dare too much! ”

An envoy spoilt his musing's further train,
Who beckoned him to come without delay.
In haste, the Castle's leftmost edge they gain,
Passed by Grażyna's servant on the way.
The Princess met him as he reached the floor.
She led him in, behind them shut the door.

“Lord Counsellor of State, events go ill!
700 Yet it becomes not to embrace despair.
If newborn hopes today are grown still,
Mayhap the morrow yet may all repair.
Let us be patient, let us not disquiet
The soldiery, nor yet the courtly train—
Till later send the envoys from our sight:
With well-weighed answer shall the Prince refrain
From promising while outraged pride is raw
That which, when anger cools, he'd lief withdraw.

Fear not! Whatever may thereby befall,
710 My lord's intention shall not suffer harm.
He can, if need be, swift his warriors call,
Should time upon his heart exert no charm.
I know this day he did intend to leave—
The threshold of his home he's scarce bestrode—
But yesterday his armour did unlace—
But such departure I cannot conceive:
And now, is he, still weary from the road
Straightway to combats new to lead the race?”

“How so, Princess? You speak of some delay?
720 Alas, therein how you miscalculate!
Already, he has gone too far his way
A single hour, nay half as long to wait!
But we shall see. First, would I gladly ken
How did he yestereve's discourse receive?”
Grażyna was about to answer when
A fresh event their colloquy did cleave.

A rider's din within the yard was heard;
A servant entered breathless and declared
He bore grave tidings from a scout who dared
730 To range the road to Lida and had word
From German prisoners captured on the way:
The Master had from out the forest cleared
His foot and horse alike, in warrior throng—
Before the light of dawn, the ranger feared,
As did the German prisoners report—
He planned to reach the town and storm the fort!

Let Rymwid swiftly rouse the Prince therefore
And sure defence devise without delay:
Whether within the castle walls to stay
740 Or to attack the Teuton host before?
The ranger urges that a trap be laid:
The enemy, he says, is drawing near—
Wherefore, before their bombardiers appear—
Destroy their vanguard in an ambushade.
The Teuton Knights, through swamps and gorges driven,
Should to surprise attack fall easy prey,
While those on foot are struck down, trampled, riven—
So none of scorpion breed sees light of day!
This news did Rymwid mightily surprise—
750 Still greater wonder filled Grażyna's eyes.

"Good page," she cried, "the envoys—where are they?"
The page was silent, but his eyes grew wide;
At length, as though uncertain, he replied—
"What words are these, Princess—explain, I pray!
Have you forgotten what yourself did say—
'Twas as we heard the cockerel's second call,
The Prince's order you conveyed to me:
That I should hasten to the envoys three
And lead them, ere the dawn, beyond our wall!"

760 "Yes," she replied, her face averting pale;
Alas, confusion in her mien betrayed.
Her lips but incoherent words assail—
" 'Tis true—yes, I remember what I said—
It slipped my mind; my memory doth fail—
I'll run—nay, hold! I know—my plan is laid! "
With eyes tight shut, in silence there she stood,
Her forehead bowed, while over some vague thought—

Some project dark and distant seemed to brood
Whose hazy contours beckoned, then were caught;
770 Her face lit up with sudden change of mood—
The scheme matured and ripened to decree;
Reflection done, 'twas time to act. Said she:

“So be it then! I shall my husband waken.
Alert our force to haste upon its way.
You, page, will bid his Highness’ arms be taken,
His charger likewise saddled for the fray.
We must these matters instantly prepare—
I give my orders in the Prince’s name:
Their execution, Rymwid—your affair.
780 And of this enterprise or of its aim
Speak not nor question ere the dawn you see!
Go, wait the Prince upon the balcony.”

She hurried forth, the doors slammed to behind.
Rymwid likewise set off but checked his stride:
“Wherefore, since all in readiness abide—
Captains and men with orders well-defined?”
He drew fresh breath, cut short his pace ere long
And stopped to think, his eyes upon the ground.
Though long he mused, no fruitful thought he found;
790 The many happenings and forebodings throng
A noisy tumult made within his brain,
Nor could his weary wits dominion gain.

“Pointless to wait—already dawn is near.
Soon shall this riddle face the light of day!
Speak with the Prince I must—sleeps he or nay! ”
So, to the Prince’s room his footsteps veer.
But as he reached, swung open either door—
Lo, 'twas Litawor who bestrode the hall!
The cloak he donned for battle now he wore;
800 Swathèd in this familiar scarlet pall,
With helm, no cuirass—but a suit of mail he bore—
Closeknit of iron rings a sturdy wall.
His left hand clasped a buckler, small and round,
About the other was his swordbelt wound.

He seemed by anger or by care obsessed
And walked unsteadily, now fast now slow.
When knights and courtiers about him pressed

Did he no gracious glance on them bestow.
His bow and quiver trembling hands received—
810 And strangely to his right side girt his sword:
Though all there present this mistake perceived,
None dared to mention it unto his lord.

He left their midst—his banner flew on high;
Blood-red it fluttered in the dawning light.
He leapt to horse, retainers standing by
Would fain with trumpets' clamour hail his sight—
A sign to close the gates was his reply,
To come and question not their Prince's flight.
Thus led he grooms and servants of the sort
820 Beyond the drawbridge to the second court.

Thence set they forth but trod the highway not—
Instead turned right, along a valley wound,
Then wove their way o'er mound and bushy plot,
Which detour to the highway brought them round—
Their guide—the path of a concealed ravine
Which spread its walls to let them pass between.

No farther from the city's battlements
Than wind might blow the sound of German force—
An unknown rivulet through forest dense,
830 'Twixt narrow banks pursues its lonely course
Till, near the highway, it spreads out, immense,
To lose itself within a lake perforce.
The forest guards her mirror's comely sides—
A lofty mountain on its surface rides.

When crept the Lithuanians as far as here,
They spied midst hillocks where the moonlight poured—
Flags, gleaming armour, helmet, dart and spear.
A flash of light as signal musket roared;
The warriors massed, the cavalry clustered near:
840 Stout as a wall—the Teuton Knights abhorred!

So splendidly in moonlight brilliance reared
Upon Ponary's crest, pine-trees arrayed—
And when the wind their summer garments sheared
While dew-drops draped their boughs with fine brocade
Which thereupon as pearls of frost appeared—
To wanderers the forest silver seemed
Whose moonlit leaves like purest crystal gleamed.

The sight struck anger in the Prince's breast.

He dashed with brandished blade above his head,
850 And in his wake his armed retainers pressed.
The captains wondered why their force was led
To fight this night not knowing cause nor quest—
Nor, as was normal, had Litawor said
That he himself would battle in the van—
Nor told which flanks each held within his plan.

So Rymwid in his stead dispensed his will:
Around his forces rode, their ranks aligned
In semi-circle—arc towards the hill—
The knights in front, the bowmen flanked behind,
860 According to the Lithuanian drill.
He gave the word, the archers' ranks inclined—
Their bowstrings twanged, a swarm of arrows flew;
The cavalry swept down with view halloo!

Their lances couchèd high, they charge the foe;
In close-set line and breast to breast they strike!
Why did the darkness hide so long ago
Defeats and victories from our gaze alike?
Both friend and foe are locked in battle-throe;
What warriors' yells, what clash of sword and pike!
870 Stout lances splinter, head and helmet fly;
Whom swords do spare are trampled as they lie.

And in the van, the Prince puts all to flight—
In wild pursuit, nor fearing any man.
The Teutons know his scarlet cloak at sight—
The motto on his shield and helmet scan.
Scarce struggling, they withdraw in scurvy rout—
Litawor on their heels with thrust and clout.

But which of all the gods has sapped his might?
Why does he still the fugitives pursue—?
880 No man he kills; wherefore then does he fight?
His feeble sword collides with armour true,
Is parried by a blade and swept aside—
Or else mistakes the aim and circles wide.

The Teutons, such a weak assault assessing,
Take courage and with fearsome cries begin
To wheel about, around him fiercely pressing;

Their lances, like a forest, hem him in.
Exhausted and amidst the throng embroiled
With useless sword and buckler he recoiled.

- 890 He barely saved his neck from their attack
The Teutons shot and slashed on every side.
His own loyal men then drove their onslaught back—
To guard the Prince with sword and shield they tried.
Now one his failing blows would implement—
Another 'gainst their thrusts protection lent.

- Night fled; already dawn's pale rosy hair
The eastern clouds with loveliness inflamed.
Yet raged the fight, blind swords still clove the air,
And yet advance by neither side was claimed.
900 The god of victory watching o'er the pair,
Levied from each an equal toll of blood—
And so the balance undetermined stood.

- Thus River Niemen, whom so many vessels grace,
When he the mighty rock of Rumsza sights—
He folds it in his watery embrace;
He scours the base, his breast the summit smites—
But Rumsza indefatigably doth brace
His massive shoulders, 'gainst the river fights;
The rock yields not, secure in sandy bed—
910 But nor will Father Niemen be misled!

The Teuton knights, impatient of the fray—
From hilltop, in reserve, not in retreat—
Their last detachment summoned into play;
In van—so first to strike—the Master fleet.
Exhausted by the chase, in tired array,
The prince's men, confronted by defeat,
Were scattered by the onslaught, put to rout,
When, suddenly, an awesome voice rang out.

- Whereon the eyes of all at once were raised.
920 The stranger sat a horse. As 'neath a pine—
The shadows broad of jutting tresses mazed,
Upon the snowy mountain did recline—
His mantle full about him shadows traced—

Black cloak, black horse, his helm with motto signed;
Thrice called he—then, like lightning, on he came.
None knew 'gainst whom he fought, nor in whose name!

He broached the Germans, in their midst engaged.
One saw the battle not but cry and groan
Betrayed the quarter where the fight was waged.
930 How dread the thunder of his arm was shown—
There split a helmet, here a standard sank;
The enemy in wild disorder shrank.

As when in forests, woodmen's hatchets ply
To tumble pine or oak, far rings the din
Of groaning axes—saw's harsh, grating cry.
From time to time, tall summits downwards spin;
At length, amidst the clearing meet the eye
The gleam and glint of men and steel within:
Thus, through the Germans, did the Knight in black
940 A path towards the Lithuanians hack.

Make haste, brave knight! Their failing spirits cheer!
Give strength to them that weaken, forces spent!
The Prince's men to last defeat are near—
Their buttressed wall of shield and spear is rent!
The Master, sure of triumph, nought to fear,
Seeking the Prince through all the field he went:
Nor sought the Prince to hide—their steeds approached
And mortal combat 'twixt the two was broached.

Litawor swung his sabre, swift to shear—
950 The Master fired with thunderous report.
The prince's men, aghast, observed their Peer:
His sword, alas, from senseless hand fell short,
The reins from his enfeebled grasp slipped clear;
No more his brows the weighty helm support—
And from the saddle he was fain to slide
Had equerries not hastened to his side.

The Black Knight's cry rang out—as sable cloud
First rumbles then its lightning doth discharge—
So sped he to attack the Master proud:
960 They clashed in all the fury of the charge
And, on the ground, the Master vanquished lay;
The Knight's horse o'er him trampled on its way.

As round the Prince his servants clustered near,
One seized and loosed the cords that bound his mail—
With care, the crimsoned armour then drew clear
And traced the ball deep-buried, whilst a trail
Of blood did spurting from the wound appear.
His swooning senses were revived by pain.
His eyes he opened, looked around, again

To hide them, swift his visor downwards drew;
Angrily soldiers, servants all bade go.
But grasping Rymwid's hand, adviser true—
"The game is played, old friend," the voice was low—
"Avaunt! Bare not my breast! Pay honour due
To this my secret; death approaches fast—
Let's to the Castle, there to breathe my last!"

Rymwid upon him eyes in wonder turned—
Scarce crediting, his senses took to flight.
He loosed the hand whereon his teardrops burned—
980 His bones atremble, forehead damp with fright.
He knew the voice—there could be no denying—
'Twas not Litawor—not the Prince—lay dying.

Meanwhile, the Black Knight gave his fallen rein
To Rymwid, thus himself the Prince to aid,
Bade turn their steeds the highway to regain—
With sturdy arm the swooning warrior stayed
And, with his palm, to staunch the bleeding tried.
Thus, at his bidding, from the field they ride.

The ramparts of the castle now they near
990 While curious townsfolk throng the route in wait,
But they spur onward and the rabble shear—
Thus haste in silence to the castle gate.
The drawbridge falls as soon as they appear.
The Black Knight sternly warns the maingate guard
To let no stranger cross into the yard.

Came knights with all the warriors who survived;
Though they such fateful triumph had to show,
The town therefrom but little joy derived—
Hearts torn with pain, on every visage woe.
1000 Each fearful for Litawor did inquire:
"Where is he? Lives he yet? His wound—how dire?"

Within the keep was none. None knew of aught;
The bridge was up—portcullis firmly shut.
While in the moat, with sturdy thickets fraught,
Were servants who with saws and axes cut
Poplars and larches, likewise twigs they brought:
The severed trunks, dry brush and shavings put
On carts or townwards bore them on their backs——
Which sight the crowd with grief and terror wracks.

1010 Where stood the temple of the thunder lord—
The god of tempests who so fiercely groans—
Where horses, calves with silvery fleeces poured
Daily their blood upon the altar-stones——
There built they 'neath the clouds a pyre immense,
Full twenty fathoms long it was and dense.

An oak-tree crowned its centre—at the foot,
On sturdy mount, the captive German thane—
With helmet, weapons, suit of mail to boot—
Thrice to the gibbet fettered by a chain:
1020 The Teuton leader—envoy proud before—
Dieterich who slew Prince Litawor.

Knights, priests and commoners nervously await
The drama's end—nor dare to hazard guess.
Each equally engrossed doth hesitate
'Twixt hope, despair, dismay and fearfulness—
The silent keep in sorrow doth survey
With ears agog for tidings of the day.

Then did a trumpet from the tower blow.
The bridge came down, the cortege thus revealed
1030 Bore forth, in mourning raiment, marching slow,
The hero's last remains upon a shield—
And with him, quiver, arrows, sword and bow—
His gleaming mantle spread, a scarlet field:
The Princes's dress—but none his visage knew,
By lowered visor hidden from their view.

'Tis he—the Prince—the country's sovereign lord,
The man of mighty hand! Who else as he
Shall fright the Germans and the Nogaj'n horde,
Or guide the people with wise ministry?

1040 Wherefore are ancient customs then ignored
In this, the Prince's solemn obsequy?
Traditions sacred ne'er dishonoured so
The Princes of this realm long ago.

Why is his herald not to heaven called—
Where'er the road, to him as ever near—
With empty saddle and in mourning palled—
Comrade of battle: horse that rivalled deer——
His hawk and hounds, with beak that clove the wind
And muzzles questing far the game to find?

1050 The crowd made murmur; knights upon the pile
The corpse with milk and honey they enthroned.
As whined the pipes and flutes played soft the while,
The Wajdelots funereal chants entoned.
The high priest seized the votive knife and flare—
"Stay, hold!" He paused. The Knight in Black was there.

"Who is't?" all ask. "Who is this stranger knight?"
The soldiers knew him from the field of war—
When their brave ranks were broken in the fight
And enemies beset Prince Litawor.

1060 Then had he struck—in them fresh courage sown—
The Germans routed and the Master thrown.

So much their knowledge of the rider's fame—
They know his mantle and his charger bold.
But now why comes he? Whence? What is his name?
He lifts his helm. But stay! And lo, behold—
He lifts his face. It is the Prince—'tis he!
Astonishment all thought and speech transcends
Till gladness in a husky voice breaks free.
The sight of hero so lamented sends

1070 A frenzy of applause to rend the sky——
"Litawor lives! Our Prince still lives!" they cry.

He stood, his pale face bowed towards the ground;
The clamour echoed ceaselessly the while.
He slowly raised his head and gazed around,
Acknowledging applause with gentle smile—
Not such a smile as in the heart is born,
Which lights the face and twinkles in the eyes,
But as by some almighty power torn—
Which pauses on the lips and swiftly flies—

1080 Which o'er the face a gleam of sadness throws
As, in a dying hand, a pale white rose.

"Now fire the pile!" They kindle; flames are fanned.
The Prince proceeds: "Know you whose last remains
Upon this pyre are burned?" All silent stand.
"Man's armour here a woman frail contains—
With womanly graces, soul of hero brand.
I have avenged her, but no more she reigns!"
Upon the pyre embraced her as he spoke—
And with her perished in the flame and smoke.

PUBLISHER'S EPILOGUE

- Dear Reader, if this far my tale you've patiently
Pursued, although at times perhaps reluctantly—
For, if the tangled thread of narrative evades,
One's sympathy aroused—then thwarted—quickly fades:
Why did the Prince remain, instead his wife depart?
Why did he to the fray such tardy aid impart?
Did she of her free will assume her husband's right?
Litawor—how came he to breast the German might?
The answers you would seek, my Friend, to no avail!
- 10 Know this—the author who unfolded first this tale
Recorded what he heard, being then the city's guest,
And, briefly having writ, was silent on the rest.
Unable to perceive the truth and lay it bare—
Yet loath with ill-conceived surmisals to ensnare—
Did I, upon his death, the manuscript obtain.
I thought, dear Reader, that your pleasure it would gain
If to the public eye from its oblivion brought
And its constricted form perchance expanded aught.
So I set out to quiz the Novogrodek folk
- 20 But none, save aged Rymwid, knew anything nor spoke;
And he, so old a man, did swift this world vacate
But while he lived to none did word of it relate—
For all I know, by vows or ties of promise bound.
By chance, howe'er, at last another source I found—
Grażyna's servant—he was still employed at court:
A simple man was he whose speech was short.
He spoke and I did write; his story, I descried,
With the old author's tale could be identified.
But whether all be true, 'tis hard to guarantee—

- 30 And who declares it false could scarce disputed be.
 So far as I'm concerned, no word shall I invent:
 The old man's narrative I faithfully present.
 Thus ran the page's tale: —The Princess in distress,
 Long did implore the Prince—upon her knees—no less,
 That Lithuania might not her foes enlist.
 But he, in stubborn rage, the moreso did persist—
 Entreaties all ignored and with a haughty look,
 Her every ploy withstood, nor any action took.
 Thinking to win her way next day with greater ease,
- 40 She bade me on the terrace retain the emissaries—
 Or else, beyond the walls . . . I led them forth, alas—
 We both misunderstood; thence came our sorry pass.
 Rejoinder such enflamed the Teuton Master's ire—
 No succour he despatched, but battering rams and fire!
 When told I the Princess of what had happened, she
 Once more the Prince did seek, pursued hotfoot by me.
 We reached his darkened room, no sound was to be heard;
 The Prince exhausted slept—and never once he stirred.
 She waited by the bed but dared not bid him wake—
- 50 Loath to beseech in vain? Or for the sleeper's sake?
 So, swift, another course embarked upon instead:
 The Prince's sword she grasped, reclining at his head.
 Then donned his suit of mail, his cape about her drew.
 Gently she closed the doors—along the passage flew—
 Sternly commanding me no mention to recount.
 His horse was ready saddled, but as she made to mount,
 Her left hip lacked the sword, this fact I did remark:
 To gird it she'd forgot, or lost it in the dark.
 I ran to search—returned—the castle gate was barred,
- 60 And through the grille I saw the troop had left the yard.
 Fear seized me and, as though by red-hot embers burned,
 I thought, perspired and writhed—until I then discerned
 A flash that lit the sky; far off the cannon raged—
 And thus I knew the foe in battle had engaged.
 The Prince who had, perchance, already slept his fill—
 Or by the noise aroused—upstarting with a will,
 Called loudly, clapped and called. I, trembling with fright,
 Into a corner dark crept on my knees from sight.
 I watched him as he sought his weapons, suit of mail—
- 70 Searched for Grażyna then, but all to no avail.
 He flung the doors apart and through the passage sped;
 I to the casement rushed. Already night had fled.
 The Prince looked all about, stood still, his ears he strained—

Shouted—but not a soul within the walls remained.
 Then out Litawor raced, scarce in his proper mind,
 Leapt to where stood his mounts within their stalls aligned:
 Towards the ramparts rode but halted by the wall,
 Judging whence came the flash, the crack of cannon-ball.
 Then, loosening the reins, like lightning in his haste,
 80 Through court and bridge and gate, towards the town he raced.
 I lingered by the grille, impatient for the end.
 The westering sunlight died and silence did descend.
 Then came Litawor, Rymwid, Grażyna from the field.
 They brought her fainting home, their weary arms her shield.
 Dire memory! At each step her precious lifeblood spurts!
 Nigh unto death was she, her breast bore fatal hurts.
 Mutely the Princess sank, embraced her husband's knees,
 With trembling hands outstretched, in tears besought him—
 “Please,
 Forgive me, husband mine, this falsehood first and last!”
 90 Litawor raised her, wept; she swooned—and all was past,
 He paused, then walked away, his stricken face to hide—
 Stood still awhile—all this, I witnessed from aside.
 And when, with Rymwid's help, they laid her on her bed,
 I slipped away. The rest, my friends, you all have read. . . .

 So spoke Grażyna's page, in confidence withal—
 But since the death of Rymwid, no censure could befall.
 For he had charged the page ne'er to unfold his tale,
 But stifled truth, once freed, the wider did exhale:
 Today not one you'll find in Novogrodek's streets
 100 Who cannot keen the lay of bold Grażyna's feats.
 The tale small girls recite and troubadours intone—
 The battlefield itself is called Grażyna's own.

NOTE: Mickiewicz's footnotes are not included in this translation.

STUDIA

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ITALIAN OPERA AT THE COURT OF WŁADYSŁAW IV

Eight years before Prince Władysław (Waza), elder son of King Zygmunt III of Poland was elected to the throne in 1632 he made an incognito tour of Western Europe, which lasted twelve months (1624/25). His route lay through Austria, Germany, the Low Countries, Switzerland, into Italy, where he travelled from November 1624 to March 1625, staying a day or two in most places.¹ His longest sojourns were in Milan (15-21 November, Rome (20 December-2 January), Florence (24 January-13 February, and 19-21 February), then Naples and Venice. Although travelling "incognito", Prince Władysław was linked with several great Italian families, and was their guest (the Medicis at Florence, for instance). His fame as victor at the siege of Chocim (1621) against the Turks was so great that he drew large crowds.² In Italy, he visited churches (nine in one day in Rome), monasteries and nunneries, inspected holy relics of various sorts, attended state banquets in his honour at the Vatican and elsewhere, patronised sculptors and painters, went hunting rabbits with Lorenzo de' Medici, saw the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza, attended the Council of Senators in Venice, heard church and secular music everywhere he went, and was present at at least two splendid productions of Baroque opera in Florence.

These were *La regina Orsula*, an *azione sacra*, at the Pitti, given a year earlier in honour of a visit by Archduke Karl of Austria. The libretto was by Andrea Salvadori, with music by Marco da Gagliano (also spelled Galliano), the *maestro di capella* at court. It was certainly performed with costumes and scenery, though only the libretto has survived.³ Władysław was thus privileged to see a work by "the creators of the Florentine school of opera, with its stress on the text (poetry), ballet, and stage effects, rather than the music."⁴ The martyrdom of Saint Ursula and the 10,000 virgins was of particular interest to Baroque writers and artists of the seven-

¹ Adam Przyboś, *Podróż krolewicza Władysława Wazy do krajów Europy Zachodniej w latach 1624-1625 w świetle ówczesnych relacji*, (Kraków, 1977), pp. 437-39.

² *ibid.*, p. 307.

³ Eric Blom, ed., *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5 ed. (New York, 1955), III, pp. 542-3.

⁴ Jerzy Gołos, "Zagadnienie muzyki w teatrze staropolskim," *Studia staropolskie* 18 (1967), p. 148.

teenth century, since it depicted the conflict between Christian faith and pagan barbarity, which had contemporary echoes in the Turkish threat to Europe. In the Low Countries, Vondel's "grandiosely tragic survey of the legendary martyrdom of St. Ursula and her virgin companions" was celebrated in his drama, *The Maidens* (1639).⁵

At the Papal court in Rome, the Prince attended a performance of *La Vittoria del Principe Vladislao in Valachia*, an oratorio by Giovanni Ciampoli (1589-1643), celebrating the siege of Chocim (1621), at which Władysław was present, and which prevented the Turks from invading Poland and Eastern Europe.⁶

Władysław also attended a performance in the Villa Poggio Imperiale of *La Liberazione di Ruggiero dall'Isola d'Alcina*, with libretto by Ferdinando Saracinelli, and music by Francesca Caccini. Known as "La Cecchina", she was celebrated as a singer, lute-player, and composer, and was "among the number of the very earliest opera composers of her time".⁷ She and Saracinelli also wrote *La Liberazione di Tirreno* for the wedding ceremonies of Ferdinando Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, and Caterina de'Medici during the Carnival of 1616, at the Uffizi.⁸ But *La Liberazione di Ruggiero* was La Cecchina's last, and most ambitious work, original in that the subject was drawn from Ariosto's poem, rather than from Antiquity. The libretto was translated into Polish by Stanisław Serafin Jagodyński, a member of the Prince's entourage, and was printed in Cracow in 1628.⁹

Ten years after Władysław returned to Poland, he recalled these performances, and initiated the first Italian opera company north of the Alps at his royal court in Warsaw, in 1635.¹⁰ Some 12 operas, ballets, and intermezzi were performed during the next decade, with Italian singers, musicians, ballet-dancers, stage designers, machinists, librettists and composers. These productions, on a scale never attempted before for Italian opera, left their imprint on Polish music, literature and culture, during the Baroque period (1600-1750), and later.

⁵ Peter Skrine, *The Baroque* (London, 1978), pp. 62-6.

⁶ Karolina Targosz-Kretowa, *Teatr dworski Władysława IV (1635-1648)*, (Kraków, 1965), p. 46.

⁷ Eric Blom, *ed., op. cit.* II, p. 5.

⁸ Alois Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici, 1539-1637*, (New Haven, 1964), *passim*. See also Angelo Solerti, *Musica, Ballo e Drammatica alla Corte Medicea dal 1600 al 1637*, (Firenze, 1905), p. 174.

⁹ Tadeusz Witczak, "Do biografii i twórczości Stanisława Serafina Jagodyńskiego," *Studia polonistyczne* 5 (1977), pp. 161-73. See also Zdzisław Jachimecki, *Wpływy włoskie w muzyce polskiej*, (Kraków, 1911), pp. 269-80.

II

Italian influences—cultural, literary, political, and mercantile—had been strong in Poland since the Middle Ages, largely due to the Catholic faith and the Papal Court in Rome. These influences increased with the marriage in 1518 of the Princess Bona Sforza (1494-1557) to King Zygmunt I. The princess brought with her to the royal court in Cracow an entourage of Italian ladies-in-waiting, courtiers, poets, musicians, sculptors (including Giovanni Cini from Siena), painters, landscape-gardeners, grooms, an Italian cook and an astrologer—over 280 persons.¹¹ Another 700 Italians travelled to Cracow for the marriage ceremonies.

Poles also went to Italy, despite the perils of travel, particularly brigands and highway robbery (“wielkie rozboje po gościńcach”, as Stan. Serafin Jagodyński wrote in 1624).¹² All the same, many risked the dangers to complete their educations at the universities of Padua and Bologna, or on diplomatic or trade missions. Poland’s major poet of the Golden Age, Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584) spent a decade during his twenties at the University of Padua, where there was a flourishing community of Polish students.¹³ Italian literature was known in Poland, in the original, or in translation: Castiglione’s *Cortigiano* was “domesticated” by Łukasz Górnicki (1564), while Ariosto, Tasso, and later Marino also, were translated, admired, and imitated. Travelling companies of the *commedia dell’arte* were made welcome, and a *zanni* performed at the wedding of Władysław’s father, King Zygmunt III with Anne of Hapsburg, daughter of the Archduke of Austria, in Cracow (1592). King Zygmunt’s interest in Italian music was serious: in 1595 he persuaded Luca Marenzio, the outstanding master of the madrigal, and perhaps the greatest Italian composer of the century, to come to Warsaw (he did not stay long, though the king gave him Polish nobility, and a handsome salary into the bargain¹⁴). Marenzio was succeeded at Zygmunt’s court by Alessandro Cilli, and the royal choir was directed between 1603 and 1623 by Asprilio Paccelli, followed in turn by Giovanni Anerio. In 1628, the celebrated Marco Scacchi succeeded to the post, which he held for twenty years, into the reign

¹⁰ Margarete Baur-Heinhold, *Theater des Barock* (München, 1966) states that the first opera performance North of the Alps was given in the park of Schloss Hellbrunn near Salzburg (p. 137), but that of King Władysław was “the first true permanent musical theatre by European standards” cf. Małgorzata Komorowska, “U źródła,” *Dialog* 3 (1977), p. 89.

¹¹ Władysław Pociecha, *Królowa Bona (1494-1557)*, (Poznań, 1949), I, p. 243, II, p. 137.

¹² Tadeusz Witczak, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

¹³ David Welsh, *Jan Kochanowski*, (New York, 1974), pp. 28-9.

¹⁴ *New Oxford History of Music*, (London, 1968), IV, p. 62.

of Władysław. King Zygmunt even tried to entice Giovanni Gabrieli to Warsaw, but failed.

When Władysław started his operatic season at court, he was ably assisted by a number of Italians, including Virgilio Puccitelli, born San Severino 1599, who settled in Poland in 1624, perhaps after meeting Władysław in Rome that year. By 1634, Puccitelli had been appointed the king's secretary for Italian correspondence, and in 1637 he began writing libretti for operas and ballets. In 1638, Władysław sent him to Italy to enrol more singers and musicians for the royal theatre. By 1640, the Papal Nuncio in Warsaw described him as an "intimo amico" of the king (letter to Cardinal Barbieri).

The first production at court was *La Liberazione di Betulia e l'ammazzamento d'Oloferne per mano di Giuditta*, also known as *La Giuditta*, variously described as an *opera sacra*, an *opera eroica*, or *rappresentazione spirituale*. It was staged as part of the celebrations honouring the Polish peace treaty with Muscovy, and is only known from a contemporary summary in Polish. *La Giuditta* was performed in May, 1635, and in December *Dafnis* was produced, on a theme drawn from Ovid which fascinated Baroque writers, painters and musicians—transformation. The theme reappeared in Samuel Twardowski's long poem *Daphnis Transformed into a Laurel Bush* (1638), with its mythological characters who behave like humans, and "mixed" genre of dialogue interspersed with narrative. But *Dafnis*, like *Giuditta*, is only known from a Polish summary, printed in 1635, and an eye-witness account by Albrycht Radziwiłł, who wrote briefly of the climax, "At a stupendous moment, Apollo and Dafnis appeared" (December 10, 1635). Another witness described the appearance of a "circular bubble" (*bania okrągła*), "signifying the machine of the world, with Happiness seated in it. This symbolised victory over the Muscovites, and glorified King Władysław. Then the orchestra, taking up the World of Happiness music, confirms that which Happiness has declared".¹⁵ Characteristically, all the operas glorified royal power in one emblematic fashion or another.

Puccitelli's *Il ratto d'Elena* was given in Wilno to honour the Papal ambassador, in 1636, and was given again in Warsaw during Carnival, 1638. Settings, machinery and costumes were designed by Agostino Locci (1600-1660) who, born in Rome, settled in Poland in 1630 and served under three Waza monarchs, and his son (born 1640) worked for King Jan III (Sobieski). He was responsible for the Ujazdowski palace and gardens, near Warsaw, and designed the

¹⁵ Karolina Targosz-Kretowa, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-2.

column in honour of King Zygmunt III, which Władysław had erected in 1643. *Il ratto* was received in Warsaw "con stupore" (it lasted five hours). The leading singer was Marco Scacchi, who had polonised his name to Szachi on becoming the royal *Kapelmester*, and was responsible for training the entire coming generation of Polish musicians.¹⁶ Another celebrated member of the Italian company was Baldassare Ferri, "one of the greatest castrati in the world",¹⁷ later known affectionately as "Balcerek".

Il ratto, is representative of Puccitelli's libretti. The plot is feeble, for he tended to enliven his plots by the introduction of extraneous personages, and had recourse to large number of processions and choruses (*il ratto* has seven: gods, maritime nymphs, tritons, etc.). However, he was a skilful contriver of dramatic contrast and pathos based on spiritual experiences.¹⁸ The elaborate stage directions in *Il ratto* enable us to reconstruct the performance: "the curtain rises on a deserted spot surrounded by precipices and Alps . . . Juno descends from Heaven in a gilded carriage drawn by two peacocks." Spectres and Furies appear from an aperture—the scene changes to a Doric palace in the kingdom of Menelaus (all in the first scene of act I).

The Papal Nuncio Filonardi wrote to Cardinal Barbieri of *Il ratto*: "All succeeded splendidly, and in general the machinery and scene changes and perspectives were infinitely praised, especially a garden with numerous fountains from which water flowed copiously, and a palace with six chambers visible through portals painted like marble".¹⁹

Part of the wedding celebrations of Władysław IV and Cecilia Renata (September, 1637) was a production of *Santa Cecilia, dramma musicale con gl'intermezzi favolosi*, and later that year *Dafnis* and *Il ratto* were revived. The celebrated prima donna Cattanea appeared in these, having been invited to Poland for a two-year contract. She performed in operas and ballets, as "cantatrice della Regina," including a divertissement *Africa supplicante* (1638), where she appeared dressed as a Negress in a robe of cloth of gold, mounted on a mechanical elephant with moveable trunk, surrounded by a corps de ballet bearing torches. She also appeared in the ballet *La Prigione d'Amore*, as Venus. However, her return to Italy (where she died in 1642) brought about an interruption in

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 233. See also Jerzy Gołos, "Italian Baroque Opera in Seventeenth-century Poland," *Polish Review* 8 (Spring, 1963), pp. 69-72, and Anna Szwejkowska, *Dramma per musica w teatrze Wazów*, (Kraków, 1976), *passim*, with Summary in English, pp. 379-92.

¹⁷ Karolina Targosz-Kretowa, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

¹⁸ Julian Lewański, "Studia nad dramatem polskiego Odrodzenia," *Studia staropolskie* 4 (1956), p. 258.

¹⁹ Karolina Targosz-Kretowa, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

performances at court. Puccitelli was also absent, travelling in Italy, especially to Venice, for new singers and musicians for court. Władysław was always insistent that professionals, not amateurs, be engaged for his theatre, at least for the leading roles. Some fifty Italians were employed at one time or another during his reign, though records have not survived, or are at best fragmentary. What records we have refer to several Italians of the same name, suggesting the presence of entire families: the Gizleni, Giudicci, and others. Some, like Scacchi, polonised their names: G. M. Brancarini called himself Brankarynoski.²⁰ The interruption of performances was also due to the king's illness, and the visit to Warsaw of a company of touring English players.

IV

Carnival, in February 1641, provided the occasion for a new production at court: Puccitelli's *Armida abbandonata*, described as an *azione rappresentata in musica*. Of this piece, eye-witnesses record that "the entire stage seemed to catch fire . . . Paradise, with its streams of water and its trees, was suddenly transformed into a beauteous city, with fountains, squares and streets, which in turn was transformed into a scene with caves, lairs, rocks, rivers, peninsulas, and valleys—then Hell." Later that year (October), a visit by the Elector of Brandenburg to the royal court in Warsaw was celebrated by another *favole drammatica* with libretto by Puccitelli, *Enea*, in which he grafted panegyrics to the Waza dynasty to the Roman plot, and Władysław becomes the Sarmatian Jove, monarch, victor, and ruler, a model of benevolence to the defeated.

The following year was devoted mainly to ballets, including *La maga sdegnata*, also an untitled ballet given in honour of the Duke of Neuberg (June, 1642), and a "comedy" of which nothing is known for Carnival. Puccitelli's *Andromeda* was produced at Easter (March, 1644), in which the scene of Andromeda eavesdropping in the temple of Amon "shows heroism worthy of Jephta or Judyta".²¹ His *Le nozze di Amore e di Psiche* was given on the occasion of the King's second marriage to Maria Luiza Gonzaga (February, 1646). According to Radziwiłł, "it was acted in silence," and the King himself declared "I have never seen anything so worthy of admiration, either in Paris or elsewhere".²² Again, Puccitelli took

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 203. On the Gizleni family see Nina Miks-Rudkowska, "Niektóre projekty dekoracji scenograficznych Giovanniego Battisty Gizleniego na dworze Wazów," *Studia staropolskie* 35 (1973), pp. 9-24.

²¹ Julian Lewański, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

²² Albrycht Radziwiłł, *Memoriale rerum gestarum in Polonia*, opracował Adam Przyboś (Wrocław, 1968-1975) II, p. 230.

advantage of the plot to glorify the Waza dynasty, and support the king's foreign and domestic policies for the benefit of the audience, which consisted of foreign diplomats, Polish aristocrats and magnates.

Another interruption occurred in 1647, due to the death of the king's only son, and preparations for military action against the Turks. Yet, only a month before his death, Władysław was present at Locci's ballet *Circe delusa* (April, 1648), produced in Wilno to honour a state visit by the French ambassador. After the king's death, the court theatre ceased to function. With the Swedish invasion (1655), the royal palace was looted, documents destroyed or shipped to Sweden, the Italians dispersed.

VI

The complexity of performances at the court theatre in Warsaw for that decade was essentially Baroque in spirit, which always denoted a collective effort on the part of artists: poets writing libretti to please the sophisticated taste of the king, his courtiers, foreign envoys—all familiar with the latest achievements in the theatres of Western Europe, and particularly Italy—composers, virtuoso singers and dancers, the stage-designers adept at astounding perspective stage-effects and machinery, elaborate costumes and settings. Admittedly, the audiences were not very interested in the poetry or music: what they liked were the spectacles, the lighting, the sudden transformations (a word which recurs in the stage-directions), giving the effect of “stupore”, or wonder—another word which recurs, and which Marino later declared to be one of the chief functions of poetry: to arouse *meraviglia, stupore, terribilità*. The emphasis in these performances of opera at court was always on the showing, on the appeal to the senses, sight and sound in particular, echoing principles of the Jesuit Counter-reformation. Indeed, Baroque churches were designed for much the same purpose: the lights, music, even the incense, all combined in these churches to impress the feelings, not the reason of the fearful, rigid Calvinist or Lutheran peasantry, whom the Jesuits sought to convert to Catholicism “at one blow”, more especially in the hotbeds of heresy which remained in Eastern Europe—in Poland and Bohemia especially.

Indeed, entering a Baroque chapel in any seventeenth-century church from Rome and Madrid, to Vienna, Prague, and Warsaw, is like entering a bedroom at an inopportune moment: the waxen effigies of saints and martyrs in their flowing robes, which emphasise their physical bodies, with expressions of bliss and ecstasy, as they

linger on the verge of death and transfiguration. Artistically, these effigies, the paintings and frescos are naive, even insipid, yet the overall effect is one of shimmering radiance, intended to inflame the senses, as were the performances of opera and ballet. It is no coincidence that Baroque art of the seventeenth century finds its epitome in Italian music, painting and architecture.

Traditionally, literary historians in Poland have regarded the brief flourishing of Italian opera at the court of King Władysław as little more than an isolated cultural phenomenon (though it was thoroughly investigated as early as 1902 by Windakiewicz²³). But opera was essentially aristocratic, not “popular”, or “national”. That the musical scores are mostly lost is a misfortune, and Puccitelli’s libretti are really of little more interest in themselves than the libretti of a Puccini or Verdi opera. How far these half-Christian, half-pagan *drammi musicali*, with St. Cecilia playing the organ on one hand, and Furies emerging from Hell on the other, had an effect on later Polish poets and dramatists is beyond answering. Suffice it to say that the Italian opera at the court of King Władysław was a foreshadowing of the Polish Baroque age which lasted into the 1750’s and later, and which was one of the most remarkable periods in the literary history of Poland.

²³ Barbara Król-Kaczorowska, *Teatr dawnej Polski: Budynki, Dekoracje, Kostiumy* (Warszawa, 1971). See also S. Windakiewicz, *Teatr polski przed powstaniem sceny narodowej* (Kraków, 1921), which incorporates his earlier work. Three of Virgilio Puccitelli, *Drammi musicali* have been reprinted in facsimile (Bologna: Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi, 1976). They are *Il ratto di Helena*, *La S. Cecilia*, and *Narciso transformato*. A copy was kindly furnished by Professor Julian Lewański.

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“MEN OF LETTERS” — SŁOWACKI AND BYRON

The familiar letters of eminent writers, whether intended for publication or not, have long proved rewarding territory for literary historians, critics, and others. Of recent years, there have been editions of the letters of Ignacy Krasicki, Stanisław Trembecki, Zygmunt Krasiński, and Juliusz Słowacki (1809-1849),¹ not to mention others. Similarly, the letters and journals of Lord Byron are only now being published in full.² Revealing and entertaining though familiar letters often are, we may inquire to what extent we are entitled to draw upon them in order to obtain new light on their literary works.

I

Although J. U. Niemcewicz had published some translations of Wordsworth into Polish, the English Romantic poets were represented to their Polish contemporaries almost exclusively by Byron. Hardly anyone else was known. As late as 1840, Zygmunt Krasiński inquired of Słowacki, in reply to a letter which has not survived: “Kto mówi o Keatsu? kto słyszał o Keatsu? kto to jest Keats?” (11, 258). Słowacki had visited the graves of Keats and Shelley in 1836, although there is no evidence that he knew more of them than their names. In any case, it was the poetry of Byron (in translation) which is reflected in his early work. Słowacki had visited London briefly in 1831, and attempted to learn English later, but the extent of his acquaintance with English literature in the original is not known.

Needless to say, Słowacki never met Byron (born 1788), who was 20 years his senior. For all their differences in background and upbringing, there were resemblances in personality and temperament. Byron was one of the most isolated figures in literature, choosing his

¹ *Korespondencja Juliusza Słowackiego*, 2 vols., edited by Eugeniusz Sawrymowicz (Wrocław, 1962-3). This edition will be designated by volume and page number. See also Wł. Floryan “Tropami autografów Słowackiego”, *Pamiętnik literacki* LXVI (3) (1975), 171-88.

² *The Letters and Journals of Lord Byron*, edited by Leslie Marchand (London, 1973) in progress. This edition will be designated by volume and page number.

solitude on purpose, so that it should not be inflicted upon him by others, and was "usually out of touch with reality."³ There was "a great deal of the woman about him, in his tenderness, his temper, his caprices, his vanity."⁴ He was also "a gentleman who wrote," as was Słowacki, who would have appreciated the phrase. Neither was obliged to earn their own living, and Byron believed that authors with private means should not accept payment for their work. Of course, Słowacki never made any money from his books, and had to pay for them to be printed.

As an individual, Słowacki compares badly with Mickiewicz (ten years his senior). Słowacki's contemporaries in Paris in the 1830's and 40's, found him "an unbearable coxcomb, quick-tempered, and a hundred times more spiteful than Byron" (Bohdan Zaleski, 1841). He avoided the Polish emigré communities, and had little good to say of them. Chopin's music was "enervating and emetic," and he described with evident relish Chopin taking too much to drink at an evening party (I, 86). Krasiński was probably his only understanding reader, yet Słowacki quarrelled with him, caricatured Krasiński's father in "Dantyszek" (1839), and offended him by criticism of an ancestor in *Ks. Marek* (II, 72). He was unjust to Niemcewicz in *Kordian*, and pictured him even more unfairly than Mickiewicz depicted Słowacki's step-father Bécu in *Dziady III*. He remarked maliciously on Mickiewicz's appearance at one of their infrequent meetings, "looking like a footman, with a crumpled shirt-collar, and tar-stained evening coat" (I, 144, 269). He wrote of Paris as a "town of scribbling maniacs" (I, 389), and declared "my fellow-countrymen bore me fearfully" (I, 144). He also disliked the English (I, 213, 245) and was bored by Polish society in Florence ("empty-headed women", I, 338).

II

Their mothers played important parts in the lives of both Byron and Słowacki. Byron's father died when the boy was three. He was heir to substantial property, including Newstead Abbey, and became sixth Baron of Rochdale in 1798. But the property was encumbered with his father's debts, and the young Byron was financially dependent on his mother, who was herself often in serious straits. Indeed, "she was often hard put to it, to maintain even simple respectability, on the pittance her lawyers managed to keep out of

³ Robert Escarpit, *Lord Byron* (Paris, 1955), *passim*, also suggests that being an only child, and having no father in childhood, made Byron an "introvert." But this simplifies matters.

⁴ Leslie Marchand, *Byron: a biography*, 2 vols. (London and New York, 1958) I, 305, quoting Thomas Moore in 1827.

the hands of her husband's creditors." ⁵ Yet she had been a well-known society heiress in her own right, and was a lineal descendant of King James I, allied by blood to some of the noblest houses of Scotland. But biographers disagree about Mrs. Byron's character. Peter Gunn calls her "a vulgar and tempestuous woman." ⁶ Mrs. Langley Moore considers her "a much underestimated woman, from whom Byron inherited his compassion, hot temper, and desire to scrutinise his bills carefully." ⁷ Yet he occasionally had cause to be ashamed of her behaviour, and although he addressed her in letters as "Dear Madam," his own behaviour at her funeral gave rise of comment.

We know less of Słowacki's mother, Salomea Januszevska (1792-1855). Only one of her letters to him has survived. After the death of Słowacki's father, when the boy was five, she married Dr. Bécu in 1818. Evidently she was a cultivated, sensitive, rather hysterical woman, brought up for the most part on French literature. She held a literary salon in Krzemieniec and Wilno, which Mickiewicz sometimes attended. As a child, Słowacki was mainly cared for by women, and is known to have "wept easily." ⁸

When Słowacki left Lithuania for Warsaw in 1829, and later settled in Western Europe, he wrote to her frequently. More than half his published correspondence (148 letters, written between 1829 and his death) is addressed to her. His letters have been described as "one of his finest literary works," ⁹ which express his "pure, filial love, and limitless admiration . . . fine words, expressing the most affectionate feelings." Although Słowacki frequently expressed the wish that his mother might join him in Western Europe, she never did so, except for a brief meeting in Wrocław. However, the fact remains that Mme Bécu could almost certainly have obtained a passport to leave Lithuania. It could, however, cost her the right to obtain her widow's pension.

III

Byron admitted "I am not a cautious letter-writer, and generally say what comes uppermost at the moment." Professor Marchand describes Byron's letters as

a clear picture of his personality, of its weaknesses, as well as

⁵ Doris Langley Moore, *Lord Byron Accounts rendered* (London, 1974), 47-96 gives a full account of Mrs. Byron.

⁶ Peter Gunn, *My dear Augusta* (New York, 1968), 41.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 3.

⁸ Teofil Syga "Słowackiego droga do społeczeństwa" in Marian Bizan and Zofia Lewinówna, *Juliusz Słowacki w 150-lecie urodzin* (Warsaw, 1959), 362.

⁹ *Ibid.*

its strengths. That tortured spirit found expression in his poetry . . . The letters do run the gamut of his emotions and moods, but always with a lighter touch. His epistolary prose is less self-conscious than his verse, and therefore a truer, more balanced picture of the man (I, 1).

He further characterises Byron's epistolary style as "familiar, but not quite colloquial . . . full of literary allusions and quotations." The letters also contain a good deal of "miscellaneous harlotry" (I, 8) of which there is no trace in the letters of Słowacki, apart from brief mentions of "the Spanish-type Kora" (I, 104), and the incident with 'la Fornarina,' whom he met in Florence in 1838, and described to his mother as "slender, slim, with a rosy mouth . . . rather cold by nature, with something pure in her character" (I, 399). In a somewhat uncharacteristic incident, Słowacki drove "la Fornarina" to Parolino in a hired tilbury, which he overturned. He had also met a "new Fornarina" in Paris in 1832, but we hear no more of her (I, 140). Presumably Słowacki had heard of Byron's "Fornarina" (Venice, 1817) as Byron's scandalous affairs were common gossip in Europe.

Słowacki's epistolary style, like that of Byron, is naturally less self-conscious than his poetry. The tone varies according to the recipient, as does Byron's. His letters too are filled with literary allusions and quotations, drawn from the Bible and Horace, to Kochanowski, Shakespeare, Milton, Sterne and Goethe. He and Byron used much the same style of writing, with dashes in place of more conventional punctuation, frequent exclamation marks, liberal use of dots and meaningless noises ("Ha!" "Humph!"), inconsistent use of capital letters, and equally inconsistent spelling. Słowacki wrote "Shakspear," "Odesa," "Gothe" and the like, while Byron on one occasion inquired "whether Apenines has one p or two?" In Słowacki's case, however, his spelling and punctuation appear to have been silently corrected or modernised by his editors. Commas have been inserted to make the text "more readable," and quotation marks introduced in passages of represented discourse (*mowa pozornie zależna*) (I, 13).

Such variations from the standards of contemporary orthography and punctuation are of course common enough in the familiar letters of the period by other writers, from Jane Austen to Krasiński. The letters of Mickiewicz are something of an exception in this respect, but we are not told how much his editors "improved" or standardised them.¹⁰

¹⁰ Adam Mickiewicz, *Dzieła* ed. Julian Krzyżanowski *et al.* (Warsaw, 1955) vols. XIV-XVI contain the correspondence.

IV

By a coincidence, both Byron and Słowacki wrote some of their most intimate and affectionate letters to a half-sister, five years their senior in both cases. Byron's half-sister was Augusta, who married her cousin George Leigh. She survived Byron by some 30 years. Słowacki's half-sister was Alexandra Bécu, daughter of Mme Bécu's second husband. Only 12 letters from Słowacki to "Olesia" survive, written between 1827 and April, 1831. She died a year later. Like Byron's handful of letters to Augusta, those of Słowacki to Olesia reflect something of the poet's *joie de vivre* as he travelled in Western Europe. Olesia described the letters as "facetious" (*krotofilne*), adding "sometimes we grow domestic" (I, 24). Byron's letters also expressed a similar "frank tenderness, mixed with playfulness."¹¹

Both poets travelled briefly in Switzerland. Byron kept an "Alpine journal" for Augusta between September 17 and 28, 1816. These letters are even more slap-dash than most of his correspondence, being hastily scribbled during brief halts, or in the carriage. As Byron had already toured Greece and parts of Asia Minor, he was able to compare the Swiss landscapes favourably with them, "for there we were a little too much of the sabre and musquet (sic) order" (September 18). He visited Chillon, where he saw "all things from the Gallows to the Dungeon," was impressed by "the music of the Cows bells . . . and the Shepherds shouting to us from crag to crag & playing on their reeds where the steeps appeared almost inaccessible" (September 20), and by the panorama from Mt. Wengren (sic), where he heard "the Avalanches falling every five minutes nearly—as if God was Pelting the Devil down from Heaven with snow balls," and where "the clouds rose from the opposite valley curling up perpendicular precipices—like the foam of the Ocean of Hell during a Springtide—it was white and sulphery—and immeasurably deep in appearance" (September 23). But the journal ends gloomily: "I am a lover of Nature—and an Admirer of Beauty . . . and have seen some of the noblest views in the world—But in all this—the recollections of bitterness—which must accompany me through life—have preyed upon me here—and neither the music of the Shepherd—the crashing of the Avalanche—nor the Cloud—have for one moment—lightened the weight upon my heart" (September 29).

Słowacki's excursion into the Swiss Alps took place in July and August of 1834, when he was 25. The route followed many

¹¹ Leslie Marchand, *op. cit.*, I, 87.

tourists, including Byron's: from Geneva to Bex, Thun, Brentz, visiting Interlaken en route, then via Lucerne and back to Geneva by way of Berne. He describes the trip in a letter to his mother (August 23, 1834), not altogether seriously. He wore "a fantastic get-up" of a canvas blouse, white drawers (*hajdawary*) and a straw hat with a purple ribbon. His companions included a Mme Wodzińska, her sons and daughters, and "a botanising governess." But the company "was not as agreeable as I would have wished." On the way they visited Chillon, the St. Bernard monastery, Lake Thun, and the waterfalls at Giesbach, which reminded Słowacki of Trembecki's descriptive poem *Sofiówka* (1806). One of their guides claimed to have been a guide to Byron. On the whole, Słowacki considered the trip "expensive and boring" (I, 208).

V

"Gentlemen who write" or any writers for that matter, rarely waste their experiences, but turn them to the service of their writing. Byron's visit to Chillon reappears in "The Prisoner of Chillon," though as decoration: "Lake Leman lies by Chillon's walls, / A thousand feet in depths below, / Its massy waters meet and flow" (VI). Likewise, in *Manfred: A Dramatic Poem* (1817) which Byron wrote "expressly for the sake of introducing the Alpine scenery in description" (V, 188), the stage-directions call for "the Mountain of the Jungfrau . . . Manfred alone among the Cliffs" (I, ii), and "The Shepherd's pipe in the distance is heard." A Chamois Hunter appears, offering to guide Manfred "across a precipice" (like the Mirza who guides the Pilgrim in Mickiewicz's *Crimean sonnets* (1826), and warns him "Stand not on that brink.")

Słowacki, in his poetic drama *Kordian* (1834) had shown his central protagonist on the summit of Mt. Blanc (II, last scene), whence, after a monologue, he is wafted away on a cloud to Poland. There are also references to Swiss landscapes in *Beniowski* (VI) and *Genezis z ducha*.¹² Słowacki made most use of his Swiss landscapes in the narrative poem *W Szwajcarji* (Paris, 1839)¹³ This narrative, uttered by the protagonist (who may, or may not be Słowacki himself, at least in part), describes his love for an unnamed girl—their first meeting, mutual love, the apotheosis of the girl, their life together in a remote hut in the Swiss mountains, her death, and the protagonist's grief. As Maciejewski points out "autobiographical

¹² *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Juliusza Słowackiego* ed. Eugeniusz Sawrymowicz (Wrocław, 1960), 221.

¹³ Translated into English by M. A. Michael in *A Polish anthology* (London, 1944), 230-55.

elements are present, but their authenticity is open to question.”¹⁴ Here, all the well-known tourist sights seen by Słowacki during the 1834 trip have been “concentrated into a synthesis—lake, waterfall, grotto, valley, glacier, mountain hut and icy peaks—all form a synthesis of what is most characteristic of the Swiss landscapes. They are not faithfully observed; the coloration, live-stock (sheep, deer, doves), and vegetation (roses, lilies, cherry and cyprus trees) are stylised. They are observed by the eye of a poet, not that of a botanist or zoologist.”¹⁵

The predominant element is water, especially water in motion (cataracts, cascades, streams, fountains, springs), rather than the mountain peaks, glaciers, or valleys. As Bronarski suggested, this predominance in the poem of water may derive from Słowacki's observations on his voyage by ship to and from the Near East in 1837/38, and perhaps indicates that *W Szwajcarji* was composed during or after this time.¹⁶ Likewise, the coloration predominating throughout the poem is azure (*blekit*) and white, as though the setting were that of the Côte d'Azur rather than Switzerland, especially the German region where Słowacki travelled most. Here, the landscape is predominantly green, though Słowacki only refers twice to pine-trees (117, 168). In the letter to his mother, Słowacki frequently uses the epithet “green” (emerald green etc.), and describes a “dark, leaden-coloured lake.” Evidently the Swiss landscapes he observed in 1834 had undergone a transformation in his mind during the intervening years, and the light effects, colours, fragrances, and sounds (to which Byron was also highly sensitive¹⁷) had been overlaid, so that the illumination of the poem is Mediterranean.

But the complex processes by which writers transform experience into art cannot be traced by literary critics. C. J. Jung stated:

the creative aspect of life which finds its clearest expression in art, baffles all attempts at rational formulation. Any reaction to stimulus may be causally explained; but the creative act, which is the absolute antithesis of mere reaction, will forever elude the human understanding. It can only be described in its manifestations; it can be obscurely sensed, but never wholly grasped.

It is in the familiar letters of writers that this “creative aspect of life” can at least be glimpsed, rather than in the texts intended for

¹⁴ Jarosław Maciejewski, *Florenckie poematy Słowackiego* (Wrocław, 1974), 92.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Alfons Bronarski, “Poemat Słowackiego “*W Szwajcarji*” i jego geneza” in *Juliusz Słowacki 1809-1849 Księga zbiorowa w stulecie zgonu* (London, 1951), 337-58 discusses these points.

¹⁷ Paul West, *Byron and the spoiler's art* (London, 1960), 74.

the public eye. And Professor Wilson Knight's words about Byron's biography and poetry can equally well be applied to those of Słowacki:

It is sometimes complained that Byron has suffered from an over-emphasis on biography, and a corresponding neglect of his poetry . . . There is, however, good reason for our interest also in Byron's life. With most poets, it may be very dangerous to mix up biographical details with the results of their poetic genius. (In the case of Byron), not only do we have masses of information regarding his own life, but the details of his life, his personal relationships, and prose thinking, are all so entangled in his poetry that it is difficult to keep them apart. . . The danger of mixing up poetry with biography comes from the risk of reducing the authoritative poetry to the lesser order of the poet's apparent life. I say "apparent" because we can never be sure what that life was. . . Any one of Byron's greatest poems, like all poetry, can be read in and as itself alone; but if we choose to relate it to his life there is no danger whatsoever of reducing it to a lower order, since his life itself exists in the poetic dimension.¹⁸

¹⁸ J. Wilson Knight, *Byron and Shakespeare* (London, 1966), 16-17.

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