

**INSTITUTUM
HISTORICUM POLONICUM
ROMAE**

**XXVI
A N T E M U R A L E**



NON EXTINGUETUR

**ROMAE
1982-1983**

INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM POLONICUM ROMAE
19 VIA VIRGINIO ORSINI 00192 ROMA

ANTEMURALE, I-XXV, ROMAE, 1954-1981

ELEMENTA AD FONTIUM EDITIONES

- Vol. I — *Polonica ex Libris Obligationum et Solutionum Camerae Apostolicae*. Collegit J. LISOWSKI, pp. XV+292, 704 doc. (A.D. 1373-1565) Ind. nom. propr., 1960. (Archivum Secretum Vaticanum).
- Vol. II — "*Liber Disparata Antiqua Continens*" Praes. E. WINKLER, pp. XVIII+190, 281 doc. (ante a. 1424) 19 facs. Ind. nom. propr. 1960. (Archivum Capituli Trident.).
- Vol. III — *Repertorium Rerum Polonicarum ex Archivo Orsini in Archivo Capitolino*, I pars. Coll. W. WYHOWSKA - DE ANDREIS, XVIII+162, 1144 doc. (A.D. 1565-1787) 29 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1961.
- Vol. IV — *Res Polonicae Elisabetha I Angliae Regnante Conscriptae ex Archivis Publicis Londoniarum*. Ed. C. H. TALBOT, pp. XVI+311, 166 doc. (A.D. 1578-1603) 9 tab., Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron., 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.
- Vol. VI — *Res Polonicae Iacobo I Angliae Regnante Conscriptae ex Archivis Publicis Londoniarum*. Ed. C. H. TALBOT, pp. XI+396, 281 doc. (A.D. 1603-1629) 8 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron., glossarium verb. ang. ant. 1962.
- Vol. VII — *Repertorium Rerum Polonicarum ex Archivo Orsini in Archivo Capitolino*, II pars. Coll. W. WYHOWSKA - DE ANDREIS, pp. XIV+250, 1205 doc. (A.D. 1641-1676) 11 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1962.
- Vol. VIII — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, I pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. X+214, 157 doc. (A.D. 1514-1576, 1720-1791) 7 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1963.
- Vol. IX — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Regni Daniae*, I pars. Coll. L. KOCZY, pp. XII+184, 98 doc. (A.D. 1526-1572) 8 tab. Ind. nom. propr. 1964.
- Vol. X — *Repertorium Rerum Polonicarum ex Archivo Orsini in Archivo Capitolino*, III pars. Coll. W. WYHOWSKA - DE ANDREIS, pp. XVI+343, 1399 doc. (A.D. 1568-1676) 12 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1964.
- Vol. XI — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, II pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. VIII+287, 214 doc. (A.D. 1567-1578) 7 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1964.
- Vol. XII — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, III pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. V+291, 163 doc. (A.D. 1571-1576), 5 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron., 1964.
- Vol. XIII — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Musei Britannici*, I pars. Ed. C. H. TALBOT, pp. XVI+175 (A.D. 1598), 2 tab. Ind. nom. propr. 1965.
- Vol. XIV — *Collectanea ex rebus Polonicis Archivi Orsini in Archivo Capitolino Romae*, I pars. Ed. W. WYHOWSKA - DE ANDREIS, pp. VI+234, 177 doc. (A.D. 1575-1668), 4 tab. Ind. nom. propr. 1965.
- Vol. XV — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, IV pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. VI+340, 211 doc. (A.D. 1576-1586), 5 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1966.

**INSTITUTUM
HISTORICUM POLONICUM
ROMAE**

XXVI
A N T E M U R A L E



NON EXTINGUETUR

**ROMAE
1982-1983**

SUMPTIBUS
FUNDATIONIS
LANCKOROŃSKI
FRIBURGI HELVETIAE

EDIDIT:
INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM POLONICUM ROMAE
19 VIA VIRGINIO ORSINI 00192 ROMA

EDITIONEM CURAVERUNT:
MARIA DANILEWICZ ZIELIŃSKA
ANDRZEJ FOLKIERSKI
CAROLINA LANCKOROŃSKA

INDEX RERUM

I. FONTES

- Stanisław Kirkor: Le général Chłopicki en Espagne d'après
des documents inédits (1808-1812) Pag. 9
- Adam Zieliński (Feijó, Portugal): L'intervention diplomatique
portugaise en faveur de la Pologne insurgée 1863 ,, 39

II. STUDIA

- Maria Danilewicz Zielińska (Feijó, Portugal): Un drame
romantique inconnu: *Don Sébastien de Portugal* par
Alexandre Przewdziecki ,, 53
- Jolanta Dudek (Oxford-Cracow): Wierzyński's *Pięta pora
roku*: an analysis; preceded by the English translation—
The Fifth Season ,, 69
- Henryk Siewierski (Lisbon-Cracow): Four essays on Norwid ,, 147
Freedom and Polish Romanticism ,, 148
The Conscience of Mankind: Norwid on public opinion ,, 163
On Aloneness and Communication ,, 176
Architecture of the World: Norwid's theory and practice ,, 191

III. IN MEMORIAM

- Walerian Meysztowicz (1893-1982) by Karolina Lanckorońska ,, 217

FONTES

STANISŁAW KIRKOR

LE GÉNÉRAL CHŁOPICKI EN ESPAGNE

d'après des documents inédits

(1808-1812)

INTRODUCTION

La date de naissance du général Chłopicki n'a pas été incontestablement établie. Le plus souvent, on mentionne le 14 mars 1771, parfois le 13 mai 1768. Joseph Grégoire Chłopicki de Nieczuia, issu d'une famille polonaise noble, a commencé sa carrière militaire en octobre 1787, dans l'armée polonaise. Le 1 Floréal de l'an V (le 20 avril 1797), il a rejoint la Légion polonaise en Italie, avec le grade de capitaine. Pendant la guerre contre la Prusse, il s'est rendu en Silésie avec les cadres des Légions polonaises et, le 11 juin 1807, a été nommé colonel et commandant du 1er régiment d'infanterie de la Légion Polaco-italienne qui devint, l'année suivante, la Légion de la Vistule. En juin 1808, cette Légion s'est rendue en Espagne. Son organisation a été fixée par le décret du 24 juin 1808 dont l'article 3 statuait que les 3 régiments d'infanterie de la Légion seraient "commandés par un colonel commandant qui marchera toujours à la tête du premier régiment". C'est ainsi que le colonel Chłopicki est devenu commandant de la Légion de la Vistule.

La Légion de la Vistule a pris part aux deux sièges de Saragosse et aux divers combats en Aragon, en 1808. Dans toutes ces entreprises le colonel Chłopicki s'est distingué par ses talents, son courage et son sang froid sous le feu de l'ennemi. Il jouissait de la confiance totale de ses soldats qui le suivaient partout. Le 26 juin 1808, il fut nommé chevalier puis officier de la Légion d'honneur, le 9 juillet.

Le 3ème corps du général Junot et le 5ème corps du maréchal Mortier ont mené le deuxième siège de Saragosse, la Légion de la Vistule

Note de rédaction:

Parmi les nombreux officiers polonais qui prirent part aux campagnes de Napoléon 1er, le général Chłopicki fut l'un des plus illustres. Cependant dans l'histoire de la Pologne il est surtout connu pour sa part dans la guerre russo-polonaise dite Insurrection de novembre en 1830-31, bien que sa renommée militaire fut établie au cours des années 1808-12 dans la campagne d'Espagne.

appartenant au 3ème corps. Après la capitulation de la ville, le 20 février 1809, ces deux corps ont occupé tout l'Aragon. Cependant, en avril, le 5ème corps a été retiré et dirigé vers la Castille. Le 3ème corps, affaibli par l'envoi de quelques détachements en France avec les prisonniers de guerre et d'autres en Navarre, s'est trouvé face à une tâche assez difficile, celle de garder l'Aragon en paix. Au Sud, Villacampa, un partisan habile, rassemblait des bandes nombreuses d'insurgés, renforcées par deux divisions de troupes espagnoles régulières. A l'Est, il y avait aussi des insurgés et la forte armée espagnole du général Blake. Le 3ème corps ne pouvait espérer obtenir de la France des renforts ni même des remplacements pour les pertes subies, puisque Napoléon, engagé dans des combats acharnés sur le front autrichien, en avait besoin lui-même. Ainsi les troupes du 3ème corps se trouvaient-elles menacées et sans moral.

Le Général Suchet, divisionnaire au 5ème corps, fut transféré au 3ème corps et il prit son commandement à Saragosse, le 20 mai 1809. A cette même époque, le 3ème corps a subi des revers considérables à l'Est. Le Général Suchet n'a pas tardé à rassembler les forces disponibles et à marcher contre l'armée du Général Blake. Le 23 mai, l'attaque française des positions espagnoles près d'Alcaniz échouait et le Général Suchet devait replier ses forces jusqu'à Saragosse. Le Général Blake suivait cette retraite tandis que Villacampa s'approchait du côté Sud. Le Général Suchet eut très peu de temps pour réorganiser son corps d'armée et relever le moral des troupes. Cependant, les victoires de Maria, tout près de Saragosse (le 15 juin) et de Belchite (le 18 juin) ont complètement changé la situation; les troupes françaises sont revenues sur la ligne d'Alcaniz.

Pendant les batailles de Maria et de Belchite, le 1er régiment de la Vistule a pris part aux attaques décisives, sous la conduite du colonel Chłopicki. Le 18 juillet 1809, à Schönbrunn, Napoléon signa le décret qui accordait au 3ème corps 107 croix de la Légion d'honneur dont 26 à la Légion de la Vistule. A la même date, un autre décret avançait le colonel Chłopicki au grade de général de brigade.

Ainsi a commencé la plus brillante période de la carrière militaire du général Chłopicki. Après sa mort, à Cracovie, en 1854, on a hérité de ses nombreuses archives dont la plus grande partie concerne l'Espagne. Ses archives appartiennent maintenant à la section de Cracovie des Archives Nationales Polonaises. C'est là que j'ai consulté les documents ci-joints et grâce aux microfilms que la Direction des Archives a bien voulu m'envoyer, je peux les publier aujourd'hui. Au bas de chaque document je donne les références du tome et de la carte des Archives Chłopicki.

DOCUMENTS

I

A Monsieur
Le Général Chlopicki
Com[mandan]t la 1ère B[riga]de de la 2e D[ivisi]on
à Saragosse
Saragosse le 14 août 1809.

Ordre de l'armée

Monsieur le Colonel Clopicki [Chłopicki], Command[an]t le 1er [Régiment] de la Vistule et Colonel de la Légion [de la Vistule] ayant [été] nommé général de Brigade par Décret de S[a] M[ajesté] en date de Schoenbrunn le 18 juillet le G[énéral] en chef [Suchet] s'empresse de le faire connaître à l'armée qui verra avec plaisir que les braves obtiennent toujours leur récompense.

Le Général Clopicki prend[r]a de ce jour le Commandement de la 1ère Brigade de la 2e D[ivisi]on du 3e Corps composée du 114e rég[imen]t et du 1er [régiment] de la Vistule.

Le Colonel Kosinowski [Kasinowski] Command[an]t provisoire de la Légion [de la Vistule] et en même tem[ps] celui du 1er rég[imen]t de la Vistule. Le Major Michalouski [Michałowski] prendra provisoirement le Commandement du 2e rég[imen]t de la Vistule.

Signé le G[énéral] en Chef
[Comte Suchet]

Pour copie conforme
l'adjud[an]t Com[mandan]t f[aisan]t f[oncti]ons de Chef
d'Etat Major G[énéral] Signé S[ain]t Cyr Nugues

Pour copie conforme
Le Chef d'Etat Major
de la 2e Division
Humbert de Molard

/t.8, cartes 53-4/

Commentaire: La 2ème division était commandée par le général Louis François Félix Musnier de la Converserie, un vieux soldat réputé excellent divisionnaire. Le général Chłopicki, en prenant le commandement de la 1ère brigade dans la division de ce dernier, ne fut pas entièrement relevé de ses fonctions concernant la Légion de la Vistule. Quoique le colonel Kasinowski soit formellement devenu commandant de la Légion, le général Chłopicki n'a pas cessé d'y exercer une influence décisive pour toutes les questions importantes et le ministre de la guerre, à Paris, lui a toujours adressé toutes les lettres

concernant la Légion de la Vistule en Espagne. C'était surtout la composition du corps d'officiers de la Légion qui était subordonnée à l'avis du général Chłopicki.

La division du général Musnier tenait le front Est autour d'Alcaniz, sur la rive droite de l'Ebre, mais le général Chłopicki ne fut pas dirigé de ce côté. C'est au Sud, du côté de la Castille, que la situation était devenue précaire. Le général Suchet, par sa sage administration du pays et son juste traitement de la population locale, sut gagner confiance et coopération. Cependant, la tranquillité du pays était troublée par l'intrusion de bandes d'insurgés venus de leurs bases établies dans les montagnes voisines de la Castille et commandées par Villacampa, qui, en août, avaient remporté quelques succès locaux dans les environs de Calatayud. Ce fut là que le général Suchet, par son ordre du 27 août, envoya le général Chłopicki et lui confia le commandement de ce secteur Sud. Pour certaines opérations, en septembre et octobre, le général Chłopicki avait là, sous ses ordres, les 1er et 2ème régiments de la Vistule ainsi que le 14ème régiment de la ligne, le 13ème régiment de cuirassiers, un escadron de lanciers polonais et quatre canons. Cela représentait une force égale à une division. Après plusieurs manoeuvres dans un terrain montagneux et difficile, il réussit à dégager complètement le Sud de l'Aragon et à repousser Villacampa au-delà de Teruel, sur la route de Valence. Il se préparait encore à le poursuivre quand, le 16 octobre, il reçut l'ordre de marcher avec le 1er régiment de la Vistule vers Alcaniz et, là, de prendre le commandement de sa brigade ainsi que celui du front Est. Cet ordre fut mal reçu par le général Chłopicki. Les soldats du 1er régiment, après les dernières marches et contremarches, étaient en partie sans souliers et l'idée d'abandonner le 2ème régiment de la Vistule lui était désagréable. Il formula alors le voeu que sa brigade soit formée des 1er et 2ème régiments de la Vistule.

II

Armée d'Espagne
3e Corps

[Au Général Chłopicki]
Q[uartier] G[énéral] de Saragosse le 17
[octobre 1809] au soir.

Vous aurez appris, Monsieur le Général, par ma lettre d'hier que j'avais changé d'avis et qu'au lieu de marcher sur *Teruel*, vous deviez vous rendre à *Alcaniz* par *Montalvan*. Je consens volontiers à vous voir séjourner à Daroca jusqu'à l'arrivée des souliers que vous attendez, mais je désire qu'aussitôt que vous les aurez reçus vous vous mettiez en marche. Il ne m'est pas possible d'accéder à la demande que vous me faites de composer votre B[rigade] de Deux régim[en]ts de la Vistule; je ne veux rien changer à l'organisation des Divisions et je crois que vous aurez une égale satisfaction à commander des Polonnais [Polonais] et des Français. Je ne doute pas que le régim[en]t du Colonel Kosinoski [Kasinowski] ne serve très bien partout où il sera placé. Je regrette, Monsieur le Général, de ne pouvoir pas, dans cette occasion satisfaire au désir que vous m'avez témoigné.

Nous ne pouvons nous maintenir en Arragon [Aragon] qu'en tenant sans cesse nos troupes en activité, aussi toute l'Armée ne cesse-t-elle d'être en marche. c'est notre position qui nous y condamne. il faut nous y soumettre jusqu'à un meilleur tem[p]s.

Vous pourrez sans inconvénient renvoyer à Calatayud le Colonel Kosinoski [Kasinowski], il aura à détruire une bande de brigands qui se sont formés à Illucea, et qui sont venus insulter le poste qu'il avait laissé. Vous ne devez remettre le command[emen]t de cette partie qu'à l'époque de votre départ et si vous jugez nécessaire de placer momentanément un Bat[alion] du 14 [Régiment] sur la route de Montalvan, vous pouvez également l'ordonner.

Vous avez eu tort de vous affecter des expressions de la junte de Muja [Moya], il faut s'attendre à toute espèce de mensonges de la part de ces misérables et les mépriser. Je sais fort bien distinguer l'homme de mérite et de caractère, et j'ai trouvé l'un et l'autre réuni[s] chez vous; croyez donc bien, Général, que je ne puis changer et que je n'ajoute aucune foi aux invectives de nos ennemis – Continuez de servir comme vous le faites et je ne négligerai pas l'occasion de faire connaître à l'Empereur, vos talents, votre énergie, et votre dévouement.

Recevez l'assurance renouvelée de ma considération.

C[omte] Suchet

/t.8, cartes 471-3/

Commentaire: Après son arrivée à Alcaniz, le général Chłopicki fut informé que des forces considérables, de l'armée espagnole régulière et d'insurgés, se préparaient à attaquer le front qui lui avait été confié. Bien qu'il tint ses troupes en constante vigilance, il les jugeait insuffisantes et il en informa le Quartier Général. Le général Suchet considéra ses rapports exagérés. Néanmoins, il envoya à Alcaniz un bataillon de renforts et le général Musnier. Le général Chłopicki crut y voir un reproche; il adressa alors des explications au général Suchet.

III

Armée d'Espagne
3e Corps

A M[onsieu]r le G[énéral] Chłopicki à Alcaniz
Saragosse, 11 nov[em]bre, 1809

Mon Général,

Le G[énéral] en Chef à qui j'ai communiqué votre lettre, me charge expressément de vous répondre qu'il est bien loin de blâmer l'empressement que vous avez mis à lui faire connaître le mouvement vrai ou faux, qui était annoncé de la part des Espagnols. Il tient beaucoup à ce que ses généraux lui fassent connaître avec exactitude tout ce qui se passe, et souvent même ce qui se dit. Il vous remercie de l'avoir fait en cette occasion, puisqu'il paraît que les bruits qui ont couru n'étaient pas sans

fondement. Du reste il ajoute, que vous devez compter entièrement sur son estime et sa confiance; qu'il envoie [envoie] un g[énéral] de div[is]ion à Alcaniz, parce que dans l'opinion du peuple cela produit le même effet que s'il envoyait plusieurs bataillons; qu'il se sert de tous ses moyens afin de suppléer au nombre; qu'il sait bien vous apprécier comme un des meilleurs officiers généraux du corps qu'il commande et que vous en serez convaincu, quand les occasions se présenteront. Ce sont, mon cher général, ses propres paroles que je vous rapporte.

Je n'ai pu répondre à une de vos précédentes lettres, qui me demandait des nouvelles de la paix, et surtout de ses conditions, parce que nous n'en savons absolument rien. Le dernier courrier a manqué; nous pensons que les premiers annonceront l'arrivée de l'Empereur à Paris. Je vous fais passer une lettre pour Klicki; veuillez la lui envoyer. Je ne l'ai pas cachetée afin que vous y voyez les *on dit* que je lui rapporte.

Je vous prie, mon cher général, de mettre à l'épreuve mon désir de vous être agréable en toutes choses, et de croire à l'attachement sincère comme au respect de

votre dévoué
St. Cyr Nugues.
/t.8, cartes 94-5/

Commentaire: Arrivé à Alcaniz, le général Musnier reprit le commandement de ce front.

La paix avec l'Autriche fut signée à Schönbrunn, le 14 octobre 1809. Cette paix ne réalisait pas toutes les espérances des Polonais parce que une partie seulement de la Pologne autrichienne était rattachée au Grand Duché de Varsovie; une partie était donnée à la Russie et le reste était laissé à l'Autriche. La ville de Lwów (Lemberg), quoique libérée par les troupes polonaises, fut rendue à l'Autriche. La nécessité de ménager les inquiétudes russes contraignit Napoléon à réduire les agrandissements du Grand Duché de Varsovie.

IV

3e Corps de l'armée
d'Espagne

A Monsieur le Général de Brigade Clopicki [Chłopicki]
à Alcaniz

du q[uartie]r g[énéral] à Saragosse
le 22 9bre [novembre] 1809.

Dès que vous serez relevé à Alcaniz, Monsieur le Général, par M[onsieu]r le Général Paris que se rend à cet effet à la 2ème Division, vous vous rendrez près du Général en Chef à Saragosse, pour y recevoir une autre destination.

J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer avec ma parfaite considération.

Le Général de Brigade Chef de l'Etat – Major Général
Harispe
/t.8, carte 97/

Commentaire: C'est la seule lettre du général Jean Isidor Harispe qui ait été trouvée dans les archives du général Chłopicki à Cracovie. Le ton sec de cette lettre semble indiquer que les relations entre ces deux généraux étaient loin d'être amicales.

Le général Marie Auguste Paris prit le commandement de la brigade du général Chłopicki. L'éloignement de ce dernier du 1er régiment de la Vistule qu'il avait organisé et commandé depuis sa création, en juin 1807, lui causa certainement beaucoup de peine, à lui ainsi qu'aux soldats du régiment.

A Saragosse, le général Chłopicki reçut le commandement de la 1ère brigade de la 1ère division du général Anne Gilbert Laval (ou de La Val). Cette brigade était composée du 14ème régiment de ligne et du 5ème régiment d'infanterie légère. Toutefois, en janvier 1810, elle fut remplacée par le 2ème régiment de la Vistule. Le 14ème régiment, excellent, s'était particulièrement distingué au cours de la bataille d'Austerlitz. Le général Chłopicki n'avait alors aucune raison de se plaindre de son nouveau commandement. Le général Suchet confia à nouveau la défense du Sud de l'Aragon au général Chłopicki. Il remplît cette tâche avec le même succès qu'auparavant. En février 1810, il prit part à l'expédition du général Suchet sur Valence, expédition qui échoua malgré la victoire du 3 mars, près d'Alventosa, où le général Chłopicki et sa brigade tournèrent l'aile gauche de l'ennemi. Pendant ces opérations les relations du général Chłopicki et de son divisionnaire, le général Laval, se développèrent et devinrent très amicales; le général Laval devint également l'ami de soldats polonais.

Pendant le siège de Lerida (avril-mai 1810), le général Chłopicki fut chargé d'une tâche difficile, celle de combattre les forces espagnoles qui envahissaient l'Aragon pour venir en aide à la garnison de Lerida. Ce fut à nouveau une époque fatigante de manoeuvres rapides, de marches et contremarches. Après la prise de Lerida, le général Chłopicki demanda un congé afin de pouvoir se reposer et restaurer sa santé qui avait été affaiblie par deux années de constante activité. Toutefois, quand il apprit qu'une nouvelle et grande opération se préparait il ne pressa pas sa demande de congé.

V

[Au Général Chłopicki]

Saragosse le 14 juin 1810

J'ai reçu, Mon Cher Général, vos deux lettres qui m'ont été remises par Milleberg [Milberg]. J'attends aujourd'hui Son E[xcellence] le G[énéral] en Chef, et je ne doute pas qu'il ne vous fasse faire bientôt un mouvement. Faites reposer vos troupes, et surtout ménagez-vous vous-même. Je garde Milleberg [Milberg] pour qu'il voie les fastes /?/ qui doivent commencer demain. Le G[énéral] Montmarie a du arriver le 13 à Morella.

J'ai dit au Commandant de la Place de faire remettre à Madame Michalowski son logement.

Recevez l'assurance de mon sincère attachement

Le G[énéral] de D[ivisi]on Laval

/t.8, carte 437/

Commentaire: Le 21 juin 1810, le général Chłopicki reçut l'ordre de mettre en mouvement sa brigade ainsi que les détachements de cuirassiers et hussards restés sous ses ordres. Le 27 juin, le général Laval rassembla toute sa division à Morella; le 30 juin, il la mit en marche vers la Méditerranée, puis vers le Nord et, le 4 juillet, il se présenta devant Tortose. Tortose, ville entourée de très fortes fortifications et située sur la rive gauche de l'Ebre, pas loin de l'embouchure méditerranéenne, était liée à une tête de pont sur la rive droite par un pont de pierre. Le blocus puis le siège de Tortose dura du 5 juillet 1810 au 2 janvier 1811. La division du général Laval prit position devant la tête de pont sur la rive droite. La première brigade, commandée maintenant par le général Louis François Montmarie, était composée du 14ème régiment de ligne et du 3ème régiment de la Vistule. Le général Chłopicki commandait la 2ème brigade dans laquelle le 2ème régiment de la Vistule était lié au 44ème régiment de ligne, lui aussi un excellent régiment avec une vieille tradition. Le général Suchet fit construire deux ponts sur l'Ebre au-dessus de Tortose pour que son armée située sur la rive gauche puisse rester en communication avec la division du général Laval.

VI

[Au Général Chłopicki]

Au Camp devant Tortose le 14 juillet (1810).

Je m'empresse, Mon Cher Général, de vous prévenir que S[on] E[xcellence] le G[énéral] en Chef a été satisfait de la leçon que nous avons donné[e] à la garnison de Tortose. Je copie ses expressions, "Je n'attendais rien moins de votre brave Division et particulièrement du général Kłopski [Chłopicki] accoutumé à se distinguer. Je ne laisserai rien ignorer à l'Empereur et à l'armée de tout ce qui se fera dans cette nouvelle campagne."

Je me ferai toujours un devoir de vous signaler à S[on] E[xcellence]. Je n'ai point oublié les Braves Polonais du 2ème [Régiment] de la Vistule. Le G[énéral] en Chef me charge de leur témoigner sa satisfaction. Vous voudrez bien le mettre à l'ordre [du jour] de ce Régiment.

Je vous salue amicalement.

Le G[énéral] de D[ivisi]on Laval
/t.8, carte 445/

Commentaire: Les Espagnols attaquèrent à plusieurs reprises les positions du général Laval pour dégager leur tête de pont et ouvrir la voie aux renforts qu'ils espéraient voir venir du côté de Valence. La journée la plus critique fut celle du 12 juillet quand, à l'aube, les forces espagnoles très fortes en nombre et bien conduites, assaillirent l'aile gauche des positions françaises et la forcèrent à se retirer. Une contre-attaque des compagnies d'élite de la 2ème brigade, conduite personnellement par le général Chłopicki, rétablit la situation et infligea de grandes pertes à l'ennemi.

VII

[Au Général Chłopicki]

Au Camp devant Tortose le 6 août 1810.

Je m'empresse, Mon Cher Général, de vous transmettre les expressions de S[on] E[xcellence] le G[énéral] en Chef que je reçois à l'instant.

“Tout ce que vous me dites du G[énéral] Clopiski [Chłopicki] me confirme dans la haute idée que j’ai de sa valeur. C’est à sa conduite brillante en toute occasion que nous devons de voir les Régiments de la Vistule soutenir la réputation de bravoure dont ils jouissent. J’ai demandé pour lui un titre et c’est avec plaisir que je demanderai que la couronne de fer y soit ajoutée. Témoignez lui bien, Monsieur le Général, combien je suis satisfait de sa manière de servir. Je ferai connaître à l’Empereur le nom des off[ici]ers que vous me signalez.”
Je me félicite en mon [cas] particulier d’avoir eu l’occasion de vous témoigner ma haute estime ainsi que l’assurance du plus sincère attachement.

Le G[énéral] de D[ivisi]on Laval
/t.8, carte 431/

Commentaire: Quelques revers éprouvés par les troupes françaises en Catalogne ne permirent pas au maréchal Macdonald qui s’y trouvait de lier ses forces à celles de l’armée du général Suchet devant Tortose. Excepté Barcelone, tous les ports de la Catalogne étaient entre les main des Espagnols; ceci permettait aux Anglais de leur apporter des renforts d’hommes et de munitions. Ils inquiétaient les troupes du général Suchet et menaçaient ses lignes de communications. Le général Suchet ne pouvait alors pas commencer les opérations de siège et se trouvait contraint à se limiter au blocus de Tortose. Les combats autour de cette forteresse continuèrent et le général Chłopicki y prit une part toujours remarquable. Le général Suchet rapporta ses mérites à l’Empereur et, par décret du 7 août 1810, Napoléon lui accorda le titre de baron et une donation d’un revenu annuel de 4.000 francs. Puis, devenu Roi d’Italie, il nomma le général Chłopicki chevalier de la Couronne de Fer, le 16 septembre 1810.

VIII

A Monsieur le Général Klopisky [Chłopicki]
au camp devant Tortose

Armée d’Espagne
3e Corps

Quartier Général de Mora, 6 août 1810.

J’ai pris avec bien du plaisir, Monsieur le Général, connaissance de la lettre que S[on] E[xcellence] Le Ministre de la guerre vous a écrite pour vous faire part que S[a] M[ajesté] le Roi de Saxe accorde à la Légion de la Vistule seize décorations de l’Ordre du Grand Duché [de Varsovie]. Je suis extrêmement sensible à l’initiative que vous m’offrez dans la désignation de sujets qui en sont dignes; faites le choix vous-même, Monsieur le Général, et je suis sûr qu’il ne tombera que sur les plus braves et les plus méritants; Je verrais avec intérêt que vous fissiez comprendre dans votre état le lieutenant Kupsé [Kupść] attaché auprès de moi comme officier d’ordonnance;

je suis très content de son service et je me suis plu à reconnaître en lui beaucoup de zèle, d'intelligence et de bravoure.

Le Général Laval ne m'a pas laissé ignorer la part brillante que vous avez prise aux succès de la 1ère Div[isi]on notamment dans la dernière sortie tentée par l'ennemi. J'ai reconnu de nouveau les belles qualités qui vous distinguent et je m'empresse de vous témoigner toute la satisfaction que j'éprouve à vous adresser l'expression de mon estime particulière et de tous mes sentiments pour vous.

C[om]te Suchet

P.S. J'espère que vous serez bientôt remis de votre blessure et qu'elle ne vous empêchera pas de conduire à de nouveaux succès les braves soldats que vous avez si bien dirigés.

Un sergent de la Vistule a fait un[e] action d'éclat à Borja. Je désirerais que vous puissiez le faire comprendre pour une croix d'argent.

/t.8, cartes 491-2/

Commentaire: Le roi de Saxe, en tant que Grand Duc de Varsovie, accorda des décorations de l'Ordre du Grand Duché c'est-à-dire, les croix "Virtuti Militari", à la Légion de la Vistule. Le général Chłopicki demanda au général Suchet, puisque commandant en chef, de désigner les personnes dignes de ces décorations. Il reçut une réponse¹ du général Suchet et présenta au roi de Saxe la liste de 51 personnes qui furent toutes décorées, par décret du 26 novembre 1810. A ces décorations le roi de Saxe ajouta la Croix de Commandeur de "Virtuti Militari" au général Chłopicki.

La sortie des troupes espagnoles, mentionnée dans la lettre du général Suchet, eut lieu le soir du 3 août. Les Espagnols, renforcés par de fraîches troupes que le général O'Donnell avait amenées de Tarragone, le jour précédent, montèrent une très forte attaque qui perça les lignes de la 1ère division. Le sang-froid et les promptes décisions du général Chłopicki ainsi que la bravoure des soldats de sa brigade retinrent l'ennemi et firent de nombreux prisonniers. Cet engagement contribua beaucoup à briser le moral des défenseurs de Tortose qui, le jour précédent, avaient fêté triomphalement l'arrivée des renforts de général O'Donnell.

La sortie des troupes espagnoles, mentionnée dans la lettre du général Suchet, eut lieu le soir du 3 août. Les Espagnols, renforcés par de fraîches troupes que le général O'Donnell septembre. Ce fut une perte pénible pour les soldats polonais et surtout pour le général Chłopicki qui jouissait non seulement de son estime mais aussi de sa sincère amitié. Le remplacement du général Laval par le général Harispe ne fit qu'aggraver la situation: la perte subie fut d'autant plus douloureuse que les relations entre le général Chłopicki et ce général n'étaient pas bonnes.

⁽¹⁾Voir lettre ci-dessus.

IX

A S[on] E[xcellence] le Comte de Suchet G[énéral] en Chef du
3^e Corps d'Armée

Le 5 8bre [octobre]1810

La lettre que V[otre] E[xcellence] m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 3 de ce mois ⁺ me penche d[an]s la plus vive reconnaissance et elle augmenterait s'il était possible le respectueux attachement que je porte à Votre Excellence.

Les bienfaits de S[a] M[ajesté] m'imposent des devoirs qu'il m'est bien doux de remplir mais plus les grâces qu'elle daigne m'accorder sont précieuses et plus ma gratitude doit augmenter envers V[otre] E[xcellence] puisque c'est aux bontés dont elle m'honore et au crédit dont elle jouit auprès de l'Empereur que je les dois.

Je m'estime heureux qu'en me donnant le titre de Baron V[otre] E[xcellence] m'autorise à lui offrir le tribut de ma vive reconnaissance pour ce nouveau bienfait; j'avoue à V[otre] E[xcellence] que quoique je fusse informé qu'elle avait daigné faire cette demande en ma faveur, je n'ai pas osé l'en remercier avant d'en avoir [reçu] une assurance officielle, dans la crainte de montrer à V[otre] E[xcellence] une impatience indiscrete.

Mais aujourd'hui que la lettre de V[otre] E[xcellence] m'en donne l'occasion, je m'empresse de lui témoigner combien je suis vivement touché de tout ce qu'elle a daigné faire pour moi; et V[otre] E[xcellence] rendra justice à mon coeur si elle daigne recevoir l'assurance que je suis pénétré pour elle de tous les plus tendres sentiments et que je ne cesserai de faire tout ce qui sera en mon pouvoir pour mériter la continuation de la bienveillance flateuse de V[otre] E[xcellence] dont je suis et serai toute ma vie le très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

[Général Chłopicki]
/t.5, carte 207/

Commentaire: Le texte de cette lettre est extrait du recueil des copies de toutes les lettres et ordres, émanant du général Chłopicki, pendant la guerre d'Espagne.

⁺Cette lettre n'a pu être trouvée dans les archives.

X

3ème Corps de l'armée
de l'Empereur
en Espagne

Au Q[uart]ier G[énéral] à Mora le 12 9bre [novembre] 1810
Ordre du jour.

Le Général en Chef instruit que l'ennemi Voulait profiter de l'occupation de l'armée sur le bas Ebre, réunissait des moyeux[?] de troupes et d'artillerie à Teruel pour troubler l'Aragon, a ordonné au Général Chlopiski [Chłopicki] de réunir les Corps des Colonels Plique et Clisky [Klicki] et de marcher à l'ennemi. Le Général Chlopiski [Chłopicki] après avoir contraint Villacampa à la retraite s'est porté par une marche forcée de 14 heures sur Teruel où il est entré au galop, faisant un lieutenant colonel, trois officiers et 80 soldats prisonniers. A onze heures du soir il a poursuivi de nouveau l'ennemi sur Sarrion où il a appris qu'il continuait à fuir. Bientôt faisant déposer les sacs aux Compagnies d'Elite et marchant avec toute sa cavalerie, il a atteint l'arrière garde ennemie, et derrière le profond ravin de l'Aventosa [Alventosa], il est parvenu à se rendre maître de six pièces de canon, de six caissons, d'une forge de campagne et de soixante canonniers à cheval et trois officiers. Dans l'impétuosité de la charge, soixante mulets chargés de cartouches se sont précipités dans le ravin, plus de 100 mille ont été brulés, 50 mille ont été sauvés; plus de deux à trois mille paysans arrachés par force de leurs maisons ont été dispersés et sont rentrés dans leurs familles. Les Généraux Caravajal, Marco del Ponte, Cabraira du Génie et autres ont fui sans combattre. La junta insurrectionnelle s'est sauvée comme elle a pu, perdant ses bagages et ses magasins, produit de ses rapines.

Le Général Chlopicki se loue beaucoup du Colonel Klisky [Klicki], du Cap[itain]e Colson et du sous-lieutenant Monsrel; il cite avec éloge le Brigadier Tomassin, du 4e hussard, l'Ad-jutant Kobelinsky des lanciers, le Brigadier Kwiatkowsky et le lancier Pizbys [Przybysz], qui furent les premiers à se précipiter sur les pièces.

Le Capitaine Espagnol Alcade s'est conduit avec sa bravoure ordinaire et a fait 22 prisonniers.

Le Général en Chef félicite avec plaisir le Général Chlopicki sur sa résolution à poursuivre l'ennemi, sur l'activité qu'il a déployée et sur les nouvelles preuves qu'il vient de donner à

l'armée de sa valeur et de son dévouement au service de l'Empereur.

Toute l'artillerie enlevée à l'ennemi, les prisonniers, les munitions et grande quantité d'autres objets sont entrés à Sarragosse le 9. 80 chevaux ou mulets provenant de cette belle prise ont été remis à l'artillerie.

Etat des pièces

- 2 pièces de 4
- 2 idem de 8
- 2 obusiers de 6 pouces
- 6 caissons
- 1 forge, le tout en fort bon état.

Signé le Comte Suchet Général en Chef

L'Adjudant Commandant
Chef de l'Etat-Major Général
St. Cyr Nugues

/t.8, cartes 107-8/

Commentaire: L'emploi de la plus grande partie du 3ème corps devant Tortose enhardit Villacampa à inquiéter de nouveau l'Aragon du côté de la Castille. Pour parer à ce danger, le général Suchet forma une colonne mobile sous le commandement du colonel Klicki. Mais bientôt cette mesure ne suffit plus car la Junte centrale, pour aider Tortose, dirigea vers l'Aragon trois généraux avec de nouvelles troupes et de l'artillerie. Le général Suchet envoya alors le général Chłopicki à Alcaniz, le 24 octobre, et lui confia le commandement de toutes les troupes au Sud de l'Aragon. L'ordre du jour, cité plus haut, décrit la manière dont le général Chłopicki remplit sa tâche.

XI

Au Quartier Général à Mora le 28 9bre [novembre] 1810.

Ordre de l'armée

A peine le Général Chłopicki avait-il fait rentrer à Saragosse l'artillerie ennemie prise à Alventosa, qu'il s'est remis à la poursuite du Corps de Villacampa retiré vers les frontières de la Castille, en arrière de Teruel, sur la montagne de N.S. de Fuente Santa, position entourée par la Guadalaviar, escarpée et presque inabordable : quatre mille hommes en échelons avaient été placés dans ce poste par le brigadier du génie Cabrera; Le G[énéral] Carravajal avec Marco-del-Ponte, plusieurs G[renadiers] et Off[ic]iers attendaient à El Cuervo dans l'espoir de rallier leurs nouvelles levées dispersées depuis le 31 8bre [octobre].

Le Général Chłopicki, décidé à enlever ce poste réputé le plus fort du pays, pour abattre l'opinion et rejeter au loin Villacampa,

a marché le 12 à Villarstar et à Villel, a reconnu l'ennemi vers midi et a tout de suite fait [pris] ses dispositions d'attaque. Le B[atai]llon d'élite du 1er Rég[imen]t de la Vistule, commandé par le Chef de B[atai]llon Fondzielski, deux Bataillons du 121e [Régiment] commandés par le Colonel Milet, ont formé une première ligne, sous les ordres du Colonel Klicki, tandis que le Colonel Konsinowski avec les fusiliers du 1er Rég[imen]t de la Vistule formait la réserve, et en même tem[p]s la gauche de l'attaque. Les Grenadiers et les Voltigeurs du 1er [régiment] de la Vistule et le brave 121e [Régiment] se sont lancés avec une intrépidité au-dessus de tout éloge, sous un feu terrible, aucun escarpement, aucune difficulté n'a pu les arrêter; les chefs en tête [les] animaient tous par leur exemple; le Colonel Milet a eu son cheval tué, un doigt emporté, une bal[le] dans le col qui l'a renversé comme mort, mais qui heureusement n'a fait qu'une blessure légère et lui a permis après quelques moments de continuer à diriger ses soldats à la victoire. L'ennemi épouvanté de tant de constance et d'audace s'est enfui dans le plus grand désordre. Dès que les troupes harassées et hors d'haleine ont commencé à atteindre le plateau, on l'a poursuivi jusqu'au Guadalaviar, laissant ses blessés et beaucoup de morts, jettant les armes et se précipitant sur un pont de bois qui s'est rompu et en a fait noyer un grand nombre. Le Colonel Konsinowski à la gauche avait aussi repoussé une colonne qui voulait tourner notre ligne. La défaite a été totale et les fuyards ont été vers les frontières de Cuenca sans pouvoir se rallier.

Le soir et le lendemain, le G[éné]ral Chlopicki a poursuivi sa marche jusqu'à El Cuervo; Carravajal et toute sa bande ont fui précipitamment; les dispersés ont de tous les côtés abandonnés leur direction, et rentrent par bande en Arragon [Aragon], jurant de ne plus se battre contre des enragés que des positions inaccessibles ne peuvent arrêter.

Cette action victorieuse fait le plus grand honneur à la bravoure du 121e [régiment] et des G[rena]diers et Voltigeurs de la Vistule; 5 officiers, 22 sous-officiers et soldats du 121e [régiment] et deux soldats de la Vistule ont été tués; 130 ont été blessés; plusieurs officiers se sont distingués par leur conduite; particulièrement le Commandant Fondzielski et le Colonel Milet qui arrivé depuis peu de jours au commandement du 121e [régiment] a montré tout de suite à son Rég[imen]t et à l'armée combien il était digne de la confiance de l'Empereur.

Le G[éné]ral en Chef se plaît à témoigner son entière

satisfaction aux troupes et à tous les officiers, mais surtout à M[onsieu]r le G[éné]ral Chlopicki qui commandait dans cette affaire.

Signé le G[éné]ral en Chef Comte Suchet
/t.8, cartes 725-7/

Commentaire: La bataille de N.S. de Fuente Santa est considérée comme l'un des plus beaux faits d'arme du général Chlopicki en Espagne. Après cette victoire, il rejoignit sa brigade devant Tortose. Le 13 décembre, le maréchal Macdonald arriva au Quartier Général du général Suchet à Mora; ceci permit à ce dernier de commencer les opérations de siège. Dans la nuit du 14 au 15 décembre, la brigade du général Chlopicki fut transférée de la rive droite à la rive gauche de l'Ebre afin de prendre une part active au siège. Le 29 décembre, l'artillerie française commença à bombarder les murs de la forteresse pour ouvrir des brèches. Ceci fait, on prépara l'assaut pour le 2 janvier 1811. Le général Chlopicki reçut l'ordre d'attaquer le premier avec sa brigade. Cependant, le commandant espagnol, voyant les colonnes prêtes à l'attaque, capitula. Presque dix mille soldats espagnols furent faits prisonniers de guerre.

La brigade du général Chlopicki escorta les prisonniers de guerre de Tortose jusqu'à Bayonne. De là, elle fut dirigée sur la Navarre pour renforcer les troupes du gouverneur de cette province, le général de division Reille. La route principale de Bayonne à Madrid, par Burgos, passait par le pays montagneux de Navarre et c'était là qu'opérait le plus habile et le plus redoutable chef des partisans espagnols, François Mina. Malgré tous ses efforts, le général Reille ne parvint ni à le capturer ni à maîtriser le pays. Ce fut pour l'aider dans cette tâche qu'on envoya la brigade du général Chlopicki en Navarre, mais Chlopicki lui-même n'y'était pas. Il était resté à Saragosse et avait renouvelé sa demande de congé. Cette fois-ci il demandait un congé de six mois pour pouvoir non seulement rétablir sa santé mais aussi pour aller en Pologne visiter sa famille qu'il n'avait pas vue depuis 19 ans. Il n'obtint pas ce congé mais commençait cependant une cure à Saragosse. A deux reprises il refusa l'ordre du général Harispe lui demandant de se rendre en Navarre et de reprendre le commandement de sa brigade. Le général Harispe fut forcé d'y aller lui-même.

Le général Suchet reçut plusieurs régiments de renforts français et italiens, et prépara une expédition pour assiéger Tarragone. Dans la nouvelle organisation de son armée, dès le 1er avril 1811, le général Chlopicki avait été prévu comme commandant de la 2ème brigade de la 2ème division du général Bernard G. F. Frère. Le 2ème régiment de la Vistule faisait partie de cette brigade. Ce régiment retourna à Saragosse et se prépara à rejoindre l'armée. Le général Suchet voulait avoir près de lui le général Chlopicki pendant cette opération difficile et, bien sûr, Chlopicki désirait tout aussi vivement de s'y trouver. Ces plans furent momentanément bouleversés par l'intrusion de Mina, en Aragon, le 7 avril. Le 2ème régiment dut aller aux Cincovillas (au Nord de Saragosse et le long de la frontière de la Navarre) afin de repousser Mina. Ceci fait, on prévoyait que les détachements de la nouvelle division du général Harispe viendraient le relever. Le 16 avril, le général Suchet envoya au 2ème régiment l'ordre d'aller vers l'Est pour rejoindre son armée. Peu de temps après cet ordre fut révoqué et les compagnies en marche durent rebrousser chemin.

XII

Armée impériale
d'Aragon

Q[uarti]er G[éné]ral de Saragosse
Le 22 avril 1811.

À M[onsieu]r le G[éné]ral Baron Chlopicki
On assure, Monsieur le Général, que le manque absolu de

vivres a obligé l'armée du Portugal à se retirer en Espagne et que le Prince d'Esling [maréchal Massena] est à Ciudad-Rodrigo. Le fort important de St Fernando, à Figuières, paraît avoir été livré par la plus infâme trahison, cette affligeante circonstance ayant autorisé le G[énéral] Harispe à arrêter les troupes qui devaient vous relever dans les Cincovillas. Je me vois condamné à vous laisser détacher donc ce régiment conservant sous vos ordres 1800 Polonais du 2^e Rég[imen]t, 400 grenadiers du 14^e [régiment], 200 hussards du 4^e [régiment] et environ 360 gendarmes des 9^e et 14^e escadrons : de pareilles forces sous vos ordres sont plus que suffisantes pour battre les insurgés de la Navarre.

J'éprouve un regret réel à vous laisser loin de moi, j'espère pouvoir vous rappeler bientôt, soit en vous faisant relever par les troupes que j'avais destinées pour ce point, soit au moment où les troupes attendues en Navarre arriveront.

En attendant, Monsieur le Général, exercez vos troupes, changez quelque fois de position et parvenez à calmer l'effervescence que les circonstances actuelles ne manqueront pas de faire éclater.

Empêchez Mina de pénétrer en Aragon c'est un service important en ce moment, c'est préserver cette province des fureurs de ses voisins et protéger les approvisionnements de l'armée.

Je vous envoie le brevet de légionnaire de votre aide de camp Mutrecy.

En mon absence de Saragosse le G[énéral] Compère est chargé du Commandement de cet arrondissement, c'est à lui que vous pourrez vous adresser lorsque vous aurez besoin de cartouches; vous m'adresserez vos rapports directs, soit par le G[énéral] Compère, soit par le C[olonel] Plique à Huesca.

Je vous salue avec considération.

C[om]te Suchet

PSS. Je désire qu'en même temps, G[énéral], [que] vous m'adresserez vos rapports directs vous informiez le G[énéral] Compère de ce qui se passe dans [sous] votre commandem[en]t.

/t.8. 507-510/

Commentaire: Il semble que le général Harispe prit sa revanche en retenant chez lui les détachements qui devaient relever le général Chłopicki et ses troupes aux Cincovillas; il éloignait ainsi ce général du théâtre des opérations les plus importantes. Pour le 2^{ème} régiment de la Vistule une nouvelle période de marches et contremarches dans les montagnes infestées par les partisans commençait. Le général Chłopicki établit des contacts en Navarre avec le général Reille afin de se concerter sur leurs opérations. Entre temps, le 4 mai, commençait le siège de Tarragone.

XIII

Armée d'Aragon

Au quartier général à Constanti, 21 mai 1811.

Le Chef de l'état major général du 3e Corps d'Armée,

à M[onsieu]r le G[énéral] Chlopicki
- dans les Cincovillas

Mon Général,

Le retour de Desaix a appris au G[énéral] en chef que l'Empereur en approuvant la marche de l'armée d'Aragon sur Tarragone avait demandé qui était resté pour observer Mina et la Navarre, et sachant que c'était vous, s'en était exprimé avec satisfaction et avec éloge. Le G[énéral] en chef me charge de vous faire part de ce détail et d'ajouter qu'il voit avec plaisir rendre justice à votre manière de servir, pour laquelle vous connaissez toute son estime. Il a compté entièrement sur vous pour couvrir l'Aragon, que tant de raisons militaires ou politiques nous rendent précieux. Si les circonstances, comme on l'annonce, engagent Mina à se rapprocher de Villacampa ou Empecinado sur la rive droite, le G[énéral] en chef pense que vous vous rapprocherez aussitôt de Saragosse et qu'à tout évènement vous mettrez toujours la capitale en sûreté. Néanmoins, il m'ordonne d'ajouter que son désir est toujours le même de vous appeler vous et vos braves troupes au siège de Tarragone. Il écrit à ce sujet une lettre pressante au G[énéral] Reille gouverneur de la Navarre, qui lui témoigne de l'aider; je vous envoie un double de cette lettre: faites vos efforts pour la faire parvenir. Si en bon voisin il veut se charger de Mina pour le mois de juin, le G[énéral] en chef vous autorise à venir aussitôt le joindre avec vos troupes par Lerida; après cela nous irons aider de bon coeur à en finir avec la Navarre.

Je vous prie de me faire connaître ce que vous aurez fait de cette lettre, qu'il ne faut pas compromettre au hasard: elle part également par la poste.

J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer avec respect
Le Colonel St. Cyr Nugues.
/t.8, cartes 145-6/

XIV

Armée d'Aragon

Au quartier général à Constanti, 5 juin, 1811.

Le chef de l'état major général du 3e Corps
d'Armée,

à M[onsieu]r le G[éné]ral Chlopicki,
dans les Cincovillas.

Mon Général,

La réponse que le G[éné]ral en chef reçoit du G[éné]ral Reille lui laisse peu d'espoir de voir votre brigade disponible pour venir en Catalogne; il me charge de vous en témoigner ses regrets et d'ajouter que les ordres qu'il vient de recevoir de Sa Majesté lui prescrivent positivement de vous laisser en observation sur les frontières de Navarre et d'Aragon. Ainsi nous n'avons plus de moyen de vous revoir bientôt, que dans le cas où la prise de Tarragone nous permettra de nous rapprocher de vous. Nous y travaillons le mieux que nous pouvons; vous avez su la prise de l'Oliva, où nous avons pris ou tué deux mille hommes des meilleures troupes de la garnison, dont 80 officiers et 240 canoniers, 47 bouches à feu, trois drapeaux, quantité de munitions et de vivres. Nous cheminons à présent contre la ville, nous avons trouvé de la bonne terre, et nous perdons peu de monde. L'ennemi est abattu et notre armée pleine d'ardeur.

Je vous adresserai demain ou après l'ordre du jour détaillé de la prise d'Oliva.

Je vous salue avec respect
Le Colonel St. Cyr Nugues
/t.8, cartes 149-150/

Commentaire: Le 8 juin, le général Chlopicki apprit que Mina avait assailli un convoi français et l'avait presque entièrement anéanti, dans le défilé de Salinas, au Nord de Vittoria, en Navarre, le 25 mai. Le général Chlopicki, d'accord avec le général Reille, passa en Navarre avec toutes ses troupes pour se joindre aux opérations qui visaient à encercler Mina. Les troupes de Mina furent battues et entièrement dispersées mais Mina lui-même réussit à s'échapper. Le but principal de tous ces efforts était donc manqué. Le général Chlopicki conduisit les opérations de Navarre avec sa vigueur accoutumée et ce ne fut pas dans son secteur que Mina suivi de quelques compagnons seulement, put échapper au filet qui l'entourait.

XV

Armée Imp[éria]le d'Aragon

Au Camp de Tarragone, le 27 juin 1811.

A mon[sieu]r le G[éné]ral Baron Chlopicki com[man]d[an]t
un Corps détaché de l'Armée d'Aragon

Depuis le 22 mai jusqu'au 16 juin j'ai reçu onze rapports,

Monsieur le Général, j'ai remarqué avec plaisir le soin que vous avez pris de [à] contenir le pays et [deux mots] illisibles d'Aragon Mina; j'avais témoigné à S[a] M[ajesté] le regret que j'éprouvais de vous laisser dans les Cincovillas [;] il sera diminué si vous parvenez à donner le dernier coup à ce Mina, trop célèbre et qu'il est bien tem[p]s d'anéantir.

Je vous recommande de surveiller le 2e rég[imen]t [de la Vistule] et de me faire connaître les causes de la désertion. J'aime ce régiment pour son énergie, et je voudrais le voir aussi bien que possible.

La prise de la basse ville a coûté à l'ennemi 1953 tués, qui viennent d'être brûlés par les soins de Major de tranchée, 139 seulement dont deux off[ici]ers ont été ramenés prisonniers et fortement marqués de coups de bayonnette. L'ennemi déploie [déploie] un acharnement extraordinaire dans la défense, à peine un ouvrage est enlevé que les feux se multiplient du celui qui est menacé et qu'ainsi nos travaux sont contrariés, nos batteries q[uel]ques fois renversées et nos pertes considérables. Quoique maître du port nous acquérons la certitude que Tarragone ne saurait être investi sans le secours d'une flotte, et bien loin de là les Anglais ont réuni plus de 40 bat[imen]ts de guerre, qui augmentent encore les difficultés qui nous restent à vaincre. J'espère avec le dévouement héroïque de l'armée de triompher de tous les obstacles, mais je me [vous] l'avoue la tâche est immense.

Campoverde s'est présenté le 24 au soir avec 14 m[ille] h[omme]s et 1200 chev[au]x. De simples reconnaissances ont culbuté les têtes de colonne, pris une cinquantaine de prisonniers, sabré autant, et cela a suffi pour le déterminer à la retraite. Je ne sais s'il se représentera mais je vous avoue que l'armée est impatiente de le recevoir.

Purgez les Cinco-villas des brigands qui l'infestent, prenez des mesures pour faire arrêter les misérables qui se sont jetés dans la bande de Mina, après avoir fait acte de soumission et faites enfin que ce corrègement soit entièrement soumis.

Je vous salue avec considération

Le G[énéral] en Chef

C[om]te Suchet

P.S. Je vous prie de faire passer l'incluse au G[énéral] Reille.

/t.8, cartes 519-521/

Commentaire: La haute ville de Tarragone fut prise d'assaut le 28 juin. Ainsi se terminait le siège de cette forteresse. Reconnaisant des mérites du général Chłopicki, qui assura la sécurité de l'Aragon du côté de la Navarre, Napoléon accorda à ce général, par décret du 30 juin, une deuxième donation de 4.000 francs par an.

XVI

Armée d'Aragon

Au quartier général à Saragosse le 2 août
1811

Duplicata

Le chef de l'état major du 3e Corps
d'Armée,

A Monsieur le Général Chlopicki à Exéa.

Mon Général,

En arrivant ici, M[onsieu]r le Maréchal Commandant en chef, apprend par des rapports positifs qui sans doute vous sont parvenus aussi, que l'on se bat avec Mina depuis plusieurs jours en Navarre. Il me charge de vous ordonner de vous approcher immédiatement de la frontière, si vous ne l'avez déjà fait, d'occuper Sanguessa et tous les points qui peuvent aider les opérations du G[énéral] Reille, enfin de vous avancer en Navarre, s'il est nécessaire, pour achever la destruction des bandes. Je vous prie de faire connaître de suite vos mouvements à M[onsieu]r le Maréchal.

J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer avec respect.

L'Adjudant Com[mandant] [le colonel] Baron d'Empire f[aisant]
f[onction] de Chef d'Etat Major G[énéral]

St. Cyr Nugues

P.S. Je vous envoie [envoie] par duplicata cette lettre, que je vous ai déjà expédiée ce matin, et j'y ajoute, qu'après ce mouvement qui ne peut pas être fort long encore, M[onsieu]r le M[aréch]al ordonne que vous vous rendiez avec votre brigade le 6 à Ayerbe, où il se propose de vous voir lui-même : son intention est de vous rapprocher incessamment de lui et de l'armée d'une manière définitive.

S.C.N. [St. Cyr Nugues]
/t.8, cartes 165-6 et 169-170/

Commentaire: Cet ordre est contradictoire: il était en effet impossible de prendre part aux opérations de Navarre puis d'arriver à Ayerbe, situé loin de là, entre le 2 et le 6 août. Par ailleurs, le général Chlopicki était alors occupé à poursuivre le reste de l'armée du général Campoverde qui, après la chute de Tarragone, essayait de passer à l'Ouest par la haute Aragon. Suchet, nommé maréchal de l'Empire le 8 juillet 1811, se rendit à Ayerbe pour y rencontrer sa femme venue de France. Le général Chlopicki y arriva le 10 août, avec toutes ses troupes afin d'assurer la sécurité de ce voyage. Puis, selon les ordres reçus, il se rendit à Saragosse et ses troupes retournèrent aux Cincovillas. Le 17 septembre, après l'arrivée de nouvelles troupes, le 2ème régiment de la Vistule quitta ce pays et retourna à Saragosse.

Le décret de Napoléon du 6 août 1811 accordait au général Chlopicki une troisième donation de 4.000 francs par an.

XVII

Armée Impériale
d'Aragon

Saragosse le 6 7bre [septembre] 1811

A Monsieur le Général Chlopicki

M[onsieu]r le M[aréch]al Commandant en chef ordonne, mon cher Général, que vous vous rendiez de suite à Teruel pour y prendre le commandement de la 2e Brigade de la 3e Div[isi]on aux ordres du G[éné]ral Harispe. Je vous engage à vous conformer à ses intentions.

Je vous salue avec considération et
attachement

Le G[éné]ral de Brig[ad]e chef d'Etat Major
G[éné]ral

St. Cyr Nugues
/t.8, cartes 189-190/

Commentaire: Le maréchal Suchet préparait alors une expédition contre Valence. Il laissa le général Frère en Catalogne avec sa division et, pour retenir le général Chlopicki auprès de lui, il le transféra à la division du général Harispe. La brigade du général Chlopicki était composée du 44ème régiment de ligne (ce même régiment qu'il avait commandé pendant le siège de Tortose) et du 3ème régiment de la Vistule. Le général Chlopicki se rendit sans délai à Téruel et le 15 septembre il quittait la ville avec sa brigade et un détachement de cuirassiers resté sous ses ordres. Le 22 septembre ils arrivèrent à Murviedro où le maréchal Suchet ressemblait son armée. Pas loin de là se trouvait la forteresse de Sagunto, sur la route de Valence. Le siège de cette place commença le 27 septembre. A Valence se trouvait la forte armée espagnole du général Blake, au Nord de Sagunto opéraient Villacampa et quelques autres généraux espagnols qui inquiétaient l'armée française et menaçaient ses lignes de communications. Le général Chlopicki et sa brigade prirent une part active aux combats contre ces troupes, notamment le 1er octobre quand la division du général Harispe repoussa l'ennemi au-delà de la rivière Guadalaviar.

XVIII

Armée d'Aragon

Au camp de Petres, 25 8bre [octobre] 1811, 1 heure du matin

A M[onsieu]r le G[éné]ral Chlopicki, comm[andan]t sur la route
de Betera.

M[onsieu]r le M[aréch]al a donné des ordres au G[éné]ral Harispe, mon cher Général, pour que vous restiez avec le 44[e régiment] au défilé de la route de Betera par lequel paraît marcher, l'ennemi avec une de ses colonnes. Vous aurez pour

vous appuyer les dragons Napoléon, deux pièces italiennes, et la Brigade [du Général] Robert qui rentre cette nuit de Torres à Gilet et qui sera à vos ordres. M[onsieu]r le M[aréch]al me charge de vous répéter qu'il compte entièrement sur vous et vos troupes pour arrêter la marche de l'ennemi de ce côté: il vous recommande de l'informer fréquemment.

Je vous salue avec extrême attachement
Le G[énéral] chef d'état-major G[énéral]

St. Cyr Nuges
/t.8, cartes 535-6/

Commentaire: Le général Blake décida de relever Sagunto dont la chute paraissait imminente. Le 24 octobre, il quitta Valence avec son armée, passa la rivière Guadalaviar et rangea l'armée en ligne de bataille à mi-chemin entre Valence et Murviedro. Le maréchal Suchet avait laissé l'artillerie de siège et six bataillons devant Sagunto et marchait avec son armée à l'encontre du général Blake. L'attaque espagnole était prévue pour le lendemain, sur la ligne qui s'étendait depuis les bords de la Méditerranée jusqu'aux montagnes. Il est toujours risqué d'accepter une bataille avec une forteresse ennemie derrière soi. Dans son plan de bataille le maréchal Suchet prévoyait une attaque contre le centre ennemi afin de le percer mais il regardait avec inquiétude vers son aile droite, appuyée sur les premières collines des montagnes, car on l'avait informé que c'était justement là que les Espagnols avaient posté des troupes nombreuses afin de tourner la ligne française—ce qui pourrait occasionner une débâcle. Il decida de confier la défense de ce secteur au général Chlopicki.

Les troupes confiées au général Chlopicki pour cette tâche représentaient la force d'une division. La brigade du général Robert était composée du 1er régiment de la Vistule et du 114e régiment de ligne, les régiments-mêmes qui formaient la première brigade du général Chlopicki après sa nomination. Les Dragons Napoléon étaient un excellent régiment de cavalerie italienne.

XIX

Au camp de Murviedro le 25 [octobre 1811] à 4 h[eu]res] du
matin.

Le M[aréch]al de l'Emp[ir]e
C[omte] Suchet

Privée

A Monsieur le Général Chlopicki sur la route de Bétera

Je vous ai désigné Monsieur le Général, pour battre l'ennemi qui se présente par la route de Bétera et j'ai mis à votre disposition en outre du 44e [régiment] la brigade [du Général] Robert, les Dragons Napoléon, et deux pièces d'art[illerie] lèg[èr]e italienne. Je suis assuré qu'avec votre vigueur l'ennemi sera culbuté et chassé. Je désire que vous preniez vos précautions pour vous lier avant la plaine de Puzol. L'ennemi est arrivé derrière ce village et

n'attend, sans doute, que le jour pour commencer l'attaque. Je compte qu'il y sera bien reçu.

Envoyez-moi des officiers d'heure en heure pour me prévenir de ce qui se passe, je me tiendrai près [de] la D[ivisi]on Harispe.

Voilà une belle journée qui se prépare pour l'armée, je suis assuré que vous y prendrez une part glorieuse.

Le M[aréch]al d'Emp[ir]e

C[omt]e Suchet

/t.8, cartes 539-542/

Commentaire: Tandis que l'ordre du Chef d'État-major Général prescrivait au général Chłopicki d'arrêter la marche de l'ennemi, un rôle alors purement défensif, la teneur de la lettre du maréchal Suchet fut interprétée par le général Chłopicki comme suit: à savoir, qu'il lui était permis de prendre un rôle offensif. Il confia la défense du point le plus dangereux, le défilé de San Espiritus, au 1er régiment de la Vistule et, avec les autres régiments, il monta une contre-attaque avec un succès tel qu'au moment où le général Harispe réussit à percer le centre ennemi, à sa droite, le général Chłopicki descendait dans la plaine avec ses troupes. Le maréchal Suchet écrivit dans son rapport officiel:

“...le général Chłopicki avec le 44ème et les dragons Napoléon vint prendre une part glorieuse au succès du centre... Les généraux Harispe, Boussart (commandant de la cavalerie) et Chłopicki poussent, par mon ordre, l'ennemi, sans lui donner du repos” (‘Journal de l'Empire’ du 14 novembre 1811).

Le lendemain de cette victoire la forteresse de Sagunto capitula. Cependant, le maréchal Suchet dut attendre l'arrivée des renforts conduits par le général Reille avant de monter l'attaque contre Valence. Le général Reille arriva le 24 décembre et, deux jours plus tard, les troupes françaises franchissaient la Guadalaviar malgré la défense obstinée des Espagnols. Après cette traversée, le maréchal Suchet lança la division du général Harispe (y compris la brigade du général Chłopicki), suivie par d'autres troupes, vers le lac d'Albufera, au Sud de Valence. Cette manoeuvre fut une réussite complète: l'armée du général Blake était ainsi presque toute entière renfermée dans le camp retranché de Valence.

XX

Armée Imp[éria]le d'Aragon

Du Camp devant Valence, le 1 jan[vier] 1811 [1812]

A Monsieur le Général Baron Chłopicki au Camp sous
Valence.

Votre aide de camp Mutreci m'a remis vos félicitations sur la nouvelle année, mon cher Général, et l'expression de vos sentiments pour moi, je les reçois avec plaisir, parce que j'aime les témoignages d'un homme tel que vous. C'est à vos talents et à votre dévouement à l'Empereur que vous devez tout ce qui vous est arrivé d'heureux. J'ai été charmé de pouvoir appeler les bontés sur un général aussi recommandable que vous, et il ne dépendra pas de moi qu'il ne vous donne une des preuves nouvelles de sa satisfaction.

Recevez, mon cher Général, les voeux que je forme pour votre bonheur et l'assurance de mon estime et de mon attachement.

Le M[aréch]al d'Emp[ir]e
C[omte] Suchet

/t.8, cartes 515-6/

Commentaire: Il semble qu'à l'occasion de la Nouvelle Année et des félicitations de saison, le général Chlopicki ait soulevé la question de sa nomination au grade de général de division, par l'intermédiaire du capitaine Mutrecy. Le maréchal Suchet considérait sans doute cette nomination justifiée; peut-être même la souhaitait-il: dans son rapport sur la bataille du 25 octobre, il l'a indirectement suggéré à l'Empereur mais sans pourtant présenter à Napoléon une proposition clairement formulée dans ce sens, sentant probablement que celle-ci serait mal vue.

XXI

Armée Impériale
d'Aragon

Au Camp devant Valence, le 9 janvier 1812.

à M[onsieur] le G[énéral] B[ar]on Chlopicki
com[man]d[an]t la 2e brigade de la 2e
D[ivisi]on

La Capitulation a été signée ce soir, Monsieur le Général, les résultats en sont très beaux pour l'Armée d'Aragon, comme vous le verrez par l'ordre du jour.

J'ai désigné un rég[imen]t par Division pour la conduite des prisonniers. Le 3e [Régiment] de la Vistule devra en conséquence être rendu demain à 8 heures du matin dans le faubourg Serano en grande tenue et prendra rang après la D[ivisi]on [du Général] Musnier.

Je vous engage également à venir me joindre vers 9 heures au pont supérieur par où doit sortir l'Armée espagnole.

Vous ordonnerez que les 4 Comp[agnies] d'Elite du 44e [régiment] se rendent également au faubourg Serano pour voir défilier les prisonniers. Ces Comp[agnies] rentreront immédiatement après dans leurs camps où elles resteront conformément à l'ordre de l'Armée.

Vous vous ferez accompagner par les Cuirassiers qui devront également rentrer après dans leurs cantonnements.

Le M[aréch]al d'Empire

C[omte] Suchet

/t.8. carte 531/

Commentaire: Le 9 janvier 1812, le général Blake capitula. Le 10 janvier, 18.219 soldats des troupes espagnoles posèrent les armes puis furent ensuite conduits en France comme prisonniers de guerre.

Il est significatif que les ordres cités plus haut aient été signés par le maréchal Suchet

lui-même et que le général Chlopicki ait été invité à se présenter à la cérémonie de la reddition de l'armée espagnole avec une escorte de cuirassiers et à se joindre à l'entourage du maréchal.

Pour assurer l'ordre dans la ville, le maréchal Suchet envoya d'abord à Valence les compagnies d'élite—françaises et polonaises—de la brigade du général Robert. Le 14 janvier le maréchal Suchet entra dans Valence à la tête de son armée. Lors de cette marche triomphale le général Chlopicki conduisait le 44^{ème} régiment de ligne et le 13^{ème} régiment de cuirassiers, mis sous ses ordres pour cette occasion.

XXII

Extraordinairement pressé et recommandé

A Monsieur le Général Chlopicki, ou au Colonel Kosinoski,
[Kasinowski]
à Murviedro [ou en route).

Le Chef d'état-major

Armée de Valence

Au quartier g[éné]ral, 5 février 1812,
à six heures du matin.

A M[onsieu]r le G[éné]ral Chlopicki, à Murviedro.

Mon cher Général, je viens de faire courir au logement de Kosinoski [Kasinowski] et Fondzelski, lorsqu'on m'a dit qu'ils étaient déjà partis. J'espère être encore à tem[p]s de [pour] vous adresser deux mots à Murviedro, persuadé du plaisir que vous éprouverez à connaître les bonnes nouvelles qui intéressent notre Maréchal. Un officier polonais, [Malczewski] de l'état-major du prince [de Neuchâtel, maréchal Berthier], arrive à l'instant et lui annonce qu'il est nommé duc d'Albufera, avec 400 mille livres de rente. L'Empereur a été très satisfait de son Armée d'Aragon, qui devient Armée de Valence.

- Il est décidé que ce n'est plus à Tudela, mais à Pau que vous vous rendrez. Si vous croyez avoir le tem[p]s de rejoindre la colonne qui marche lentement, venez passer encore un jour avec nous, et complimentez le duc d'Albufera : Kosinoski [Kasinowski] et Fondzelski seront du voyage.

Recevez mes remerciements pour votre obligeante lettre d'hier et comptez je vous prie sur les sentiments d'estime et d'attachement de

votre dévoué

St. Cyr Nugues

/t.8, cartes 205-6/

Commentaire: Vers la fin de janvier, 1812, le maréchal Suchet recevait de Napoléon l'ordre, daté du 7 janvier, d'envoyer la Légion de la Vistule à Tudela d'où il était ensuite prévu de la diriger vers la France. L'ordre du 2 février du maréchal Suchet prescrivait que tous les détachements de la Légion qui étaient à Valence devaient former une colonne de marche pour quitter Valence le 4 février. Le général Chłopicki dut prendre le commandement de cette colonne et récupérer les autres détachements de la Légion en route. Le jour prescrit, strict comme toujours, il prit congé du maréchal Suchet et de ses amis au Quartier Général et conduisit sa colonne vers Murviedro. On ne sait pas s'il accepta l'invitation du général Saint Cyr Nugues à se rendre au Quartier Général et à y passer encore un jour.

Le général Chłopicki arriva à Saragosse le 16 février; les 23 et 24 février, la Légion divisée en deux colonnes, passa la frontière française. Le 26 février, à Pau, le général Chłopicki remit la commandement au colonel Kasinowski puis partit pour Paris afin d'y recevoir ses nouveaux ordres.

CONCLUSION

En 1812, le départ des Polonais de l'armée du maréchal Suchet a été décrit dans les mémoires de ce dernier comme suit:

“Déjà les ordres de Paris lui avaient ôté une portion précieuse de son ancien 3e corps, la légion polonaise. L'Empereur préparait alors son expédition de Russie. Il appela à lui pour cette guerre tous les Polonais qui servaient dans les armées françaises. Les 1er, 2e et 3e régiments de la Vistule, qui, avec des détachements du 4e et l'escadron de lanciers, formaient une division de six mille vieux soldats environ, partirent de l'armée dans le mois de janvier, escortant une colonne de prisonniers jusqu'à Jaca et à Pau, où ils arrivèrent en février, conduits par le colonel Kosinowski. Le maréchal regretta vivement cette brave troupe, et les officiers et chefs distingués qui la commandaient. Il chargea le colonel Kliski de porter à Paris vingt-deux drapeaux et les clefs de Valence. Le départ du général Chłopicki priva l'armée d'un officier de mérite fait pour s'élever au premier rang.”

[Mémoires du maréchal Suchet, duc d'Albufera, sur ses campagnes en Espagne, deuxième édition. Paris, 1834, tome deuxième, page 244.]

Les régiments de la Légion de la Vistule qui, jusque là étaient attachés à des brigades différentes, se trouvaient maintenant réunis pour former une forte division qui, sous le nom de Légion de la Vistule, était adjointe à la Jeune Garde du maréchal Mortier, formant ainsi sa troisième division. Cette décision de Napoléon est la meilleure preuve de son appréciation quant à la conduite de ces régiments en Espagne. Cependant, en ce qui concerne le général Chłopicki, sa belle carrière dans l'armée française prit fin lors de son départ d'Espagne. L'opinion du maréchal Suchet, à savoir qu'il était “fait pour s'élever au premier rang” n'eut pas de suite. Il est évident que le général Chłopicki est tombé en disgrâce auprès de Napoléon. Il n'a reçu aucune récompense pour ses mérites pendant la bataille de Sagunto et le siège de Valence; il n'a pas été nommé commandeur de la Légion d'honneur, comme par exemple le général de brigade Montmarie dont le rôle dans ces opérations avait été beaucoup moins important.

Parmi les officiers de la Légion de la Vistule circulait l'opinion que le général Chłopicki ne voulait pas quitter l'Espagne sans avoir auparavant reçu le grade de général de division; que cela aurait froissé Napoléon et qu'alors, au lieu de lui confier le commandement de la division de la Légion de la Vistule, il y avait

envoyé le général Claparède qui avait pourtant déjà été destiné pour l'Illyrie. Les désaccords du général Chłopicki avec le général Harispe ont peut-être aussi eu un écho défavorable à Paris. Peut-être a-t-on rapporté à Napoléon les propos critiques du général Chłopicki concernant la guerre contre la Russie, quand l'affaire d'Espagne n'était pas encore finie. En tout cas, le général Chłopicki, source principale de la gloire de la Légion de la Vistule, voit alors son influence officielle amoindrie. On lui confie le commandement de la première brigade, composée des 1er et 2ème régiments. C'est ainsi qu'il a pris part à la campagne de Russie, en particulier à la bataille de Borodino. Après cette bataille, un fort engagement eut lieu avec l'arrière-garde russe, le 10 septembre, au cours duquel le général Chłopicki, qui conduisait l'attaque contre les positions russes, fut gravement blessé.

Le général Claparède n'a jamais su gagner la confiance des officiers et soldats de la Légion de la Vistule; aussi y régnait-il une atmosphère tendue entre eux et leur divisionnaire. Les soldats avaient toujours dirigé leurs regards vers le général Chłopicki, c'est pourquoi sa disparition parmi leurs rangs les a remplis des plus mauvais pressentiments. Néanmoins ils n'ont pas cessé de se battre vaillamment et ils ont maintenu jusqu'à la fin la même allure que la Garde Impériale. Les batailles de Krasnoye (17 novembre) et de la Beresina (28 novembre) marquent la fin de la Légion. Les colonels Kasinowski et Fondzielski furent tués. Les faibles restes de la Légion, partie de l'arrière-garde conduite par le maréchal Ney, se battaient encore devant Wilna et sur les bords du Niemen.

Le général Chłopicki, retenu d'abord à l'hôpital, à Moscou, fut envoyé avec d'autres blessés, avant la retraite de la Grande Armée. Le 20 février, il se trouvait à Francfort-sur-l'Oder; c'est de là qu'il envoya au Prince Eugène, à Posen, une demande de congé pour convalescence. L'ayant obtenue, il se rendit à Paris. Là, son congé fut prolongé jusqu'au 1er septembre par le ministre de la guerre. Témoin des préparatifs pour une nouvelle campagne, le 30 mars 1813, le général Chłopicki adressa à l'Empereur la demande suivante:

“Depuis dix-sept ans, je suis au service de Votre Majesté, j'ai fait toutes les campagnes d'Italie, du Royaume de Naples, d'Espagne et celle de Russie. J'ai été blessé plusieurs fois et notamment devant Mozaysk; cette blessure ne m'empêchera pas de reprendre sous peu mon service. Le désir que j'ai de prouver d'une manière particulière mon

activité et mon dévouement me porte à solliciter la bienveillance de Votre Majesté pour obtenir le grade de Général de Division”

[Archives Chłopicki, t. 6, carte 22]

Le général Chłopicki n’obtint pas la nomination désirée et il ne prit pas part à la campagne de Saxe en 1813. Son congé de convalescence, avec appointements, a été prolongé jusqu’au 1er janvier 1814. Néanmoins, il était prêt à reprendre le service en tant que général de division et, le 13 décembre 1813, il présenta une nouvelle demande dans ce sens. Le 25 décembre, après un nouvel échec, il demanda sa démission. Le même jour, il reçut l’ordre de se rendre au 11ème corps du maréchal Macdonald pour commander une brigade de la 3ème division de ce corps. Le général Chłopicki, donnant comme excuse que sa santé avait été altérée par ses blessures et son long service, renouvela sa demande de démission; le maréchal Berthier lui adressa la lettre suivante:

“Paris, le 1er janvier 1814.

Monsieur le Général Chłopicki, Je vous prévien que par décision du 31 décembre l’Empereur a approuvé la demande que vous avez faite de votre démission.

Le Prince Vice-connétable Major Général Alexandre

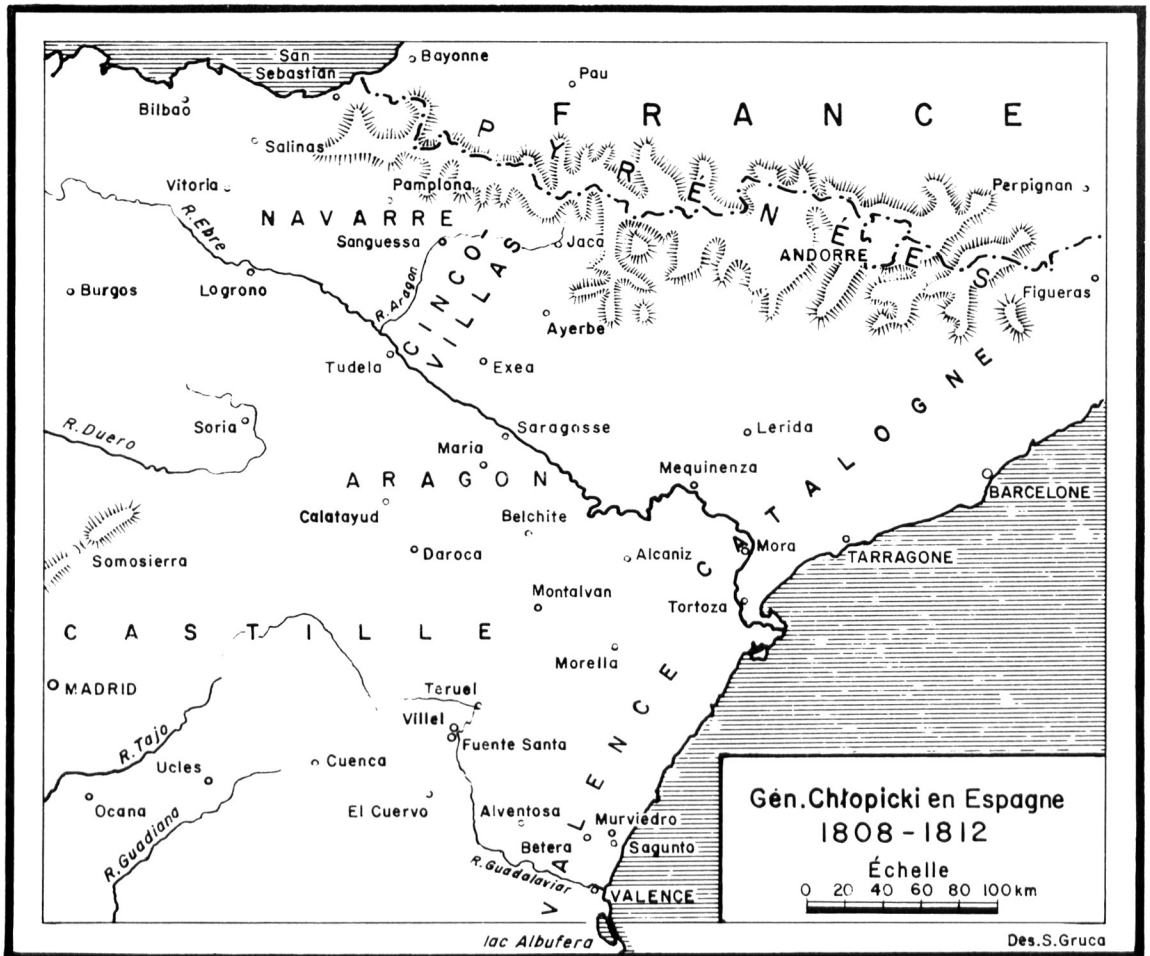
[Tome 8, carte 665]

La sécheresse de cette lettre est significative. Depuis son retour d’Espagne, le général Chłopicki n’avait certainement pas de bonnes relations avec Napoléon. Peut-être Napoléon a-t-il poussé la disgrâce de ce général trop loin. Peut-être le caractère du général Chłopicki, un homme dur et têtu, fier et ambitieux, n’était-il pas fait pour lui procurer des amis hors des champs de bataille. Après les épanchements louables des commandants en Espagne tels que Suchet, Reille, Laval, St. Cyr Nugues, il a pu se sentir froissé par la nouvelle atmosphère qui l’entourait. En vrai militaire, il ressentait sans doute péniblement son éloignement des champs de bataille de 1813 et 1814, cependant, la mémoire de son rôle en Espagne et sa fière ambition ne lui permettaient pas d’accepter autre chose que le commandement d’une division. Après sa démission, il est resté à Paris; là, il fut témoin de la restauration des Bourbons et, le 29 avril 1814, il adressa au nouveau ministre de la guerre, le général comte Dupont, une lettre qui contenait en outre la phrase suivante:

“Depuis dix-sept ans j’ai servi la France sans interruption, elle est ma patrie adoptive, je lui suis entièrement dévoué et suis prêt encore à lui consacrer mes services”

[Tome 6, carte 26]

Soit que la réponse reçue n'était pas favorable, soit qu'il avait changé d'avis, mais le 30 mai 1814, le général Chłopicki présentait au Grand duc Constantin, le nouveau commandant en chef des troupes polonaises, une demande d'obtention de passeport pour se rendre à Varsovie, par la Suisse et l'Autriche. Un nouveau chapitre de la vie du général Chłopicki commençait. L'ancien chapitre se terminait par une inscription, sur l'Arc de Triomphe de Paris, au côté de l'Armée d'Espagne, du nom du général Chłopicki.



ADAM ZIELIŃSKI
(Feijó, Portugal)

*L'INTERVENTION DIPLOMATIQUE PORTUGAISE EN
FAVEUR DE LA POLOGNE INSURGÉE 1863*

Il y a vingt ans, en 1963, *Antemurale* publia dans son volume VII-VIII une étude de 360 pages du professeur Bóbr-Tylingo sur “Napoléon III, l’Europe et la Pologne en 1863-64”. Rappelons que les années 1863-64 correspondaient à l’insurrection polonaise contre la Russie, connue sous le nom de “l’insurrection de Janvier”.

En effet la révolte éclata le 23 Janvier 1863 et la nouvelle de son éclosion se répandit rapidement dans toute l’Europe, excitant les esprits et ébranlant les chancelleries.

La France et l’Angleterre qui—il y avait peu d’années auparavant—avaient combattu contre la Russie, saisirent cette occasion pour intervenir en faveur des Polonais mais—à vrai dire—leur intervention se limita à des paroles, sans jamais menacer sérieusement la Russie et sans avoir un effet positif.

L’initiative partit de l’Angleterre qui déjà le 2 Mars envoya une note à St. Petersburg. En invitant la France à s’associer à elle, l’Angleterre déclancha ainsi une vaste action pour rallier à ses côtés les autres pays européens—action décrite amplement par le prof. Bóbr-Tylingo dans son travail sus-mentionné.

Entre autres il exposa aussi les démarches entreprises en conséquence de cette initiative par le Portugal /pag.120-121/, en se basant sur des rapports provenant de Lisbonne et conservés dans les archives de Paris, de Londres, de Bruxelles et de Vienne.

Un hasard a voulu qu’à l’occasion d’autres recherches que je menais aux archives centrales portugais de “Torre de Tombo”, j’ai pris connaissance d’un dossier contenant des documents directement liés au problème traité par Bóbr-Tylingo. Quoique ils n’apportent rien de nouveau et confirment entièrement ce qui a été exposé dans son article ci-dessus cité, je trouve qu’il est intéressant de les reproduire, puisqu’ils révèlent des détails qui méritent d’être soulignés et illustrent bien la technique diplomatique de cette époque.

Il n’y a aucune trace que le Portugal s’occupa officiellement de l’insurrection polonaise avant le 21 Mars. Ce n’est qu’à cette date que le

deputé Casal Ribeiro, ancien ministre des Affaires Étrangères, interpella à la Chambre des Pairs le Gouvernement en ces termes:

“Je demande que le ministre des Affaires Étrangères soit invité à porter à la connaissance de la Chambre toutes les communications qui ont été faites au Gouvernement Portugais par n'importe quelle puissance signataire du Traité de Vienne de 1815 pour provoquer une intervention diplomatique auprès du Gouvernement de la Russie avec le but d'obtenir les garanties stipulées en faveur de la Pologne, aussi bien que les réponses données au Gouvernement Portugais à ces communications, si elles existent.”

En motivant son interpellation Casal Ribeiro se référa à un “journal étranger d'habitude très bien informé” qui révéla la démarche de Lord Russell en faveur de la Pologne ajoutant que l'Angleterre aurait invité la France, la Prusse, l'Autriche, l'Espagne, la Suède et le Portugal à s'associer à cette démarche, et que la Suède et le Portugal auraient déjà répondu favorablement à la suggestion de Lord Russell.

Casal Ribeiro s'indigna contre le fait que les Portugais prennent connaissance de ce que se passe chez eux par des journaux étrangers. Il ajouta en suite qu'il était loin de vouloir censurer le Gouvernement; au contraire:

“Si la nouvelle était vraie j'applaudirais, car ce problème attire aujourd'hui l'attention de tous le gens cultivés de l'Europe; car les malheurs d'un peuple qui souffre le martyre depuis presque un siècle et qui lutte dans la tombe que les autres si iniquement ont ouvert devant lui, prouvant que se trompent ceux qui le considèrent mort, est une cause généreuse et des plus nobles et qui ne peut qu'éveiller les sympathies de tous les amis de la liberté.”
(Nombreux applaudissements.)

Deux jours après, le 23 Mars, le ministre des Affaires Étrangères—qui en même temps était aussi le président du Conseil des Ministres—le Duc de Loulé se présenta à la Chambre et en réponse à l'interpellation de Casal Ribeiro déclara que jusqu'au moment de cette interpellation, le Gouvernement Portugais n'avait eu aucune connaissance de l'initiative anglaise et que c'est seulement plus tard que le ministre de Sa Majesté Britannique lui communiqua les termes de la démarche anglaise et invita le Portugal à s'associer à cette intervention. Le Gouvernement accepta cette invitation mais le ministre ne voulait rien faire sans une approbation préalable de la part de la Chambre. (Cette déclaration a été reçu avec des nombreux applaudissements.) Casal Ribeiro prononça alors un discours de principe sur la diplomatie secrète qu'il termina avec des considérations sur le cas de la Pologne. Voici le passage respectif:

“Quand à la question en cause, nous ne devons pas prendre l’initiative; mais je trouve que nous ne pouvons pas nous abstenir, une fois que les grandes puissances européennes signataires du traité [de Vienne] nous ont invité. Mon opinion—et je pense que c’est aussi celle de tout le monde—est que le Gouvernement doit adhérer à cette invitation, car il n’y a pas de cause plus sympathique et plus sainte que celle de la Pologne. (Applaudissements réitérés.)

“La grande iniquité commise en 1772, iniquité contre laquelle Marie Thérèse elle même protesta, ne peut être jamais réparée. Contre elle a protesté, en diverses occasions, l’opinion de l’Europe par des clameurs d’indignation; et ces clameurs ont été reçu avec sympathie et ont provoqué des échos dans les coeurs de tous les hommes libéraux. (Nombreux applaudissements.)

“Nous connaissons, il est superflu de la rappeler, l’histoire de ce malheureux pays. Après le partage de la Pologne en 1772, la politique russe y a été presque constamment violente et oppressive. S’il y avait un moment de relâche pendant les quelques années du règne de l’empereur Alexandre I—dû à ses propres ambitions ou à son caractère chevaleresque, ou bien pour ces deux raisons—il est certain qu’il fut de courte durée . . . ; et que malheureusement, autant après comme auparavant, les dispositions des traités n’ont pas été respectées sous différents prétextes, une politique d’assimilation par violence a été suivi par la Russie d’une façon inaltérable et la Pologne a vécu sous un joug de fer contraire à l’esprit même de traité que la Russie avait signé et certainement contraire à la volonté de ce peuple malheureux.

“Il n’y a pas, il ne peut avoir un sentiment plus naturel, plus noble que celui d’un peuple qui réclame son indépendance et la liberté de se gouverner par ses propres lois. Nous-autres qui ont été pendant soixante ans sous la domination des Philippines et qui avons proclamé et obtenu notre liberté, nous ne pouvons que sympathiser avec la Pologne qui depuis presque cent ans souffre son long martyr . . .” (Applaudissements et cris: Très bien.) (“Diario de Lisboa”—Folha oficial do Governo Português du 27.3.1863—pp. 876-77.)

Pour terminer Casal Ribeiro demanda au ministre de porter à la connaissance de la Chambre les mesures prises à la suite de ces délibérations, ce qui fut promis. Un vote unanime de la Chambre approuva toutes les déclarations du Duc de Loulé.

Quatre jours après le ministre adressa au représentant diplomatique du Portugal à St. Petersburg, le Vicomte de Moura, la dépêche suivante:

I

Doc. I. Traduction du portugais.

Cote: M.N.E. Cx.42 N° 5/29/.

Les Ministres d'Angleterre et de France ont porté à la connaissance du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le contenu des dépêches adressées le 2 de ce mois par Lord Russell à Lord Napier, ministre de Sa Majesté Britannique à St. Petersbourg et le 7 du même mois par Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys au Représentant de Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français auprès de la même Cour. Dans les deux importants documents apparaît le vif désir qui anime les Gouvernements Anglais et Français que les Puissances signataires de l'Acte final du Congrès de Vienne du 9 Juin de 1815 emploient leurs bons offices—chacune d'elles à mesure de ce qui la concerne—afin que Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies se révèle prêt à satisfaire—avec justice et clémence—les aspirations des Polonais, en concédant aux rebelles une amnistie pleine et immédiate et en restituant au Royaume de Pologne la possession des privilèges civiques et politiques qui lui ont été concédés par l'Empereur Alexandre I en conformité avec les stipulations du Traité de Vienne du 9 Juin 1815.

Étant bien connues—comme elles le sont—les causes de l'état des choses existant en Pologne, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté considère que le moyen le plus sûr pour mettre fin au lamentable conflit dont la Pologne est le théâtre, serait de donner aux Polonais, en plus d'une amnistie, une diète et une administration nationale.

Partant, en conséquence, de ce principe, le Gouvernement s'associe de très bon gré aux nobles sentiments qui ont amené ces deux Puissances à recourir à la bienveillance de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, en agissant dans l'espérance bien fondée de que ce Souverain, obéissant aux lois de l'humanité et tenant compte des graves considérations politiques en général, ne refusera pas d'améliorer le sort des Polonais et de satisfaire les justes désirs de toute l'Europe.

J'autorise Votre Excellence à lire cette dépêche au Prince de Gortchakoff et je trouve superflu de souligner que dans toutes les démarches que vous trouverez opportunes pour arriver au but désiré, vous devez agir d'accord avec les Représentants de la France et de l'Angleterre.

Que Dieu garde Votre Excellence. Le Secrétariat d'État des Affaires Étrangères, le 27 Mars 1863.—Duc de Loulé—Vicomte de Moura.”

Un mois plus tard la France et l'Angleterre renouvelèrent leur démarches dont nous trouvons la preuve dans le dossier analysé en forme du document suivant /II/, auquel était jointe une copie des instructions que le ministre des Affaires Étrangères de France avait adressé au représentant diplomatique de son pays à St. Petersbourg /III/.

II

Doc.II. Original en français.

Cote: M.N.E. Cx.42. N° 5/27/.

Légation de France
en
Portugal

Lisbonne, le 25 Avril 1863.
Respond° em 25 de Abril.

Monsieur le Duc,

Conformément aux ordres du Gouvernement de l'Empereur et en me référant à l'entretien que je viens d'avoir avec Votre Excellence j'ai l'honneur de lui transmettre ci-joint copie de la dépêche adressée par M. Drouyn de Lhuys à M. de Montebello, notre Ambassadeur à St. Petersbourg.

Veuillez agréer Monsieur le Duc l'assurance de ma haute considération.

Le Comte Guitand

Son Excellence Monsieur le Duc de Loulé, Président du Conseil et Ministre des Affaires Étrangères.

III

Doc.III. Copie de l'original en français.

Cote: M.N.E. Cx.42. N° 5/24/.

Le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères au Duc de Montebello, Ambassadeur de France à St. Petersbourg.

Paris, le 10 Avril 1863.

Monsieur le Duc, L'insurrection dont le Royaume de Pologne est en ce moment le théâtre a éveillé en Europe de vives préoccupations au milieu d'un repos qu'aucun évènement prochain ne semblait devoir altérer. La déplorable effusion de sang dont cette lutte est l'occasion et les douloureux incidents qui la signalent excitent en même temps une émotion aussi générale que profonde.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté obéit donc à un devoir en exprimant à la Cour de Russie les reflexions que cet état de choses est de nature à suggérer et en appelant sa sollicitude sur les inconvénients et les dangers qu'il entraîne.

Ce qui caractérise les agitations de la Pologne, Monsieur le Duc, ce qui en fait la gravité exceptionnelle, c'est qu'elles ne sont pas le résultat d'une crise passagère. Des effets qui se reproduisent presque invariablement à chaque génération, ne sauraient être attribués à des causes purement accidentelles. Ces convulsions devenues périodiques sont le symptôme d'un mal invétéré; elles attestent l'impuissance des

combinaisons imaginées jusqu'ici pour réconcilier la Pologne avec la situation qui lui a été faite.

D'autre part, ces perturbations trop fréquentes sont, toutes les fois qu'elles éclatent, un sujet d'inquiétudes et d'alarmes. La Pologne, qui occupe sur le continent une position centrale, ne saurait être agitée sans que les divers États placés dans le voisinage de ses frontières souffrent d'ébranlement dont le contre-coup se fait sentir à l'Europe entière. C'est ce qui est arrivé à toutes les époques où les Polonais ont pris les armes. Ces conflits, comme on peut en juger par celui dont nous sommes en ce moment témoins, n'ont pas seulement pour conséquence d'exciter les esprits d'une manière inquiétante; en se prolongeant ils pourraient troubler les rapports des Cabinets et provoquer les plus regrettables complications. Il est d'un intérêt commun à toutes les Puissances de voir définitivement écarter des périls sans cesse renaissants.

Nous aimons à espérer, Monsieur le Duc, que la Cour de Russie accueillera, dans le sentiment qui nous les a dictées, des considérations aussi dignes de son attention. Elle se montrera animée, nous en avons la confiance, des dispositions libérales dont le règne de S.M. l'Empereur Alexandre a déjà donné de si éclatants témoignages; et elle reconnaîtra, dans sa sagesse, l'opportunité d'aviser aux moyens de placer la Pologne dans les conditions d'une paix durable.

Vous voudrez bien remettre une copie de cette dépêche à S. Ex. M. le Prince Gortschakoff.

Agréé, Mr. . . . Signe: Drouyn de Lhuys."

A la note de la Légation de France le Duc de Loulé répondit de manière suivante:

IV

Doc. IV. Traduction du portugais.

Cote: M.N.E. Cx.42 N° 5/25/.

J'ai reçu la note datée d'aujourd'hui que Votre Excellence a bien voulu m'adresser avec une copie de la dépêche du 10 du mois courant de M. Drouyn de Lhuys au Duc de Montebello, ambassadeur de Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français auprès de la Cour de Russie, et dont Votre Excellence avait l'ordre de son Gouvernement de me donner connaissance.

Je remercie Votre Excellence de m'avoir communiqué le contenu de cette dépêche dans laquelle M. Drouyn de Lhuys fait diverses considérations au sujet des lamentables événements dont le Royaume de Pologne est le théâtre et présente les vives préoccupations qu'ils ont provoqué en Europe; il exprime en même temps l'espérance que la Cour de Russie, rendant justice aux sentiments du Gouvernement de Sa

Majesté l'Empereur des Français, n'hésitera pas de prendre en considération ni de se montrer animé par les dispositions libérales dont le Règne de Sa Majesté l'Empereur Alexandre a donné des preuves bien évidentes et qu'il reconnaîtra, dans sa sagesse, l'opportunité d'employer des mesures menant à assurer à la Pologne une paix durable.

M'étant haté à porter à la connaissance de Sa Majesté le contenu de la note sus-mentionnée, et du document dont je me réfère plus haut, j'ai l'honneur de répondre à Votre Excellence ce qui suit:

Les louables efforts du Cabinet de Paris ayant pur but d'éviter la continuation du sanglant conflit qui a provoqué déjà de si graves dommages, efforts qui sont aussi partagés par autres Cabinets—comme c'était, évidemment, naturel—n'ont pu qu'exciter la même sympathie chez le Gouvernement Portugais qui de très bon gré s'associe à la noble tâche d'inciter Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies à satisfaire avec justice et clémence les aspirations de la Pologne.

Obéissant donc aux ordres que j'ai reçus de Sa Majesté de faire part à Votre Excellence des sentiments dont le Gouvernement se sent animé en ce qui concerne la Pologne, je tiens à ajouter que des instructions rédigées en ce sens seront envoyées immédiatement à notre Ministre à St. Petersburg.

Je profite avec grand plaisir de cette occasion pour renouveler à Votre Excellence l'expression de ma haute considération.

Secrétariat d'État des Affaires Étrangères, le 25 Avril 1863. Duc de Loulé=M. le Comte de Comminges Guitand."

Les instructions mentionnées et destinées au Vicomte de Moura, représentant diplomatique du Portugal à St. Petersburg, étaient contenues dans la dépêche suivante:

V

Doc. V. Traduction du portugais.

Cote: M.N.E. Cx.42. N° 5/21/.

Faisant suite à ma dépêche du 27 Mars dernier par laquelle j'informais Votre Excellence des notes relatives à la question polonaise, notes qui m'avaient été communiquées par les Ministres de France et de l'Angleterre, je tiens à informer Votre Excellence que le Ministre de France est venu me voir il y a quelques jours pour—d'ordre de son Gouvernement—me faire diverses considérations touchant les événements de Pologne. Il m'a transmis une minute accompagnée d'une copie de la dépêche que Monsieur Drouyn de Lhuys avait adressé, en date du 10 Avril passé, au Duc de Montebello, en se lamentant au sujet des sanglants événements résultant de l'insurrection en Pologne. Il attire l'attention de Gouvernement de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes

les Russies sur les causes du conflit dont les effets peuvent se répercuter en Europe au cas où cet état de choses ne serait pas promptement arrêté et il ajoute qu'il convient de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour assurer à la Pologne une paix durable.

Au cours de cet entretien, ce même diplomate me pria d'envoyer une fois encore des instructions à Votre Excellence afin que, en ce qui concerne le Portugal, toute notre sollicitude soit employée pour arriver au résultat qui est tellement à désirer et que l'état actuel des événements exige.

A cette note, dont j'inclus la copie conjointement avec celle de la dépêche de M. Drouyn de Lhuys—et à laquelle j'avais déjà fait allusion—j'ai donné une réponse, publiée dans le "Diario de Lisboa" du 29 Avril dernier, aussi en annexe. De son contenu Votre Excellence se rendra compte des sentiments qui dominent le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté en ce qui concerne cette lamentable conjuncture.

Immédiatement après, j'ai reçu la visite du Ministre de Grande Bretagne qui me fit prendre connaissance d'une dépêche confidentielle datée également du 10 Avril et expédiée par Lord Russell à Lord Napier. De la copie que j'inclus ici, Votre Excellence verra sous quel angle le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique envisage la question polonaise. Je dois ajouter que durant l'entrevue que j'ai eue avec le dit Ministre, il me parla dans le même sens que l'avait fait celui de Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique reconnaît donc le danger imminent qu'est pour l'Europe l'actuelle situation de la Pologne. Son plus vif désir est de voir au plus tôt l'ordre public rétabli dans ce pays à la satisfaction des nations qui auront employé tant d'efforts pour arriver à cette solution.

Je recommande très particulièrement à Votre Excellence, qu'ayant pris connaissance des documents auxquels je me réfère, Elle veuille—en harmonie avec les représentants de leur Majestés l'Empereur des Français et de la Reine Victoria—avoir encore une fois recours aux sentiments de bienveillance et de générosité de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie, afin ce Souverain veuille acquiescer aux justes désirs, ici exprimés, de toute l'Europe pour résoudre dans sa Haute Sagesse ce qu'il aura à faire quant aux aspirations de la Pologne.

Telles sont les instructions que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté entend de son devoir de faire part à Votre Excellence. Une copie de cette dépêche peut être laissée par Votre Excellence au Prince Gortchakoff.

Dieu garde Votre Excellence. Secrétariat d'État des Affaires Étrangères, le 1-er Mai 1863.—Duc de Loulé au Vicomte de Moura."

A la première démarche portugaise le Gouvernement russe ne répondit que le 20 Mai par le document suivant:

VI

Doc. VI. Traduction de portugais devant être une retraduction du texte original français.

Cote: M.N.E. Cx.42 N° 5/30/.

Dépêche du Prince Gortchakoff à M. Ozeroff, ministre de Russie à Lisbonne.

St. Petersbourg, le 20/8 Mai 1863.

Monsieur le Ministre de Portugal a été chargé par son Gouvernement de me lire une dépêche de Monsieur le Marquis /sic/ de Loulé relative à la situation actuelle de Royaume de Pologne.

Ce document est conçu en termes analogues à ceux qui nous ont été communiqués récemment par rapport à la même affaire, et particulièrement ressemblant à celui du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique daté du 10 Avril.

J'ai répondu à Monsieur le Vicomte de Moura que Sa Majesté le Roi de Portugal pouvait être bien convaincu que nul dans toute l'Europe n'avait pris plus à coeur que l'Empereur, notre Auguste Maître, le destin de Royaume de Pologne, et désire plus vivement voir ce pays revenir à l'état de paix et de calme indispensables au progrès régulier que la sollicitude de Sa Majesté lui prépare, comme à toutes les parties de son empire; mais que cette tâche nous est rendue difficile à cause des encouragements et de l'excitation que les perturbateurs de la paix publique en Pologne reçoivent continuellement de l'extérieur. J'ai ajouté que, nonobstant, l'Empereur était décidé à persévérer, et que Sa Majesté n'avait guère besoin de recevoir des inspirations à ce sujet, sinon celles de son coeur et de la conscience de ses devoirs de Souverain.

Veillez faire part de ces observations à Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères en lui lisant la présente dépêche.

Recevez ceci de—Gortchakoff.”

Trois semaines plus tard la Russie répondit à la deuxième intervention portugaise dans les termes suivants:

VII

Doc. VII. Copie de l'original en français.

Cote: M.N.E. Cx.42 N° 5/28/.

Dépêche de M. le vice-chancelier prince Gortchakoff à M. Ozerow, ministre de Russie à Lisbonne.

Saint-Petersbourg, 12 Juin/31 Mai 1863.

M. le Duc de Loulé vient d'adresser à M. le Vicomte de Moira /sic/ de

nouvelles instructions relatives aux affaires de Pologne, en le chargeant de me remettre copie de la dépêche où elles se trouvent consignées. Je vous transmets ci-joint une copie de cette pièce. Vous verrez, Monsieur, qu'elle n'ajoute rien aux considérations que M. le ministre de Portugal avait été invité à faire valoir auprès du cabinet impérial. Elle ne fait que renouveler l'appel que le gouvernement de S.M. le Roi Don Luis avait déjà adressé aux sentiments de bienveillance et de générosité de notre auguste maître. Mais elle expose avec plus de précision les faits qui ont porté la cour de Lisbonne à nous adresser cette communication à la suite de l'insistance réitérée des représentants de la France et de l'Angleterre auprès de M. le Duc de Loulé.

Le cabinet impérial se rend parfaitement compte des motifs qui paraissent avoir dicté le renouvellement d'une démarche dont il avait déjà été dans le cas de révoquer en doute l'utilité pratique. Il ne saurait néanmoins y faire autre réponse que celle qu'il a déjà faite à la première communication dont M. le Vicomte de Moira avait été chargé de nous donner lecture et dont il s'était acquitté dans l'esprit de conciliation et de droiture qui lui a valu ici l'estime générale. Je vous invite en conséquence à répéter à M. le Duc de Loulé les assurances contenues dans ma dernière dépêche et à remettre à Son Excellence une copie de la présente.

Recevez, . . . ”

★ ★ ★

Les documents que je viens de citer ne sont pas—certainement—les seules preuves de l'attitude officielle de sympathie et de compréhension de la part du Portugal pour une nation lointaine et peu connue. La réaction spontanée de l'opinion publique était beaucoup plus vive et variée. Dans un volume antérieur de *Antemurale* /Vol.XIX—1975/ j'ai publié une anthologie de plus de deux douzaines de poèmes portugais inspirés par l'insurrection polonaise de 1863 et j'ai mentionné les manifestations des étudiants portugais en faveur des victimes de cette insurrection. Mais il y avait d'autres initiatives. A Lisbonne, au “Jardin Public” une fête populaire réunit—malgré le mauvais temps—plus de trois mille sept cents spectateurs. Au théâtre de la “rua dos Condes” à Lisbonne une pièce intitulée *Martyres da Polónia* a eu plus de quarante représentations. Et à une fête de gala au théâtre St. Carlos, organisée en faveur des Polonais, assistèrent en personne le Roi et la Reine—ce qui provoqua le mécontentement du ministre plénipotentiaire de Russie.

Pour comprendre mieux l'argumentation contenue dans les documents ci-dessus mentionnés, il faut rappeler les stipulations de traité de Vienne de 1815. Les victoires napoléoniennes sur l'Autriche et la Prusse ont anéanti les conquêtes de ces deux pays de temps des

partages de la Pologne /1772, 1793 et 1796/, mais ont laissé la Russie en possession de son butin. Une grande partie des provinces polonaises de l'Autriche et de la Prusse devint par la volonté de Napoléon, en 1806, un "Duché de Varsovie". Loin d'être une Pologne restaurée, à laquelle aspiraient les Polonais, il était suffisant pour aviver leur espoir dans les plans de Napoléon, particulièrement au moment de la marche de la Grande Armée sur Moscou. La catastrophe de cette armée fit écrouler ces espoirs. D'autre part le czar Alexandre I ne manquait pas de séduire les Polonais par le mirage d'une Pologne réunifiée.

L'écroulement de l'empire napoléonien remit le Duché de Varsovie entre les mains d'Alexandre I, mais celui-ci ne voulut pas s'en approprier en sa totalité, car ceci aurait fortifié démesurément l'élément polonais qui exigerait la réunion avec les anciennes provinces polonaises incorporées dans la Russie. Le czar préféra donc de restituer une partie des terres du Duché à l'Autriche et à la Prusse, restant avec un petit noyau mutilé. L'Angleterre et la France voyaient avec déplaisir même ce petit agrandissement de la Russie, mais sous la pression du retour inattendu de Napoléon de l'île d'Elbe acquiescèrent contre promesse d'une autonomie de ce territoire avec une constitution libérale et promesse d'une "extension intérieure" concédée par le czar—couronné "roi de Pologne".

Les promesses d'autonomie furent successivement violées, surtout après la mort d'Alexandre I. Au poste de lieutenant de roi fut nommé un personnage insignifiant et serviable, de manière que le pouvoir décisif au "royaume" se trouva entre les mains du frère du czar, le Grand-duc Constantin, nommé commandant-en-chef de l'armée polonaise autonome et d'un commissaire impérial (poste non prévu dans la constitution), Novosiltsoff. La persécution des patriotes qui exigeaient une pleine application de la constitution provoqua l'éclosion de l'insurrection de 1830-31 ce qui eut comme conséquence, après la suppression de la dite insurrection une progressive abolition de l'autonomie et des libertés prévues par le traité de Vienne.

C'est le retour à ces libertés que les Puissances signataires de ce traité, intervenant en 1863, considéraient comme un moyen de mettre fin à la révolte et à tranquiliser les Polonais.

Drouyn de Lhuys avait pleinement raison quand il affirmait dans sa dépêche au Duc de Montebello, que l'agitation en Pologne n'était pas "le résultat d'une crise passagère" et que "ces convulsions devenues périodiques sont les symptômes d'un mal invétéré".

Mais d'autre part il faut dire aussi que les illusions que se faisaient les Puissances occidentales sur la "bienveillance" et la "magnanimité" de la Russie étaient—et sont jusqu'à présent—un "mal invétéré".

L'histoire se répète d'une manière surprenante. L'Occident se laisse tromper par des promesses gratuites faite dans les accords de Vienne— ou bien plus récemment ceux de Ialta ou d'Helsinki, promesses que la Russie signe avec affronterie, mais qu'elle ne tient aucunement à remplir.

Il faut aussi souligner la malade obsession avec laquelle la Russie attribue les perturbations en Pologne aux "stimulations et incitations que les perturbateurs de l'ordre public en Pologne reçoivent constamment de l'étranger". Aussi sous ce point de vue rien a changé jusqu'à nos jours.

Pour terminer vont mes remerciements au docteur José Pereira da Costa, directeur de l'archive "Torre de Tombo", pour m'avoir signalé l'existence des documents que je viens d'analyser et au prof.dr Luis Ferrand de Almeida, de l'Université de Coimbra, pour m'avoir indiqué le *Diario de Lisboa* avec les discours de Casal Ribeiro.

STUDIA

MARIA DANILEWICZ ZIELIŃSKA
(Feijó, Portugal)

*UN DRAME ROMANTIQUE INCONNU: DON SÉBASTIEN
DE PORTUGAL PAR ALEXANDRE PRZEZDZIECKI*

Alexandre Przewdziecki (1814-1871)¹ est surtout connu et apprécié comme historien et éditeur de grand mérite des sources de l'histoire polonaise.

Pourtant il débute comme dramaturge, en produisant en 1836 à St-Petersbourg un drame historique, écrit en prose en langue française sous le titre: *Don Sébastien de Portugal*.² Cette oeuvre est rapportée brièvement comme notice bibliographique par les biographes de Przewdziecki.

Plus tard, à plusieurs reprises, Przewdziecki retournera aux essais d'oeuvres théâtrales en écrivant, entre autres, une seconde pièce en français: *Les deux reines de France* et quelques drames historiques en polonais: *Halszka z Ostroga*, *Jadwiga*, *Mieczysław* et des comédies: *Kapitalik (Un petit capital)* et *Nazajutr po balu (Le lendemain du bal)*.

Don Sébastien de Portugal occupe dans la production dramatique de Przewdziecki une place de choix, et-malgré qu'il fut écrit en français, appartient indubitablement à l'histoire du drame romantique polonais. Écrit probablement en 1834, ou au plus tard en 1835 à St-Petersbourg,

¹ NOWY KORBUT, vol. IX, pp. 72-75—biographie et bibliographie.
BIERNACKI Andrzej: *Aleksander Przewdziecki (1814-1871). Życiorys uczonego mecenasa*, (extrait d'une oeuvre plus importante sous le même titre) dans *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, Varsovie 1972, vol. XVII, No 2, pp. 243-263.

PRZEZDZIECKI Renaud: *Biographie d'Alexandre Przewdziecki*, manuscrit (1942). Mis à la disposition de l'auteur par Madame Caroline Czetwertyńska de Lausanne. (Les citations portent le numéro des pages du texte dactylographié du manuscrit.) En polonais.

² DON SÉBASTIEN DE PORTUGAL. *Drame historique en prose en trois actes et cinq tableaux*, par le Comte Alexandre Przewdziecki. Saint-Petersbourg, chez Charles Kray, 1836, in-8°, LIV, 141 (1)p. Contenu: sur la page titre en épigraphe une citation des "Feuilles d'Automne" de Victor Hugo; les informations sur la mise en scène en 1836; l'imprimatur du censeur du 12.XII. 1835; la dédicace: "A mes amis..."; "Sur le roi Sébastien de Portugal" (p. VII-XXXIV); "Personnages" (p. XLIX); "Costumes des rôles principaux" (pp. L-LIV); "Acte premier" (pp. 1-58); "Acte deuxième" (pp. 59-97); "Acte troisième" (pp. 99-128); "Sur la première représentation du Drame" (pp. 131-134)—l'appréciation du jeu des acteurs et les détails sur la distribution des rôles; "Table" (p. 135)—table des matières.

L'exemplaire du drame de la Bibliothèque Polonaise à Paris est muni du timbre: "De la Bibliothèque de Karol Sienkiewicz".

quand l'auteur—comme son contemporain, le célèbre poète romantique, Sigismond Krasiński—redoutant la défaveur de tzar, résidait par la volonté de son père au bord de la Neva. Przewdziecki y fut transféré en hâte de Berlin, où, étudiant en droit, il manifestait un vif intérêt pour le “mouvement libéral” en France et où il “fréquentait ses éminents représentants, comme Montalembert et Larminier”.³ Des rumeurs arrivaient à St-Petersbourg selon lesquelles il était aussi en relation avec des personnalités compromettantes de l'émigration polonaise,⁴ ce qui pouvait concerner ses contacts à Berlin même, aussi bien que ses compagnons de l'excursion touristique en Suède en 1833, auxquels “plus proches étaient les pays scandinaves que les sillons de la terre natale”.⁵

Alexandre, âgé de 20 ans, commence en 1834 à St-Petersbourg ses fonctions auprès du Secrétariat d'État du Royaume de Pologne, dirigé par Stefan Grabowski. “C'était, d'une certaine manière, le service diplomatique polonais”—considère Renaud Przewdziecki dans sa biographie d'Alexandre.⁶ Un des aspects de sa charge était la possibilité de lier des rapports sociaux et mondains avec les membres du corps diplomatique étranger à St-Petersbourg. Jeune, mais rompu aux usages de monde, Przewdziecki jouissait de la bienveillance de l'épouse de l'ambassadeur d'Autriche, la Comtesse Dolly de Ficquelmont (née Tiesenhausen de la ligne russe des Tyzenhauz), dont le salon à St-Petersbourg était “renommé comme lieu de rencontre des personnes instruites et d'avant-garde”.

C'est dans ce salon qu'Alexandre Przewdziecki, apparemment sur la demande de la maîtresse de maison, fit la lecture du drame français *Don Sébastien de Portugal*, qui fut ensuite mis en scène dans une distribution française, au Théâtre Impérial Français de St-Petersbourg le 18/30 janvier 1836 et publié la même année “chez Charles Kray”,⁷ vraisemblablement aux frais de l'auteur.

La suite a une résonance singulièrement actuelle. Le jeune homme fut muté à Vologda, à la chancellerie du général-gouverneur du lieu, où comme l'exprima le tzar Nicholas I: “Il aura de meilleures occasions d'apprendre la langue russe”.⁸ Dans les dossiers concernant Alexandre Przewdziecki, aux Archives de Secrétariat d'État du Royaume de Pologne, la raison de la décision du tzar n'est pas clairement indiquée.

³ PRZEZDZIECKI Renaud, op. cit., pp. 21 et 37. Jean Larminier, juriste.

⁴ id., p. 37.

⁵ PRZEZDZIECKI Alexander: *Szwecja, Wspomnienia jesienne z r. 1833* (Suède, Souvenirs d'Automne 1833). Varsovie 1836.

⁶ PRZEZDZIECKI Renaud, op. cit., p. 37. (Chapitre IV: A Saint-Petersbourg- Don Sébastien de Portugal - Lettre à Victor Hugo - Déportation à Vologda - Halszka de Ostrog - Les Deux Reines de France), pp. 36-45 et passim dans le chapitre suivant.

⁷ id., pp. 39-41.

⁸ id., p. 42.



SEBASTIANVS I. LVSPANORVM REX XVI.

Ioanni superiori. Regis filio posthumus natus est Sebastianus ann 1554. ex Joanna Austriaca Caroli V Imperatoris filia. Extincto Ioanne Rege, dum Sebastianus puer. adulesceret, primum quia Catharina, deinde Henricus Paruus Gallialis Lusitaniam administrarunt. Its imperantibus à Mauris in Africa acriterum mensium obediencia. Merito, quia ca Arce tentata frustra est. In Oriente aduersus Mahometanorum, atque Indiarum Regum conatum defensio. In eodem tempore Goa, Calicutum, Chale oppidum, atque Malacca utroque loco inuenerabile: hostium copias nauis Lusitanis sustinuerunt. Sebastianus, cum anno ætatis 14. rerum potius, ut statim uirtutibus eminere cepisset, quæ ab optima natura, atque coregia disciplina expectari poterant, immensum quoddam glorie statulum exitio fuit. Eo compellens uictoria non dum sua. pta prole, neque into matrimonio, spreto omni consilio, in Africam traiecit. Ibi cum rerum magis inopiam quam temporis opportunitas præluuississet, fessos longo itinere Lusitanos Mauri multis partibus paves miserè occiderunt. Præd Non Sexti an 1578. pugnati est Cruenta, eundem Barbarus ipis uictoria, multis eorum nullius desideratis, inter quos Molevius Abd. lemethus, ac Mahometes Reges. Sed quid hoc ad Lusitanorum calamitatem, omisso exercitu, cæso in acie Sebastiano in proceris florè, quippe qui 24. ætatis annum solum attigisset. Fuis ca. lauer post pugnam repertum, ac multorum testimonio pro uero hostium prope Cyrenem ad D. Hieronymi Regis sepulcro conditum est.

Dom Sebastião, roi de Portugal (1554-1578)

Cependant, sans aucun doute, il s'agissait d'allusions évidentes à la situation en Pologne après l'échec de l'insurrection de novembre, contenues dans le texte de drame.

Les sollicitations du père d'Alexandre pour obtenir l'affectation de son fils auprès de la Commission Scientifique Gouvernementale qui se rendait au Caucase, sont restées sans résultat, et le jeune coupable a dû se mettre en route muni d'une lettre d'introduction de la comtesse de Ficquelmont pour le général-gouverneur de Vologda.

Ses occupations à la chancellerie n'étaient pas très astreignantes, ce qui permit à Alexandre de continuer sa créativité dans le domaine littéraire et produire la première rédaction de son deuxième drame en français, sous le titre: *Les deux reines de France*, de l'époque du règne de Philippe Auguste (Philippe II) du XII-ème siècle. C'est aussi à Vologda que Przewdziecki écrivit le drame sur Halszka de Ostrog.

L'exil de Przewdziecki n'a pas duré longtemps. Après un an, grâce aux démarches de son père, Alexandre bénéficia d'un congé et put revenir dans sa famille en Podolie. Ensuite, on l'envoya à la chancellerie du général-gouverneur de Kiev.

On pourrait dire que Vologda est presque le symbole d'un lieu de déportation. Selon la Grande Encyclopédie Générale PWN:⁹ "c'était le lieu de déportation pour les délits politiques jusqu'en 1917". Dans une lettre de Joseph Conrad à Vincent Lutoslawski, retrouvée en 1980¹⁰ on lit un passage significatif: "Mon père fut emprisonné dans la Citadelle de Varsovie et c'est dans la cour de cette Citadelle—trait caractéristique de notre nation—que commencent mes souvenirs d'enfance. On nous déporta en 1862 à Perme et plus tard à Vologda. Ensuite, par faveur spéciale, on nous permit d'habiter Czernigow. C'est là que ma mère mourut". Apollo Korzeniowski fit le voyage de Vologda en chariot; Przewdziecki, 25 ans avant, voyagea probablement plus confortablement. Cependant, c'est la cause de sa déportation qui mérite l'attention et qui suggère certaines analogies entre *Don Sébastien* et *Konrad Wallenrod*, poème de Mickiewicz, qui furent d'ailleurs publiés par la même imprimerie. Les allusions politiques ont échappé tout d'abord à l'attention du censeur, on les découvrit plus tard et c'est la raison pour laquelle diverses rumeurs circulaient au sujet de la subite disgrâce de Przewdziecki. Entre autres, comme écrit Renaud Przewdziecki: "à cause de sa myopie, Alexandre n'a pas aperçu le tzar Nicolas passant en voiture dans la rue et ne l'a pas salué".¹¹

On soupçonnait que l'oeuvre sur le roi Sébastien était la raison de la punition, ce qui semble aussi être confirmé par le fait, qu'entre autres

⁹ Mot d'ordre "Wologda" dans le vol. XII, p. 483, Varsovie 1969.

¹⁰ ILLG Jerzy, publié dans "Przekrój", 18.1.1981.

¹¹ PRZEZDZIECKI Renaud, op. cit., p. 42.

pièces justificatives du procès politique de Pierre Borowski (en 1838), à part les deux premiers volumes de poésies de Słowacki, se trouvaient également des exemplaires du “drame Don Sébastien” donnés par Théophile Januszewski, frère de Salomé Bécu,¹² à l'accusé.

L'édition de St-Petersbourg de '*Don Sébastien*' est dédiée aux amis de Krzemieniec, de Berlin et de St-Petersbourg et porte en épigraphe une citation des *Feuilles d'Automne* de Victor Hugo:

Les morts durent bien peu, laissons les sous la pierre;
Hélas, dans leurs cercueils, ils tombent en poussière!
Moins vite que dans nos cœurs.

“A un voyageur.”

Une note sur la date de la présentation de la pièce au Théâtre Impérial Français de St-Petersbourg le 18/30 janvier 1836 précède la préface. Le texte du drame est précédé par la distribution des rôles, la description des “Costumes des rôles principaux, époque 1578” et pour terminer, les appréciations du jeu des acteurs sont exprimées dans le paragraphe: “Sur la première représentation du drame”.

La longue préface mérite une attention particulière (pp.IX-XXXIV) étant en quelque sorte un examen sur les connaissances de l'histoire de la presqu'île Ibérique de l'auteur.

L'imprimatur de la censure porte la date du 12 décembre 1835, il précède donc la date de la mise en scène et indique que les pages relatives à la représentation même, étaient ajoutées postérieurement. L'autorisation d'imprimer est signée: “Pierre Korsakoff, Censeur”. La présentation du livre est très soignée, digne d'un bibliophile, et témoigne du bon niveau de l'imprimerie de Kray, qui peu de temps avant passa du père, Charles Kray, au fils, aussi Charles. C'est le père qui imprima *Konrad Wallenrod*.¹³

Le drame consiste, en principe, de trois actes répartis en cinq tableaux situés dans divers lieux d'action à Lisbonne et dans les environs. L'action commence en 1578 et se termine l'année suivante par deux scènes, à trois jours d'intervalle. Les différentes scènes sont pourvues d'indications détaillées pour le décorateur. Les didascalies constituent partie intégrante du texte.

L'action du drame se déroule dans une période tragique et capitale pour l'histoire de Portugal. “Siècle d'or” en Pologne se termine avec la mort de Sigismond Auguste en 1572. Par un caprice de l'histoire, dans la même décennie, s'éteint la dynastie des Avis, symbole de l'épanouissement et de l'importance de l'État qui n'a jamais plus

¹² MAKOWSKI Stanisław et SUDOLSKI Zbigniew: *W kregu rodziny i przyjaciół Słowackiego. Dans le cercle des proches du poète. Les lettres de la famille de Juliusz Słowacki*. Varsovie 1967, p. 135.

¹³ *Słownik pracowników książki polskiej* (Dictionnaire des travailleurs du livre polonais) - Biogrames des Krays - Varsovie 1972, p. 462.

retrouvé sa splendeur d'antan. Une autre analogie avec l'histoire de Pologne concerne le sort du dernier roi portugais de cette dynastie, malgré que dans ce cas il n'y ait pas rapprochement de date. Comme Ladislas Warneńczyk,¹⁴ Don Sébastien périt au camp de bataille; mais sa dépouille mortelle ne fut pas identifiée, alors—comme en Pologne—on ajournait le couronnement de successeur et on prêtait l'oreille aux rumeurs sur un mystérieux pèlerin qu'on supposait être le jeune roi disparu.

Don Sébastien,¹⁵ fils posthume, hérita du trône en 1557, à l'âge de trois ans, après la mort de son grand-père le roi Jean III. Il fut officiellement déclaré majeur à l'âge de 14 ans mais ensuite on observait avec inquiétude son comportement, caractérisé par l'exaltation religieuse et la soif d'aventures chevaleresques. Les conseillers dirigeaient l'ambition du jeune roi vers les conquêtes et les voies des croisades. L'occasion se profila en Afrique, où les souverains musulmans se combattaient mutuellement, ne dédaignant pas de chercher l'appui des Espagnols et des Portugais. En 1578 Sébastien, malgré de raisonnables évaluations de la situation, se rendit au Maroc avec l'intention de rétablir sur le trône le souverain Mulej Almelik, en conflit avec ses rivaux. Au cours de la bataille, près de Alcazar Ksar El-Kébir, les Maures répétèrent la même manoeuvre qu'à Varna en 1444: l'armée d'élite de Sébastien, forte de presque deux mille hommes, fut encerclée et acculée dans la fourche de deux rivières. Sébastien combattit désespérément et s'écriant: "Le roi ne peut survivre la perte de la liberté"—périt en avançant inconsidérément à la tête d'un détachement. Le Portugal paya cher sa défaite. La fleur de sa jeunesse tomba sur le champ de bataille et le pays fut plongé dans le chaos et disputes sur la succession de Sébastien, mort sans postérité. Le cardinal Don Henrique, oncle du roi disparu, prit, d'abord provisoirement et ensuite officiellement, les rênes du pouvoir; c'était lui qui à la minorité de Sébastien, remplissait les fonctions de Régent. Mais il mourut après deux ans et c'est le roi d'Espagne, Philippe II de Habsbourg qui sortit vainqueur de la lutte pour le trône, qui déferla sur le Portugal comme une tempête. L'union dynastique devint en fait l'annexion du pays, plongé dans le chaos. Cet état de choses dura 60 ans et se termina par le rétablissement de l'indépendance en 1640, quand Jean de Bragance, descendant illégitime de la dynastie officiellement éteinte des Avis, prit le pouvoir.

Przedziecki, bien au courant de l'histoire de Portugal, comme en

¹⁴ Cela vaut la peine de remarquer que Przedziecki qui, s'est plus tard spécialisé dans l'histoire de l'époque des Jagellons, ne mentionne pas cette analogie. On ne peut exclure, dans ce cas, l'intervention de la censure, car dans la préface on relève une semblable "omission" relative au "Parallèle" de Lelewel.

¹⁵ "Don"—correctement dans la forme portugaise "Dom" (de dominus).

témoigne a préface, ne se conforme pas fidèlement aux faits historiques, mais construit son drame autour du motif suivant: Sébastien, sous l'influence des conseillers pro-espagnols et incité par les reproches arrogants de Mulej, décide d'entreprendre la campagne africaine malgré les conseils de vrais patriotes et de sa grand-mère, la vieille reine, à laquelle la décision de son petit-fils porte un coup mortel (fin du I acte). Dans l'acte II, une année après la défaite, le jour du solennel service funèbre célébré pour le soi-disant défunt roi, un pèlerin apparaît à Lisbonne et après une longue hésitation se fait connaître comme Sébastien, rescapé et partiellement guéri de ses plaies. Les nouveaux pouvoirs le considèrent comme imposteur et l'enferment dans les cachots de la prison. C'est là que se situe l'acte III. Une possibilité de fuite se présente, mais Sébastien malade, est trop faible pour en profiter. Il meurt, entouré de ses amis et ennemis, entre les mains de la princesse de Bragance et en présence du poète Camoëns. Le duc d'Albe, espagnol, proclame aux foules amassées autour de la prison le décès de Sébastien et l'intronisation de Philippe II, ce qui équivaut pour le Portugal à la perte de l'indépendance. C'est ainsi que se termine le drame.

La légende selon laquelle Sébastien survécut, et la possibilité de son retour, se transforma au fil des années en une psychose collective, connue sous le nom de "Sébastianisme". Le roi, éternellement jeune, devait retourner sur un cheval blanc à la tête d'un régiment de chevaliers et libérer le Portugal de l'occupant espagnol—ensuite commencerait l'ère d'une grande prospérité et d'une telle puissance, que la patrie de Sébastien deviendrait "le cinquième empire du monde" à la mesure de Grèce ou de Rome. Des traces de cette psychose persistent encore à présent au Portugal et s'expriment dans une attitude d'attente passive de la venue d' "Encoberto", ou "Desejado", mystérieux et espéré chef de la nation, presque un Messie. Le fait qu'on peut retrouver le début de "Sébastianisme" dans les prophéties populaires de la première moitié de XVI siècle de Beira-Alta, attribuées à Bandarra,¹⁶ augmente les analogies avec le messianisme polonais.

Un effet secondaire de cette croyance en le retour de Sébastien était l'apparition des imposteurs: "rei de Penamacor" /1584/, "rei da Ericeira" (décapité à Lisbonne en 1585), Gabriel de Espinosa /1595/ et Marco Tullio Catizone /1598/. Le jésuite Padre Antonio Vieira /1608-1697),¹⁷ jeta les bases philosophiques de sébastianisme.

Przedziecki, dans son drame *Don Sébastien* suivit la trace d'une autre légende. Elle lie au personnage du jeune roi le plus éminent poète portugais Camoëns qui, en 1570, retourna d'Asie accompagné de son fidèle serviteur nègre et avec le manuscrit des *Lusiades*, publié à Lisbonne en 1572. Sur une souvent reproduite gravure populaire on voit

Camoëns, avant—ou peut-être pendant—une chasse, sur le fond d'un paysage forestier de Sintra, lisant des fragments des *Lusiades* à Sébastien, assis sur un tronc d'arbre et entouré d'un groupe de chasseurs. C'est justement sur une telle toile de fond que se déroulent les premières scènes de *Don Sébastien*, basées sur les détails traditionnels de la légende. Nous y voyons donc et le Nègre Antonio, mendiant dans les rues de Lisbonne la subsistance du Poète et la rencontre du Poète avec le Roi, dans la maison forestière près de Sintra (sous Lisbonne) où il promet à Camoëns son aide financière. Camoëns est mentionné plusieurs fois dans *Don Sébastien*—d'abord comme l'auteur des *Lusiades*, sous-estimé et cherchant de l'aide—et enfin comme celui qui identifie Sébastien et qui est le témoin de sa mort dans le cachot.¹⁶

Au fond, le drame de Przewdziecki a deux héros: le Roi et le Poète qui s'acheminent vers une fin tragique. Camoëns survécut à Sébastien de deux ans, pour mourir anonymement—ce qui n'est pas clairement exprimé par Przewdziecki, mais ce qui semble être suggéré par l'épigraphe à propos de l'oubli rapide des morts. Cette similitude des deux personnages brisés par le destin, et le contenu de la deuxième scène du 1-er acte, représentant la séance du conseil royal, suggèrent

¹⁶ Dans l'importante littérature sur le sébastianisme, à part les oeuvres historiques, se trouvent les éditions des sources, dont au premier lieu les "Trovas" de Bandeira, publiés pour la première fois à Paris en 1603; ensuite des études du domaine de l'histoire des idées, comme par exemple de Raymond Cantel: "Le messianisme dans la pensée portugaise du XVI-e siècle à nos jours", dans *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Portugues*, vol. II, Paris 1970. Oliveira Martins (1845-1894) auteur de la "*Historia de Portugal*", régulièrement réimprimée, a fait revivre le mythe de Sébastien. Il décrit les rapports du roi avec Camoëns dans: "*Camoës. Os Lusíadas e a Renascença em Portugal*" (1872). Sébastien est le héros du roman anglais de Anne Marie Porter: "Don Sebastian or the House of Braganza", London 1838, et d'un récent roman portugais: "*Aventura maravilhosa de D. Sebastiao Rei de Portugal*", Lisboa 1937, dont l'auteur est Aquilino Ribeiro; - ainsi que des drames: "*Don Sebastian, King of Portugal*" (1691), par John Dryden et "*O Encoberto*" par Natalie Correia. Parmi les poètes, c'est Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935) qui fut "l'apôtre" du sébastianisme. L'article de J(oe)l S(erra) dans "*Dicionário de Historia de Portugal*", vol. III, p. 810, est une bonne introduction aux problèmes du sébastianisme, on y trouve aussi la bibliographie sur ce sujet. En 1978, par les soins de Secretaria de Estado da Comunicação Social, a paru une brochure illustrée, intitulée: *O Sebastianismo. Breve panorama dum mito português*, avec une utile antologie de textes historiques et littéraires, et une bibliographie concise. Le drame de Przewdziecki n'est pas connu au Portugal.

¹⁷ Przewdziecki énumère et commente ces pseudo-Sébastieniens dans la préface (pp. XXXII et suivantes). Antonio Vieira (1608-1697), Jésuite, célèbre prédicateur et écrivain portugais est l'auteur, entre autres, de: "Sermao de D. Sebastiao" (1634) et des sermons contenant des polonica et la définition de la Pologne, comme étant "antemurale christianitatis". (Ces prédications concernent St. Stanislas Kostka et Jean III Sobieski.)

¹⁸ Joseph Bachórz ne mentionne pas Przewdziecki, ni *Don Sébastien* dans son article: "Z dziejów polskiej sławy Luisa Camoesa w XIX wieku" (De l'histoire de la renommée de Louis Camoëns au XIX-e siècle en Pologne), publié dans: *Pamiętnik Literacki*, vol. LXVII, 1976, cahier 3, pp. 43-60.

des analogies certaines avec *Konrad Wallenrod* qui, comme le légendaire Sébastien:

“...remplit de gloire les demeures étrangères,
Ou poursuit les Maures dans les monts de Castille,
Ou l'Ottoman sur les voies des mers,
A la tête en combats, le premier à l'assaut,
Des infidèles, le premier abordant les vaisseaux...”

(*Konrad Wallenrod* “Obiór”, vers 16-20)

devait tenir tête à l'opposition des “supérieurs du conseil monacal”, se contraindre à prendre des décisions peu populaires, ayant un ami unique, de fidélité à toute épreuve, dans la personne de poète:

“De l'amitié seule il connut la douceur,
Sur un ami unique il porta son choix.”

(*Konrad Wallenrod*, vers 63-64)

“Alpuhara” est une évocation des combats contre les Maures en Espagne. Cette déclaration de Konrad la précède:

“Quand je guerreoyais sur les monts de Castille,
C'est là que des Maures j'ai appris les ballades...”

(*Konrad Wallenrod*, vers 631-632)

—enfin c'est ici qu'apparaît le problème de la trahison, quoique dans une variante plus simple, puisque les plus proches collaborateurs du roi Sébastien passent servilement du côté du duc d'Albe.

Dans le chant de Wajdelota:

“La flamme consumera l'histoire colorée,
Les voleurs détruiront les trésors de l'épée,
Le chant demeurera intact...”

(*Konrad Wallenrod*, vers 187-189)

Dans la plainte de Camoëns (acte II, scène II) le ravage atteint aussi son oeuvre:

“Il n'est plus de bonheur pour moi, car mes yeux ont vu s'éteindre la gloire de mon pays; sa puissance est tombée; l'éclat de son nom anéanti, et ma *Lusiade* trouvera incrédules les générations futures, quand elles liront les hauts faits et la puissance de leurs ancêtres!”

Renaud Przewdziecki, en analysant les sous-entendus concernant la question polonaise dans le texte de *Don Sébastien*, donc la cause de la déportation de l'auteur à Vologda, énumère trois sujets susceptibles d'irriter la censure:²⁰

1—*L'ardent patriotisme des Portugais*: “Un Roi doit mourir lorsqu'il perd la liberté” (acte II, scène III); la réaction des foules en apprenant le retour de Sébastien.

2—*La haine envers les envahisseurs et leur chef le duc d'Albe*, que l'on perçoit dans les lamentations de Sébastien sur la situation du Portugal;

“Les forces de Portugal, ma mère! Pauvre Royaume resserré de tous côtés

¹⁹ Citations d'après l'édition nationale des (*Dziela*) d'Adam Mickiewicz, Varsovie 1949.

²⁰ PRZEZDZIECKI Renaud, op. cit., p. 39.

par le colosse Espagnol qui l'étouffera dans cet horrible embrassement.
Tous les chemins sont fermés pour moi, hors ceux de la mer."

(acte I, scène XI)

Après la mort de Sébastien, Camoëns lance son accusation contre le duc d'Albe:

"Le Castillan l'a saisi dans sa capitale et mis à mort dans son palais."

(acte III, scène VIII)

ce qui, sur la scène d'un théâtre de St-Pétersbourg pouvait facilement être considéré comme une allusion à Stanislas Auguste, le dernier roi de Pologne.

3—*La liberté et son prix*. Sébastien combat jusqu'à la fin; dans la bataille d'Alcazar-Quivir, ,

"voyant la déroute des siens, se jeta au plus fort des combattants: trois chevaux furent tués sous lui; un monceau de cadavres lui faisait un rempart élevé; on lui conseillait de se rendre. - 'Un Roi doit mourir, lorsqu'il perd la liberté' - fut sa réponse; un coup de cimeterre trancha sa belle vie, et tout fut fini pour les Portugais." (acte II, scène III)

Le héros de la pièce a toutes les caractéristiques d'un chevalier croisé du moyen-âge²¹ quoique son activité se situe dans la deuxième moitié du XVI-ème siècle, lorsque les buts des expéditions devinrent fondamentalement différents—comme d'ailleurs l'a très justement souligné Przedziecki. Le conseiller de Sébastien, Don Juan de Mascarenhas, estime qu'il est inutile de verser du sang pour la cause d'un mahométan que de toute façon attend "la damnation éternelle, s'il n'épure son infamie dans les saintes eaux du baptême". Par contre il conseille: "Tournez votre épée contre les sectateurs de l'hérésie nouvelle de Luther, qui a infecté le monde, car elle verse les poisons plus prompts et plus sûrs que l'apostasie déchu de Mahomet". Sébastien, "chevalier chrétien", continue pourtant à être persuadé que "il n'est pas de gloire plus belle que d'étendre la foi par ses armes saintes au sein d'une nation infidèle"—ce que fait remarquer l'Espagnol Alcaçova—et se mettant en route pour l'expédition, Sébastien sollicite l'appui de la bulle papale pour sa "conquête". Il est—et avait affectivement été—l'épigone des croisés moyennâgeux, "défenseurs de la Foi", guidés par le sentiment de l'honneur et d'amour de la patrie. Les chevaliers avec leur Roi périrent dans cette tragique bataille "pour la foi, leur roi et leur patrie, tous, jusqu'aux Evêques de Coimbre et d'Oporto".

Sébastien est également nanti de traits caractéristiques des héros romantiques.²² "Il est bon et généreux, mais un désir insensé de gloire

²¹ Comparez: "*Ethos rycerski i jego odmiany*" (Les moeurs chevaleresques et leurs variations), Varsovie 1973, par Maria Ossowska; chapitre V: "Rycerz w średniowieczu" (Le chevalier au moyen âge).

²² Comparez la plus plus récente littérature sur le romantisme polonais, surtout: Maria Janion et Maria Zmigrodzka, "*Romantyzm i historia*" (Romantisme et histoire), Varsovie 1978 et (paru antérieurement) Maria Janion, "*Gorączka romantyczna*" (Fièvre romantique), Varsovie 1975, ainsi que Alina Kowalczyk, "*Romantyczni szalency*" (Les fous romantiques), Varsovie 1977.

et de conquêtes l'agite", il est dévoré par le "feu de jeunesse". "Il marchait à pas précipités", il est rongé par des "désirs—inconnus à lui-même"; il voit dans ses rêves la "félicité suprême", mais douloureusement réveillé, "replonge dans la réalité". Il n'y a pas de place dans sa vie pour l'amour: "Le Roi ne doit pas aimer"—confie-t-il à Catherine de Bragançe—c'est un sacrifice "à mon Dieu sur l'autel de la patrie"; la postérité percevera sa grandeur dans cette "victoire sur l'amour".

Dans le monologue prononcé au son des orgues, sur le seuil de la cathédrale, pendant le service funèbre célébré à son intention, il se lamente:

"Des funérais! pour qui les a-t-on célébrées? - (il cherche à rassembler ses souvenirs) - Ce sont celles d'un roi de Portugal! c'étaient les miennes; ils ont brisé mes écussons, ils ont pleuré; bon peuple /.../ Leurs larmes sont ma récompense. /.../ Je reviens accablé sous le poids de repentir, défiguré par les blessures, /.../ mon coeur déchiré de remords..."

(acte II, scène VI)

Il réalise qu'une "fatalité invincible" lui a fait combattre au premier rang, sur un cheval blanc attirant tous les regards, dans une armure dorée, sans espoir de victoire.

Dans les dernières scènes de la pièce, délirant en prison, il dit de lui-même:

"...ce n'est plus moi, le Sébastien d'autrefois! oh! je suis bien changé; en vérité il y a un abîme entre ce que j'étais jadis, et ce que je suis à présent... J'avais souffert plus qu'il n'est donné à l'homme de souffrir, car j'ai entendu les chants funéraires, j'ai vu briser mes écussons; vivant, je me voyais descendre dans la tombe, au son des cloches des funérais... C'était pour moi des formes aériennes et fantastiques, une fantasmagorie infernale."

(acte III, scène I)

Dans l'étude de caractère de Sébastien dans la préface, Przewdziecki souligne que: - "l'extraordinaire seul plaît à son imagination délirante" /p.XIII/.

Le second héros de la pièce, Camoëns, est la personnification d'une autre fatalité—celle d'un poète incompris et sous-estimé. Il a échoué comme prophète national et comme soldat; pour ses vieux jours, il revient, misérable, des Indes qu'il adore: - "Je vous aime, ô pays des Indes, comme une patrie d'adoption" (acte I, scène II) - à Lisbonne "l'asile des malheureux", pour mendier son pain et non pour solliciter des faveurs. Cette fière déclaration de sa dignité personnelle ne s'accorde toutefois pas avec ses aveux antérieurs:

"O mon Dieu, vous m'aviez donné du sang à répandre pour mon pays et une âme de feu pour chanter ses hauts faits! J'ai accompli ma vocation, et la misère est ma récompense! Il était réservé à mes vieux jours, de vivre et de mourir aux portes de Lisbonne, oublié de mon Roi!"

(acte I, scène I)

La description de l'indigence et de l'abandon dans lesquels il vécut à son retour des Indes s'accorde avec les résultats des recherches sur la biographie de Camoëns, qui est d'ailleurs pleine d'énigmes,²³ Le roi Sébastien, le 27 juillet 1572, lui a effectivement alloué une rente de 15.000 reis pour une durée de trois ans. Mais c'est une question controversée si cette rente était allouée à Camoëns le poète ou ex-soldat, vétéran des guerres dans les colonies portugaises en Asie. Il ressort toutefois clairement de l'épilogue des *Lusiades*, que Camoëns mettait de grands espoirs dans la personne de Sébastien et qu'il fut profondément affecté par la défaite d'Alcazar-Quivir et la perte de l'indépendance du Portugal. Julian Korsak cerna le personnage de Camoëns conformément à cette tradition dans son récit poétique: "Camoëns à l'hôpital" (1837).²⁴ Chez Przewdziecki ce personnage est un élément auxiliaire, servant à nouer les fils de l'intrigue et à faire avancer l'action. Une conception réussie est l'effet préalablement mentionné d'opposer le personnage de Camoëns comblé de faveurs royales (dans l'acte I) à celui de Camoëns protecteur de Sébastien revenant à Lisbonne (dans les actes II et III).

Le personnage du vilain de la pièce, c'est le traître portugais Alcaçova, privé même de ces traits de faiblesse et de compassion dont Przewdziecki a doté le duc d'Albe. C'est justement le rénégat Alcaçova qui suggère à Sébastien une possibilité de se libérer en disant:

"il faut signer cet écrit où tu declares ton nom, ta naissance, ton état, ensuite tu seras promené dans les rues de Lisbonne, sur un âne, aux huées de la populace, frappant ta poitrine à coups redoublés, et proclamant à haute voix ton imposture."

(acte III, scène III)

ce qui avait une résonance singulièrement familière aux oreilles des polonais de l'année 1836.

De ses deux personnages féminins, Przewdziecki a le mieux tracé Catherine de Bragança, très éloignée dans ses réactions de l'attitude de la Mère Spartiate, apprenant la disparition de son fils. La vieille reine, grand-mère de Sébastien et ex-régente, n'est qu'un personnage de deuxième plan et sans relief.

Parmi les membres du Conseil Royal se distingue Don Juan de Mascarenhas; on ressent dans l'élaboration de ce personnage l'influence de l'atmosphère de Krzemieniec, nommé celle de Alojzy Feliński, auteur de *Barbara Radziwiłłówna*.

Pendant c'est Victor Hugo qui influence, plus que les écrivains polonais, la création de *Don Sébastien*, ce que Przewdziecki a

²³ DANILEWICZ ZIELIŃSKA Maria: "Camões czyli tryumf poezji" (Camoëns ou le triomphe de la poésie), *Wiadomości*, Londres 1977, no. 1651 et 1978, nos 1658 et 1666.

²⁴ BACHORZ Józef, op. cit., pp. 56-58, le décrit largement.

ouvertement déclaré en lui faisant parvenir, par l'intermédiaire de Rose Mostowska un exemplaire de la pièce, accompagné d'une lettre du 1/13 mars 1836 lui rendant hommage. Il ressort de la réponse de l'auteur de *Hernani*, qu'il voyait dans le jeune écrivain "un trait-d'union des peuples", un de ces "hommes de valeur" qui, par-dessus les nations soumises aux partages géographiques, forment une nation supérieure, une nation de poètes, philosophes et artistes—une nation de pensée" (Paris, 11. VI. 1836).²⁵

L'influence de Victor Hugo apparaît le plus nettement dans le deuxième acte dans le décor digne d'opéra du service funèbre, quand Sébastien récite son monologue sur le fond musical des orgues. Les monologues du jeune roi sont un écho des célèbres tirades de *Marion Delorme*; les changements de l'ambiance et des décors, la tendance vers des effets mélodramatiques puissants, démontrent la familiarité avec les textes de non seulement *Cromwell* et *Hernani* mais même avec le drame *Angelo, tyran de Padoue* écrit en prose, ce qui, en l'occurrence, n'est pas sans une certaine signification, et joué à St-Petersbourg juste avant *Don Sébastien*.²⁶

Victor Hugo aurait également pu avoir une influence sur le choix de sujet. *Hernani* s'ouvre dans un palais de Saragosse, en 1519; et l'auteur de cette tragédie se trouvait à l'aise sur le terrain espagnol, car, fils d'un général de Napoléon en poste un certain temps à Madrid, il y fit ses premières études. Przedziecki, autant à Berlin pendant ses études universitaires qu'à St-Petersbourg, évoluait dans un cercle s'intéressant vivement à la toute récente "bataille d'*Hernani*" et aux nouvelles littéraires affluant de Paris, d'Angleterre et d'Allemagne. Ceci explique la connaissance approfondie des oeuvres de Victor Hugo déjà en 1835, et cela à St-Petersbourg, et la facilité avec laquelle le jeune auteur se détache des "trois unités" classiques et se complait dans les descriptions des "sataniques visions" de Sébastien.

A l'exemple de *Cromwell*, le drame de Przedziecki est précédé d'une préface historique (comme d'ailleurs *Konrad Wallenrod*). Przedziecki, connu comme historien de l'époque des Jagellons démontre dans cette préface ses connaissances, résultat des études faites à Krzemieniec et Berlin. Dans le lycée de Volhynie son professeur était Joseph Uldyński²⁷ étroitement lié avec Lelewel, enseignant l'histoire générale

²⁵ Ces deux lettres furent publiées et commentées dernièrement par Jerzy Parvi dans: *Polska w twórczości i działalności Wiktora Hugo* (La Pologne dans l'oeuvre et l'action de Victor Hugo), chapitre: "Correspondance de Victor Hugo avec des Polonais", Varsovie 1977, pp. 249-251.

²⁶ Przedziecki en fait mention dans sa lettre à Victor Hugo.

²⁷ Joseph Uldyński (1792-1863), étudiant de l'Université de Vilno. Entre 1818 et 1831 professeur de l'histoire universelle au Lycée de Krzemieniec. Il a correspondu avec Lelewel.

pendant que se créait *Parallèle historique de l'Espagne avec la Pologne aux XVI, XVII et XVIII siècles*; écrit en 1820, il n'a paru, censuré, qu'en 1831; et le mobile de son élaboration était la révolution de Cadix (1820), largement commentée en Pologne.²⁸

La préface contient, en page XI, l'index des livres étudiés avant la rédaction de *Don Sébastien*.²⁹ Ce sont, sans exception, des oeuvres en français, car Przewdziecki avait lu même la chronique de Dom Christovam en traduction française. Dans cette préface qui est une compilation adroite des connaissances acquises à ces sources, Przewdziecki développe les données se rapportant aux événements lui ayant servi à tracer le fond historique et le caractère des personnages. Il a, sans aucun doute, estompé l'importance de l'influence des Jésuites sur le jeune Sébastien, et ce n'est que dans la préface³⁰ qu'il cite le grief populaire jusqu'à nos jours qu'il s'efforçait de transformer le Portugal en "un vaste couvent des Jésuites", qui serait devenu le tremplin pour la conquête du monde. Il n'a non plus pas mentionné l'important changement de la signature royale sur les lettres au Pape. Sébastien signait "Très Obéissant", tandis qu'avant, et après lui, on utilisait la formule "Obéissant".³¹

Dans le drame, on parle de la "chasteté" de Sébastien et de sa réserve vis-à-vis des femmes; il essaye néanmoins, par l'intermédiaire du duc d'Albe, d'obtenir la main de l'infante d'Espagne. Przewdziecki est plus proche de la vérité dans sa préface quand il dit que "ascétique dans ses moeurs, il s'est promis de punir de mort quiconque voudrait lui parler contre la chasteté".³²

²⁸ *Historyczna paralela Hiszpanii z Polską w XVI, XVII, XVIII wieku. Rozważył ją i skreślił w roku 1820 Joachim Lelewel, w roku 1831 raz pierwszy wydał* (Parallèle historique entre l'Espagne et la Pologne au XVI, XVII et XVIII siècles. Examiné et tracé en 1820 par Joachim Lelewel et publié par lui pour la première fois en 1831). Réimpression avec commentaire de Marian H. Serejski dans *Dzieła Lelewela* (Oeuvres de Lelewel), Varsovie 1961, vol. VIII, pp. 215-263. La traduction de l'original parut en 1834 et la traduction française un an plus tard. Le lecteur au courant de l'histoire du Portugal est surpris par le fait que Lelewel passe sous silence "l'union dynastique" qui engloba le Portugal et qui, en fait, correspondait à l'annexion et à la perte de l'indépendance—si durement ressenties par les Portugais. Przewdziecki présenta plus fidèlement la situation sur la presque Iberique vers la fin du XVI-e siècle et remarqua un autre parallèle entre la Pologne de la fin du XVIII-e siècle et le Portugal après la disparition de Sébastien.

²⁹ En voilà leur liste: "La Clède: *Histoire de Portugal*; Gallardi: *Réflexions politiques sur les vies des Rois de Portugal*; Amelot de la Houssaye: *Mémoires historiques*; Dom Christovam, prince de Portugal; *Vie du Roi Don Antoine I*. Figueroa: *Vie du duc d'Albe*; Fortia d'Urban: *Histoire de Portugal*; Rabbe: *Résumé de l'histoire de Portugal*".

³⁰ Préface, page XII: "Don Alexis de Ménézès fut le gouverneur de Sébastien, le Jésuite Cámara, son confesseur (. . .) ils voulaient faire du Portugal un vaste couvent de Jésuites qui leur aurait servi de point d'appui pour conquérir le monde. Sébastien soutenait ces espérances par je ne sais quoi de grand et d'héroïque qui brillait en lui".

³¹ Préface, p. XV.

³² Préface, p. XVI.

Ce drame fut écrit pendant la période de la gloire croissante de Camoëns, sorti de l'oubli par la traduction en polonais des *Lusiades* (Jacques Przybylski, 1790) et introduit dans la tradition littéraire de la génération romantique sur un pied d'égalité avec Tass, Arioste, Shakespeare, Cervantes et Calderon. Odyniec mentionne, que Louis Spitznagel voulait apprendre le portugais pour pouvoir lire les *Lusiades* en version originale "mais dans ce temps il n'y avait à Wilno ni dictionnaire ni grammaire portugaise" (A. Przewdziecki, *Lettres de Voyage*, vol I, p.459—références).

Les exemplaires de *Don Sébastien* sont tellement rares, qu'il serait opportun de le rééditer. On ne le trouve pas dans les collections de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Lisbonne et il n'est même pas mentionné dans les bibliographies portugaises des oeuvres théâtrales concernant Sébastien, malgré qu'on y trouve la tragi-comédie de John Dryden, sous le même titre: *Don Sébastien, King of Portugal* (1691), où l'auteur traite de manière tout à fait différente le destin de Sébastien, épargné dans la bataille. Après avoir trouvé un exemplaire du drame dans la Bibliothèque Polonaise de Paris, j'ai constaté avec regret le manque d'une feuille. Grâce à la photocopie de l'exemplaire se trouvant à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Varsovie, il a été possible de compléter ce manque.

Le fait que c'est une oeuvre écrite en français ne l'exclut pas du domaine intéressant les historiens polonais de littérature, vu qu'elle contient des essais dramatiques de Mickiewicz en français.

Ce drame mérite l'attention: 1) étant un intéressant maillon de transition entre la tragédie pseudoclassique et le drame romantique; 2) étant une oeuvre dans laquelle, sous le déguisement hispano-portugais, apparaissent des sous-entendus ayant trait à la Pologne; et enfin 3) on its own merits, étant un élément précieux dans l'ensemble des oeuvres de Przewdziecki, non seulement historien, mais aussi dramaturge.

*Trad. du polonais
par Caroline Czetwertyńska*

³³ ODYNIĘC Antoni Edward: *Listy z podróży* (Lettres de voyage), Varsovie 1961, vol. I—note à la page 459.

JOLANTA DUDEK
(Oxford — Cracow)

WIERZYŃSKI'S "PIĄTA PORA ROKU": AN ANALYSIS

In order to facilitate the reading of this article, the English translation of *Piąta pora roku* by Clark Mills is reproduced here by permission. It appeared in *Wierzyński: Selected Poems*, Voyages Press, New York 1959. (Ed.)

THE FIFTH SEASON

A bird has flown across me—a bird
that left the door ajar. *Stanza 1*
In evening's penumbra, dead and living,
seasons have met in me.

One that I dream of, joyous, youthful, calls me *Stanza 2*
—laughter and emptiness, oh, the absurd!
Another, ardent, hot, touches me still
with its red mouth. A third, autumnal, and a fourth,
locked white in ice; and then the fifth season
at last, at last perpetual death.

Gathered,

they whispered in the evening's ear whether *Stanza 3*
of bacchanalia, vespers, penance, I do not know.
Their song was too ambiguous. Time wandered,
a rivulet of changes, and I followed.
Yes, changes flowed about me on all sides
until their landscape trickled in my blood.

I banked myself with leaves, I uttered mountains— *Stanza 4*
in me the fires of shepherds burned. Under the trees,
dressed in their sackcloth, in the rain, they stood like ghosts.

In long grass, in clearings brimmed with sun
I slept. The dwarf pine rocked me on its branch
and does with knees like girl's awoke me,
leaping like fountains. *Stanza 5*

And out of Hungary the fat oxen, lowing,
followed the Jewish drover down the valley.
At noon the cowherds opened packs and bundles
and gnawed and drank in fragrant clouds of garlic. *Stanza 6*

Orchards lay russet, and the black plum jam
of peasants fumed and simmered, in brass kettles.
One with them all, in love like them, I shouted,
"Youth, give me wings!" *Stanza 7*

In winter through the forest-break the pines
crashed down to the snowy channel. Axes thudded,
their sound like groans on the bare skull, the summit. *Stanza 8*

The thaw came, and the Carpathian farmhand
wrestled them into the stream and bound them into rafts.
They floated down toward bread, down toward profit—
difficult, oh not easy, O my brother. *Stanza 9*

And springs and summers passed again slowly. *Stanza 10*
The wind shook down ripe apples and the plums,
pursued the clouds in fortune and misfortune,
the joyous and the wretched.

And transformation followed changes. Motion *Stanza 11*
of people, plants, the skins of animals,
temporal seasons and entangled time:
what was alive, and more.

Later from distances the dead arrived.
They leaned their elbows on the fir-forests
and looked about them, the expansive earth
as minute as an eyelash. The wind stood.
The roads were full of a white peace.
Spring crowded with swallows
lay at their feet outstretched
with owl-autumn, beechen summer, bearded winter.

Stanza 12

And my father said to my mother
as he dispelled the noisome smell of war,
“Do not lose courage. Quiet will return
at time’s end in the silences of death.”

Stanza 13

And the dead took me down, down to a mysterious
kingdom where nothing of the earth matters,
where spring, summer, fall and winter
were named in another tongue.
Innumerable changes and involvements
have been equated there within a single
and disentangled time that flows no longer,
but to resolve the arid, vacant ant-hill
after the tumult.

Stanza 14

All had been accomplished.
The fifth, the final season was at hand.
And now I hear what no one hears, and see
all things as if transparent, from below.
Death fills me as with calm. In me I hold
eternity, quite still and cool.

Stanza 15

I know.
My total death came to me long ago
and I endure now, elbow on the mountains.
Like others of my race, I lean, and I search
for my sons, and I wonder whether any
has heaped himself with leaves and burst with forests.
Does he now hover at a shepherd’s fire,
at threshold of the trails that wind behind us,
who will repeat our gestures and our actions
as hot life poured through the whole skin,
leaped up in sunlight, walked out to the moon
—as in me my land’s life circled
and in the mothers, milk, and resin in the pines.

Stanza 16

My father said, "Oh, lead him still,
the human eyes in him pale with regret."
And then my mother, "There is nothing to regret,
for life and death are single."

Stanza 17

And thus their speech, my consolation. And they tell me
that nothing has been lost, that they remember
how for a moment, quick, my shadow flickered in their country,
that I inherit an immense patrimony:
clearings and prairies, oxen from Hungary, blue winters
with tall pines, and poverty, in the Carpathians,
all the possessions fashioned out of people
and plants and skins of animals . . . They tell me more,
suddenly they remind me that a bird
has flown through me—a bird
that left the door ajar
to all my trees, my mountains, all my instances,
living and dead.

Stanza 18

Why does the bird not sing?

Stanza 19

Thus my confession, my concern. I sing it
as if it were a peasant song. At dusk
the world slowly darkens, and I close
the windows, draw the blinds, and gather all
my evenings, and when the earth walks in
he will take off his heavy boots, knock dust from them,
the dust out of the fields, lie down and rest,
joyous, morose . . .

Stanza 20

But let the apple roll
under the straw mattress, under the fecund bed.

Wierzyński included *Piąta pora roku* in a collection of poems entitled *Tkanka ziemi*. When this collection was published (in 1960) Wierzyński was sixty-six years old and, as an émigré, had already published two collections of poems which, taken together, can be considered to mark a turning-point in the evolution of his poetry. These are *Korzec maku* (1951) and *Siedem podków* (1954). In these collections Wierzyński's poetry was renewed and shorn of the patriotic rhetoric of his wartime poems.¹

The main themes treated in *Korzec maku* and *Siedem podków* are: the poet, poetry and art. The *leitmotiv* of Wierzyński's poetry—the earth—also makes its re-appearance in these two collections. Towards the end of his life Wierzyński wrote as follows about this *leitmotiv* in his poetry:

Ziemia jest trwaniem pośród przemijania życia i jednością pośród różnorodnego świata. Ziemia unosi mnie jak religia ponad doczesność i jak religia przedłuża chwilę mego istnienia. Była, zanim tu przyszedłem, i zostanie, kiedy stąd odejdę. W melancholii ludzkiego życia nie znam nic radośniejszego niż ta myśl, która za każdym uświadomieniem przemawia do mnie jak nie znana przedtem nowina.²

The earth endures in the transience of life and it brings together the variety of the world. It is the earth which raises me above the ephemeral and, with religion, it lengthens the brief span of my existence. It was there before my coming and it will be after I have gone. In the melancholy of human existence I know of nothing as joyful as this thought: every time it surfaces in my mind it appears as news never heard before.

The collection of poems entitled *Siedem podków*—preceding the collection entitled *Tkanka ziemi*—contains a poem entitled *Mowa i ziemia*, the theme of which is the link between poetry, the earth, the native speech and the biography of the protagonist-poet. The problem of man's multiple union or alliance with the earth is the principal theme of the poems collected in *Tkanka ziemi*. This collection opens with a poem entitled *Piąta pora roku*, in which the poet returns to the theme treated in *Mowa i ziemia*, i.e. the link between the poet, his art and his native soil. In *Piąta pora roku*, however, this problem is seen in the Romantic categories of eternity and memory (imagination). This accords with the view of the anonymous Polish author of an article entitled 'O idei i uczuciu nieskończoności' (1818) that:

¹ Cf. Jolanta Dudek, *Liryka Kazimierza Wierzyńskiego z lat 1951-1969*, Wrocław 1975.

² K. Wierzyński, *Cygańskim wozem*, London 1966, p. 8.

... piękno w poezji ukazując nam kształty skończone, ocuczać w nas przecież również jak piękno w malarstwie i snycerstwie, uczucie nieskończoności powinno.³ Beauty, in poetry, presents to us finite forms but it should also awaken us to a sense of infinity, as should the beauty of painting and of sculpture.

It also accords with the view of F. Schelling (a philosopher held in esteem by the Polish Romantics) that nothing can be a work of art which does not in some way represent something eternal.⁴

By virtue of its versification, style, structure and genre, *Piąta pora roku*—one of Wierzyński's most representative poems—is firmly rooted in that Polish poetic tradition which has its origins in the poetry of the great Romantics (in particular that of Adam Mickiewicz and Juliusz Słowacki) and which is still very much alive.⁵ Wierzyński's immediate poetic predecessors, who can be considered to have acted as a link between his generation and the Romantic tradition of Polish poetry (A. Mickiewicz, J. Słowacki, Z. Krasiński, C. K. Norwid) are: the playwright Stanisław Wyspiański⁶ and the poets Leopold Staff⁷ and Bolesław Leśmian.⁸

Piąta pora roku is also firmly set in the inter-war Skamander period of Wierzyński's poetry.⁹ Like most of the poetry Wierzyński wrote as an émigré (i.e. in the years 1951-1969), *Piąta pora roku* seems to be a mature synthesis of the main artistic trends of those of the poet's contemporaries who belonged to the 'Skamander' group of poets—the linguistic virtuosity of Julian Tuwim (who made use of the natural prosodical and stylistic tendencies of colloquial Polish); the extraordinary emotional tension of the patriotic poems of Antoni Słonimski; the poetry of cultural tradition (*poezja kultury*) of Jan

³ Quoted by C. Zgorzelski, *Od Oświecenia ku Romantyzmowi i współczesności*, Kraków 1978, p. 161.

⁴ F. W. J. Schelling, *Podstawowe założenia filozofii sztuki*, (in:) F. W. J. Schelling, *System idealizmu transcendentального*, trans. K. Krzemieniowa, Warsaw 1979, p. 366:

“Dziełem sztuki nie jest nic, co bezpośrednio lub przynajmniej w odbiciu nie przedstawia czegoś nieskończonego”.

⁵ Cf. C. Zgorzelski, op. cit., chapter IV.

Cf. M. Janion, *Gorączka romantyczna*, Warsaw 1975, p. 142:

“Związane jest to niewątpliwie z wyjątkową rolą Mickiewicza w kulturze polskiej, rolą której nie da się z niczym i z nikim innym porównać — jest on ciągle i stale — i zapewne tak już pozostanie na zawsze — ‘pierwszym z Polaków’, ‘największym człowiekiem polskim’.

Cf. M. Tatar, *Dziedzictwo Słowackiego w poezji polskiej ostatniego półwiecza 1918-1968*, Wrocław 1973, esp. Chapter III.

Cf. M. Dłuska: “Legenda wieczności” (in:) *Studia i rozprawy*, Kraków 1972, vol. III

Cf. J. Dudek, op. cit., pp. 58-90.

⁶ Cf. K. Wierzyński, *Kurhany*, 1938.

⁷ Cf. K. Wierzyński: “O Leopoldzie Staffie” (in:) *Cygańskim wozem*, ed. cit.

⁸ Cf. K. Wierzyński, *O Bolesławie Leśmianie*, Warsaw 1939.

⁹ Cf. J. Dudek, op. cit.

Lechoń and Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz; the 'rococo' predilection for small objects of everyday use and the subtle humour of Maria Pawlikowska-Jasnorzewska.

This post-war synthesis and further refinement of the basic artistic tendencies of the Skamander poets would seem to have been foreshadowed by the poetry which Wierzyński wrote between the wars (1919-1939). During this period Wierzyński was already perfecting the metrical and stanzaic forms which he had inherited from the Romantics. In doing so, he made abundant and ingenious use of colloquialisms¹⁰ and of European as well as national poetic images, myths and themes.

In the highly condensed and relatively short lyric poems he wrote as an émigré (1951-1969), Wierzyński seems to have put into practice the theories—concerned mainly with dramatic and epic poetry—which were expounded by Mickiewicz and Mochnacki.

II

The diversity of genres to be found in *Piąta pora roku* is characteristic of longer Romantic works—the ballad, the Romantic epic poem, Romantic drama. Here dramatic, lyric and epic elements 'overlap'. The poem's enveloping structure and the central scene (with the protagonist's dead parents) are dramatic in character. The poem begins *in medias res* with the protagonist's mind encompassing in the space of an instant (*Ptak przeleciał przede mną, ptak...*) the most important moments of his own past. It ends with the protagonist addressing the poem's listeners.

The time of *Piąta pora roku* is internal. Two overlapping rhythm patterns can be distinguished. These correspond to the cyclical time of nature and to the instantaneous, pulsating time of the human memory, in which the past blends with the present and the not too distant future.

The space of *Piąta pora roku* is also internal. The Carpathian landscape—observed from various angles and points in space—corresponds to the cyclical time of nature, appearing as many as four times. This landscape—like cyclical time—functions as a fluctuating background and as a link between four clearly designated spatial points: a room in a cottage or chapel (at the beginning and at the end of the poem); mountain-tops; the other world.

These points in space, which are distinct from the cyclical continuum, mark the principal stages of the protagonist's life. The instantaneous (i.e. most recent) past—the background to which is the room in the cottage or chapel—occupies the three stanzas of the poem's opening

¹⁰ Cf. M. Dłuska, *Studia i rozprawy*, ed. cit., vol. III.

section. The more distant past (Stanzas 4-14) corresponds to the first stage in the protagonist's life, associated with people and with the Carpathian countryside. This period ends with the protagonist meeting his dead parents and with a vision of the other world (Stanzas 12-14). The central part of the monologue (Stanzas 15-19)¹¹ is concerned with the present, the 'action' taking place on the mountain-tops. The last fragment is addressed to the poem's listeners and is concerned with the future (Stanza 20)—this future being related, as it were, to the recent past of the poem's opening section. The poem opens and closes with the image of villagers gathered for an evening's singing and conversation—a *wieczornica*. An important difference, however, is that at the end of the poem the internal ritual (Stanzas 1-3) acquires an intersubjective dimension, with the poem's listeners waiting for the apparition of the Spirit of earth (Stanza 20).

III

The poem's enveloping structure and the central scene (with the protagonist's dead parents) constitute its dramatic axis and are intimately linked with the folk-Slavonic-cum-mythical-ritualistic stylization which permeates *Piąta pora roku*. The Slavonic stylization functions as a literary allusion. The image with which the poem opens and closes—that of the *wieczornica*—not only refers directly to a village custom (that of villagers gathering in the evening in order to talk and sing together) but also refers indirectly to the oral tradition of Slavonic folk literature:

Ptak przeleciał przeze mnie, ptak,
I drzwi zostawił otwarte,
I tego wieczoru o zmroku
Zeszły się we mnie pory roku
Żywe i martwe.

Jedna była młodzieńcza, wesoła,
Jeszcze śni mi się, jeszcze mnie woła
(Ach, pusty śmiech, niedorzeczność!),
Druga była żarliwa, gorąca,
Czerwoną wargą jeszcze mnie trąca,
Trzecia — jesienna, czwarta — zimowa,
A piąta — śmierć i wieczność.

¹¹ I consider the line *Czemu nie śpiewa?* — coming after Stanza 18 of *Piąta pora roku* — to be the equivalent of a stanza, I therefore count it as Stanza 19.

Zeszły się i mruczały coś w ucho wieczory
 (Bachanalie, gorzkie żale, nieszpory?),
 Nie wiedziałem co znaczy niejasny ten śpiew,
 Płynął czas i odmiany i ja z nimi razem,
 Zachodziły mnie zewsząd swym krajobrazem
 Aż weszły mi w krew.¹²

(Stanzas 1-3)

The poem's finale . . .

Więc wyznam wam ostatnią troskę,
 Śpiewajcie ją jak chłopską piosnkę
 I kiedy świat się w zmierzchu ściemnia,
 Zamknijcie okna, spuście story,
 Niech tam gromadzą się wieczory
 I gdy powróci z pola ziemia,
 Niech swoje ciężkie zzuje buty
 I kurz otrzepie z nich przysuty,
 Niech się położy, odpoczywa,
 Szczęśliwa albo nieszczęśliwa,
 I niech potoczy się jabłuszko
 Pod siennik jej, pod łóżko.

(Stanza 20)

. . . is also a clear allusion to Mickiewicz's *Dziady*, in which a major role is played by the stylization of the ancient ritual custom of calling forth the spirits of dead ancestors on one night of every year. In Mickiewicz's drama the ritual takes place in a dark cemetery in a remote part of Lithuania. The ritual (*Dziady*) is intended to alleviate the lot of the dead by means of prayer and food.¹³ The leader of the ritual (the *Guślarz*)—accompanied by those present, singing in chorus—opens the second part of Mickiewicz's drama with the following words:

Zamknijcie drzwi od kaplicy
 I stańcie dokoła truny!
 Żadnej lampy, żadnej świecy!
 W oknach zawieście całuny!
 Niech księżycza jasność blada
 Szczelinami tu nie wpada.¹⁴

Close the chapel's heavy door,
 Stand around the coffin's head;
 Let no candle-glimmer bore
 Through the windows, shrouded
 dead.
 Let no moonbeam pierce the
 black,
 Falling through the telltale crack.

(transl. G. R. Noyes)

¹² I quote from the text of *Piąta pora roku* to be found in: Kazimierz Wierzyński, *Poezje wybrane 1951-1964*, ed. M. Dłuska, Kraków 1972, pp. 107-110.

¹³ Cf. S. Pigoń: "Do źródeł *Dziadów* kowieńsko-wileńskich" (in:) *Studia literackie*, Kraków 1951.

Cf. Wierzyński's poems entitled *Litwa jesienna* and *Dziady* (in:) *Poezje zebrane*, London, pp. 140 and 488.

¹⁴ Adam Mickiewicz, *Dzieła poetyckie*, Ed. T. Pini, Nowogródek 1934, p. 129.

It is to these words of the *Guślarz* that the finale of *Piąta pora roku* alludes. The spirit called forth in Wierzyński's poem turns out to be the Spirit of the Earth. In Mickiewicz's drama (at the end of part II) the most important spirit to appear is that of the poet Gustaw, who had committed suicide. Gustaw's spirit comes (*Dziady*, part IV) in order to re-enact the drama of his life (the story of his misfortune in love), to which there are three parts—the hour of love, that of despair and that of caution. Like Gustaw, the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* experiences a symbolic death and a symbolic return to this world in the course of a dramatized tale:

Wiem. Dawno temu doszczętnie wymarłem
A jednak trwam znów ...

(in *Stanza 16*)

The basic difference between Gustaw and Wierzyński's protagonist is that the latter is at one and the same time the organizer of the ritual (i.e. the *Guślarz*, as it were) and its main participant (i.e. Gustaw, as it were). The Spirit which Wierzyński's protagonist would seem to invoke (in his capacity as *guślarz*) is the Spirit of the Earth. It would seem that the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* returns to this world not in order to expiate sin (as Gustaw does) but in order to nourish—with song (which becomes transformed, it seems, into an apple)—both the Spirit of the Earth and the living who participate in the ritual.

The protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* sees the whole of his life through the prism of a mysterious spiritual union or link with the natural environment of the land of his childhood (Mickiewicz's *kraj lat dzieciennych*), with its community of living and dead. In his monologue there are echoes of: the monologue of Gustaw, lover of Maryla (*Dziady*, IV);¹⁵ the *improwizacja* of Gustaw-Konrad, fighting with God for the fortunes of his nation (*Dziady*, III); the émigré's nostalgia for the land of his childhood—the *kraj lat dzieciennych* of the epilogue to Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz*. It is, however, the tone of the protagonist that dominates the monologue of *Piąta pora roku*. This is the tone of a man who is faced with death and eternity and who is filled with a deep love for the earth—the 'tissue of our existence' (*tkanka naszego*

¹⁵ Cf. M. Dłuska, op. cit., vol. III, p. 131:

"Motyw przewodni powracającej panoramy kraju, oglądanej aż czterokrotnie z różnych perspektyw, pociągnął za sobą konsekwencje stylistyczne. Czarnoksiężska latarnia ukazuje go kolejno — w barwach pamięci, pod tchnieniem śmierci, w miłości i żalu, a wreszcie w barwie nadziei: w nieśmiertelności słowa".

istnienia),¹⁶ our common homeland and the mother of all people and spirits.

Piąta pora roku is therefore first and foremost the utterance of a mythical 'son of (the goddess) Earth'—a telluric being whom the Romantics conceived of as being in intimate spiritual and physical union with nature. As a mythical son of the earth, Wierzyński's protagonist is also the conscience of nature—mother of people and spirits. This would seem to explain the mysterious expansion of his consciousness which encompasses 'all things living and dead' (*wszystkie sprawy żywe i martwe*)— plants, animals, landscapes, people and spirits.

Wierzyński's belief that all living things are intimately linked with the earth which they inhabit was that of the (great) Polish Romantics—in particular Mickiewicz, Słowacki and Norwid. It was also that of the literary critic Maurycy Mochnacki, who in his essay *O literaturze polskiej w wieku dziewiętnastym* (1830) wrote:

Człowieku! Imię twoje ziemia! Z ziemi ciało twoje, — choć z czterech stron świata przyniesionej, wschodu, zachodu, północy i południa. W ziemi mieszkanie twoje, czyż się w ziemię nie obrócisz? Czyż nie ma ziemi w naszych kościach? Czyż we krwi naszej nie płynie żelazo, — metal, tak głęboko w łonie ziemi gniazda swoje mający? A złoto i inne kruszce — czyż nie są dla nas lekarstwem, trucizną? ... Czyż zioła i rośliny ziemskie z różnych nas nie wyleczają niemocy? Czyż źródła, cudownymi uzdrawiające skutkami, nie sączą się ze skalnych zdrojowisk? — Jakież kres położyć tym związkom z każdej nieledwie strony, z każdego względu? ... ¹⁷	Man! Your name is earth! Your flesh comes from the earth—from its four corners, East, West, North and South. You live on the earth and will you not turn into it? Are not our very bones of earth? Does not the iron flow in our blood, an ore, nestling deeply in the bowels of the earth? And gold, and other ores—are they not both our poison and our cure? Don't herbs and other plants of the earth provide remedies for diverse complaints? And streams, capable of effecting miraculous cures, do they not flow out of rocky water-courses? Is there any end to those bonds, which link us on every side, from every point of view?
--	---

The corollary of this belief (common to the Romantics) in the basic affinity or unity of all being and in the supremacy of spirit over matter is the idea of the Great Chain of Being—held in common by the European

¹⁶ *Tkanka ziemi* (in:) K. Wierzyński, *Poezje wybrane*, ed. cit., pp. 143-144 (*Selected poems*, ed. cit., pp. 25-26 — 'Tissue of Earth').

¹⁷ Maurycy Mochnacki, *O literaturze polskiej w wieku dziewiętnastym*, Kraków 1923, pp. 15-16.

Romantics. Mochnacki and Słowacki interpreted this idea in the categories of evolution (cf. Słowacki's *Genezis z Ducha*). According to Mochnacki, evolution in nature progresses from non-organic nature to the spirit, which is the hidden cause of matter:

Tak wszystko się uduchownia w naturze; wszystko zmierza ku temu, co żadną nie jest rzeczą, i przedmiotem rozbioru być nie może, — do myśli, do pojęcia, które samo siebie pojmuje, rozumie. Patrzymy na świat: któż przodkuje wszystkim jestestwom? — Człowiek. — Któż jest człowiek? — Ostatnie ogniwo łańcucha stworzeń. Przeto jest częścią natury, częścią jednej całości. Człowiek ma myśl, ma pojęcie. Zatem i natura tę myśl mieć musi — z samej konieczności i konsekwencji logicznej tego rozumowania. Myśli ona naszą myślą i sama siebie naszym pojmuje rozumieniem. W człowieku jako cząstce całości swojej przychodzi do refleksji¹⁹ . . . Myśleć jest to żyć. Życie nasze od tego punktu się zaczyna . . . Natura jest, bo myśli, duch jest częścią natury. I natura z tej tylko jest przyczyny.²⁰

Everything in nature becomes spirit; everything aims at what is immaterial and cannot be analysed: a thought and an idea which embraces and understands itself. Look at the world: who is it who leads all creation? Man! But what is man? The last link in the chain of creation, therefore a part of nature, a part of one totality. Man thinks, he comprehends; nature also must be able to comprehend: this reasoning makes it logical and necessary. Nature thinks the way we think and comprehends itself with our own intelligence.

It is reflected in man as a part of the whole . . . To think is to live: our life begins at that point. Nature exists because it thinks, spirit is a part of nature and the only reason for nature's existence.

It would seem that this belief in man's intimate spiritual union with nature (man being nature's consciousness) and in the idea of the Great Chain of Being is interpreted by Wierzyński in the way it was interpreted (on the one hand) by Mochnacki (op. cit.) and Słowacki (op. cit.) and (on the other hand) by Mickiewicz (in *Dziady*).¹⁸ *Piąta pora roku* is the expression of the mystical experience—similar to that of the ancient ritual in *Dziady*—of the protagonist's union with the elements (earth, water, air and fire), non-organic nature (mountains),

¹⁸ Cf. M. Janion, "Romantyzm polski wśród romantyzmów europejskich" (in:) *Studia romantyczne*, Ed. by M. Żmigrodzka, Wrocław 1973, p. 44.

¹⁹ Cf. Mochnacki, op. cit., p. 26.

²⁰ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 25

plants, animals and the great community of personal spirits.²¹ Among the members of the community of spirits are: the spirits of the protagonist's dead parents; living people seen as spirits (the shepherds); the inhabitants of the protagonist's Carpathian homeland—raftsmen, peasants, woodcutters, cowherds; the listeners to the protagonist's monologue; the Spirit of the Earth, represented (as in the title-poem of *Tkanka ziemi*) as a tired farmer—or, more probably, a farmer's wife; the personifications of the seasons (these being also stages in the protagonist's life) which participate in the internal phase of the ritual (Stanzas 1-3).

In the finale of *Piąta pora roku*, therefore, the protagonist appears as the leading spirit of the great community of the living and the dead (i.e. as an inspired poet) and also as the leader of the ritual (cf. the *Guslarz* in Mickiewicz's *Dziady*). He appears to invoke that spirit which he considers to be the most important of all—the Spirit of the Earth—in order to nourish it, not (as ancient custom demands) with milk, honey and grain, but with song, which materialized into... an apple (*jabłuszko*).

IV

The ritualistic stylization present both in the finale of *Piąta pora roku* and in the poem's opening section reveals another of the poem's layers or strata. This is the Greek myth about the eternal, cyclical rebirth of life on earth—the reconciliation of earth and man, gods and people. Seen through the 'prism' of the Greek myth, *Piąta pora roku* appears to be an account of the Dionysian ritual, which had as its aim the spiritual renewal of the individual through contact with nature and with the human community. This Dionysian dimension would seem to be foreshadowed directly by the third stanza of the poem's opening section:

Ptak przeleciał przeze mnie, ptak,
I drzwi zostawił otwarte,
I tego wieczoru o zmroku
Zeszły się we mnie pory roku
Żywe i martwe.

Jedna była młodzieńcza, wesola,
Jeszcze śni mi się, jeszcze mnie woła
(Ach, pusty śmiech, niedorzeczność!)
Druga była żarliwa, gorąca,
Czerwoną wargą jeszcze mnie trąca,
Trzecia — jesienna, czwarta — zimowa,
A piąta — śmierć i wieczność.

²¹ Cf. M. Janion, op. cit., p. 32.

Zeszły się i mruczały coś w ucho wieczory
(Bachanalie, gorzkie żale, nieszpory?),
Nie wiedziałem co znaczy niejasny ten śpiew,
Płynął czas i odmiany i ja z nimi razem,
Zachodziły mnie zewsząd swym krajobrazem
Aż weszły mi w krew.

Obszyłem się liśćmi, porośłem górami,
Paliły się we mnie ogniska pastuchów:
Pod drzewem, w deszczu, przykryci workami,
Podobni byli do duchów.

Spąłem na siennych, wygrzanych polanach,
Gałęzią chojar kołysał mnie niski,
Budziły mnie sarny, kobiece w kolanach,
Skacząc jak wodotryski.

Z Węgier kotliną opasłe woły
Porykując szły za ratajem żydowskim,
Poganiacze w południe rozkładali toboły,
Pili coś, gryźli. Pachniało czosnkiem.

W sadach czerwionych, w kotłach miedzianych
Warzyli chłopci czarne powidła,
Krzyczałem w tłumie jak ja zakochanych:
“Młodości, podaj mi skrzydła!”

A w zimie sosny leśnym wyciosiem
Spuszczano z hukiem po śnieżnym korycie,
Siekiera stękała topornym odgłosem
Na gołej czaszce, na szczycie.

Kiedy zelżało, karpacki parobek
Spychał je w rzekę i skuwał na tratwy:
Płynęły sosny po chleb, na zarobek,
Nie łatwy, bracie, nie łatwy.

I znów szły wiosny i lata powoli
Wiatr jabłka strącał jesienne i śliwy
I pędził chmury w doli, niedoli
Szczęśliwej i nieszczęśliwej.

Szedł ruch za ruchem, ruchome odmiany
Ludzi i roślin i skóry zwierzęcej,
Doczesne pory i czas powikłany,
Wszystko co żyło i jeszcze coś więcej.

(*Stanza 1-11*)

The 'self-portrait' indirectly sketched by the protagonist at the beginning of *Piąta pora roku* seems to have traits which are not only those of Mickiewicz's Gustaw-Konrad and the mythical 'son of the Earth', but also those of the Coryphaeus of the Graeco-Christian ritual, who is in mystical union with the deity (cf. *Ptak przeleciał przeze mnie, ptak . . .*). The role of the Bacchantes taking part in the ritual singing is played by the personifications of the seasons and the 'animations' of evenings.

The cultural syncretism which is characteristic of Wierzyński's poetry including *Piąta pora roku* and which consists of linking Slavonic pagan traditions with the traditions of Christianity and Ancient Greece (*Dziady*—Bacchanalia—*gorzkie żale*—*nieszpory*) derives from (European and Polish) Romanticism and modernism. In the field of cultural syncretism Wierzyński's immediate predecessor is Wyspiański, who clothed the heroes of Ancient Greece in Slavonic costumes and brought them to the banks of the Vistula. *Skamander polyska/Wiślaną świetląc się falą*—wrote Wyspiański in his visionary drama entitled *Akropolis* (1904), in which Biblical characters and characters taken from Polish history mix with Greek mythical heroes. In 1920 Wyspiański's words became the motto of the Skamander group of poets,²² to which Wierzyński belonged in his youth. It is Wierzyński's work and that of the Romantics (Słowacki, Krasiński, Norwid) that is responsible for the continual renewal in Polish poetry of the parallel between Greek and Polish history on the one hand, and between Greek and Polish poetry on the other.

The Dionysian myth present in *Piąta pora roku* is common to Wierzyński and to European and Polish literature (and art) of the turn of the (nineteenth) century.²³ F. Nietzsche—author of *The Birth of Tragedy*—

²² Jan Lechoń: "Przemówienie na pierwszym wieczorze literackim 'Skamandra'" (in:) J. Zacharska, *Skamander*, Warsaw 1977, pp. 108-110.

²³ M. Głowiński: "Maska Dionizosa" (in:) *Młodopolski świat wyobraźni*, Ed. M. Podraza-Kwiatkowska, Kraków 1977.

was of course largely responsible for the revival of this myth in European culture. However, the interpretation of the Dionysian myth made by Wierzyński in *Piąta pora roku* is as original as that which he made in his first collection of poems, entitled *Wiosna i wino*. In his study 'The Dionysian and Apollonian antinomy in Kazimierz Wierzyński's early poetry',²⁴ Tymon Terlecki makes the following observations:

1. The Dionysian myth is only indirectly present in *Wiosna i wino*, its main manifestation being the joyous atmosphere of ecstatic enthusiasm for life and the visible world which pervades the volume.²⁵

2. In *Wiosna i wino*, however, this Dionysian atmosphere has already been 'sacralized' in the spirit of the Christian Renaissance (St. Francis of Assisi). Wierzyński's Dionysus is mainly 'a god of all-embracing love, the great leveller of the world'.²⁶ In Terlecki's view, this 'sacralization' of the Dionysian myth in Wierzyński's early poetry is characteristic of the manner in which Nietzsche's ideas were received in Poland—and in particular by Leopold Staff:

'The Christianization is to a great extent specifically Polish. The Polish variant of Nietzscheanism (with the almost exclusive exception of Stanisław Wyspiański) manifested a tendency towards disarming or neutralizing it. Many aspects of Nietzsche's ideology, especially the anti-Christian, anti-social and anti-egalitarian, were toned down. In Wierzyński this feature can be traced directly to the man who initiated him in poetry, Leopold Staff. Following the inclinations of his lyrical temperament, Staff achieved a surprising blend of Dionysus with Francis of Assisi. (He was a congenial translator of the *Fioretti* and an enthusiastic interpreter of Saint Francis. Staff saw in the Umbrian saint the forerunner of the Renaissance, the Christian embodiment of the Renaissance concept of life.)'²⁷

3. The other authentically Nietzschean motifs of the Dionysian myth which are present in Wierzyński's early poetry are the idea of eternal recurrence²⁸ and the belief in the intimate union between Dionysus and nature.²⁹ In the opinion of Terlecki, this particular 'concurrence' with the Nietzschean myth would seem to prove yet again that Wierzyński's interpretation of the Dionysian myth was coloured by Polish poetic tradition:

²⁴ (in:) *For Wiktor Weintraub* (essays in honour of W. W.), 1975.

²⁵ Terlecki, op. cit., pp. 526-527.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 524.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 523.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 530.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 534.

‘The link with the idyllic tradition of Polish poetry seems more convincing however; the rural character of Polish symbolism represents a specific trait within the framework of the European movement of the same name.’³⁰

4. According to Terlecki, Wierzyński’s Dionysus in *Wiosna i wino* is a god of poetic inspiration and ecstasy who nevertheless does not cause the protagonist to lose his *principium individuationis*—i.e. his distinct lyrical ‘ego’³¹—entirely.

5. At the end of his study Terlecki notes that there is an absence of Dionysian disorder³² in the structure of the early poems. The versification, style and ‘represented world’—permeated with the atmosphere of Dionysian enthusiasm which is to be found in Wierzyński’s early poems—have been subjected to the rigours of a rational, Apollonian structure. A balance has been kept between the musical (sound) and image qualities of the poems, and also between direct and indirect lyricism.

These observations lead Terlecki to conclude that in his early poetry, Wierzyński achieved a synthesis of Apollonian and Dionysian elements. According to Nietzsche, this synthesis is characteristic of Greek tragedy. In the words of Terlecki:

‘*Toutes proportions gardées*, Wierzyński’s early poetry seems to be fundamentally another example of such a reconciliation, such a resolution of opposites and the final victory over them. It is a paradoxical union of *hubris*—excess, exaggeration—with *sofrosyne*—the quality of restraint and the wisdom of moderation, self-awareness and self-control. It is the resolution of two tensions, one centrifugal and the other centripetal, one disintegrating and the other concentrating, focusing. This fact defines the originality of the poetic phenomenon and explains perhaps its almost unconditional acceptance by the reading public.’³³

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 536.

³¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 533-534.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 527.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 532.

Terlecki does not attempt to suggest that Wierzyński achieved the synthesis of Apollonian and Dionysian elements in his early poetry by a conscious application of Nietzsche’s ideas. Indeed, Terlecki insists that it is he — the critic — who is applying Nietzsche’s ideas in order to interpret Wierzyński’s poetry. It would seem that the Nietzschean ‘yardstick’ could also be used in order to interpret the poetry of W. B. Yeats and many of the European Romantics, including Mickiewicz. The poetry of Mickiewicz is notable for: musicality; imagery; emotional dynamism; a rational structure; the overlapping of lyrical, epic and dramatic elements; continual oscillation between excessive egotism and a strong feeling of community with other people.

If the version of the Dionysian myth to be found in Wierzyński's early poetry—as presented by Terlecki—is compared with the version to be found in *Piąta pora roku*, it can be seen that:

1. The only genuinely Nietzschean element in the interpretation of the Dionysian myth which is found in Wierzyński's poetry is the idea of eternal recurrence (eternal return) and the cyclical rebirth of nature. This idea is to be found in a poem devoted to Nietzsche and entitled *Przypomniał mi się Nietzsche* (from the collection *Tkanka ziemi*).³⁴ In this poem the recurrence of all phenomena is symbolized by migratory birds. In *Piąta pora roku* the motif of the bird appears twice. The first time it invokes a vision of the cyclical recurrence of natural phenomena. The second time it suggests the Nietzschean-Dionysian aspect of the theme of eternity—the 'fifth season'—which is examined in the poem. However, the bird in *Piąta pora roku* is not only the migratory bird of the Nietzsche poem³⁵ but also—as will be shown—the bird of Polish Romantic poetry.

2. The interpretation of the Dionysian myth in *Piąta pora roku* has been coloured (and made more profound) by the great Romantic myth of the spiritual unity of man and nature. Here allusions to the Dionysian myth coexist with allusions to Polish Romantic poetry. The latter reveal that, as an émigré, Wierzyński became fully conscious of the Romantic sources which inspired his own lyric poetry and that of his predecessors Staff and Leśmian. This process can already be seen at work in the poems Wierzyński wrote between the wars (*Wolność tragiczna*—1936. *Kurhany*—1939). In *O Bolesławie Leśmianie* (1939), Wierzyński drew attention to his predecessor's links with Romanticism.³⁶ It is therefore difficult to believe that Wierzyński had not traced Staff's preoccupation with St. Francis of Assisi back to Mickiewicz and that he was not familiar³⁷ with Mickiewicz's lecture of 19th March 1844, where we read:

³⁴ Cf. Terlecki, op. cit., p. 522.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ K. Wierzyński, *O Bolesławie Leśmianie* (n. 8).

³⁷ Cf. K. Wierzyński, *Cygańskim wozem*, (n. 2), p. 14:

"Na wzgórzu schody i złożony napis na bramie: Collège de France. Dwa dni przed wilią Bożego Narodzenia r. 1840 Mickiewicz wszedł po tych stopniach aby wygłosić pierwszy swój wykład. Był profesorem literatur słowiańskich, ale wykładał swoje idee o nowym świecie odrodzonej moralności i wolności".

Powiedziałem już dawniej z innego powodu, że rozum ludzki nie dokaże niczego w tym przedmiocie, że tylko sam chrystianizm, sięgając jedną ręką dalej w niebo, a drugą zagłębiając w tajniki przyrodzenia, potrafi wydobyć na jaw nasze związki z królestwem zwierząt i jestestw nieorganicznych. Chrystianizm to, a nie kto inny, i nie przez co innego, jak przez miłość doszedł także tajemnicy niewolnictwa między ludźmi, a doszedłszy znalazł sposoby je zniszczyć. Filozofowie nie przyczynili się do tego... Chrześcijaństwo rozwinęło najdalej uczucia moralne. Księgi chrześcijańskie pełne są przykładów głębokiej sympatii zwierząt ku ludziom pobożnym i nawzajem. Czytam w brewiarzu, że gdy Św. Antoni umarł na pustyni, lwy wykopały dla niego w nocy jamę, w której go towarzysze pochowali. Kiedy Św. Antoni Padewski mówił, zwierzęta nastawiały uszy, i ryby nawet przypląwały do niego. Nie dziwny się temu. Ta siła, co nasze zmysły i dusze otwiera na dźwięk głosu natchnionego, ten promień niewidomy, co przechodzi przez słowo dotykalne, daje się odczuć i duchom niższym. Św. Franciszek Seraficki, ów wielki cudotwórca, z jakąż miłością mówił o zwierzętach: braciszkami, siostrzyczkami swymi ich nazywał! A was to gorszy, że uczyniono wzmiankę o duchu zwierząt.³⁸

I said before, for a different reason, that human intellect counts for nothing in this: only Christianity itself, stretching one hand out towards heaven and the other to the mysteries of nature, can disclose our bond with the animal kingdom and the kingdom of inorganic spirits. Only Christianity, for reason of love and none other discovered the secret reason for slavery among men and, having found it, found the means to destroy it. Philosophers did not contribute towards these means... Christianity developed a moral sense. Christian writings are full of examples of the love of animals for men of religion and, in turn, man's love for them. My breviary tells me that after St. Anthony died in the desert, during the night the grave was dug by lions in which his companions buried him. When St. Anthony of Padua spoke, animals pricked up their ears and even fishes swam towards him. This should come as no surprise. The force which opens our senses and our souls to an inspired call, that invisible ray pervading the tangible word, can be felt by lower beings. St. Francis of Assisi, the great miracle maker, spoke of animals with love: called them his brethren and sisters! Yet you are outraged that I mentioned the spirit of animals!

³⁸ Adam Mickiewicz, *Dzieła prozą*, Ed. T. Pini, vol. V: *Wykłady o literaturach słowiańskich*, Rok Czwarty 1843-44, p. 148.

It is enough to read Staff's preface of 1910 to the *Fioretti* in order to realize to what extent the twentieth-century Polish fascination with St. Francis of Assisi was conditioned by the Romantic belief in the mysterious unity of all creation:

Dusza ludzka stworzona jest dla słońca, wiosny i wesela. Mówi o tym nieomylny instynkt tej książki, cała w niej nieświadoma siebie niewinność poszukiwania ścieżek wyzwolenia. Zauważono, że najczęstszym w niej słowem jest: Radość. Wnikanie w najgłębsze tajemnice zachwytem myśli i zapamiętaniem się duszy oddaje ona równoważnikami radośnie upajających woni, światła i słodyczy. Cudowny ten materializm wrażeń wykwiła ze związku zmysłów uduchowionych i ucieleśnionej prawie duszy Boskim kwiatem niepojmowanej, nienaganej jedności Tajemnicy.³⁹

The human soul is made for the sun, the Spring and gaiety. The unerring instinct of this book indicates it, and its unselfconscious innocence searches for a path to freedom. It has been noted that the most frequent word in it is: joy. The penetration of the deepest mysteries by a soul engrossed in the search is represented by sensual equivalents of fragrance, light and sweetness. A union of senses pervaded by the spirit with a soul on the point of becoming material comes into flower, a mystery beyond understanding.

Staff's words also reveal the link between the Polish Romantic fascination with St. Francis and the idea—common to all European Romantics—of the future reconciliation of all creation, the great spiritual transformation of individuals and the renewal of all mankind which is achieved by people who are inspired—who are artists in all they do. This idea was proclaimed by Mickiewicz in his Paris lectures. In support of his views, Mickiewicz frequently cites the Gospels, F. Schelling, J. Boehme, Saint-Martin and Polish Romantic poets and philosophers:

Schelling, największy z filozofów niemieckich, ogłasza teraz w Berlinie swoją długo tajoną doktrynę, której pierwiastki znajdujemy w poetach polskich.

The greatest German philosopher, Schelling, announced in Berlin his creed, which up till then he had cherished in secret: its elements can also be found in the writings of

³⁹ Leopold Staff: "Franciszkanizm" (in:) *Programy i dyskusje literackie okresu Młodej Polski*, Ed. M. Podraza-Kwiatkowska, Wrocław 1977, p. 693.

Utrzymuje on, że chrystianizm dotąd przeszedł tylko dwa stany, dwa okresy swojego zawodu. Pierwsza z tych epok była, jak ją nazywa, epoką Świętego Piotra, to jest epoką wiary silnej, samoistnej, syntetycznej, która trwała do VI albo do VII wieku. Nastąpiła po niej epoka Świętego Pawła, czasy rozpraw i doktryn, obejmujące resztę wieków średnich i protestantyzmu. Teraz, wedle Schellinga, mamy ujrzeć epokę Świętego Jana, epokę entuzjazmu i miłości. Doktryna ta pokazała się dopiero przed kilku miesiącami, a wiadomo wszystkim, że sławny autor Irydijona rozwinął był ją już poetycznie w symbolach.⁴⁰

Polish poets. Schelling maintains that Christianity has, so far, passed through two stages, two conditions, only. During the first stage, which he calls the era of St. Peter, faith was strong, spontaneous, and syncretic. That era continued until the 6th or 7th Century. It was followed by the era of St. Paul, a period of theological disputation, which took in the rest of the Middle Ages and the Reformation. According to Schelling, we are now about to enter the era of St. John, a period of love and fervour. It is only months since Schelling published his creed, yet we know that the author of Iridion had developed those ideas earlier in a symbolic form.

Seen in the light of Mickiewicz's youthful 'poetical manifestos' (*Oda do młodości*, *Romantyczność*) and the lectures he gave later as professor at the Collège de France, the poetical 'manifesto' of the Skamander group—so often criticized for its 'vitalism',⁴¹ its 'lack of poetic ideas'⁴² and its *programofobia*⁴³—can be seen to contain an idea common to all the Polish Romantics and also to W. Blake, P. B. Shelley and W. B. Yeats (Unity of Being!)—namely the belief in the coming of the 'New Jerusalem', i.e. an age of enthusiasm, love and creation.

This Romantic idea of 'universal love'⁴⁴ was taken up by the young poets of newly independent Poland—Tuwim, Lechoń, Wierzyński—who, following in the footsteps of some of the 'Młoda Polska'⁴⁵ writers (Stanisław Brzozowski, an excellent critic and philosopher, author of

⁴⁰ Mickiewicz, *Wykłady* . . . (n. 38), Rok Drugi 1841-43, p. 320.

⁴¹ Cf. A. Nowaczyński: "Skamander polyska, wiślana świetląc się falą" — 1921, (in:) J. Zacharska, *Skamander*, ed. cit., pp. 162-173.

⁴² Cf. T. Peiper: "Poeci bez idei poetyckiej" — 1928, (in:) *ibidem*, pp. 178-184.

⁴³ Cf. K. Irzykowski: "Programofobia" — 1934, (in:) *ibidem*, pp. 156-162.

⁴⁴ Cf. J. Tuwim: "Manifest powszechnej miłości" (in:) *Dziela*, vol. 5: *Pisma prozą*, Warsaw 1964.

⁴⁵ 'Młoda Polska' (1890-1918) is the Polish counterpart of European Modernism and Symbolism.

Legenda Młodej Polski: Leopold Staff, a Symbolist poet who discovered and sang the secrets of everyday life and who translated the *Fioretti* of St. Francis and the works of Nietzsche; Stefan Żeromski, author of *Uroda życia* and the extremely important lecture *Literatura a życie polskie* (1915); Stanisław Wyspiański, author of the drama *Wyzwolenie*; Adolf Dygasiński, author of the novel *Gody życia*) discarded the national-martyrological interpretation of Romanticism, thus preparing the way for the treatment—by themselves—of the most ‘Romantic’ myth of the great Romantics—the myth of the fundamental unity and future reconciliation of all being.

In his *Słowo wstępne* to the first issue of the magazine *Skamander* (1920)—published just one hundred years after Mickiewicz’s ‘manifesto’ poems *Oda do młodości* (1820) and *Romantyczność* (1821)—Horzyca wrote:

“Nie chcemy przeoczyć zła, ale miłość nasza jest nad wszelkie zło silniejsza: dlatego kochamy dzień dzisiejszy niezachwianą, pierwszą miłością, jesteśmy i chcemy być jego dziećmi. A dzień ów nie jest dniem siedmiu plag, lecz i dniem narodzin nowego świata . . . wierzymy iż królestwo ducha jest królestwem z tego świata, że nim będzie, być musi. . . . Lecz raz jeszcze rzucając dawne hasła, świadomi jesteśmy, żeśmy o sto lat starsi, że słowa nasze są inne, choć brzmienie to samo, że nadeszły inne czasy, które w starym symbolu ujrzeć pragną i muszą — nową treść . . . ale chcemy zdobywać, zapalać serca ludzi, chcemy być ich uśmiechem i płaczem; . . . Wierzymy w zesłanie ducha Bożego na dusze, ale także i w pracę w tym duchu i wierzymy, że tą tylko drogą rzetelnej i sprawnej twórczości zbudować potrafimy kościół nowej sztuki, jaki się nam marzy, przybytek pojednania szczytów z dolinami, i obudzić pieśń, co iść

We do not wish to ignore evil but our love is stronger: that is why the present is our first, unswerving love. We are children of the present and we are willing to be its children. The present day is not the day of seven plagues but a day a new world is born . . . we believe that the realm of the spirit is of this world, will be of this world, must be of this world. While repeating the old call, we are well aware that we are older by a hundred years and that our words are different although they sound the same. Our times are different: we want, and we ought to find new meaning in the old symbols . . . but we still want to conquer and to fire the hearts of men, we wish to be their laughter and their tears . . . We believe that the Holy Ghost descends into the souls of men but we believe also that mankind has a task to fulfill with its aid. We know that only an earnest and skilful effort can build the church of new art we dream of, an ark of covenant be-

będzie z ust do ust, z serc do serc,
jak dobra wieść, jak radosne wita-
nie poranka”.⁴⁶

tween the heights and the depths.
Only such magnitude of effort will
be able to awaken poetry which
will spread throughout the land,
from man to man and from heart
to heart like good news and a
happy welcome of the morn.

In *Piąta pora roku* the first and second seasons of the year embody—as it were—the enthusiastic atmosphere of Wierzyński’s first collections of poems—*Wiosna i wino* (1919) and *Wróble na dachu* (1921)—together with the fervour of his later poetry:

Jedna była młodzieńcza, wesola,
Jeszcze śni mi się, jeszcze mnie woła
(Ach pusty śmiech, niedorzeczność!),
Druga była żarliwa, gorąca,
Czerwoną wargą jeszcze mnie trąca ... (in Stanza 2)

This joyful Dionysian-Franciscan tone is explicitly associated with Mickiewicz’s *Oda do młodości* (cf. the Skamander ‘manifesto’ penned by Horzyca):

Krzyczałem w tłumie jak ja zakochanych
“Młodości, podaj mi skrzydła!” (in Stanza 7)

We can therefore say that in *Piąta pora roku* there has been a significant ‘shift in emphasis’ by comparison with the youthful ‘self-portrait’ sketched by the protagonist of *Wiosna i wino*, who describes the atmosphere of his lyric poetry and himself as ‘*Renesansowo-helleńsko-dzisiejszy*’⁴⁷ (cf. *Szumi w mej głowie*). Paraphrasing this definition, we may describe the atmosphere of *Piąta pora roku* as ‘*romantyczno-renesansowo-helleńsko-dzisiejszy*’. The allusions to (great) Romanticism in *Piąta pora roku* show that it was this poetic tradition that proved to be Wierzyński’s most important and lasting source of inspiration.

3. In the opening section of *Piąta pora roku* the vision of a Dionysian procession—consisting of people, plants, animals, seasons and the young poet himself—together with the motifs of camp-fires, sleep on

⁴⁶ Cf. “Słowo wstępne do Skamandra” (in:) J. Zacharska, op. cit., pp. 105-107. See also Zacharska’s remarks on the authorship of the Skamander ‘manifesto’ (p. 259).

⁴⁷ Cf. K. Wierzyński, *Poezje zebrane*, ed. cit., p. 30.

forest clearings, leaping roe-deer (reminiscent of Bacchantes dressed in deer-skins—*Budziły mnie sarny, kobiece w kolanach/Skacząc jak wodotryski*) and also the interpretation of the Dionysian ritual as one which gives man the experience of the eternity of existence and the feeling of his own immortality—all this taken together seems to be reminiscent of the Christianized version of the Dionysian ritual which is to be found in an ‘adaptation’ of Greek mythology entitled *Bajeczna starożytność*—a well known book written by the eminent scholar Tadeusz Zieliński:⁴⁸

“... boskie natchnienie owładnęło sercem Tyrezjasza; zaczął głosić o nowym bogu Bakchosie-Dionizosie, synu Zeusa i Semeli. Odstąpił on ludziom znaczenie tajemnego związku rodziców boga: Zeus żył w rozterce z Matką-Ziemią, wyrwawszy ludzkość spod władzy jej praw, pod którymi żyła przedtem na równi z innymi stworzeniami, i wprowadziwszy ją na drogę rozwoju umysłowego. Lecz na tej drodze nie ma spokoju duchowego i dlatego Zeus zrodził rozjemcę — Dionizosa. Został on wychowany daleko, wśród nimf góry Zeusowej; teraz wraca do rodzinnego miasta swej matki i niesie mu cenny dar — swe misteria, z nimi zaś pojednanie z Matką-Ziemią. On rzuci hasło — i zbiegną się jego czciciele, bachanci i bachantki, na święte polanki ojczystych gór, aby choć w ciągu kilku dni żyć tam wedle praw Matki-Ziemi; będą nocowali na zielonej murawie, będą spędzali dni w wesołych korowodach, przy dźwiękach szalonej muzyki — tympanów, cymbałów i fletów. Ogarnie ich nieokiełzany zachwyty, wyda im się, że

Divine inspiration descended onto Tiresias and he proclaimed the new god Bacchus—Dionysos, son of Zeus and Semele. He disclosed to the people the secret of the god’s parent’s union: the previous discord between Zeus and his mother the Earth goddess, from whose dominion he had, by giving it the power of reasoning, snatched mankind, up till then her subject together with all the rest of creation. The state of discord was responsible for spiritual disquiet and to obviate it Zeus conceived Dionysos-mediator. Dionysos had been brought up in a far away country among the nymphs of Olympus; but he returned to his mother’s native city bringing a precious gift of his mysteries and, with them, a reconciliation with Mother Earth. When he calls his worshippers the Bacchantes will come down to the clearings in the mountains to live there, if only for a few days, according to the law of Mother Earth. They will sleep in the green sward and spend the day in happy cavorting to the sound of the wild music of tympanum,

⁴⁸ Cf. T. Terlecki, *The Dionysian and Apollinian antinomy in Kazimierz Wierzyński’s Early Poetry*, ed. cit., p. 520.

dusza oddziela się od ciała i żyje własnym, niewymownie szczęśliwym życiem, że ta ich dusza ma swój własny byt i jest niezniszczalna, że nie zginie, gdy ciało w proch się rozsypie. Bóg ześle na swych bachantów i bachantki cudowne błogosławieństwo: odziani w skóry jelenie, z tyrsem zamiast broni, staną się nietykalni dla przyrody i dla ludzi. Sama Matka-Ziemia będzie ich karmiła i poila, dając im mleko, miód, wino, gdzie i ile zapragną”.⁴⁹

cymbal and flute. Under a spell of unbridled rapture they will feel their souls leave the body and attain an independent and inexpressibly happy existence, indestructable, imperishable even when the flesh will turn into ashes. The God will send them his thaumaturgic blessing. Clothed in deer skins, with thyrsus in place of arms, they will be inviolable to man or beast. Mother Earth herself will provide them with food and drink: as much of milk and wine as they will wish for.

4. The dark, tragic pole of the Dionysian myth—absent in Wierzyński’s early poetry—is also to be found in *Piąta pora roku*. The ‘price’ of—or condition for—spiritual rebirth through contact with the earth and with the community of the living and the dead is the protagonist’s symbolic death:

Wiem. Dawno temu doszczętnie wymarłem
A jednak trwam znów.

(*Stanza 16*)

This dark pole of the Dionysian myth is foreshadowed in the poem’s opening stanzas by the motif of *gorzkie żale*—a Lenten service which anticipates Christ’s passion. In *Piąta pora roku*, however, this dark pole may well be fused with the favorite myth of the Polish Romantics, namely the Eleusinian myth—the story of Demeter and Persephone interpreted as being about the future spiritual rebirth of mankind through the suffering of individuals and of nations. At the beginning of the twentieth century this interpretation of the myth made its appearance in Wyspiański’s visionary drama entitled *Noc listopadowa*, the theme of which is the unsuccessful 1830 uprising against Russia.

Demeter’s farewell to Persephone (who returns to Hades) takes place in the autumn. In *Piąta pora roku* the protagonist’s parents come to him at about the same time of year (late autumn-early winter) in order to take him to the other side of life—*w głąb, w tajemniczy obszar*.

⁴⁹ T. Zieliński, *Bajeczna starożytność*, Warsaw 1957, pp. 21-22.

VI

By means of an internally celebrated Dionysian-Eleusinian ritual—i.e. by means of rebirth after symbolic death—the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* achieves that superhuman state of visionary ecstasy—“life in death, death in life”—which is sought by the protagonist of Yeats’s *The Tower*, stylized as the hero of the myth of the Grail.

The mystical vision of the unity of all being together with its accompanying emotional atmosphere belongs to the lyrical ‘axis’ of *Piąta pora roku*. As a son of the Earth, as the embodiment of the earth’s self-awareness, as the leader of the ritual chorus, as the leader of the great community of personal spirits and as a visionary poet, the poem’s protagonist reveals to his listeners the secret of life and of eternity, which is conceived of as being the last stage in the cycle of transformation undergone by the existence of nature and man. The apple (*jabłuszko*) which rolls under the bed of the Earth would seem to symbolize immortality—acquired in the garden of the Hesperides by Hercules (one of the heroes of Mickiewicz’s *Oda do młodości*).

The protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* is therefore not only the leader of a Graeco-Slavonic-Christian ritual, but—like the protagonist of Yeats’s *The Tower*—a Platonic inspired poet, revealer of the truth about the world and man. The symbol of this inspiration is the bird, which causes the sudden expansion of the protagonist’s consciousness to cosmic dimensions. This bird not only heralds the eternal cycle of birth and transformation of the Nietzschean myth but also brings to mind the birds of the Romantic poetry of Norwid and Słowacki:

1. In part III of Norwid’s long poem entitled *Pięć zarysów* the bird symbolizes the idea of metempsychosis: after death the hearts (i.e. spirits) of the most sensitive men transmigrate into the bodies of birds, whereas those of the less sensitive must inhabit plants and minerals:

. . . duch, wedle zasługi,	The spirit, according to its merit,
Zstępuje lub wstępuje wyżej, albo	Ascends the heights or descends;
nizej —	The whole chain of creation, in all
Cały ciąg przyrodzenia, ilekolwiek	its length
długi,	Serves this purpose—its variety is
Służy ku temu — formy są jak	as a multitude of crosses
mnogość krzyży	Some lighter, others heavier:
Lżejszych lub cięższych: w roślin	some souls turn into plants,
przechodzi formułę	Those that were vegetating, only
Wegetujące martwo serce —	just alive; others, of more
więcej czule	feeling

Przechodzi w formę ptaka, mniej czułe w minerał;	Take the shape of birds; those even more impassive turn into stone;
Jak żył duch, tak się będzie nareszcie ubierał —	The spirits, as they lived so will they appear in the end. But there are higher spheres . . .
Ach są i wyższe sfery — ^{49a}	(transl. K. Griffith-Jones)

2. Słowacki's storks — a metaphor for the poet's nostalgia as an émigré in *Hymn pisany o zachodzie słońca pod Aleksandrią*.

3. The mystical bird in *Zachwycenie*. Here the claws of a fiery bird (representing God) seize a little bird (representing the heart of the created poet):

Bo mój Stworzyciel znalazł mię na ziemi
I napadł w nocy ogniami złotymi . . .

Bo Pan, mówiący w objawieniu: Jestem,
Napadł mię w ogniach z trzaskiem i szelestem.

(. . .)

Gdy Pan nade mną stał w ognia oponach,
Gdym był jak ptaszek w Pana mego szponach,

(. . .)

Przywalon byłem twej lekkości skałą
Serce jak ptaszek złąkniony latało.⁵⁰

The motif of fire which accompanies this mystical bird (=God) in Słowacki's poem becomes an element of the outer world—absorbed by the protagonist's memory—in *Piąta pora roku*:

Obszyłem się liśćmi, porośłem górami
Paliły się we mnie ogniska pastuchów: (in *Stanza 4*)

This prosaic transposition of the motif of fire—the attribute of the inspired poet—points to a reinterpretation of the sources of poetic inspiration by Wierzyński. In *Piąta pora roku* inspiration comes simultaneously from two directions—from the earth (fire) and from the sky (bird). The distinction between earth and sky is thus blurred somewhat. The bird and the fire function both as realistic elements of

^{49a} C. K. Norwid, *Pisma wszystkie*, ed. J. W. Gomułicki, t. 3, Warszawa 1971, p. 488. Cf. M. Żurowski, *Norwid i symboliści* (in:) "Przegląd Humanistyczny", 1964 (No. 4), p. 104.

⁵⁰ Juliusz Słowacki, *Dzieła*, Ed. T. Pini, vol. 1: *Drobne utwory poetyczne. Poematy*, Warsaw 1933, pp. 39-40.

man's everyday environment and as symbols of creation. This 'mystery of everyday life' (*tajemnicza codzienność*) was cultivated by Wierzyński from his very beginnings as a poet (cf. *Tryptyk o dzieciach* in *Wiosna i wino*).⁵¹ As an émigré, he reinterpreted the most fantastic and ecstatic imaginations of the Romantics (which were nevertheless dear to him)⁵² in the same manner.

4. The bird of *Piąta pora roku*, which evokes a vision of the land of the protagonist's childhood, is also related to the angel—the guardian Spirit of the earthly homeland of the (Polish) Romantics. Such a transformation of a bird (the stork—which in the Polish countryside is still spoken of as the guardian of the homestead where it chooses to build its nest) into an angel occurs in Słowacki's metempsychic epic poem entitled *Król Duch*, woven around motifs from Poland's prehistorical and mediaeval past. The narrator of this poem is the Spirit Her (=the mythical Er of Book X of Plato's *Republic*) who chooses to be reincarnated in successive Polish rulers, legendary, mediaeval and mythical:

On potem w duchów świętych tajemnicy
Najgłębszej — zasiadł przecudowną chatę
Na szmaragdowych łąkach, przy Kruszwicy,
Nad którą boże dwa twory skrzydlate
Jak dwa posągi wiejskie okolicy
Stały . . . A gniazdo ich, mchami brodate,
W ogniu komina ponad chaty czołem
Księżycem zdało się — a ptak aniołem.⁵³

The Polish Romantics held that every nation as well as every man had its own Guardian Spirit (or Angel). In another well-known poem by Słowacki we read:

Anioły stoją na rodzinnych polach,
I chcąc powitać lecą w nasze strony.⁵⁴

In *Król Duch* the protagonist's Slavonic homeland is described as follows:

Kraina pełna zamków i kościołów
Z niebem związana wstęgami aniołów.

⁵¹ Cf. J. Dudek, op. cit., pp. 30-38.

⁵² Cf. *O Moim Genjusz* (in:) K. Wierzyński, *Poezje zebrane* ed. cit., p. 475.

Cf. *Dziady*, *ibidem*, p. 488.

Cf. *Narada z ptakami*, *ibidem*, p. 500.

⁵³ Quoted by K. Wyka, *Thanatos i Polska*, Kraków 1971, pp. 112-113. Cf. J. Słowacki, *Dzieła wszystkie*, ed. J. Kleiner, t. XVII, Wrocław 1975, p. 117.

⁵⁴ Cf. K. Wyka, op. cit., p. 109.

In almost every Polish landscape painted by the Symbolist artist Jacek Malczewski (late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries)—in whose work Romantic, Dionysian and Franciscan motifs are fused with motifs from Polish folklore (as in Wierzyński's *Piąta pora roku*)—there are angels, complete with colourful, 'full-size' wings and having the beauty of country girls.⁵⁵ The angels accompany a young man on his earthly peregrination (Tobias series). The paintings symbolize human life conceived as a never-ending journey (cf. Tobias's journey to the home of his father). The angel is therefore associated with life, death, youth, old age and eternity.⁵⁶

Malczewski's paintings *Autoportret z Tobiaszem i Parkami* (1912) and *Portret Feliksa Jasińskiego* (1903) would seem to constitute an iconographic parallel to the situation outlined by Wierzyński at the beginning of *Piąta pora roku*.^{56a} In *Autoportret z Tobiaszem i Parkami*, which is a Symbolist self-portrait, the artist—posing as Tobias the elder—can be seen sitting with hands joined as for prayer (in the manner of St. Francis). Before him (to the right) stands a boy—Tobias the younger—holding up to his father's face a fish which he has already begun to cut open. Behind Tobias the elder stand three plain-looking country women who represent the Parcae. Behind Tobias the younger stands a beautiful young woman with wings who functions at one and the same time as: the Archangel Raphael; a supernumerary member of the Parcae—holding with one hand the thread/fishing-line (which is still attached to the fish) and in the other a sharp instrument; the Muse; the Angel of Death. This symbolic scene has similarities with that imagined by Wierzyński in the opening section of *Piąta pora roku*. Here the protagonist—lost in meditation—is visited by five symbolic beings. Four of these are the personifications of the seasons, which also function as Muses, Parcae, Bacchantes and participators in the ritual:

Jedna była młodzieńcza, wesola,
 Jeszcze śni mi się, jeszcze mnie woła
 (Ach, pusty śmiech, niedorzeczność!),
 Druga była żarliwa, gorąca,
 Czerwoną wargą jeszcze mnie trąca,
 Trzecia — jesienna, czwarta — zimowa,
 A piąta — śmierć i wieczność.

(Stanza 2)

⁵⁵ Cf. K. Wyka, op. cit., chapters 9, 10, 11.

⁵⁶ According to Kazimierz Wyka, Malczewski's angels can also be seen to be related to the Parcae, the Furies and the Chimeras.

According to the poet Jan Lechoń (a friend of Wierzyński) Malczewski's angels can also be seen to be related to fauns.

Cf. *Jacek Malczewski* (in:) Jan Lechoń, *Poezje*, Warsaw 1973.

^{56a} Cf. another of Malczewski's paintings entitled *Piosnka jesienna*, which depicts a young man dressed in what appears to be a soldier's greatcoat in the company of a girl holding in her hands a dead swallow (symbolizing death and the approach of winter).

The four seasons reappear in Stanza 12:

(...) i legły u nogi
Jaskółcze wiosny, bukowe lata
I jesień sowa i zima brodata.

Here the fifth season is not further defined. Its 'emissary', however, would seem to be the bird—released perhaps only a short time ago. This fifth character would seem to fulfil the functions of both the angel and Tobias the younger in Malczewski's painting.

The hypothesis that the fifth character (season) in the opening section of *Piąta pora roku* is linked with the bird-emissary (which [she] may well have just released) would seem to find some support in the second of Malczewski's paintings mentioned above. In *Portret Feliksa Jasińskiego* we see the head (in profile, facing left) of a bearded man who, against the background of a winter landscape, is looking at a bird—a kingfisher—which is being held by a straw doll. The doll, which has a wreath of flowers on its head, represents Marzanna—the Slavonic deity of winter. In conformity with ancient custom, this doll is ritually drowned at the end of winter each year in order to herald the coming of the spring.

In Slavonic folklore, the kingfisher (which—significantly perhaps—was more likely to be seen in Wierzyński's Sub-Carpathian countryside than in other parts of Poland in its frontiers between the two World Wars) heralds earth's rebirth in the spring. In the poetry of Słowacki, the kingfisher (*halcyjon*) often makes its appearance and is at times compared to an angel. In Żeromski's historical novel entitled *Popioły* the kingfisher (*zimorodek*—the bird's common name in Polish, cf. *zima*=winter, *rodzić*=give birth) heralds changes in the characters' lives.⁵⁷

In Wierzyński's poem entitled *Alviano* the bird has Franciscan-

⁵⁷ Cf. K. Wyka, op. cit., pp. 145-147. Cf. also Wierzyński's poem entitled *Psalm o wierzbach*, in which the kingfisher is associated with the Carpathian spring (*Poezje zebrane*, ed. cit., p. 525). This symbolism of the kingfisher — the favourite bird of the European Romantics — has its origins in Greek mythology. The blissfully happy couple Alcyone (daughter of Aeolus, king of the winds) and Ceyx (son of the Morning Star) are punished for their presumption by the gods (Hera and Zeus), who cause Ceyx to be drowned. When Alcyone out of grief throws herself into the sea, the gods take pity on their victims and change them both into birds, calming the seas once a year (before and after the winter solstice) in order to allow them just enough time to build their (seaborne) nest and hatch out their eggs. The kingfisher has therefore come to symbolize: extreme happiness, which — because it is accompanied by a sense of blind self-sufficiency — is short-lived and ends in disaster; the fragile union of the heavens and the earthly elements (and hence fragile spiritual and material fertility); peace and tranquillity which is fragile.

Cf. the entry *alcyon* in: J. Chevalier, *Dictionnaire des symboles*, Paris 1973, vol. I, pp. 37-39.

Cf. the entry *Ceyx* in: *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford 1979.

Dionysian associations. Here St. Francis appears to be at one and the same time a deity of nature and a bird preaching to fellow birds. The theme of the 'sermon' is the unity of all creation:⁵⁸

Co on wam opowiadał, Ptaki i Alviano, Że słyszy jak w gęstej wiośnie Trawa musuje i rośnie Nad Umbrją zaczarowaną?	What dewy sermons did he preach That made you birds of Alviano End a spring note to hear him teach How hint of green becomes a blade
Że ręce ma z bluszczu, Że oblatuje wesoly Rozkołysane drzewa, Gardłem zielonem śpiewa I mieszka w nich, jak dzięcioły?	Of grass in Umbrian carpets laid? And did the ivy ask him how To wreathe upon a sap-filled bough, The leaves pretending they were birds,
Że mówić można do ostu I pisać na wodzie wspomnienia I wszystko to ktoś zrozumie, Wiatr mu powtórzy w szumie, Bo wszystko — z jednego stworze- nia?	Joining their music to his words? Did choruses from other trees Contribute on an April breeze? I know he spoke with purple thistle, Wrote songs on recollection's water
Co on wam mówił? Powtórzcie, Winnice, oliwki, zające, Że można modlić się w ptakach, W liściach, mchu i widłakach, I że można się modlić niechcący?	And taught the winds a milder whistle. —As you birds did, they understood, For we are one in the wide wood. What did he tell you as you grew? The leafy vines and olives knew —Even the stricken leaping hare Who all unknowing shook with prayer.

(transl. Livingston Welch)

It can therefore be no great surprise that in *Piąta pora roku*, the bird turns out to be an 'emissary' of the spirits of the protagonist's dead parents, who would seem to be latently present at the beginning of the poem and who function as guardian spirits in that part of the protagonist's inner space which is occupied by the fifth season. These guardian spirits would seem to 'correspond' in their function to the doll

⁵⁸ Cf. K. Wierzyński, *Poezje zebrane*, ed. cit., p. 437.
Cf. K. Wierzyński, *Selected poems*, ed. cit., p. 17.

holding a kingfisher, the Archangel Raphael and Tobias the younger in Malczewski's painting.

The 'represented world' of *Piąta pora roku*—like that of Malczewski's paintings—is composed of both realistic and fantastic elements. As a poet, however, Wierzyński has greater freedom for manoeuvre between the two poles of realism and fantasy, since the objects represented by the poet are 'schematized'—i.e. are imaginal skeleton-structures (*schematy wyobrazeniowe*) which are to be 'actualised' by a process of 'concretization' (to use Ingarden's term—*konkretyzacja*)⁵⁹ in the listener's or reader's mind—to a much greater extent than those represented by the painter. The objects, events and situations represented in *Piąta pora roku* have been 'schematized' in such a way as to allow them to be 'actualised' in the listener's mind in one of three ways—realistically, fantastically, or both realistically and fantastically. In Wierzyński's poem, the *oscillation* between the two poles of fantasy and realism which is so characteristic of Romantic works has therefore been replaced by the *co-existence* of fantasy and realism.⁶⁰ The poet achieves this by the use of allusions, suggestions and words having multiple meanings, as well as by the 'prosaic transposition' of anything out of the ordinary and the 'materialization' of abstractions.

In *Piąta pora roku* Spring—like Summer—has a human psychology, being 'youthful', 'gay' and 'smiling/laughing'. Spring's attitude to human spirits is—as in the case of the other seasons—that of a tame animal:

(...) legły u nogi

Jaskółcze wiosny, bukowe lata

I jesień sowing i zima brodata

(in *Stanza 12*)

Spring is also described as being *jaskółcza* (an adjective formed from *jaskółka* = swallow). Taken together, these characteristics attributed to Spring may lead the reader in the following 'directions':

(a) The reader may imagine Spring as a Slavonic or Greek nymph (or Muse) whose head is wreathed not in flowers—which would have been the 'normal thing'—but in swallows. Thus reconstructed, Spring would be a fantastic creation reminiscent of the Goplana (a nymph) of Slowacki's *Balladyna*.

(b) The reader may stay with the second image of Spring (cf. *Stanza*

⁵⁹ Cf. Roman Ingarden, *O dziele literackim*, Warsaw 1960, Part II: chapters VIII and IX, Part III: chapter XIII. This work also appeared in German under the title *Das literarische Kunstwerk*.

⁶⁰ Cf. K. Wyka, 'Pan Tadeusz'. *Studia o poemacie*. Warsaw 1963.

12) and interpret the epithet *jaskółcza* as one evoking the swallows which habitually migrate to Poland in the Spring.⁶¹

(c) The third possibility is a combination of the two possibilities already discussed.

Each of these 'choices' or 'paths' is accompanied by a mood of gaiety and light-heartedness.

The most conspicuous 'contour' of the 'represented world' of *Piąta pora roku*—like that of Malczewski's paintings—is its everyday and autobiographical aspect, made up by the protagonist's personal experiences and objects and events reminiscent of those known to the reader in everyday life. There are, however, several dimensions to this 'everyday' aspect of the poem's 'represented world'. The protagonist-poet's life and his links with people and with his native Carpathian landscape are shown through the following 'prisms':

1. The 'prism' of an archetypal premonition of inevitable death, accompanied by the hope of attaining a complete vision of truth—cf. Stanza 15:

Teraz tu słyszę, czego nikt nie słyszy,
I widzę rzeczy na skroś i spod spodu
I pełny jestem śmierci jak ciszy
I pełny wieczności jak chłodu.

2. The 'prism' of mythological and Biblical motifs.
3. The 'prism' of Polish folklore.
4. The 'prism' of Romantic poetry.

VII

The most ambiguous motif of *Piąta pora roku* is that of the bird—an element of the poem's 'nature' background; a symbol of the eternal recurrence of phenomena; the envoy of eternity and death; a symbol of inspiration; a 'relation' of the Muses, the Parcae and the guardian Angel-Spirit; a symbol of nostalgia (homesickness); a symbol of the unity of heaven and earth. The motif of the bird is the poem's main semantic and thematic link (nature—eternity—imagination—art).

It can therefore be no accident that in the opening section of *Piąta pora roku* the bird is linked with song and blood—the words *ptak*, *śpiew* and *krew* being the only one-stress verse endings in the entire poem. This association of the bird with song and blood leads us to yet another meaning of the symbol. Like the bird in Part III of Yeats's *The Tower*, the bird in *Piąta pora roku* would seem to symbolize 'living truth'—

⁶¹ Cf. "Legenda wieczności" (in:) M. Dłuska, *Studia i rozprawy*, ed. cit., vol. III, p. 156.

equated with the words uttered by the inspired poet and with the poet's 'inner truth', which is either a reflection of or a synonym for absolute truth.

A similarly expressive theory of the inspired words of ⁶² saints, great philosophers and poets is to be found in Mickiewicz's Paris lectures (*Wykłady o literaturach słowiańskich*, 1844, lectures VII and VIII). This theory would appear to assume that every creator strives to achieve unity of intuitive thought, the creative act and the result (i.e. the work of art). Another tenet would appear to be that the inspired word reaches the hearer's (or reader's) soul (on which it 'acts' directly) without being distorted in any way. For Mickiewicz, therefore, the inspired 'word' has the following characteristics:⁶³

1. It is a reflection of the word of God (*promień słowa Bożego*)⁶⁴— i.e. it is partial revelation (*objawienie cząstkowe*).⁶⁵

2. It is an expression of the human soul.⁶⁶

3. It has two aspects—spiritual and material. Both aspects form an indissoluble whole (cf. the human body and soul). The force which binds both aspects together is love, which is found in man and is the source of life, creation and inspiration—the divine element of the world:

"Słowo jest to ciało i duch stopy razem ogniem boskim znajdującym się w człowieku . . . Słowo jest to cały człowiek".⁶⁷

The word is the flesh and the spirit made one by the heavenly fire present in human nature.

The word is the whole of man.

4. Mickiewicz compares it to an 'airborne ball of fire' (*lotna i płomienista kulka*).⁶⁸ Indirectly, therefore, it may be associated with a bird. This would certainly seem to be the case in *Piąta pora roku*.

⁶² The meaning of Mickiewicz's term 'word' is complex. 'Word' may mean: 'God's revelation to man'; 'God'; 'the inspired work of art'; 'inspired action'; 'the inspired man'; 'the basis of being'.

⁶³ I have chosen only those characteristics which are relevant to my analysis of Wierzyński's poem.

⁶⁴ "Ale jeżeli ciężko otrzymać Słowo, promień Słowa Bożego, jeżeli w niewielu tylko epokach dano światu widzieć organa tego Słowa, ciężko też i je przyjąć". (Mickiewicz, op. cit., Rok Czwarty, p. 150).

⁶⁵ "Zastanawiając się nad wewnętrzną pracą naszego ducha, moglibyśmy już przyjść do niejasnego poznania Słowa Bożego, bo każdy z nas ma w sobie iskrę Bożą, ma swoje Słowo Boże i wszystkie nasze dzieła są Słowami cząstkowymi". (*ibidem*, p. 148).

⁶⁶ "Pisarze i artyści, wywnętrzając się w poezji albo w sztuce, czynią nie co innego, tylko dogadzają potrzebom udzielania się naszym duchom". (*ibidem*, p. 130).

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 132-133.

⁶⁸ "Dla przekonania się, ile w tem prawdy, dosyć będzie, jeżeli każdy zastanowi się, co się z nim dzieje w tych rzadkich chwilach, kiedy miłość silna, szczerza i czysta, kiedy uczucie patryotyczne albo natchnienie boskie każe mu mówić. Jakiś ogień wewnętrzny zapala się natenczas w głębi naszego jestestwa, przebiega nagle po wszystkich żyłach, przejmując, roztopia niejako całą naszą organizację, i z tak roztopionego człowieka duch jego, wyciągając pierwiastek, (...) tworzy tę lotną i płomienistą kulkę, którą nazywamy słowem, która wylatuje z nas, nie rozłączając się z nami, która zdaje się zniknąć, a jednak trwa tak długo, jak duch, co ją wydał, to jest — bez końca". (*ibidem*, p. 132).

5. The voice of the inspired poet is a 'current of life and strength' (*prąd życia i siły*) which penetrates the listener's soul directly.⁶⁹

6. Undoubtedly influenced by the Gospel, Mickiewicz equates the word with 'spiritual power' (*moc duchowa*), the essence of which is love, and with food (bread).⁷⁰ Mickiewicz thus considers the inspired word to be a source of both spiritual and material (biological) life.⁷¹

"Moc to słowo, które się już urzeczywistnia, wchodzi w życie, daje żywotność, karmi".⁷²

7. As an expression of the power (*siła/moc*) of the spirit, the inspired word is also equated with action and work. All work is *wyżęzenie czucia i mocy*.⁷³

8. The inspired word is an act (*czyn*), insofar as it is a combination of (good) intention and inner strength (*intencja i siła połączone w jednym duchu*).⁷⁴

9. The word is therefore 'holy' (*święte*) and has creative power.⁷⁵

10. Every man who is inspired is a real author (*sprawca*).⁷⁶

11. Every man who is inspired is also the 'word incarnate' (*słowo wcielone*).⁷⁷

⁶⁹ "... bo z dźwiękiem głosu tych mężów bożych wszedłby w nas taki prąd życia i siły, że duch nasz zdołałby zaraz uchwycić wewnętrzne znaczenie tego dźwięku, pojąć ich pragnienie Boga, zawarte w wyrazach, a wyrazy te natychmiast umysł nasz przekładałby sobie na francuskie". (*ibidem*, p.134).

⁷⁰ Cf. Note 68.

"Mówiliśmy o cudowności słowa żywiącego, o duchu stającym się pokarmem". (*ibidem*, p. 139).

⁷¹ "Ewangelia powiada, że człowiek żyje nie tylko chlebem, ale i słowem Bożem. Odwołując się do Ewangelii, można rzec śmiało, że, jeżeli gdzie objawia się niedostatek i głód duchowy, to pewno tam zabrakło słowa Chrystusowego. Ewangelia rozsiana była po świecie na zasiłek ducha ludzkiego. Skoro zaś zważymy wpływ ducha na stan fizyczny człowieka, odkryjemy i prawdziwą przyczynę nędzy materialnej, która w istocie nie jest niczem innym jak tylko następstwem nędzy moralnej — a wtedy, łatwo da się nam pojąć i ta jeszcze cudowność słowa, jego działalność na ciało, jego pożywność (...) bo niezawodnie słowo może nakarmić". (*ibidem*, p. 136).

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 136.

⁷³ "Praca zaś podług Hezjoda jest to wyżęzenie czucia i mocy" (*ibidem*, p. 137).

⁷⁴ "Intencja i siła połączone w jednym duchu, stanowią czyn. Ten, kto taki czyn spełnia, jest prawdziwym autorem. *Autor*, w języku łacińskim, znaczy sprawcę, człowieka, przez którego rzecz jaka zostaje nie napisana, ale sprawiona i który pominą *auget*, zbiór rzeczy, mających byt w czynie. Takie sprawowanie rzeczy, taka realizacja daje razem człowiekowi powagę, władzę istotną". (*ibidem*, pp. 141-142).

⁷⁵ "Rzecz ta, z siebie niezmiernie ważna dla wszystkich, nas, Słowian, dotyka szczególnie. Słowianie wychodzi na to, co lud słowa. Lud ten zachowuje dotąd czystą tradycję znaczenia słowa, do którego zawsze przywiązuje pojęcie świętości i mocy twórczej". (*ibidem*, p. 131).

⁷⁶ Cf. footnote No. 74.

⁷⁷ "Z doktryn nic nie wynika: doktryna jest to sposób widzenia jednego człowieka (...) Rzeczą, nie mogącą się sformułować, trwałą, żywą, działającą, jest sam człowiek, słowo wcielone. Tego to człowieka przezuwają i zapowiadają poeci polscy; człowieka, który *śród głosów mylnych, wśród wrzasków tysięcy, / Uchem duszy rozpozna przeznaczeń kół grzmiennie, / Wskoczy w rydwan wyroków i zajmie siedzenie, / I po czasie przejedzie jako Przeznaczenie*". (Mickiewicz, op. cit., Rok Drugi 1841-1842, p. 320).

12. All human works (*czyny*) which are the result of inspiration are 'partial words'⁷⁸ (*słowa cząstkowe*).

Mickiewicz's theory of the inspired 'word' can therefore be seen to be concerned with (inspired) thought, speech, acts, works and people. It is also intimately related to Mickiewicz's conception of the Slavs as people who are naturally receptive to the inspired word (i.e. revelation)⁷⁹—their name (*Słowianin*=Slav) being traditionally considered to be derived from *słowo* (=word)—and to his conception of the language of the Slavs⁸⁰ as an organic being (*jestestwo organiczne*) which:

“przeszedłszy przez wszystkie stopnie niższe swojego bytu zachowało w sobie razem życie roślinne, zwierzęce i ludzkie, a każde z nich w dojrzałym rozwinięciu i zupełnej całości”.⁸¹

This language has both a human and a divine dimension. It is at once an expression of the inspired spirit and an 'image' or 'voice' of nature, conceived as an organic whole.⁸²

It would seem that in many of the poems he wrote as an émigré, Wierzyński alluded to this 'theory' or rather 'mythology' of the inspired 'word' which had been elaborated by Mickiewicz. In *Mowa i ziemia* (in: *Siedem podków*, 1954) the protagonist's native language—equated in turn with: the earth's whisper; the earth's song; the protagonist's unhappy fate; the protagonist's love 'sown in blood'—is his inseparable travelling companion. In a poem entitled *Tuwim* (in: *Tkanka ziemi*) the Polish language is equated with nectar-rich clover, the poet (Tuwim) being equated with a spring, the water of which refreshes his native language, people, plants and animals. In a poem entitled *Poezja* (in: *Sen mara*, 1969) poetry is described as 'immaterial matter'—equated with

⁷⁸ „... bo każdy z nas ma w sobie iskrę Bożą, ma swoje Słowo Boże, i wszystkie nasze dzieła są Słowami cząstkowymi. Co to jest ten błysk, w którym artysta pojmuje od razu cały zarys, cały pomysł swojego dzieła? Błysk ten jest tego dzieła Słowem”. (Mickiewicz, op. cit., Rok Czwarty, p. 148).

⁷⁹ “Nazwa 'Słowianie' oznacza więc, w interpretacji Mickiewicza, nie lud posiadający Słowo, lecz lud oczekujący Słowa. Słowo zaś, słowo objawione, zawsze wciela się w wielką jednostkę o szczególnych uzdolnieniach charyzmatycznych. ('Bóg nie ma innego sposobu przemawiania do ludzi: musi obrać człowieka')” — A. Walicki, *Filozofia a mesjanizm*, Warsaw 1970, pp. 276-277.

⁸⁰ “... Słowianie wszystkie zasoby umysłowe zlati w ten jeden olbrzymi pomnik. Język słowiański, tak dawny, jak Indyan i Germanów, żyje dziś jeszcze w ustach osiemdziesięciu milionów ludzi” (Mickiewicz, op. cit., Rok Pierwszy, p. 23).

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p.9.

⁸² “Możnaby powiedzieć, że cały ten ogromny język, jakby odlany z samorodnego kruszcu bez żadnej mieszaniny, wytrysnął i rozwinął się z jednego słowa (...). Są w nim obadwa pierwiastki boski i ludzki — składa się on niby z dwóch języków, które rozwijają się razem, jeden, zstępując od rzeczy niewidomych i wyższych do rzeczy widomych i niższych, drugi, wznosząc się ze świata materialnego w świat duchowy. Ten sam podział znajdujemy w Geniezie, gdzie Bóg jednym jestestwem sam daje nazwiska, drugich nazwanie zostawuje człowiekowi. (...) Ze wszystkich języków słowiański rozległością swoją najwięcej odpowiada ogromowi natury”. (*ibidem*, pp. 23-24).

love—and is also associated by the protagonist with the ‘immaterial matter’ of the Romantics,⁸³ i.e. with electricity. In this poem the inspired word—the ‘fiery word’—is described variously as a ‘grain’, as ‘light’ and as ‘conception’.

In *Piąta pora roku* the inspired word, symbolized by the bird (cf. Mickiewicz’s ‘airborne ball of fire’) is associated with the song of nature and with the protagonist’s blood. The association *ptak—śpiew—krew* would therefore seem to point to the life-giving force of the inspired word, which at the end of the poem becomes an apple (i.e. a form of nourishment)—cf. once again Mickiewicz’s ‘airborne ball of fire’ and the inspired word as bread.

Mickiewicz’s theory, according to which the inspired word is equated with ‘God’, ‘inspired man’, ‘action’, ‘work’, ‘thought’ and defined as the maximum concentration of inner feeling and strength, would seem to explain why in *Piąta pora roku* the description of poetic ecstasy takes the form of a description of consciously undertaken activities and why this description gives way to (or develops into) inner action:

Obszyłem się liśćmi, porośłem górami,
Paliły się we mnie ogniska pastuchów:

The fact that Mickiewicz equates the inspired word with the inspired man would also seem to throw light on the suggestion (found in the last part of *Piąta pora roku*) that the protagonist’s dead parents appear to see him as being possessed by the bird, their emissary:

Przypominają mi nagle że ptak
Przeleciał przeze mnie, ptak,
I drzwi zostawił otwarte
Na góry moje, na drzewa,
Na wszystkie sprawy
Żywe i martwe.

(in *Stanza 18*)

Czemu nie śpiewa?

(*Stanza 19*)

⁸³ Cf. *Cztery toasty pewnego Chemika na cześć istot promienistych* (in:) A. Mickiewicz, *Dzieła poetyckie*, ed. cit. pp. 107-108.

VIII

Another motif (after those of the bird, the Muses and fire) which is linked with inspired poetry in *Piąta pora roku* is that of sleep on the warm, dry grass of forest clearings (*na siennych, wygrzanych polanach*). This motif is also concealed in the poem's Carpathian background. It belongs to the sphere of the Dionysian myth present in the poem and is also linked with the Romantic concept of the inspired poet.

In Polish Romantic lyric poetry the state of ecstasy—reminiscent of Dionysian inebriation⁸⁴—is commonly represented as a state (intermediate between contemplation and action, sleep and consciousness) in which the poet becomes dispossessed of his body and encompasses (with his spirit) the earth, rising above it in order to reach the invisible world. The perception of reality which accompanies this state of ecstasy is far superior to that which accompanies consciousness. Vision therefore often gives way to interior action and lyric monologue is often replaced by narration. This is the case, for example, in Mickiewicz's poem entitled *Widzenie*. The protagonist of this poem—like that of *Piąta pora roku*—encompasses with his spirit the whole visible and invisible world. He feels the movements of the entire universe within himself and meets God and the Angels face to face:

Dźwięk mię uderzył — nagle moje ciało,
Jak ów kwiat polny, otoczony puchem,
Prysło, zerwane anioła podmuchem,
I ziarno duszy nagie pozostało.
I zdało mi się, że się nagle zbudził
Ze snu straszego, co mię długo trzymał.
I jak zbudzony ociera pot z czoła,
Tak ocierałem swoje przeszłe czyny,
Które wisiały przy mnie, jak łupiny
Wokoło świeżo rozkwitłego zioła.

(...)

Teraz widziałem całe wielkie morze,
Płynące z środka jak ze źródła, z Boga,
(...)

I mogłem latać po całym przestworze,
Biegać, jak promień przy boskim promieniu
Mądrości bożej; i w dziwnym widzeniu

⁸⁴ Cf. "Mania twórcza" (in:) T. Zieliński, *Po co Homer? Świat antyczny a my*, Ed. A. Biernacki, Kraków 1970, pp. 308-316.

I światłem byłem, i żrenicą razem.

(...)

A w środku siebie, jakoby w ognisku,
Czułem od razu całe Przyrodzenie.
Stałem się osią w nieskończonym kole,
Sam nieruchomy, czułem jego ruchy;
Byłem w pierwotnym żywiołów żywiole,
W miejscu skąd wszystkie rozchodzą się duchy,
Świat ruszające, same nieruchome:⁸⁵

In *Piąta pora roku*, as in Mickiewicz's *Widzenie*, the protagonist's inner vision gives way to inner action. In Wierzyński's poem the motifs of sleep on forest clearings (*na siennych, wygrzanych polanach*—cf. Stanza 5) and the protagonist's ascent to the mountain-tops (cf. Stanza 16) correspond in Mickiewicz's poem to the motifs of sleep and the protagonist's flight into eternity. The two visions differ basically in that the vision of Wierzyński's protagonist is dominated by the earth, whereas that of Mickiewicz's is dominated by heaven. That of Wierzyński's protagonist is furthermore a retrospective vision of (the protagonist's) life, which is nearing its end. This would seem to explain the fact that in *Piąta pora roku* heaven is shown from a terrestrial standpoint. It would also seem to explain the absence of God, with whom Mickiewicz's protagonist becomes united. In *Piąta pora roku* Mickiewicz's God and Angels have been 'replaced' by the protagonist's native Carpathian landscape and by the spirits of his dead parents. It is the latter—and not Angels—who control life on earth and whom the winds and seasons obey (Stanza 12). It is to them—not to God—that the protagonist is accountable for what he creates. It is from them that he inherits the earth, people, plants and animals of his native Carpathian homeland:

Bo przyszli potem z daleka umarli,
Łokciem o lasy jodłowe się wsparli,
Patrzyli wokół — a ziemia szeroka
Drobną im rzęsą zawisła u oka,
Wiatr stanął w miejscu, stanęły drogi
W białym spokoju, i legły u nogi
Jaskółcze wiosny, bukowe lata
I jesień sowa i zima brodata.

I rzekł mój ojciec do matki mojej,
Dym odpędzając pod koniec wojny:
“Nie bój się, wszystko się tak uspokoi
W śmierci wieczyście spokojnej”.

⁸⁵ A. Mickiewicz, *Dziela poetyckie*, ed. cit., p. 68.

I wzięli mnie. Wiedli w głąb, w tajemniczy
Obszar, gdzie nic się z tej ziemi nie liczy,
Gdzie wiosnie, latu, jesieni i zimie
W innym języku nadano imię.
Gdzie niezliczone, zawile odmiany,
W jeden zrównały się czas odwikłany,
Który też ustał, — tyle, że sprzęta
Opustoszałe po zgiełku mrowisko, —
I dokonało wtedy się wszystko:
Ostatnia pora otwarła się. Piąta

Teraz tu słyszę, czego nikt nie słyszy,
I widzę rzeczy na skroś i spod spodu
I pełny jestem śmierci jak ciszy
I pełny wieczności jak chłodu.

Wiem. Dawno temu doszczętnie wymarłem
A jednak trwam znów, i łokciem o góry
Jak tamci z mego plemienia się wsparłem
I patrzę, synów mych szukam, czy który
Obszył się liśćmi, i porósł lasami,
A może stoi przy ogniu pastuchów
I pójdzie śladem, co został za nami,
I znów powtórzył przyrodę tych ruchów
Gdy zgrzane życie porami gęstymi
Dyszało w słońce i szło do księżyca,
Gdy we mnie ciekła krew mojej ziemi
A w matkach mleko i w sosnach żywica.

I rzekł mój ojciec: “Jeszcze go prowadź,
Bo ludzkie oczy z żalu w nim bledną”.
A matka: “Nie masz tu czego żałować,
Śmierć i życie, to jedno”.

I tak mi mówią, tak pocieszają,
Że nic nie przepadło, że nie zapomną
Jak cień mój w tamtym przesunął się kraju,
Że gospodarkę objąłem ogromną,
Sienne polany i woły węgierskie,
Zapach powideł, zimowia niebieskie,
Sosny masztowe i biedę w Karpatach,
Cały dobytek, który się splatał
Z ludzi i roślin i skóry zwierzęcej,

I nawet mówią mi jeszcze coś więcej,
Przypominają mi nagle że ptak
Przeleciał przeze mnie, ptak,
I drzwi zostawił otwarte
Na góry moje, na drzewa,
Na wszystkie sprawy
Żywe i martwe.

Czemu nie śpiewa?

Więc wyznam wam ostatnią troskę,
Śpiewajcie ją jak chłopską piosnkę
I kiedy świat się w zmierzchu ściemnia,
Zamknijcie okna, spuście story,
Niech tam gromadzą się wieczory
I gdy powróci z pola ziemia,
Niech swoje ciężkie zzuje buty
I kurz otrzepie z nich przysuty,
Niech się położy, odpoczywa,
Szczęśliwa albo nieszczęśliwa,
I niech potoczy się jabłuszko
Pod siennik jej, pod łózko.

(Stanzas 12-20)

IX

The vocation of the inspired poet is to fathom the secret of heaven and earth and to reveal it to others. The protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* is called upon to do just this by his dead parents, who remind him that: *...ptak/Przeleciał przeze mnie... /I drzwi zostawił otwarte/ ...Na wszystkie sprawy/Żywe i martwe*. They also ask him why the bird does not sing: *Czemu nie śpiewa?*

The conception of creation and art which is implicit in the scene with the protagonist's dead parents becomes easier to grasp when it is seen in the light of (certain aspects of) Mickiewicz's conception of expressive art, as set out in his Paris lectures. Mickiewicz's theory of expressive art may be summarized as follows:

1. Art is related to religion.⁸⁶ Indeed, art would seem to be a kind of religion.

⁸⁶ A. Mickiewicz, *Wykłady o literaturach słowiańskich*, Rok III i IV, ed. cit., p. 127:

“Dla niektórych ludzi sztuka jest jeszcze jedynym sposobem praktykowania religijności, jakiego trzymać się śmieją”.

2. The secret of art is creation.⁸⁷

3. The artist finds models for his creation in an ideal land of personal spirits. According to Mickiewicz, this land of personal spirits corresponds to Plato's sphere of ideas.⁸⁸

4. Art is therefore a kind of invocation of spirits, an expression of a directly experienced vision. According to Mickiewicz, the function of art seems to be both expressive and epistemological:

Sztuka zatem jest pewnym ro- dzajem wywoływania duchów, jest operacją tajemniczą i świętą... Sztuka nie jest i nie może być innem, jak tylko wyrażaniem wi- dzenia. ⁸⁹	Art is the invocation of spirits, an activity both mysterious and holy... Art is not and cannot be anything other than an expression of a vision.
--	--

5. The artist's talent is a thread which links the poet with the invisible world:

I cóż to jest talent artysty? To, co nazywamy talentem, darem nieba, co artyści czują w sobie, a czego nie starają się dosyć pojąć, nie jest niczem innym, jak tylko spójnią, łączącą ducha artysty ze światem niewidomym: jest to przywilej stykania się z krainą duchów. Poeta polski, Antoni Młczyński, powiada:

I drży nić, którą serce do nieba związane: To kropla słodkiej rosy spadła po nią w ranę.	The thread that joins the heart to heaven trembles as the drop of sweet dew falls from it into the wound.
---	--

Jakkolwiek słaba jest już ta nić, co sztukę dzisiejszą wiąże z niebem, ale zawsze jest jeszcze: rozbiór i rozprawianie nie zdołały jej zerwać.⁹⁰

6. Mickiewicz gives the name *cudowność* (=the wonderful/the marvellous/*le merveilleux*) to the inspired poet's (characteristic) feeling that he has close links both with the 'land of spirits' and with nature. He considers this *cudowność* to be the essence of poetry:

⁸⁷ "Sztuka nie jest także przypomnieniem rzeczywistości: tworzy przedmioty, których nikt nigdy nie widział" (*ibidem*, p. 127).

⁸⁸ "Skądże więc wziąć wzór, ideał arcydzieła? Ideału tego nie ma gdzie indziej tylko w krainie duchów. Niektórzy filozofowie starożytni. Pytagoras, Platon wiedzieli o tem — wszyscy wielcy artyści to czuli, teoretycy dzisiejsi poczynają domyślać się tego". (loc. cit.)

⁸⁹ loc. cit.

⁹⁰ loc. cit.

Każdy utwór poetycki ma w głębi siebie to życie organiczne, tajemne, nazwane po szkolnemu cudownością, które wznosząc się w miarę jak wzrasta zakres utworu, w wierszykach i piosnkach przebijają się tylko na kształt lekkiego tchnienia z krain wyższych — w eposie i w dramacie przybiera już widomą postać bóstwa.⁹¹

Every poetic work has in its depths an organic, secret life which can be called, in simple terms, a sense of wonder. Its level rises with the scope of the poem: in simple lines and songs it is only a light breeze from higher regions, in an epic or a drama it takes on a numinous form.

7. Mickiewicz considered that the Slavs have an inborn feeling for *cudowność*. In his opinion this feeling has its source in the 'virgin', austere and continually changing natural environment of the Slavonic homelands. Mickiewicz also believed that Slavonic oral literature is permeated with *cudowność*:

Lud słowiański całe życie opowiada i opiewa, co się dzieje pod ziemią, w powietrzu, na niebie Sztuka wysiła się na tysiące sposobów dla obudzenia w duszy mieszkańców Zachodu uczucia cudowności — u nas dosyć na to samej natury. Ta dziewicza, wspaśniała, dzika natura, co z każdym dniem przybiera nowe i wdzięki nową grozę, ma w sobie razem coś niezmiernie świętego i przejmującego strachem.⁹²

The life of Slav peoples is all storytelling and a celebration of what happens in the bowels of the earth, in the air and in the firmament of heaven . . . Art makes infinite effort to awaken a sense of wonder in the mind of Western man but we have it in our nature. Our intact, wild nature is full of splendour, altering from day to day, taking on a new attraction and a new dread, carrying something holy and yet awesome.

8. According to Mickiewicz, the poetry of the Slavs is characterized by 'earthiness' (*ziemskość*), by its reluctance to outstep the bounds of nature (*pozostawanie w granicach przyrodzenia*)⁹³ and by the continual presence of birds, plants and animals. The birds and animals are often able to speak.

9. In Mickiewicz's opinion, Polish poetry is distinguished from other Slavonic poetry by its gaiety, joyfulness, joviality and also by its dramatic tendency (contrasts, oppositions).⁹⁴

10. Mickiewicz felt that Slavonic drama ought to take its inspiration from the cult of the dead (cf. *Dziady*), which, in his opinion, is common

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 66.

⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 129.

⁹³ Mickiewicz, op. cit., Rok I, p. 52.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 9 and 52.

to all the Slavonic peoples.⁹⁵ Slavonic drama, he thought, ought to be a synthesis of all the poetic 'elements' (*żywioły*) (i.e. genres) dramatic, lyric and epic. It ought also to take the reader to the 'supernatural world' (*świat nadziemski*), thus evoking a feeling of *cudowność*:

Z tego cośmy powiedzieli można wnosić, jak trudno jest napisać dramat słowiański, któryby obejmował wszystkie żywioły poezji narodowej, nigdzie nie ukazujące się tak licznie i tak rozmaicie. Dramat ten powinienby być być lirycznym i przypominać uroczę dźwięki pieśni gminnych — powinienby naśladować opowiadania ... powinienby przytem przenosić w świat nadziemski.⁹⁶

It follows from what we have said that it is exceedingly difficult to write a Slav drama which would contain all the elements of national poetry in all their variety and multiplicity. That drama ought to imitate the fables of story-tellers and take us into the world of the supernatural.

11. Mickiewicz urges authors of drama to follow in the footsteps of Slavonic (peasant) story-tellers (*bajarze*). These *bajarze* identify themselves with the heroes of their tales. The main events are 'acted out' before the listeners:

... autorowie dramatyczni mogliby wziąć bardzo użyteczny przykład z bajarzy gminnych, z wieśniaków słowiańskich, opowiadających bajki. U żadnego ludu nie masz powieści tak bogatych, tak dziwnych, i pewnie żadna publiczność nie słucha tak ciekawie, z takim natężeniem uwagi, jak ta drużyna, co otacza biednego chłopka, prawiącego bajkę w swojej chacie ... Bajarz prawie zawsze sam występuje w zdarzeniach opowiadanych, odgrywa część swojego dramatu. Czasem daje do zrozumienia, że co się stało najważniejszego, to on zrobił i bez niego nicby nie było — czasem bardzo

... dramatic authors should follow the example of village story-tellers and the Slav peasant fables. No people have stories as rich and so wondrous. It is unlikely that there exists any audience prepared to listen with as much curiosity and such a degree of attention as a group listening to a peasant telling a story in his cottage ... the story-teller is, almost invariably, a protagonist in the happenings, he plays a part in his own drama. Sometimes he indicates that it was he who was responsible for the most weighty event and that without him none of it would have taken place. On other occasions,

⁹⁵ "Wiemy z historii i mitologii, że oddawanie czci umarłym stanowiło ważną część dawnej religii słowiańskiej, i Dzień Zaduszny był obchodzony ze wszystkich świąt najuroczyściej". (Mickiewicz, op. cit., Rok III, pp. 66-67).

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 66.

prostym sposobem porusza nagle
swoich słuchaczy . . .⁹⁷

by simple means he suddenly
moves his listeners . . .

Mickiewicz goes on to recall the well-known Slavonic tale about a fiery bird:

Wielu Polakom i Rosjanom musi być znana ta bajka gdzie bohater jej idzie szukać cudownego ptaka i znajduje tylko jedno jego pióro zgubione w przelocie, które miało taki blask, że kiedy je wniósł do izby, cała izba oświeciła się jak od pochodni.⁹⁸

Many Poles and Russians are familiar with the tale of a hero in search of a wonder bird, who finds its single feather lost in flight but shining so brightly that the room lights up as with torchlight when it is brought in.

Mickiewicz's conception of art as a form of religion and cognition would seem to explain why in *Piąta pora roku* the themes of eternity and nature are intimately linked with the theme of poetry.

Similarly, Mickiewicz's conception of the poet as a mediator between the 'land of spirits' and the visible World (i.e. nature and people) would seem to explain why in *Piąta pora roku* the spirits of the protagonist's dead parents not only act as their son's guide in the spiritual world but also make him possessor of the Carpathian landscape and inquire about his activities as a creator.

Mickiewicz's conception of *cudowność* (the source of which is the Slavonic natural environment) would also seem to throw light on the role played by the Carpathian landscape, the personifications of the seasons and the personification of the earth in *Piąta pora roku*. Indeed, the personification of the earth (at the end of the poem) may even be a slightly jocular allusion to Mickiewicz's assertion that art is an invocation of spirits (*sztuka jest pewnym rodzajem wywoływania duchów*).

Mickiewicz's remarks about Slavonic drama would seem to go a long way towards illuminating the structure of *Piąta pora roku*, in which dramatic, lyric and epic elements coexist.

The dramatic elements present in the poem are provided by the ritual stylization (Dionysian-Eleusinian ritual/*Dziady*) which permeates the entire poem (cf. the beginning, the end, the scene with the protagonist's dead parents).

Lyric elements are present in the images of the Carpathian landscape,

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 68.

⁹⁸ loc. cit.

of which there are four different versions in the poem;⁹⁹ these constitute the poem's refrain, as it were, and serve to stylize the poem as a dithyramb¹⁰⁰ in honour of earth and as a 'peasant song' (*chłopska piosnka*):

Więc wyznam wam ostatnią troskę
Śpiewajcie ją jak chłopską piosnkę. (in Stanza 20)

The image of the Carpathian landscape, people, plants and animals is seen from terrestrial (Stanzas 4-11) and eternal (Stanzas 12, 16, 18) standpoints. It is also seen through the prisms of: the joyful experience of the unity of all being (Stanzas 4-11); despair at the loss of this unity (Stanza 12); love and nostalgia (Stanza 16); hope (Stanza 18).

This recurring image of the protagonist's Carpathian homeland also, indirectly, introduces the mythical theme of the cyclical recurrence of phenomena. The poem's main epic element is the protagonist's story—told in the face of death, so to speak—of that part of his past life which is organically linked with his Carpathian homeland and its living and dead inhabitants.

Mickiewicz's description of the *bajarze* as story-tellers who partly narrate and partly enact their tales would seem to fit the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* (*qua* narrator) admirably.

Mickiewicz's Romantic suggestion that poets should seek inspiration in peasant fairy-tales (*baśń ludowa*) calls for an examination of *Piąta pora roku* through the prism of fairy-tales. The poem's finale contains three fairy-tale motifs: that of the magic bird, that of the magic apple and that of the sleeping hero (or heroine—earth in the guise of a peasant[woman]).¹⁰¹ It is for earth that the bird sings and the apple rolls.

In *Piąta pora roku* these fairy-tale motifs have (already) undergone a considerable transformation. The extent of this transformation can best be gauged by referring to Leśmian's *Klechdy sezamowe*, with which

⁹⁹ Cf. "Legenda wieczności" (in:) M. Dłuska, *Studia i rozprawy*, ed. cit., vol. III (tables of recurring motifs in *Piąta pora roku*).

¹⁰⁰ "Dytyrambowy charakter *Piątej pory roku* daje diametralnie różny obraz postępowania rytmicznego i melodycznego. Właściwie należałoby każdą część utworu traktować osobno. Da się jednak i tutaj na tle różnorodności dostrzec pewne wytyczne ogólnie ujednoczające całość. W każdym razie wyróżnić trzeba część ściśle zwrotkową od części strofoidalnych". (M. Dłuska, op. cit., vol. III, p. 149.)

¹⁰¹ The question as to whether (in the poem's last stanza) earth is personified as a man or as a woman is left open by the poet. In Polish, the gender of the noun *ziemia* is feminine.

Cf. K. Wierzyński, *Selected Poems*, ed. cit., p. 45. Here the translator has personified earth as a man.

Cf. M. Dłuska, op. cit., vol. III, 136.

Wierzyński was almost certainly familiar.¹⁰² These are fairy-tales woven around motifs taken from the *Arabian Nights*.¹⁰³ In Leśmian's tale *O pięknej Parysada i o ptaku Bulbulezarze* there is, together with the beautiful princess Parysada, a magic bird, Bulbulezar, which tells fairy-tales with a human voice and which has the wings of a peacock, the neck of a swan, the beak of a stork, the claws of a vulture and the eyes of a swallow (its appearance therefore parallels the multiple significance of Wierzyński's symbol). In Leśmian's tale there is also a singing tree (*Dąb-Samograj*) and a magic spring (*Struga-Złotosmuga*).

In *Piąta pora roku* these last two motifs have been replaced by that of the rolling apple. The motif of the apple (taken from Slavonic folklore)¹⁰⁴ would also seem to be capable of being interpreted as a motif from Greek mythology. The personification of the earth, which in the finale of *Piąta pora roku* goes to lie down on her/its bed and for which the apple is destined, would seem to be reminiscent of the sleeping heroine of fairy-tales. Wierzyński's singing bird would seem to correspond to both the talking bird and the singing tree of Leśmian's tale. This perhaps explains why the song of Wierzyński's bird appears to be transformed into an apple. The motif of the singing tree is therefore only apparently absent in *Piąta pora roku*. It is in fact latently present. Wierzyński's 'tree', however, would seem to possess characteristics which are first and foremost those of the apple tree of the Hesperidian garden.¹⁰⁵ Its fruit would seem to promise immortality.

The analogy between the singing bird and the tree bearing magic fruit—suggested by the song's transformation into an apple—may be traced to the Romantic motifs of the bird and the tree as analogues of

¹⁰² Leśmian's *Klechdy sezamowe* were first published in 1913.

Cf. Footnote No. 8.

¹⁰³ Cf. R. Zimand: "Preliminaria do Klechd Leśmiana" (in:) *Studia o Leśmianie*, Ed. M. Głowiński and J. Sławiński, Warsaw 1971.

¹⁰⁴ "Motyw jabłka (jabłuszka) nie jest typowym motywem baśni i pieśni ludowych w rodzinnych stronach poety (Podkarpacie za Lwowem, okolice Stryja). Jest natomiast szeroko znany jako motyw słowiański. Już Żegota Pauli (*Pieśni ludu polskiego w Galicji*, Lwów 1838) przytaczając piosenkę polską, osnutą na motywie jabłuszka (s. 3-4, pieśń nr 1), dodaje w odsyłaczu, że motyw ten zna poezja ludowa serbska, polska w różnych okolicach oraz morawska. Przeoczył folklor słowacki i rosyjski. W rosyjskiej literaturze ludowej motyw jabłuszka, i to właśnie motyw jabłuszka toczącego się (...) jest szczególnie rozpowszechniony i uważany za typowy". (M. Dłuska, op. cit., vol. III, p. 134).

¹⁰⁵ Cf. T. Zieliński, *Bajeczna starożytność*, ed. cit., pp. 184-187.

Cf. J. Parandowski, *Mitologia*, Warsaw 1972, pp. 198-199.

Cf. 'Na razie jest to sumarycznie i w całości biorąc liryka, czysta i stosowana liryka. Na razie jest to tylko ogród rozkoszy i ogród katuszy. Stanowczo już nie 'wróble na dachu', ale co nieco kolibry i pawie na drzewie z rajsłkimi jabłkami, choć w niejednym już dostrzega się orle szpony i sępią siłę uskrzydlenia'. (A. Nowaczyński, op. cit., p. 171.)

Cf. passages on Dionysus in: R. Graves, *The Greek Myths*, Penguin Books 1980.

Cf. the entry *Dionysus* in: *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. cit.

Cf. the entry *Dionysus (Bacchus)* in: J. Chevalier, *Dictionnaire des symboles ed cit.*

the poet. The motif of the bird as an analogue of the poet is a traditional one. The tree is a favourite Romantic analogue for: the literary work conceived as an organism; national poetry conceived as an organism; the national poet organically linked with his homeland and with his native cultural tradition. The motif of the tree is used in these three senses by the Polish Romantic critic Maurycy Mochnacki.¹⁰⁶

In a poem entitled *Owoce* (in: *Rozmowa z puszcza*, 1929) Wierzyński compares the poet to an apple-tree:

Wiersze się we mnie jak wielkie
Jabłka czerwone kołyszą.¹⁰⁷

The poet is often compared to a bird in Wierzyński's poetry.¹⁰⁸

The fairy-tale suggested by Wierzyński in the finale of *Piąta pora roku* is therefore jocular in character. It is as it were an abbreviated, synthetic fairy-tale in which transformed motifs from Greek, Slavonic and Oriental fairy-tales coexist harmoniously with motifs from Romantic poetry. Set as it is in the ritual of *Dziady*—evoked as a literary allusion—the fairy-tale causes the ritual to take on the atmosphere of a Franciscan Nativity-play—an atmosphere of light-heartedness and naïve *cudowność*. In the finale of *Piąta pora roku* the protagonist would therefore appear to assume an attitude of jovial detachment towards the Romantic poetic tradition so dear to him. He does not detach himself

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Mochnacki, op. cit.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. K. Wierzyński, *Poezje zebrane*, ed. cit., p. 133.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 509:

Ptak

Nie podchodźcie do mnie za blisko,
Nie płoszcie mnie,
Jestem ptakiem.
Moje ziemskie wirowisko,
Koło moje pod gwiazdami,
Imię moje i śpiew mój —
Zapisane Zodjakiem.

Jeśli co stąd zabieram,
To w lotkach moich powietrze:
Waszego mi trzeba oddechu,
Rym wolny, niedostrzeżony,
Oblatywał dalekie me strony
Na akwilońskim wietrze.

Co damę wam za to?
Ruch mój wysoki,
Podróż za gwiazdę skrzydlatą
I los wasz w mojej zapisany podróży.
Nie podchodźcie do mnie za blisko,
Jestem ptakiem.
Z mego lotu się wróży.

completely, however, for the pose of 'naïve poet'—which he would seem to assume consciously—can be traced to Schiller's myth about the naïve and the sentimental poet. Schiller's 'sentimental' (i.e. Romantic) poet, having become conscious of all the oppositions which are to be found in the world, strives to re-create the unity of all beings by means of imagination and art. In doing so, he hopes to regain or restore that unity which is the 'natural environment' of Schiller's naïve poet. As a Romantic 'naïve' poet, the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* is therefore an inspired poet who creates the myth of the restored unity of all Being.

Schiller's myth about the naïve and the sentimental poet is linked with the 'pastoral' current in European Romantic poetry. In *Piąta pora roku* the protagonist's attitude of naïve poet, which is linked with the Dionysian-Franciscan myth and which dominates the protagonist's past and future, would seem to be a modern counterpart to the 'pastoral' current in the poetry of the great Romantics (including Mickiewicz).¹⁰⁹

The last part (Stanzas 17-20) of *Piąta pora roku* would seem to enrich Mickiewicz's conception of art (as set forth in the Paris lectures) by the addition of an idea taken from Mickiewicz's *Dziady* (Part III), viz. the idea that art is a human form of eternity:

Ja czuję nieśmiertelność, nieśmiertelność tworzę.

This idea would seem to be common to the European Romantics and Symbolists. It is certainly dear to Wierzyński.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Cf. the *pasterki* in the poetry of Mickiewicz and Słowacki, and the images of nature in Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz*.

Cf. K. Wyka, 'Pan Tadeusz' *Studia o poemacie*, ed. cit.

Cf. J. Kleiner, *Słowacki*, Wrocław 1969.

Cf. J. Kleiner, *Mickiewicz*, vols I and II (parts 1 and 2), Lublin 1948.

¹¹⁰ "Dziś jest poza tymi wrotami. Nasz umysł i nasza wyobraźnia nie ogarniają tamtych obszarów ani ich trwania a język określa je słowami absolutu, jako nieskończoność i wieczność. My żyjący tu, na ziemi, w nieustannym lęku przemijania, też staramy się utwierdzić nasze istnienie i stworzyć własną doczesną wieczność, na podobieństwo tamtej, zaświatowej. Jeśli coś przetrwa pomiędzy nami, przejdzie z pokolenia na pokolenie i żyje tak przez stulecia, mówimy, że odbywa drogę wieczną. Przy drodze tej stoją pomniki naszej sławy, dzieła naszej pracy, symbole naszej miłości, niby straż naszego istnienia. Im bogatszy jest ten szpaler, tym łatwiej nam kroczyć tamtędy i tym dalej prowadzi nas droga. Teraz zajmą tam miejsce Lechoń. Dzieło jego przetrwa między nami, przejdzie z pokolenia na pokolenie i prowadzi nas będzie jako symbol obcowania z wiecznością". (K. Wierzyński, *Cygańskim wozem*, ed. cit., pp. 157-158).

Cf. "Sztuka dla sztuki nie jest absurdem, jest warunkiem rozwoju. To tyle co człowiek dla samego siebie. Człowiek musi istnieć dla siebie aby zaistniał dla innych. Im więcej bogactwa zgromadzi w granicach swojej osobowości, tym staje się cenniejszy społecznie. Sztuka bez rozpracowania własnych celów jest śmieciem, jak człowiek bez rozbudowy wewnętrznej jest pozycją statystyczną. Sztuka musi mieć prawo do samoistności, bez niej nie wejdzie w obręb dobra powszechnego". (*ibidem*, p. 92).

Cf. *Księga Cudów* (in:) K. Wierzyński, *Poezje zebrane*, ed. cit., pp. 552-553.

X

The idea that art is a human form of eternity is formulated by Mickiewicz's Konrad—an inspired poet—in his *impro wizacja* (*Dziady*, part III). In the mouth of Konrad, this idea is an expression of the Promethean attitude of a man who, in a one-sided dialogue, challenges the Almighty. In *Piąta pora roku*, the central part of the protagonist's monologue (Stanza 16) would seem to be a transformation, as it were, of Konrad's *impro wizacja*. Here motifs from the *impro wizacja* are fused with motifs from other Romantic works—in the main from other works by Mickiewicz and Słowacki.

Wierzyński's protagonist is accompanied by the very motifs which in Konrad's *impro wizacja* are associated with inspiration—*viz.* those of: song; the Muze; the bird (wings); fire; sleep; flight (the discarding of the body in order to rise up above the earth); the spiritual encompassing of the past and the future; the journey to the 'land of spirits'. The 'mania' (i.e. inspiration) of Wierzyński's protagonist, like that of Romantic poets, is composed of all four kinds of (Platonic) 'madness'.¹¹¹ It is therefore:

1. A Dionysian 'inebriation' which permits the experience of the unity of all beings.

2. A poetic 'frenzy' sent by the Muses.

3. An Apollonian 'prophetic' madness (the motif of the apple carrying with it the promise of immortality—i.e. that of the protagonist-poet's song).

4. The 'madness' of the lover—'conferred' not by Eros, but by St. Francis of Assisi and (it will be argued) by Prometheus.

Whereas the past of Wierzyński's protagonist would seem to be coloured by the Dionysian myth, his present would seem to be coloured by the myth of Prometheus. Wierzyński's treatment of the Promethean myth¹¹² in *Piąta pora roku* is similar to his treatment of the Dionysian myth:

1. Wierzyński reinterprets the Promethean myth by fusing it with the Dionysian myth. In *Piąta pora roku* the emotional and intellectual attitude which is complementary to the Dionysian attitude would seem to be represented not by the Apollo of Nietzsche's version of the myth

¹¹¹ Cf. T. Zieliński: "Mania twórcza" (in:) op. cit.

¹¹² "Za wytrwałość żagli pośmiertnych! (...) Słowa te lecą ku nam poprzez całą bezna-dzieję bytu wprost z nieulękiego serca poety i dźwięczą szczególnie bliskim nam echem. Ich prometejski odgłos łączy się z najwyższym lotem poezji polskiej, jeśli zgodzimy się na to, że w sumarycznym skrócie najważniejszą jej treścią był właśnie opór przeciw wszelkiej ludzkiej i boskiej przemocy, walka z ziemskim i nadziemskim wrogiem, wierność sprawie, dla której się żyje i za którą się umiera (...) Pomoc, jaką niosła poezja, była jedynym wyzwoleniem osaczonego ducha. Poświęcił jej wszystko i we wszystkim zaufał, w swej sile i słabości". (K. Wierzyński, *O Bolesławie Leśmianie*, ed. cit., pp. 32-33).

but by Prometheus—the lone benefactor of men, whose superior he is by virtue of his ‘Titanic’ nature.¹¹³

2. In Wierzyński’s interpretation, the common denominator of both myths seems to be a Franciscan-Romantic feeling of solidarity between spirits, people, plants, animals and (the) earth (cf. Stanza 18).

3. The Promethean myth is therefore only indirectly present in *Piąta pora roku*. It manifests itself in the intellectual and emotional attitude assumed by the protagonist. The name Prometheus—like that of Dionysus—is nowhere mentioned in the poem. All the conspicuously Greek motifs of the Promethean myth—the bird (vulture/eagle); fire; the son of Earth chained to a cliff on the orders of Zeus—as well as the theme of Prometheus’s conflict with God on behalf of men and his subsequent sufferings have been reinterpreted and transformed by Wierzyński (the same may be said of the motifs and main theme of the Dionysian myth). In *Piąta pora roku* the central image of the Promethean myth—that of Prometheus chained to a cliff while a vulture eats away his liver—has been transformed into an image of a Romantic inspired poet leaning on mountain-tops and looking down at the earth below (the symbolic bird having just flown ‘through’ him):

Wiem. Dawno temu doszczętnie wymarłem
A jednak trwam znów, i łokciem o góry
Jak tamci z mego plemienia się wsparłem
I patrzę, synów mych szukam . . . (in Stanza 16)

This quasi-Promethean gesture has a dual significance:

(a) It is a repetition of the gesture made by the protagonist’s dead parents (Stanza 12):

Bo przyszli potem z daleka umarli,
Łokciem o lasy jodłowe się wsparli,
Patrzyli wokół — a ziemia szeroka
Drobną im rzęsą zawisła u oka.

(b) It is also an allusion to Romantic iconography and poetry. A well-known portrait of Mickiewicz—painted in St. Petersburg in 1828 by the Polish artist Walenty Wańkowicz¹¹⁴—shows the young poet leaning on the Crimean mountain Ajudah and looking in the direction of the sea. The painter was of course inspired by Mickiewicz’s sonnet entitled *Ajudah* (one of the *Sonety krymskie*, 1826—written during the poet’s term of ‘internal deportation’):

Lubię poglądać wsparty na Judahu	I love to lean against Ayudah’s
skale,	face
Jak spienione bałwany to w czarne	And watch the frothing waves as
szeregi	on they pour,

¹¹³ Cf. Footnote No. 105.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Mickiewicz, *Dzieła poetyckie*, ed. cit., p. xvi.

Ścisnąwszy się buchają, to jak	Dark ranks close-pressed, then
srebrne śniegi	burst like snow and soar,
W milionowych tęczach kołują	A million silver rainbows arched
wspaniale.	in space.
Trąca się o mieliznę, rozbija na	They strike the sands, they break
fale,	and interlace;
Jak wojsko wielorybów zalegając	Like whales in battle that beset the
brzezi,	shore,
Zdobędą ład w tryumfie i na	They seize the land and then
powrót, zbiegi,	retreat once more,
Miecą za sobą muszle, perły i	Shells, pearls, and corals scattered
korale.	in their race.
Podobnie na twe serce, o poeto	And so it is, young poet, in your
młody!	heart.
Namiętność często groźne	There passion raises storms, but
wzburza niepogody,	when you start
Lecz gdy podniesiesz bardon, ona	Your strains, the whirlwinds
bez twej szkody	harmlessly depart
Ucieka w zapomnienia pograć	And sink deep down in pools of
się toni	memory. Yet
I nieśmiertelne pieśni za sobą	They leave you songs, which after
uroni,	years will set
Z których wieki uplotą ozdobę	As shining jewels in your coronet.
tych skroni. ¹¹⁵	(transl. Dorothea Prall Radin)

Mickiewicz's sonnet opens with an image present in *Piąta pora roku*—that of the inspired poet leaning on a mountain. Wierzyński's protagonist—like that of Mickiewicz's sonnet—is absorbed by (engrossed in) the creative power of nature. Both protagonists detect an analogy between creation by nature and creation by the poet. Wierzyński's protagonist, however, would seem to have carried the analogy further by assuming that poetic creation is, as it were, a continuation of the creative process of nature:

(. . .) i łokciem o góry
 Jak tamci z mego plemienia się wsparłem
 I patrzę, synów mych szukam, czy który
 Obszył się liśćmi i porósł lasami,
 A może stoi przy ogniu pastuchów
 I pójdzie śladem, co został za nami,
 I znów powtórzy przyrodę tych ruchów

¹¹⁵ Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 35.

Gdy zgrzane życie porami gęstymi
Dyszało w słońce i szło do księżyca,
Gdy we mnie ciekła krew mojej ziemi
A w matkach mleko i w sosnach żywica.

In *Piąta pora roku* (Stanza 16) the idea that art is a human form of eternity would seem to be capable of being traced to the Romantic philosophy of nature sketched by Mochnacki in his work entitled *O literaturze polskiej w wieku dziewiętnastym*. Mochnacki's point of departure is Schelling's evolutionary and spiritual theory of nature. In Mochnacki's view, literature is a continuation of the creative evolution of nature. Nature attains 'self-awareness'¹¹⁶ in human thought. The thought of a nation finds its expression in literature:

... Literatura wyciągnięciem ... Literature is the thought of
jest na jaśnie myśli narodu. W niej, the nation brought out into the
że tak rzekę, czujemy się jak po light. We may say that in it we feel
tętnie.¹¹⁷ our heartbeats.

According to Mochnacki, therefore, literature is directly linked with a national community and indirectly with that community's natural environment. It is an organic product, rather like a tree. A necessary stage in the spiritual evolution of any man—and especially a poet—is to be 'rooted' in a national community and in nature. Mochnacki describes the development of an individual as a gradual 'spreading out' of his spirit as it encompasses nature, the national community and eventually the whole of mankind.¹¹⁸ This 'spreading out' of the individual Spirit is necessarily accompanied by the gradual extinction of the individual's ego. Mochnacki illustrates this extinction with the analogy of the tree, which lives on by its own partial death:

¹¹⁶ Cf. Footnotes Nos. 19 and 20.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Mochnacki, op. cit., p. 27.

¹¹⁸ "Pierwszy człowiek, jak wszystko żyjące, z łona natury jeszcze niewyłoniony, spał snem twardym we śnie niewypowiedzianego szczęścia. Powoli zaczął się budzić z tego snu na jawie i wychodzić duszą, myślą z wszech rzeczy ogółu. Nakoniec został szczegółem, istotą rozumną — jednostką dumającą! Ta jest wielka jestestwa naszego tajemnica. Cóż go dotąd zaszczyca po tylu wiekach obłędnej kolei? Co w nim najpiękniejszego? Oto tęsknica na duszy i boleść na sercu, która je uciska po stracie nieskazitelnego mienia! Oto chęć wyjścia tą samą promienną myślą z ciasnego koła, z okresu jednostki, egoizmu, samolubstwa — chęć rozszerzenia się, rozprzestrzenienia miłością płomienistą, wszystko obejmującą od końca do końca, we wszech rzeczy jestestwie, w nierozdzielonym całej natury porządku — w tej harmonii, tej cudotwórczej tonice całego świata! ..." (Mochnacki, op. cit., p. 30).

Cf. "Rozszerzenie się ojczystego, rodowitego j a, rozumienie się w jestestwie drugich, ogarnienie wszystkiego rodu ludzkiego we wszystkich czasach tą ognistą miłością, która z nieba na ziemię zstąpiła — ten kres ostateczny chrześcijańskiej kultury, ten, nie inny, przedmiot historii powszechnej". (*ibidem*, p. 51).

Jest jakieś drzewo, wspomniane przez jednego z pisarzy kościelnych, które wtenczas zielenieje, kiedy je okrzესują; drzewo to idzie w zapasy z żelazem, śmiercią żyje, krzewi się wycięciem — gdy go już nie masz, wtenczas rośnie.¹¹⁹

There was a tree, mentioned by one of the Church writers, which burst into a greening when cut down; that tree triumphs over steel, lives in death, spreads when cut—when it is no more, it persists in growing.

It is from such an apparently—but only apparently—dead tree that the apple of the finale of *Piąta pora roku* comes:

Wiem. Dawno temu doszczętnie wymarłem
 A jednak trwam znów, i łokciem o góry
 Jak tamci z mego plemienia się wsparłem
 I patrzę, synów mych szukam . . .

(in Stanza 16)

The bird of Wierzyński's poem (living in the branches of this apparently dead tree) brings to mind another of Mochnacki's images.¹²⁰ The tree is deeply rooted in the human community, in the community's cultural tradition and in the community's natural environment of homeland.

It is this very organic link with his native community, its cultural tradition and its natural homeland that the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* would seem to be giving expression to when, against the background of the Carpathian landscape, he imitates the gesture of the protagonist of Mickiewicz's sonnet *Ajudah*. In *Piąta pora roku*, therefore, this gesture is a symbol. It is the gesture of a 'Promethean' poet—a visionary and a creator of eternity. It is accompanied by a feeling of solidarity with the past and concern for the future:

(. . .) i łokciem o góry
 Jak tamci z mego plemienia się wsparłem
 I patrzę, synów mych szukam . . .

¹¹⁹ loc. cit.

¹²⁰ "Pismo porównywa umiejętność, wiedzę, wiadomość do drzewa. Wielkie w tem rozumienie! Jako i w innem porównaniu z ziarnem gorczycznem, które wedle wyrazów Pana, tak wielką łożę puszcza, że się i ptacy na niej chowają. (. . .) Takim samym rozrasta się kształtem drzewo wiadomości człowieka, tem bardziej narodu, jakby z pnia, który swe korzenie głęboko i szeroko rozpostarł w wiedzy wewnątrz obróconej jestestwa, byt i istotę swoją uznającego . . ." (*ibidem*, p. 54).

"Wszelki ród rodowity, historyczny, w historję świata zachodzący, jest jako roślinna w patriarchalnej osiadłości; z nasion na ojczystym rozkwita gruncie, a potem za błogostawieństwem nieba w wysokie, cieniste drzewo wyrasta. Stoi mocno i bezpiecznie to drzewo, jeśli ssie pokarm z ziemi, jako z piersi macierzyńskich. Korzeniem jego jest przeszłość historyczna. A wszystkie dzieje tego pnia rok rocznie wyrzynające się na nim pierścienie szeroko rozpowiedzą!" (*ibidem*, p. 37).

"Wszystkie razem liście na drzewie, tak długo skamieniałem i niemem, ojczystej poezji zaszumiaty. Coś niem wstrząsnęło niewidomą mocą od ziemi do korony, że teraz szeleści, i rusza gałęziami w wiatru powiewie, mruczy i gada, jakby odczarowane". (*ibidem*, p. 132).

The gesture is also an analogue of Konrad's gesture in part III (*improwizacja*) of Mickiewicz's *Dziady*. Konrad, struggling with God over the fortunes of his nation, encompasses with his arms all 'past and future generations'. In *Piąta pora roku*, therefore, the gesture of leaning on mountain-tops expresses the protagonist's Promethean love for the world and for the living and the dead. It expresses the 'spreading out' of an individual spirit (cf. Mochnecki). The present tense which is to be found in this part of the poem would seem to indicate that the scenery for the ritual which is performed by the protagonist is that of the Carpathian mountains. Here is the meeting-place of the seasons of the year and the spirits of the protagonist's dead parents. From here there is an extensive view of the past and the future—of people, nature and eternity:

Teraz tu słyszę, czego nikt nie słyszy,
 I widzę rzeczy na skroś i spod spodu
 I pełny jestem śmierci jak ciszy
 I pełny wieczności jak chłodu.

(Stanza 15)

Wiem. Dawno temu doszczętnie wymarłem
 A jednak trwam znów i łokciem o góry
 Jak tamci z mego plemienia się wsparłem . . .

The protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* therefore appears to be a heroic spirit related to the *Król-Duch*, hero and narrator of Słowacki's epic poem of the same name. As a heroic spirit who has fathomed the secret of life, death and eternity, Wierzyński's protagonist returns to his Carpathian homeland in order to reveal that secret to its inhabitants. His gesture of leaning on mountain-tops is as it were a 'condensation' of the symbolic gestures (also made against the background of mountains) of the Romantic heroes of Mickiewicz (cf. *Do*^{xxx}. *Na alpach w Splügen*, 1829) and Słowacki (cf. *Kordian*), who look in the direction of their homeland from the Alps. It is in the Caucasian mountains that the funeral pyre of Her—the hero of (Plato's myth of Er and) Słowacki's *Król-Duch*—is located. Słowacki's Her would seem to be the most Promethean character in Polish Romantic literature, expressing the link between the cultural traditions of Poland and Ancient Greece. This character is also linked with the idea of palingenesis, which was dear to the Polish Romantics and to late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Polish writers.¹²¹

The idea of palingenesis would not seem to be alien to the protagonist

¹²¹ 'Młoda Polska' (1890-1918) is the Polish counterpart of European Modernism and Symbolism.

Cf. The philosophical writings (in English and Polish) of Wincenty Lutosławski.

Cf. H. Floryńska, *Spadkobiercy Króla Ducha*, Wrocław 1976.

Co tu zostanie po mnie? Słowo	What waits when I have
I włąb wpuszczone me korzenie,	disappeared? The word.
Ziemia niech z nich zagada mową,	And my green roots explore the
Z ziemi powstałem, w nią się zmie-	dark to learn
nię. ¹²²	the language of the earth that
	utters me.
	Born of the earth, to earth I shall
	return.
	(transl. Kenneth Pitchford)

In *Piąta pora roku* the concept of eternity would also seem to be indissolubly linked to the mythology of the word. The protagonist's journey into the world of Spirits is described as a journey into the realm of another, (eternal) language (Stanza 14):

I wzięli mnie. Wiedli w głąb, w tajemniczy
 Obszar, gdzie nic się z tej ziemi nie liczy,
 Gdzie wiosnie, latu, jesieni i zimie
 W innym języku nadano imię.

For the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku*, the spiritual return to the land of his birth is tantamount to a return to his native poetic tradition and the 'word' (i.e. to poetic creation). He receives the gift of the word—which is as it were a forerunner of eternity—in the form of a bird (= the analogue of one of the boughs of the tree of life from the poem *Słowo*). In *Piąta pora roku*, the bird is associated with the source of life-giving song, which in turn is associated with blood, milk, resin (Stanza 16) and the apple (Stanza 20).

By his gesture of leaning on mountain-tops, the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* expresses not only his link with the Great Romantic tradition but also—indirectly—his own interpretation of that tradition.¹²³ The gesture 'sets up'—so to speak—the protagonist's 'cultural mythology', in which he and his (Polish) Romantic predecessors occupy a position parallel to that of the Greek Titan Prometheus. It would therefore also seem to confirm the idea—present in the poem—of a parallel and organic development of the universe. According to this idea, the course of the history of mankind, nations, individuals and art is analogous to the process of evolution in nature. This Romantic idea of the parallel development of the universe was formulated by Mochnecki in his essay *O literaturze polskiej w wieku dziewiętnastym*:

¹²² K. Wierzyński, *Poezje zebrane*, ed. cit., pp. 311-312.

Cf. K. Wierzyński, *Selected Poems*, ed. cit., p. 23.

¹²³ Cf. Footnote No. 112.

Cf. H. Floryńska, op. cit., chapters II and III.

Cf. J. Kleiner, *Mickiewicz*, ed. cit., vol. II, part 1.

I w rzeczy samej, zdaje się, że natura w każdym człowieku wznowia i niejako powtarza proces powszechnej formacji wszystkich dzieł swoich, przebiegając przez stopnie i schody pośrednie tą samą drogą od początku ku końcowi. Tryb postępowania jednak, toż w przyrodzeniu, toż w człowieku, toż w historii.¹²⁴

It seems indeed that nature itself starts anew and repeats in every human being the universal process of the creation of all its works, taking the same path and the same steps from the beginning until the end. The essence of the process is the same whether in nature, in man or in history.

Mochnacki believed that mountains, being the first link in the chain of evolution, correspond to the earth's first inhabitants—the Titans:

Pierwsza w dziejach epoka anorganiczna przypomina naturę. Ma ten sam kształt i podobieństwo. Tam w dali niedościgłej postrzegamy kolosalne postacie pierwszych synów ziemi, — malarskie figury, grupy patriarchalne. Wielki był człowiek w początkach. Są to niejako skały pierwiastkowej formacji w porządku historycznym.¹²⁵

The first non-organic era in history resembled nature. It had the same shape and formation. We became aware of giant figures at great unattainable distances, the first sons of the earth, figures from paintings, patriarchal groupings. Man in his beginning had greatness in him. Those were the rocks of history, its primeval formation.

Support for the hypothesis that the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* perceives a parallel between Titans (and people raised to the status of Titans, e.g. the great Romantics) and (the) mountains is to be found in Stanza 8 of the poem. Here the mountain-top is described anthropomorphically as a 'bare skull' (*goła czaszka*). Further support for this hypothesis is lent by the (well-known) Polish legend about enchanted knights sleeping in the western Carpathians (in that section known as the Tatra mountains).¹²⁶

In *Piąta pora roku* the poet would seem to have been endowed with superhuman status.¹²⁷ The highest points in the landscape (the mountains and the trees) would appear to be analogues of the highest flights of the poet's imagination, which rebuilds the initial unity of all Being—this in accordance with Romantic conceptions of sublimity:¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Mochnacki, op. cit., p. 28.

¹²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 31.

¹²⁶ Cf. *Śpiący rycerz* (in:) Kazimierz Tetmajer, *Na Skalnym Podhalu*, Kraków 1976.

¹²⁷ Wierzyński's concept of the superhuman status of the inspired poet has nothing in common with Nietzsche's concept of the *Uebermensch*.

¹²⁸ Cf. W. K. Wimsatt jr. and C. Brooks, *Romantic criticism*, London 1970.

Przypominają mi nagle że ptak
Przeleciał przeze mnie, ptak,
I drzwi zostawił otwarte
Na góry moje, na drzewa,
Na wszystkie sprawy
Żywe i martwe.

(in Stanza 18)

By including himself among the ‘Titans’ of national poetry, the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* indirectly gives expression to his personal pride. This feeling of pride proceeds from the belief in the superhuman status of the inspired poet and is an important element in the Polish variant of Romantic Prometheanism (cf. Konrad’s *improvizacja* in Mickiewicz’s *Dziady*).¹²⁹ It must be said, however, that in the case of Wierzyński’s protagonist, this pride is expressed discreetly and appears to have been deliberately played down. Wierzyński’s protagonist presents himself first and foremost as a son who imitates the gesture made by the spirits of his dead parents. To this might be added his human fear of death, his attachment to the world, his naïve feeling of *cudowność* and his humour. All these factors neutralize any pathos that might otherwise have crept into the poem.

The struggle with God and the feeling of alienation towards the transcendental sphere which are to be found in Mickiewicz’s¹³⁰ version of Romantic Prometheanism is absent in *Piąta pora roku*. Wierzyński’s protagonist does not struggle with God and does not even reach the sphere in which ‘Creator and Nature meet’ (*gdzie graniczy Stwórca i Natura*).¹³¹ He does, however, reach the sphere inhabited by the spirits of the dead.

The protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* sees the world of eternity as a timeless, motionless, cold sphere—that of an ‘alien language’—which is contrasted with the earth (cf. Stanza 14). It is nevertheless a friendly sphere, inhabited by the spirits of his dead parents. The latter ‘mediate’, as it were, between the sphere of eternity (which the protagonist has yet to fathom) and nature, people and poetry (cf. Stanza 17):

I rzekł mój ojciec: “Jeszcze go prowadź
Bo ludzkie oczy z żalu w nim bledną”.
A Matka: “Nie masz tu czego żałować,
Śmierć i życie to jedno”.

¹²⁹ Cf. T. Zieliński: “Mania twórcza” (in:) op. cit.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹³¹ Cf. *Dziady*, Część III (Improvizacja) in: Mickiewicz, *Dzieła poetyckie*, ed. cit., p. 173.
Cf. T. Zieliński, op. cit.

The protagonist's journey into the other world resembles in some respects the return of Tobias the younger to the home of his father. As a newcomer to the world of eternity, Wierzyński's protagonist can be said to be 'luckier' than the protagonist of Leśmian's poem entitled *Urszula Kochanowska*.¹³²

Although in *Piąta pora roku*—by contrast with Leśmian's poem—the world of eternity is not reminiscent of this world, the protagonist is met by the spirits of his dead parents and not by God (who in Leśmian's poem comes instead of the parents expected by the protagonist).¹³³ From the other world (in *Piąta pora roku*) there is a 'view' onto the protagonist's Carpathian homeland (cf. Stanzas 16 and 18). The guardian spirits of his dead parents urge the protagonist-poet to create. Art would seem to be a man-made link between 'earth' and 'heaven'.¹³⁴

In *Piąta pora roku*, therefore, the important Promethean elements found in the poetry of Mickiewicz (Konrad's struggle with God in *Dziady*) and Leśmian (the rejection of God's proposals for eternity in *Eliasz* and *W czas zmartwychwstania*) are absent. For Wierzyński's protagonist Prometheanism would seem to mean not 'resistance to all human and divine constraint—a struggle against the terrestrial and super-terrestrial enemy'.¹³⁶ This cause is poetry. The 'super-human' (and, insofar as the poet writes for his fellow men, the 'human'¹³⁷) function of poetry would seem to reside first and foremost in the realization of the Romantic dream of creating the human equivalent of eternity. This equivalent of eternity would seem to be art, which reconciles the 'depths' and 'heights' of Being. In his lecture *O Bolesławie Leśmianie* (1939) Wierzyński speaks of Leśmian's 'myth of extended being' (*leśmianowski mit o poszerzonym istnieniu*).¹³⁸

¹³² Cf. Bolesław Leśmian, *Poezje*, Warsaw 1957, pp. 385-6.

¹³³ "Nie wstydził się ciepła i czułości, tych prostych a nieodzownych cech wszelkiej poezji, i choć kunszt swego zawodu, jak przystało na mistrza, cenił wysoko, nigdy nie zaparł się serca. Z najwykleszych uczuć umiał stworzyć tak wzruszające arcydzieło jak opowieść Urszuli Kochanowskiej o jej przybyciu do nieba". (K. Wierzyński, *O Bolesławie Leśmianie* ed. cit., p. 34).

¹³⁴ Cf. Footnote No. 110.

¹³⁵ Cf. Footnote No. 112.

¹³⁶ Cf. Footnote No. 112.

¹³⁷ Although the idea of art for art's sake was dear to Wierzyński (cf. Footnote No. 110), he firmly believed — as did the Romantics — that art is for everyone and not simply for the 'chosen few'.

¹³⁸ 'Dziś, kiedy nie tylko przed człowiekiem, lecz i przed wielkimi jego wspólnotami stoją pytania rozstrzygające o bycie, to utwierdzenie spodów i szczytów, ten leśmianowski mit poszerzonego istnienia umacnia nas wobec burz i uderzeń'. (K. Wierzyński, *O Bolesławie Leśmianie*, ed. cit., p. 38).

XI

Taken as a whole, the structure of *Piąta pora roku* would seem to resemble that of a myth. Its 'prototype' in Polish literature—an epic poem whose structure resembles that of a religious myth—is Słowacki's *Król-Duch*.¹³⁹ Słowacki's protagonist (the spirit Her) systematically reincarnates himself as one or other of the legendary (i.e. prehistoric) and mediaeval kings of Poland. The story of his various 'lives' is intended to reveal the secret meaning of Polish history. Similarly, the story told by Wierzyński's protagonist (a spirit) about his past life as a poet is intended to reveal the secret of eternity and death.

The narration of Wierzyński's protagonist, like that of Słowacki's, is made in ritualistic circumstances (the ritual of *Dziady*).¹⁴⁰ It is accompanied by a belief in the magic power of the poetic word.¹⁴¹ Its purpose is to invoke the spirit of the earth. The backcloth of the mythical narration is a rhythmically (i.e. seasonally—×4) changing Carpathian landscape.¹⁴² The bird heralds the prolongation of this cycle by the addition of a fifth 'season'—eternity. Its second appearance, just before the end of the poem (the first being at the beginning), heralds as it were a new cycle of death and birth and—indirectly—the rebirth of the protagonist.¹⁴³

On quite another—autobiographical—plane, the narration of *Piąta pora roku* tells of events which 'really' happened and in which the narrator took part. The stages in the narrator's life which are outlined in the poem can be seen to correspond to known facts of Wierzyński's biography. In this sense the narration is 'verifiable' and 'authentic'.¹⁴⁴ The author of *Piąta pora roku* (Wierzyński) and the poem's protagonist both spent their childhood and early youth in the immediate vicinity of the Carpathian mountains (Wierzyński was born in Drohobycz).¹⁴⁵ The descriptions of the Carpathian landscape which are to be found in *Piąta pora roku* would—in their realistic aspect—seem to resemble that found in Wierzyński's reminiscences set down in a collection of essays entitled *Cygańskim wozem*:

¹³⁹ Cf. M. Tatar: "Struktura mita religijnego a *Król-Duch* Słowackiego" (in:) *Studia romantyczne*, ed. cit.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. *ibidem*.

¹⁴¹ Cf. *ibidem*.

¹⁴² Cf. E. Cassirer, *Esej o człowieku. Wstęp do filizofii kultury* (An Essay on Man), trans. A. Staniewska, Warsaw 1971, Part Two, chapter VII (myth and religion).

¹⁴³ Cf. Tatar, op. cit.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *ibidem*.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. "Kazimierz Wierzyński" (in:) M. Dłuska, op. cit., vol. III.

Właściwie świat nadaje się, by chodźć po nim piechotą. Wtedy jest dostępny i namacalny od oczu do podeszwy. Najbardziej nostalgiczne wspomnienia mam ze szkolnych czasów, z wędrówek na Bubniszcze i Urycz, przez Synowódzko na Paraszkę, pod Kałusz, Dolinę, Wygodę. Nagłe polany w lasach, kiedy z chłodnego cienia wychodzi się na złotą misę kipiących traw, legowiska sarnie z wyniecioną pościółką, dzikie maliny wśród pajęczyn, na których rosa nie wysycha do południa, i przełęcze, przełęcze, gdzie wieje mocny wiatr i otwierają się dwa widoki, z prawa i z lewa, spadające w dół, z kucymi wsiami w georginiach i malwach, z dziewanną, z jastrzębiami pod niebem i kwiczołami na jałowcach jesienią. Ach, gdyby można pójść raz jeszcze krętą i żółtą ścieżką, wydeptaną na zboczach przez krowy, albo przez gęste łąki po pas, pod czarne ściany buków i sosen w Karpatach.¹⁴⁶

The world is really designed to be explored on foot. It becomes accessible and tangible to one's eye and one's soles. My most nostalgic memories are those of my school days, wandering over Bubniszcze and Urycz, through Synowódzko to Paraszka, towards Kałusz, Dolina and Wygoda. The unexpected clearings, when one enters into a golden bowl of sward from the cool shade, the deer's hiding place with its matted litter, wild raspberries covered with cobwebs dripping with dew till noon and the mountain passes where the wind is fierce and where there are two views, one to the right, another to the left falling down towards villages with their dahlias, mallows and mulleins, with hawks in the sky and thrushes resting in the gorse in the autumn. If only I could walk once more on a twisting yellowy path, trodden by cows descending the slope or through meadows with grass waist high, towards the black wall of beech and pine in the Carpathians.

The author of *Piąta pora roku* was, like the poem's protagonist, a poet who had experienced war, the death of his closest relatives and the hardships of life as an émigré (cf. Stanzas 13 and 14). Both author and protagonist can be described as poets who were 'twice born'.¹⁴⁷

The various stages in the work of Wierzyński's protagonist (and Wierzyński himself)—as a poet—can indeed be seen to 'correspond' to stages in the work of the great (Polish) Romantics: the youthfulness, joyfulness and expansiveness of Mickiewicz's *Oda do młodości* (cf. Stanza 7); the Prometheanism of Part III of Mickiewicz's *Dziady*; the nostalgic, pastoral vision of the land of childhood (*kraj lat dzieciennych*)

¹⁴⁶ Cf. K. Wierzyński, *Cygańskim wozem*, ed. cit., pp. 5-6.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. W. Weintraub, "Szkic do artykułu" (in:) *Przebity światłem* (various contributors), London 1969, p. 53.

of Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz*;¹⁴⁸ the mythology of Słowacki's *Król-Duch*.

The autobiographical narration of the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* is not simply a relation of facts, but also an attempt to explain them in the universal categories of death and eternity. This universal aspect of the poem is largely responsible for its mythical character. It proceeds from the protagonist's examination of the story of his life through the prism of well-known themes from Greek mythology and Romantic literature.¹⁴⁹

The story of the protagonist's life would therefore seem to be a story of the loss of 'paradise' and its subsequent recovery (by means of art). Such a view of the poet's life—and of human life in general—was held by the European Romantics. The Polish critic Mochnacki related the myth of the loss of Paradise and the attempts to recover it to the history of the life of every human being as well as to that of mankind as a whole:

Jeden raz w życiu swoim każdy z nas był w raj	Once in a lifetime everyone of us has been in paradise before we left
z nas był w raj	the world of childhood; between
niem wyszedł z lat	the twilight, the daybreak and the
dziecinnych; w przeciągu między	dawn, in a chapter between the
brzaskiem, świtem, jutrzeńką, w	dawn, in a chapter between the
rozdziale między wschodem i po-	sunrise and the noon of adult life.
łudniem lat męskich . . . ¹⁵⁰	

In Mochnacki's version of the myth of Paradise lost Romantic (Schiller), Biblical and Greek (the story of the Titans and the four ages of mankind) elements are fused in a peculiar and not always consistent manner.¹⁵¹ Here the Titans would seem to have come before the human age of Paradise.¹⁵² Although the human age of Paradise was notable for the harmonious coexistence of man, nature and God (this external harmony being accompanied by inner harmony¹⁵³), man at this stage of his existence—Mochnacki believed—was able to comprehend nature and (perhaps) God directly (by intuition) but did not know himself.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸ Cf. M. Dłuska: "Legenda wieczności" (in:) op. cit., vol. III.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. M. Tatar, op. cit.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Mochnacki, op. cit., p. 28.

¹⁵¹ Like Coleridge, Mochnacki was under the spell of various German Romantic philosophers and writers.

Cf. K. Krzemień-Ojak, *Maurycy Mochnacki. Program kulturalny i myśl krytyczno-literacka*, Warsaw 1975.

¹⁵² Cf. Footnote no. 125.

¹⁵³ Following in the footsteps of German philosophers, Mochnacki distinguishes four faculties of the human soul: 'um' (theoretical reason); 'rozum' (practical reason); 'imaginacja' (reflective imagination); 'fantazja' (creative imagination). Cf. Mochnacki, op. cit., p. 43.

Mochnacki often speaks of memory as being a separate faculty.

Cf. "Największa moc rozumu w dzieleniu, przeciwnie fantazja części rozdzielone spaja w całość i wszystko totalizuje". (Mochnacki, op. cit., p. 62).

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Footnote 118.

Mochnacki compares the next period in the history of man and mankind to sleep. During this period poetic inspiration is unaware of its aims. In Mochnacki's view, this age of ignorance and childhood corresponds to the plant kingdom in the world of nature.¹⁵⁵

A dalej — następujący okres: Czyż nie przypada do miary z roślinnością w naturze organicznej? Czyśy poetyckiego natchnienia zapalu? Nie sen-li to rzeczywiście? Fantazja włada w tym świecie i jako duch nad ziemią się unosi. Stwarza, czaruje.

Then—the next period: is it not like the vegetation in the realm of nature? Is it a time of poetic inspiration and enthusiasm? Is it not like sleep, a dream? Imagination sways its dominion over the world and it hovers like a spirit over the globe, a creator and a sorcerer.

In *Piąta pora roku* the protagonist's vision of his own youth would seem to be reminiscent of Mochnacki's description of the early stages of man's existence. The childhood and youth of Wierzyński's protagonist are seen as a sleepy vision (cf. Stanza 5) of a Dionysian procession. The participants in this partly realistic, partly fantastic procession, viz. the protagonist, plants, animals, people, the wind, clouds, the seasons, cyclical time and movement (cf. Stanzas 6-11), seem to be united by poetic enthusiasm (cf. *Krzyczałem w tłumie jak ja zakochanych:/ „Młodości, podaj mi skrzydła”*) and—it would seem—a degree of ignorance (cf. *Nie wiedziałem co znaczy niejasny ten śpiew,/ Płynął czas i odmiany i ja z nimi razem*).

This moving procession of shapes, sounds, smells and colours stops at the moment when the spirits of the protagonist's dead parents make their appearance. The 'centre-piece' of the protagonist's narration is the partly related, partly enacted scene with the spirits of his dead parents,¹⁵⁶ which encompasses the protagonist's past and present. The protagonist's vaguely defined past is linked with an allusion to war (cf. Stanza 13) and with the protagonist's journey in the sphere of eternity, accompanied by the spirits of his parents (Stanza 14). Whereas this part of the narration would seem to tell about the loss of 'paradise', the fragment in the present tense (Stanzas 15-20) would seem to tell about its recovery. The recovery of 'paradise' is equated with the acquisition of secret knowledge and with the return of the protagonist's spirit to poetry (song) and to his homeland.

This second part of the narration concerning the loss (Stanzas 12-14) and recovery (15-20) of 'paradise' differs in some respects from Mochnacki's version of the myth. Mochnacki's description of the loss of 'paradise' can be seen as a reflection of Romantic reaction against

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Mochnacki, op. cit., p. 31.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. M. Tatar, op. cit.

eighteenth-century epistemological mechanism, and empiricism. Mochnacki believed that man consciously destroyed his original spiritual and material harmony when he made the mistake of inquiring about himself and about the world. Man thus chose to tread the false road of knowledge which is based exclusively on the senses and on practical reason. For Mochnacki, the period of 'paradise lost' is one of individual and collective egoism and a false, mechanistic vision of the world.¹⁵⁷ The recovery of 'paradise'—i.e. the reconstruction of inner and outer harmony—would for Mochnacki seem to be conditional upon man's choice of the true road of knowledge which is based on intuition and creative imagination.¹⁵⁸ This road leads to the spiritual transformation of individuals, *viz.* the 'spreading out' of the spirit and the extinction of egoism. The resulting vision of the world is that of an organic whole. Paraphrasing the words of the Gospel, Mochnacki writes that man ought to be 'as wise as a serpent and as innocent as a child'¹⁵⁹—thus (it would seem) acquiring superhuman status.

For the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* the loss of 'paradise' is not the result of choosing a false theory of knowledge, which Mochnacki would seem to equate with man's departure from the initial sphere of myth. Indeed, Wierzyński's protagonist never ventures outside the sphere of myth. His dramatized narrative is told from two standpoints, terrestrial and super-terrestrial,¹⁶⁰ which (partially) overlap. When the super-terrestrial standpoint operates the protagonist's initial 'paradise' is lost.

¹⁵⁷ "Mechanizm opanował umysł. Układy oddzielnych nauk odmieniają się przed oczyma naszymi w słowniki technicznych wyrazów i technicznych manipulacji: coraz więcej mnoży się szczegółów, nie powiązanych myślą ogólną; żadnej prawie teorii, żadnego systemu, żadnej całości organicznej (. . .) naukę trzeba mieć w sobie, w środku i z nas samych, z jestestwa naszego wszelką wyciągnąć umiejętność (. . .) Każda umiejętność tak oryginalna, tak pierwotna być musi, jak p o e z j a i poetyckie natchnienie (. . .) Umiejętność nie jest rzeczą pamięci, ale największą jest sprawą i misterstwem ducha. Najpiękniejsze odkrycia winniśmy naukowemu entuzjastom i ledwo nie poetyckiej inspiracji — tej najwyższej filozofii geniuszu". (Mochnacki, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-59).

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Footnote no. 157.

¹⁵⁹ Mochnacki would appear to be undecided as to the means whereby Paradise is to be regained — by creative imagination, theoretical reason or a combination of both. What is certain is that intuition has a part to play in the process of recovery.

Cf. "Cel historii taki: 'Bądźmy jako dzieci' ale w umie, rozumie w uznaniu siebie samych w jestestwie naszym (. . .) Naostatek: myśl, że człowiek dąży do odzyskania owego stanu, to jest: 'żeby — jako pismo mówi — gołębią prostotę z węzową łączył chytrnością, czyli innemi słowy, co na jedno wypada, z tego przenośnego rozumienia, żeby umem, rozumem, żartkością i przenikliwością swojego dowcipu, toż głębokiem a jasnem samego siebie *pojęciem*, ze wszystkimi dary i dzielnościami cywilizacji, które z tego *pojęcia* wyłynęły, był tak dobry, tak niewinny, tak cichy i natchniony jak ów pierwszy człowiek przed wywołaniem i tułactwem swoim, kiedy go Stworzyciel nieba i ziemi posadził ręką swoją w raj. . . ." (Mochnacki, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-34)

Cf. Footnote no. 157.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. M. Tatara, *op. cit.*

At the same time, however, the sphere of myth is extended and acquires a super-terrestrial dimension.

The protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* has already fathomed the secret of the visible world. By taking part in the life of nature, he has discovered the fundamental principle of life—movement¹⁶¹—and the fundamental dimension of the visible world—time:

Szedł ruch za ruchem, ruchome odmiany
Ludzi i roślin i skóry zwierzęcej,
Doczesne pory i czas powikłany,
Wszystko co żyło i jeszcze coś więcej. (Stanza 11)

The loss of 'paradise' is linked with the discovery of the world of spirits and eternity and—*ipso facto*—with the addition of a supersensual dimension to knowledge (cf. *Bo przyszli potem z daleka umarli, . . .*). Seen from a terrestrial standpoint, the loss of 'paradise' seems to the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* to be the result of historical events. Seen from a super-terrestrial standpoint, it seems to him to be the result of the intervention of the spirits of his dead parents, who come to take him to the next world (cf. Stanzas 12-14). In *Piąta pora roku*, therefore, the loss of the protagonist's initial 'paradise' has features of a mythical initiation. The price of this further initiation would seem to be the protagonist's symbolic death (cf. Stanza 16).¹⁶²

The protagonist is initiated by being shown the timeless sphere (in which there is no movement) and by being shown the sources of movement. The latter would seem to be none other than the spirits of his dead parents, who control the elements (cf. Stanza 12). The secret of the unity of life and death (Stanza 17) which they reveal to him belongs to the sphere of 'paradise regained'. The recovery of 'paradise' would seem to be accomplished by the discovery that external movement and time are internalized (Stanza 16), and become the first cause of creation and the visible world (cf. Stanza 18). The protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* would therefore appear to believe that the sources of eternity are to be found in himself. This is certainly one possible interpretation of Stanza 18.

¹⁶¹ The images of *natura naturans* link Wierzyński with Leśmian and the Romantics.

Cf. "Natura działa bezprzestannie; wszystko, co zewnątrz nas postrzegamy, *dzieje się, staje się*, albo *stało się*, czyli przyszło do skutku przez działanie (. . .) A tak, ponieważ rzecz, osnowa, przedmiot umiejętności przyrodzenia *jest w ruchu* ponieważ natura jest w ruchu (*naturans*), co z tego wynika? Oto, że i środek pojmowania, zbliżania się do natury, także *ruchomy* być powinien" (Mochnecki, op. cit., p. 53).

Cf. K. Wyka, 'Pan Tadeusz'. *Studia o poemacie*, ed. cit.

Cf. I. Opacki: "Pośmiertna w głębi jezior maska" (in:) *Studia o Leśmianie*, ed. cit.

¹⁶² Cf. M. Tatar, op. cit.

The protagonist tells the story of the loss and recovery of 'paradise' using a few Biblical and (Greek) mythological themes which have been transformed and fused together. The beginning of the narration (about the loss of 'paradise') brings to mind: a Dionysian procession; the departure from Eden; the journey of Tobias the younger, ending with his return to the home of his parents (Stanzas 4-11). The iconographic counterpart to this part of *Piąta pora roku* would seem to be Malczewski's painting entitled *Tobiasz z Aniołami*.¹⁶³ The protagonist's journey into the other world in the company of the spirits of his dead parents and his subsequent return to the land of his birth and childhood bring to mind the following mythological themes:

1. The (guided) descent into and subsequent return from the underworld by Persephone, heroine of the Eleusinian myth:

I wzięli mnie. Wiedli w głąb, w tajemniczy
Obszar, gdzie nic się z tej ziemi nie liczy, (in Stanza 14)

2. The death and rebirth of Dionysus:

Wiem. Dawno temu doszczętnie wymarłem
A jednak trwam znów i łokciem o góry
Jak tamci z mego plemienia się wsparłem
I patrzę, synów mych szukam ... (in Stanza 16)

3. The journey made by Hercules to hell and to the garden of the Hesperides—the apple (Stanza 20) being a symbol of Paradise regained.¹⁶⁴

4. The peregrinations of 'guided tours' made in the next world by Aeneas and Dante.

All these mythological themes have been introduced into *Piąta pora roku* by way of allusion. They have been condensed and transformed to conform with Polish poetic tradition. They have also been subordinated to a theme which would seem to be common to the European Romantics—that of the loss of 'paradise' and its recovery by means of imagination, memory and art. But even this theme has been transformed in *Piąta pora roku*, which begins not with the loss of 'paradise' but with its recovery by the spirit of the protagonist (Stanzas 1-4). It is only later on that the protagonist goes back into the past in order to recall the full story of the loss and recovery of 'paradise'.

¹⁶³ Cf. K Wyka. *Thanatos i Polska*, ed. cit., chapter 8.

For a discussion of the motif of the procession in 'Młoda Polska' poetry see: M. Podraza-Kwiatkowska, *Symbolizm i symbolika w poezji Młodej Polski*, Kraków 1975, pp. 149-150.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Footnote No. 104.

The motifs of the protagonist's symbolic death and his rebirth through poetic creation and through his spiritual return to the Carpathian land of his youth are anchored in the poetry of the Polish Romantics. In the nostalgic poems¹⁶⁵ of Mickiewicz (cf. *Gdy tu mój trup*), the protagonist's separation from his native land is equated with death. In Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz* the protagonist's return to the 'land of his childhood' by means of memory and poetry is equated with the recovery of health and life (cf. the *Inwokacja* and *Epilog* to *Pan Tadeusz*). Mickiewicz's *kraj lat dziecinnych* corresponds to Mochnacki's 'initial paradise'—i.e. youth.

The image of 'paradise regained' presented by the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* is much broader than the image of the 'land of childhood' which is sketched by the narrator of Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz*. The 'paradise regained' of *Piąta pora roku* is as it were Mickiewicz's 'land of childhood' extended to include the community of spirits (cf. *Dziady*). It is as it were a miniature condensation of the worlds of Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz* and *Dziady* and Słowacki's *Król-Duch*. It would also seem to be much broader and richer than the rather abstract 'paradise regained' of Mochnacki's essay.

The 'paradise regained' of *Piąta pora roku* is a mythical land located in the Carpathian mountains. In his Paris lectures, Mickiewicz describes the Carpathians as the central homeland of the Slavs,¹⁶⁶ the 'ancient stronghold of the Slavs' and the 'principal theatre of Slavonic history'. According to Mickiewicz, it was in the Carpathians (and not at Gniezno) that the mythical Slavonic eagle made its first nest, thus founding the first Slavonic settlement:

Środkiem teatru ogólnych dzie-
jów Słowiańszczyzny są Karpaty.
Na wierzchołku tych gór — jak po-
wiada poeta — osiedł ptak sło-
wiański i jednym skrzydłem ude-
rzył po morzu Czarnem, drugim
po Bałtyku. Z tamtej strony łań-
cucha Karpackiego, na rozległych
płaszczynach swoich ukazują się
nam Rusini i Polacy — z tej, w
dolinach u podnóża Alp i Hemus
rozmaite ludy, z pomiędzy których

The Carpathians are the historic
theatre, the focal point for the
Slavs. The poet says that the
Slavonic bird stopped to rest on
the top of the mountains, its wings
spread out from the Black Sea to
the Baltic. On one side, Poles and
Ruthenians live in the vast plains;
on the other, in the foothills and
valleys of the Alps and the
Balkans live many peoples, the
Czechs among them who, en-

¹⁶⁵ Cf. M. Dłuska, op. cit.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. "Pierwsze wieki historii polskiej: Księga I: Słowiańszczyzna od wyjścia jej z Azji do czasów Lecha, Czecha i Rusa czyli Ruryka" (in:) Mickiewicz, *Dziela proza*, Ed. Pini, Nowogródek 1934, Tom I.

Czechy aż w głębi Niemiec stoją, sconded in the German lands, are
jak przednia straż, posuniona ku as an outpost towards the West.
Zachodowi.¹⁶⁷

For the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku*, the 'recovery of paradise'—which is preceded by the flight of the bird and which in the poem takes precedence over the 'loss of paradise'—is identified with the return to the 'sacral place'¹⁶⁸ and *illud tempus*¹⁶⁹ of myth as well as to the sources of movement and creation. In *Piąta pora roku*, therefore, the myth of the loss and recovery of 'paradise' has been transformed into a cosmogonic myth (i.e. one about the creation of the world):

Wiem. Dawno temu doszczętnie wymarłem
A jednak trwam znów, i łokciem o góry
Jak tamci z mego plemienia się wsparłem
I patrzę, synów mych szukam, czy który
Obszył się liśćmi i porósł lasami,
A może stoi przy ogniu pastuchów
I pójdzie śladem, co został za nami,
I znów powtórzy przyrodę tych ruchów
Gdy zgrzane życie porami gęstymi
Dyszało w słońce i szło do księżyca
Gdy we mnie ciekła krew mojej ziemi
A w matkach mleko i w sosnach żywica. (Stanza 16)

These lines from *Piąta pora roku* would seem to be reminiscent of Dygasiński's novel entitled *Gody życia*, the end of which is stylized as an Ancient Slavonic version of (the) cosmogonic myth.¹⁷⁰ In this novel the Sun-god and the Earth-goddess together beget the Life-god, whom they entrust to the care of the Life-goddess. The Life-god in Dygasiński's cosmogony is the Artist, who embodies love, beauty, Good, truth and creative power. The enemy of Life is the 'black god', creator of evil, death, suffering and disease. Life, using the creative power with which he has been endowed by his father, creates a perfect world (equated with the world created by art) distinct from the 'subsolar world' which

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Mickiewicz, *Wykłady o literaturach słowiańskich*, ed. cit., Rok I, p. 9.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. J. Kwiatkowski, *U podstaw liryki Leopolda Staffa*, Warsaw 1966, chapter III (Paradise lost).

Cf. M. Tataro, op. cit.

Cf. M. Eliade, *Sacrum, mit, historia*, Warsaw.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. M. Eliade, op. cit.

¹⁷⁰ *Gody życia* first appeared in 1902.

Cf. F. Ziejka: "Motywy prasłowiańskie" (in:) *Młodopolski świat wyobraźni*, Ed. M. Podraza-Kwiatkowska, Kraków 1976.

Cf. K. Wyka, *Thanatos i Polska*, ed. cit.

has been 'polluted' by the 'black god'.¹⁷¹

'Life' is also the hero of the cosmogonic myth invented by the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku*. In this cosmogony, however, there is no 'black god'. 'Life's' parents would seem to be the mythical couple made up by the sun and the moon. Life is identified with movement and with the flow of multiform, life-giving creative force (cf. the bird - song - blood - milk - resin - the apple) which permeates the whole of the poem's 'represented world'. It strives to reach its origins, i.e. the sun and the moon (= the super-terrestrial world):

Gdy zgrzane życie porami gęstymi

Dyszało w słońce i szło do księżycy,

(in *Stanza 16*)

This last image would seem to be reminiscent not only of Dygasiński's cosmogonic novel but also of Bergson's *élan vital*—a (largely) spiritual¹⁷² force which permeates the whole world, which is the essence

¹⁷¹ Adolf Dygasiński, *Gody życia*, Warsaw 1948, pp. 138-141:

Bóg Jasny i Dziewa Ziemia, para boska miłosa, wydali na Świat bożyca, Życie, dziecię niewinne i czyste, dobre. Natchnęli je miłością, prawdą, otoczyli wdziękami szczęścia, ażeby było piękne, nieśmiertelne. Dali mu za niafikę i opiekunkę boginię Żywą, najlepszą z siostr bogów, o obliczu słonecznym, o spojrzeniu tak czystym, jak pogoda Niebios w porannek letni (...) Alić bóg czarny, wróg odwieczny Słońca, przeciwnik dzieł jego zacięty i wiecznie niechętny, zaćmił jasność ciemnościami, rozmnożył głody blade, zimna drżące i niedołą wszelką, chciały podgryzać wątek Życia młodziutkiego. (...) Zło pomieszało się w Życiu z dobrem, wzięło górę i zamieniło krynicę przezystą w kałużę szpetną. (...) Dopiero Żywa, ciężko strudowana daremnym wysiłkiem opieki nad Życiem, załamała ręce i wzniosła głos błagalny do Słońca: (...) A Słońce jej odrzeczło: Ja, ojciec, przelałem w życie ogień twórczy. Wiano rodzicielskie wystarcza — jestem pewny — do stworzenia świata nowego, dokąd ani śmierć, ani niedola, ani żadne zło nie dosięgną. (...) Idź, dziewo boska, otwórz Życiu dłonią przezystą bramy nieśmiertelności! (...) Życie zebrało swe siły najlepsze, otrzymane w posagu od bóstwa, i poza światem podślonecznym stworzyło świat własny — cudo nad cuda (...) Pragnienia niebotyczne, marzenia najwznioślejsze, piękność co bóstwo wzór jej stanowi, zamieszkały w tej krainie nowej (...) Ziemia jest piękna (...) Wdzięki jej jednak nie zdołają sprostać piękności świata, który teraz stworzyły dusze szlachetne, poczuwające w sobie iskrę bożą. Dzieło nowe stworzenia...

¹⁷² Bergson's concept of *élan vital* is open to various interpretations, e.g.:

— "*élan vital* nie jest niczym innym jak świadomością puszczoną przez materię". (Ludwik Chmaj, *O Duszy zamkniętej i otwartej* (in:) "Przegląd Współczesny", Nr. 122-123, 1932, p. 8).

— "*Élan vital* — to jedno z pojęć konstytutywnych doktryny Bergsona. Jest życiem uniwersalnie czynnym we wszystkich sferach rzeczywistości: w samym akcie tworzenia materii, w rozwoju gatunków, w twórczości indywidualum ludzkiego, w życiu społecznym. Możemy wcielić się w jego nieustającą aktywność i przez sympatię intuicyjną współżyć z jego tętnem niosącym świat ku stałym niespodziankom i nowościom, stałym poszukiwaniom i wysiłkom". (L. Kotakowski: "Bergson: antynomia praktycznego rozumu" (in:) Bergson, *Ewolucja twórcza*, trans. F. Znanięcki, Warsaw 1957, p. xviii).

Bergson made a strong impact on Polish thinkers and artists in the first forty years of the twentieth century — on Leśmian in particular.

Cf. Bolesław Leśmian: "Z rozmyślań o Bergsonie" — 1910 (in:) *Szkice literackie*, Warsaw 1959.

Cf. J. Błoński: "Bergson a program poetycki Leśmiana (in:) *Studia o Leśmianie*, ed. cit.

Cf. W. Rzymowski: *Élan vital na greckim pomniku. K. Wierzyński w nowych granicach świata* (in:) "Wiadomości Literackie", 1930, Nr. 38.

of the world and which therefore ‘unites’ apparent opposites. All visible and invisible ‘things’ are manifestations of *élan vital*—in *Piąta pora roku*: the bird, song, blood, milk, resin, the apple, people, plants, animals, mountains. This explains why, in the poetical world of *Piąta pora roku*, life and death are one (cf. Stanza 17). The metaphor ‘the nature of these movements’ (*przyroda tych ruchów*) in Stanza 16 does away with the opposition between the invisible, creative basis of life and the visible world—between *natura naturans* and *natura naturata*.¹⁷³

The opposition between life and art¹⁷⁴ is also eliminated in the poem. Life, which is identified with ‘lasting’ (cf. Stanza 16—*trwanie*), is also equated with creation. In *Piąta pora roku* ‘lasting’, ‘movement’ and ‘life’ are, it would seem, three ideas which together can be seen to relate to Bergson’s philosophy.¹⁷⁵ In Stanza 16 ‘lasting’ (cf. Bergson’s *durée*) would seem to mean the protagonist’s intuitive union with the *élan vital* and its creative evolution. It is also opposed (in accordance, it would seem, with Bergsonian metaphysics) to cyclical time and movement (cf. Stanza 11—*czas powikłany*). Another characteristic of Bergsonian ‘lasting’ (*durée*) is the elasticity of the boundaries between the past, present and future¹⁷⁶ which is to be found in *Piąta pora roku*, where it would appear to have replaced the mythical *illud tempus* of the cosmogonic myth of Wierzyński’s protagonist.

The protagonist’s dead parents belong to the sphere of the poem’s ‘Ancient Slavonic’ cosmogonic myth. In accordance with the mythical law of universal identity and analogy which operates in the poetical world of *Piąta pora roku* (cf. the protagonist - the bird - song - blood - life - milk - resin - the apple), the protagonist’s dead parents would seem to be analogues of—if indeed they are not identifiable with—the sun and the moon (the mythical father and mother of All Being). This would seem to account for their immense size (cf. Stanza 12—*a ziemia szeroka/ Drobnią im rzeszą zawisła u oka*). Their child—the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku*—would seem to be identifiable with Dygasiński’s Life-god (cf. Stanza 16) and with Bergson’s *élan vital*.

It is therefore no great surprise that at the beginning of the poem the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* creates himself as a mythical god indistinguishable with the god Universe (made of the four elements) of Plato’s *Timaeus*.¹⁷⁷ He ‘becomes covered in mountains’ and is ‘sewn up

¹⁷³ Cf. Footnote No. 161.

¹⁷⁴ “Życie jest wszystkim! Nie ma żadnej sztuki!” (K. Wierzyński, *Manifest szalony* (in:) *Poezje zebrane*, ed. cit., pp. 37-38).

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Bergson, *Ewolucja twórcza*, ed. cit.

Cf. L. Kołakowski, op. cit.

¹⁷⁶ “Trwanie jest to ciąglej postęp przeszłości, która wgrza się w przyszłość i nabrzmiewa idąc naprzód”. (Bergson, op. cit., p. 18).

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Plato, *Timaios i Kritias*, trans. W. Witwicki, Warsaw 1960, §§ VII, VIII, IX, XLIV.

in leaves'. A fire burns inside him and a bird flies through him. His whole body is permeated with blood and song and contains all 'living' and 'dead' beings. It brings to mind the image of the tree of life (cf. *obszyłem się liśćmi*) and that of a mountain (cf. *porosłem górami . . . Na gołej czaszce, na szczycie*):

Ptak przeleciał przeze mnie ptak,
I drzwi zostawił otwarte. (in Stanza 1)

(...)

Obszyłem się liśćmi, porosłem górami,
Palily się we mnie ogniska pastuchów;
Pod drzewem, w deszczu, przykryci workami,
Podobni byli do duchów. (Stanza 4)

(...)

Siekiery stękały topornym odgłosem
Na gołej czaszce, na szczycie. (in Stanza 8)

(...)

Szedł ruch za ruchem, ruchome odmiany
Ludzi i roślin i skóry zwierzęcej,
Doczesne pory i czas powikłany,
Wszystko co żyło i jeszcze coś więcej. (Stanza 11)

Bo przyszli potem z daleka umarli
Łokciem o lasy jodłowe się wsparli,
Patrzyli wokół — a ziemia szeroka
Drobną im rzeszą zawisła u oka, (in Stanza 12)

In the cosmogonic myth set up by the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku*, Greek ideas about the process of creation coexist with those of the Romantics and Bergson. The protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* is first and foremost the creator and the soul of the universe. At the centre of this soul there burns a fire, which not only 'illuminates' the shepherds huddled round it, but also transforms them into spirits (cf. Stanza 3). This inner fire is a Romantic analogue of the protagonist's imagination, endowed with creative force and intuition. The Romantics compared the creative imagination to a lamp which illuminates the universe¹⁷⁸ and which, in so doing, reveals the secret of the universe (in *Piąta pora roku*—movement and life), saturating it with the light of feeling (in *Piąta pora roku*—love, rapture, sadness and *cudowność*)—thus transforming it. The lamp then reflects this world which it has itself transformed. In Mochnacki's essay (quoted above), the analogues of intuitive thought are: 'light', 'sun', 'chandelier/candelabrum', 'lamp' and 'the soul of the world'. Mochnacki describes philosophers (and

¹⁷⁸ Cf. M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp*, Oxford 1977.

poets)¹⁷⁹ as ‘architects of nature’, who seek to fully fathom the secret of man and the universe, i.e. whose goal is inner vision (‘seeing oneself with a spiritual eye’). According to Mochnacki, the ‘starting point’ of the cognitive process is intuition, i.e. entering into one’s inner self.¹⁸⁰ Mochnacki compares the process of the cognitive approach to the ‘inner vision’, to the ‘building of the world’, to the gradual ‘spreading out of the spirit’ and to the recovery of paradise:

Dla natury trzeba jasności. Tą jasnością, tym świecznikiem przyrodzenia, tą lampą światów — jest myśl człowieka-aniola. Cała natura w niej się maluje jak obraz nadbrzeżnych kształtów w ruchomym strumieniu — jak cień rzeczy na zwierciadle (...) światło jakiegokolwiek, wiedzące że jaśnieje, byłoby myślą, pojęciem; byłoby słońcem — duszą świata¹⁸¹ (...) Myślą sporządzamy sobie świat zewnętrzny. Rozumując budujemy gmach przyrodzenia i wszystkie ukazujące się w tym gmachu zjawiska. Prawdziwy filozof, badacz przyrodzenia, jest architektem natury!¹⁸² (...) Jedna linia przez wszystkie lata życia naszego się rozciąga; z początku w ciemnych nienależnych punktach, jak we mgle i w mroku — dalej coraz jaśniejsza, wyraźniejsza; naostatek samą jest jasnością, promieniem, światłem, wewnątrz obróconą źrenicą — widzeniem siebie okiem ducha — ‘uznaniem samego siebie w oddzielnym jestestwie’ — Otóż zagadka naszego bytu! ...¹⁸³

Nature needs light. The thought of man, the angel, provides this light: the candelabrum and the lamp of the world. The whole of nature is mirrored in it, as the forms of the water’s edge are mirrored in a stream, as the shadow of an object is reflected in a looking glass (...) Any light, if aware that it shines, would become a thought, an idea; it would become a sun, a spirit of the world. (...) The external world is a creation of thought. We build the fabric of nature and all the phenomena within it by an invention of the mind. A real philosopher and naturalist is an architect of nature. (...) One long line extends throughout our life: in the beginning interrupted, obscured at some points as if in a hazy mist but becoming clearer, and brighter; till, in the end, it becomes radiance itself, a ray, a light, a pupil looking inward so that we see ourselves in the light of the spirit and ‘recognise ourselves as a separate being’. That is the mystery of our existence!

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Footnote No. 153.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Mickiewicz: “... kiedy tymczasem intuicya (intus itio) daje nam razem i uczuć i pojąć otrzymywania prawdy: intus itio jest to wejście wewnątrz siebie”. (Mickiewicz, *Wykłady o literaturach słowiańskich*, ed. cit., Rok III, p. 94).

¹⁸¹ Mochnacki, op. cit., p. 24.

¹⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 53.

¹⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

The imagination of the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* would therefore seem to be reminiscent both of the creative and reflective imagination of the Romantics and of Bergsonian memory.¹⁸⁴ It is as it were the meeting ground of matter and spirit—'life' and 'death'. Its contents, which consist of memories of movements, images and feelings (as well as imaginings) form a dynamic whole. A characteristic property of this imagination is its 'lasting' (cf. Stanzas 15-16). Its concentration precedes all creative activity (cf. Stanzas 19-20).¹⁸⁵

The structure of the protagonist's imagination would seem to be an analogue both of the structure of the poem's 'represented world' and of the structure of a universe which has been enriched by the creations of man. The layout of this imagination would appear to be concentric. At the centre there would seem to be the creative principle of the world (i.e. *élan vital*—cf. Stanzas 15-16). The centre would appear to correspond to the protagonist's 'deep self'.¹⁸⁶ The outer 'layers' of the protagonist's imagination encompass: inorganic and organic nature; the world of spirits; eternity; literary images, myths and symbols created by the protagonist or transformed by him. These images, myths and symbols are derived from European as well as Polish literature. They are concerned with nature, man's life, the poet, poetry, imagination, creation and eternity.

The protagonist's imagination would seem to be indestructible. It is to this indestructibility that people, plants, animals and spirits owe their immortality (cf. Stanzas 15-18). In this sense the 'represented world' of *Piąta pora roku* is an image of eternity (i.e. of imagination) as well as being its product (cf. Stanza 20).

The imagination of the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* has two emotional poles. One of these is 'Dionysian'—a yearning for unity with people and nature. The other is 'Promethean'—a yearning for leadership of the human community and for the role of mediator between that community and the world of spirits. Both these emotional poles are linked by a feeling of 'Franciscan' love for people and the world.

The process of the 'actualization' of all the memories and imaginings which are contained in the protagonist's imagination is triggered off by a sudden shock¹⁸⁷ (*Ptaka przeleciał przeze mnie, ptak*), which causes a

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Footnote No. 153.

Cf. Bergson, *Materia i pamięć* (La matière et la mémoire), Warsaw 1930.

Cf. J. Dudek, op. cit., p. 88.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Bergson, *Materia i pamięć*, ed. cit.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. L. Kołakowski, op. cit.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. L. Chmaj, op. cit.

Cf. "W krainie życia wszystko odbywa się przez wstrząśnienia" (Mickiewicz, *Wykłady* ..., ed. cit., Rok IV, p. 150).

sudden 'ordering' and 'opening up' of the protagonist's imagination, making it host to spirits. This shock may be equated with the intuitive insight into the secret of one's own life and the world as described by Bergson¹⁸⁸ and the Romantics. In *Piąta pora roku* the secret would seem to be creative 'lasting' (cf. Stanzas 16-17).

The process of the 'actualization' of the contents of the protagonist's imagination would seem to be identified with the creative process (i.e. the process of cognition and expression).¹⁸⁹ The protagonist's narration about the fathoming of the secret of life and death becomes transformed into a cosmogonic myth.

The cosmogonic myth set up by the protagonist of *Piąta pora roku* would seem to be the fullest realization of the tenets of expressive poetics. The structure of this myth is an image of the structure of the protagonist's imagination, which unites all oppositions and which is identified with the soul of the universe and with eternity.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. L. Chmaj, op. cit.

¹⁸⁹ See above, pages 34-37 and 42-45.

Michał Anioł

Michał Anioł malował leżąc
Przywiązany na deskach do stropu,
Gdy zatrzęsło freskami, ścianami
I kaplicą i całą Europą.

Spojrzał w dół, w ludzki tłum jak się roi,
Toczy wojny, wyrzyna się, brata,
I odkrzyknął im z góry:

„Spokojnie,

Bo przerwę,

Przerwę Stworzenie Świata”. (K. Wierzyński, *Poezje zebrane*, p. 509 — cf. *Selected Poems*, p. 11).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp*, Oxford 1977.
- H. Bergson, *Materja i pamięć*, Warsaw 1930.
- J. Błoński, "Bergson a program poetycki Leśmiana" (in:) M. Głowiński and J. Sławiński (ed.), *Studia o Leśmianie*, Warsaw 1971.
- E. Cassirer, *Esej o człowieku. Wstęp do filozofii kultury*, trans. A. Staniewska, Warsaw 1971.
- J. Chevalier, *Dictionnaire des symboles*, Paris 1973.
- L. Chmaj, *O duszy zamkniętej i otwartej* (in:) "Przegląd Współczesny" Nr 122-123 (1932).
- M. Dłuska, *Studia i rozprawy*, Kraków 1972, vol. III.
- J. Dudek, *Liryka Kazimierza Wierzyńskiego z lat 1951-1969*, Wrocław 1975.
- A. Dygański, *Gody życia*, Warsaw 1948.
- M. Eliade, *Sacrum, mit, historia*, Warsaw.
- H. Floryńska, *Spadkobiercy Króla Ducha*, Wrocław 1976.
- M. Głowiński, "Maska Dionizosa" (in:) M. Podraza-Kwiatkowska (Ed.), *Młodopolski świat wyobraźni*, Kraków 1977.
- R. Graves, *The Greek Myths*, Penguin Books 1980.
- R. Ingarden, *O dziele literackim*, Warsaw 1960.
- K. Irzykowski, "Programofobia" (in:) J. Zacharska, *Skamander*, Warsaw 1977.
- M. Janion, *Gorączka romantyczna*, Warsaw 1975.
- M. Janion, "Romantyzm polski wśród romantyzmów europejskich" (in:) M. Żmigrodzka (Ed.), *Studia romantyczne*, Wrocław 1973.
- J. Kleiner, *Mickiewicz*, vols I and II, Lublin 1948.
- J. Kleiner, *Słowacki*, Wrocław 1969.
- L. Kołakowski, "Bergson: antynomia praktycznego rozumu" (in:) Bergson, *Ewolucja twórcza*, trans. F. Znaniecki, Warsaw 1957.
- K. Krzemień-Ojak, *Maurycy Mochnacki. Program kulturalny i myśl krytycznoliteracka*, Warsaw 1975.
- J. Kwiatkowski, *U podstaw liryki Leopolda Staffa*, Warsaw 1966.
- J. Lechoń, *Poezje*, Warsaw 1973.
- J. Lechoń, "Przemówienie na pierwszym wieczorze literackim 'Skamandra'" (in:) J. Zacharska, *Skamander*, Warsaw 1977.
- B. Leśmian, *Klechdy sezamowe*, Warsaw 1959.
- B. Leśmian, "Z rozmyślań o Bergsonie" (in:) B. Leśmian, *Szkice literackie*, Warsaw 1959.
- B. Leśmian, *Poezje*, Warsaw 1957.
- A. Mickiewicz, *Dzieła prozą*, Ed. T. Pini, vol. IV-V: *Wykłady o literaturach słowiańskich* (vol. IV — Rok I i II; vol. V — Rok III i IV), Nowogródek 1933.

- A. Mickiewicz, *Dzieła prozą*, Ed. T. Pini, Nowogródek 1934, vol. I.
- A. Mickiewicz, *Dzieła poetyckie*, Ed. T. Pini, Nowogródek 1934.
- M. Mochnacki, *O literaturze polskiej w wieku dziewiętnastym*, Kraków 1923.
- A. Nowaczyński, "Skamander połyska, wiślaną świetląc się falą" (in:) J. Zacharska, *Skamander*, Warsaw 1977.
- I. Opacki, "Pośmiertna w głębi jezior maska" (in:) M. Głowiński and J. Sławiński (Ed.), *Studia o Leśmianie*, Warsaw 1971.
- The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. Hammond and Scullard, Oxford 1979.
- J. Parandowski, *Mitologia*, Warsaw 1972.
- T. Peiper, "Poeci bez idei poetyckiej" (in:) J. Zacharska, *Skamander*, Warsaw 1977.
- S. Pigoń, "Do źródeł *Dziadów* kowieńsko-wileńskich" (in:) S. Pigoń, *Studia literackie*, Kraków 1951.
- Plato, *Timaios i Kritias*, trans. W. Witwicki, Warsaw 1960.
- M. Podraza-Kwiatkowska, *Symbolizm i symbolika w poezji Młodej Polski*, Kraków 1975.
- W. Rzymowski, *Elan vital na greckim pomniku. K. Wierzyński w nowych granicach świata* (in:) "Wiadomości Literackie", Nr 38 (1930).
- F. W. J. Schelling, *System idealizmu transcendentalnego*, trans. K. Krzemieniowa, Warsaw 1979.
- J. Słowacki, *Dzieła*, Ed. T. Pini, vol. I: *Drobne utwory poetyczne. Poematy*, Warsaw 1933.
- L. Staff, "Franciszkanizm" (in:) M. Podraza-Kwiatkowska (Ed.), *Programy i dyskusje literackie okresu Młodej Polski*, Wrocław 1977.
- M. Tatar, *Dziedzictwo Słowackiego w poezji polskiej ostatniego półwiecza 1918-1968*, Wrocław 1973.
- M. Tatar, "Struktura mitu religijnego a *Król-Duch* Słowackiego" (in:) M. Żmigrodzka (Ed.), *Studia romantyczne*, Wrocław 1973.
- T. Terlecki, "The Dionysian and Apollonian antinomy in Kazimierz Wierzyński's early poetry" (in:) *For Wiktor Weintraub* (essays in honour of Wiktor Weintraub), 1975.
- K. Tetmajer, *Na skalnym Podhalu*, Kraków 1976.
- J. Tuwim, "Manifest powszechnej miłości" (in:) J. Tuwim, *Dzieła*, vol. 5, Warsaw 1964.
- A. Walicki, *Filozofia a mesjanizm*, Warsaw 1970.
- W. Weintraub, "Szkic do artykułu" (in:) *Przebity światłem: pożegnanie z Wierzyńskim* (various contributors), London 1969.
- T. Weiss, *Fryderyk Nietzsche w piśmiennictwie polskim lat 1890-1914*, Wrocław 1961.

- T. Weiss, *Romantyczna genealogia polskiego modernizmu. Rekonesans*, Warsaw 1974.
- K. Wierzyński, *O Bolesławie Leśmianie*, Warsaw 1939.
- K. Wierzyński, *Poezje zebrane*, London 1959.
- K. Wierzyński, *Selected Poems*, New York 1959.
- K. Wierzyński, *Cygańskim wozem*, London 1966.
- K. Wierzyński, *Poezje wybrane: 1951-1964*, Ed. M. Dłuska, Kraków 1972.
- W. K. Wimsatt and C. Brooks, *Literary criticism — a short history*, vol. III: *Romantic criticism*, London 1970.
- K. Wyka, 'Pan Tadeusz'. *Studia o poemacie*, Warsaw 1963.
- K. Wyka, *Thanatos i Polska*, Kraków 1971.
- J. Zacharska, *Skamander*, Warsaw 1977.
- C. Zgorzelski, *Od Oświecenia ku romantyzmowi i współczesności*, Kraków 1978.
- F. Ziejka, "Motywy prasłowiańskie" (in:) M. Podraza-Kwiatkowska (Ed.), *Młodopolski świat wyobraźni*, Kraków 1976.
- T. Zieliński, *Bajeczna starożytność*, Warsaw 1957.
- T. Zieliński, "Mania twórcza" (in:) T. Zieliński, *Po co Homer?*, Ed. A. Biernacki, Kraków 1970.
- R. Zimand, "Preliminaria do Klechd Leśmiana" (in:) M. Głowiński and J. Sławiński (Ed.), *Studia o Leśmianie*, Warsaw 1971.
- M. Żurowski, *Norwid i symboliści* (in:) "Przegląd Humanistyczny", 1964 (No 4).

HENRYK SIEWIERSKI

(Lisbon — Cracow)

FOUR ESSAYS ON NORWID

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

While this is not an arbitrary selection, the thread of the essays cannot easily be expressed in a few words. In the nature of things, the title has to remain “neutral” in order to encompass four different perspectives.

It was not my purpose to discover the truth of a “dark” poet: rather to present the truth made lucid by his work. The “dark” poet’s writing sheds a light, I think. What is its source?

Undoubtedly the Christian concern, expressed by Norwid in a unique form; concern for the shaping of human community, for inter-communion between men and for man seen in a social dimension.

The essays date from 1978-1981. They were written in Cracow and they owe much to the atmosphere of this city and to its university. A need for clarity must have been in the air, projecting on the ideas concerning the wholeness of mankind so that reading Norwid concentrated one’s thoughts on freedom, public opinion, true communion and on the word itself, its freedom and sanctity.

The essay “Freedom and Polish Romanticism” was published in *Znak* (No. 325, 1981), in a special issue devoted to problems of freedom. The other three form a part of a doctoral dissertation, prepared under the supervision of Prof. Julian Maślanka in the Institute of Polish Studies of the Jagiellonian University of Cracow. “The Conscience of Mankind” appeared in *Znak* (No. 322-323, 1981), “On Aloneness ...” in *Twórczość* (No. 9, 1981), “Architecture of the Word” in *Pamiętnik Literacki* (LXXII, z. 1., 1981).

All the references to Norwid’s writings are to: Cyprian Norwid, *Pisma wszystkie*, Ed. Juliusz W. Gomulicki, Vols. I-XI, Warszawa 1971-1976.

Lisbon, December 1982.

I

FREEDOM AND THE POLISH ROMANTICISM

Even those born in slavery are born to freedom. But the call to be free is not easily heard in the unnatural conditions of servitude. The voice calling man to freedom may remain unanswered unless the slave is supported by a cultural heritage which guards against corruption and decay. Those born in slavery and unlucky enough not to be born into a cultural inheritance will remain slaves forever vegetating in a vacuum which destroys the will and confines the mind to the strategy for survival. If, today, we perceive Polish Romanticism as a historic experience of freedom rather than that of slavery it is because the generations born in servitude were born also within the framework of language which bonded them into a cultural whole stronger than the power of despotism.

To say that Polish culture educated the slaves to freedom does not in any way suggest that it was either better or superior to others. It is, however, enough to consider the results of that upbringing (among them not only Mickiewicz's *Books of the Polish Nation and Pilgrimage* but also the attack on the Belvedere Palace in Warsaw in November 1830) to appreciate that its freedom content is highly unusual. With this in mind, we are better able to follow Mickiewicz when he recreates the idea of Polish statehood from his chair in Collège de France thus:

Nowhere in the world was there so much freedom given to an individual. I know of no institutional framework better equipped to prepare man for freedom and to raise his mind above material concerns.¹

The cultural inheritance challenges slaves to rise to freedom; it also endows them with a sense of commitment. There can be no commitment without a challenge as there can be no answer without a question. The commitment is a response to a call, a response of a special kind, which implies acceptance of the values the call stands for. Commitment must have a definite object. When we say that some one is committed we say it usually in a context which makes the nature of his commitment clear. In our case, the one essential object of commitment, without which it would be unthinkable, is freedom.

In *responding* to the voice which calls him to freedom, a romantic hero accepts *responsibility* for it. Were we to accept, however, that

¹ A. Mickiewicz, "Literatura słowiańska. Kurs III i IV" in: *Dziela*, Kraków 1953, vol. XI, p. 192.

being free is a prerequisite of commitment the conduct of the Polish romantic hero, born in slavery, would be unintelligible. But even a man born in slavery has the right to respond to a call: it is this which puts him on the road to freedom. The sense of responsibility for freedom inspires the slave to struggle against the condition of servitude. Even a slave has a modicum of ability to act, if he can rely on the support of a culture with freedom at its core. Is it then possible to envisage a situation in which the call to freedom fails to reach its potential subjects? While it could happen, in practice we encounter a wide variety and degree of response, rather than total failure.

To recapitulate, the Polish concept of romantic freedom relates to longing for freedom among those deprived of it. In considering it, it seems appropriate to start with a look at a particular collective romantic hero. In his case, the commitment to fight for the lost national freedom has acquired, imperceptibly, overtones of an injured sense of ownership. The group became intent on retaking the freedom which was rightfully theirs, which they felt belonged to them: "As long as we live, we", the lawful heirs of freedom, "will regain by force what the foreign might had taken from us": thus the Polish national anthem, Józef Wybicki's *Hymn of the Legions*, a heroic prologue to the drama of responsibility which is the core of Polish Romanticism.

The responsibility for freedom is a force which initiates a long chain reaction. But progress towards the obliteration of slavery, carries in itself the seed of the hero's moral destruction. The responsibility weighs him down like a curse ("that hour, hundredfold to be cursed...") because it admits of no compromise: the enemy has to be vanquished by any means available. The only criterion of choice is effectiveness, half measures are to be shunned. The hero's responsibility rests on the conviction that an individual is capable of changing the face of the earth, of making history, or bringing monarchs down from their thrones all by the strength of will alone. Yet his power relies totally on his preparedness for sacrifice. Until the analogy between his sacrifice and the Way of the Cross is taken to its true conclusion, the romantic hero will have to sacrifice not only his body and blood but his soul also. He will be tortured cruelly by his own conscience. By giving himself to revenge, he has unleashed a storm which, while it will destroy the enemy, will also torment him, a moral kamikaze, who had violated his own conscience. The torture will be so painful that even the moment following a victorious battle will fail to bring a sense of glory.

Konrad Wallenrod is such a hero ready to sacrifice his own soul for the sake of his nation's freedom. The scale of his tragedy is to be measured in terms of the responsibility he took upon himself. It leads him to undertake the greatest sacrifice an individual can make. In his

case, there is not even the comfort of being convinced that his was the right choice.

“Jeden sposób, Aldono, jeden pozostał Litwinom
Skruszyć potęgę Zakonu; mnie ten sposób wiadomy.
Lecz nie pytaj, dla Boga! Stokroć przeklęta godzina,
W której od wrogów zmuszony chwyć się tego sposobu”.

Więcej nie chciał powiadać, próśb Aldony nie słuchał.
Litwy tylko nieszczęścia słyssał i widział przed sobą,
Aż na koniec płomień zemsty, w milczeniu karmiony
Kłęk i cierpień widokiem, wzdał się i serca ogarnał;
Wszystkie wytrawił uczucia, nawet jedyne uczucie
Dotąd mu żywot słodzące, nawet uczucie miłości.²

“One means, Aldona, one only, to crush the power of the Order,
Now doth remain for our people. To me it is known; but, Aldona,
Ask me no more, in God’s name! for accurst be the hour that I
seize it,
Forced by mine enemies — yea, a hundredfold curse be upon it!”

No more thereafter said he, nor would hark to the prayers of
Aldona;
Only the sorrows of Litwa he heard, saw them only before him;
Thus waxed the flame of his vengeance, long nourished in secret
and silence,
Fed by the sight of disasters and sufferings, till in consuming
Blaze it flashed forth and enveloped his heart, and destroyed every
feeling,
Even the single emotion that erstwhile had been a sweet refuge,
Even the feeling of love.³

It is possible to see the source of Wallenrod’s tragedy in the corruption he brought to the very values to which he was committed; the values which made him choose that particular path of action. Wallenrod a slave, taking upon himself the burden of responsibility for freedom to be achieved by means fair or foul, became also a slave to vengeance. Freedom is enmeshed in universal ethical standards and conceivable only within their boundaries, which if crossed lead into another kind of slavery. Konrad’s is a tragic experience: he sees no other way in which to respond to the call to freedom; vengeance, which requires the

² A. Mickiewicz, “Konrad Wallenrod”, op. cit.

³ “Poems by Adam Mickiewicz”, Ed. George Rapall Noyes, New York 1944.

sacrifice of his own conscience, is the only way he sees for a man, caught in servitude, to give witness to his commitment. But is it the only way: to sacrifice one's whole being, abandoning hope of salvation?

True, Halban promises another poem, "a song of salvation", but in view of what we had been told before this is more likely to be yet another tendentious tale which, while handing on to later generations the call to freedom, will still carry within it the poison of revenge. This is why Mickiewicz puts less trust in the "rustic tale" than in the reaction of a "gentle listener".

Taka pieśń moja o Aldony losach;
Niechaj ją anioł harmonii w niebiosach.
A czuły słuchacz w duszy swej dośpiewa.⁴

So even thus Aldona's fate I sing;
But may the angel of high song attend
And bear it onward still on heavenly wing;
The understanding heart sing to the end!⁵

What is expected of the gentle listener? It seems that beside making a moral judgement on the means the hero had adopted, he should also do justice to Wallenrod's aims even if they failed to justify the means employed. The listener's ability to pass moral judgement should not detract from the compassion for one who had sacrificed his conscience to discharge the duty he owed to freedom.

The commitment to freedom leads Konrad Wallenrod to choose revenge. But Polish Romanticism created also another hero, who although as like Wallenrod as if he were a twin of his, chose a diametrically opposed solution. Irydion, in Zygmunt Krasiński's drama, is "a son of vengeance" but destiny made him also an instrument of the perennial struggle between good and evil. Although motivated by devotion to freedom (which Rome had taken from his country, Greece) his objective had become the destruction of Rome, come what may. The Satan — Masynissa, a master of perverse rhetoric, takes advantage of the hero's moral entanglement. He would rouse him to revenge and thus assure himself of an ally in his own war with God. Irydion's love for Greece degenerates into hatred of Rome. Revenge becomes his only goal, the meaning of his life. It justifies ruthlessness and treachery. When it becomes apparent that victory would not be possible without the support of the Christians (sheltering in the catacombs), Irydion tries to win them by deceit. In the decisive moment, the spirit of Christianity,

⁴ A. Mickiewicz, "Konrad Wallenrod", op. cit.

⁵ "Poems by Adam Mickiewicz", op. cit.

embodied in the Cross, removes the temptation of revenge. Irydion loses because he is unable “to sharpen the cross into a weapon”. The defeat enables him to discover where he himself stands in the perennial struggle of good and evil. It enables him also to see the real face of Masynissa and to discover that Christ, his immortal enemy, is no less than the Lord of heaven and earth.

But Satan does not release easily a creature he once thought his own. Masynissa makes Irydion bequeath him his soul in exchange for a promise to be able to travel in time and to see Rome vanquished and defiled. Yet the play does not end in the defeat of the hero. When, waking up, centuries later, Irydion sees the ruins of Rome and rejoices in “the justice of his revenge”, his attention is drawn to the single object which had survived the catastrophe. In the centre of the Coliseum, the blackened wooden cross stands as a witness to the sacrifice of the early Christians. The cross delivers Irydion’s soul from Masynissa’s claim on it. It was not, in fact, the vengeance which had brought Rome to ruin: the good, this once, triumphed over evil. Among the ruins of the Coliseum Irydion comes to understand the evil of dedicating one’s life to vengeance and the moral sacrifice it entails. Vengeance is not the way to freedom, patriotism and vengeance are perennial opposites. The battle for Irydion’s soul then takes place at the foot of the Cross. His love for Greece, put on the scales, wins him salvation. Still, the play continues. Having been freed from ultimate slavery, Irydion is to be called to true freedom. He has to give witness to his commitment by undergoing yet another trial:

Go to the North in the name of Christ; go, and halt not until thou shalt stand in the land of graves and crosses. Thou wilt recognize it by the silence of the men and by the sadness of the little children, by the burned cottages of the poor and by the ruined palaces of the exiles; thou wilt recognize it by the moanings of my angels who fly over it by night.

Go, and dwell among the brothers whom I give to thee. There will come thy second test; there for a second time thou wilt see the object of thy love pierced through and dying, but thou thyself will be unable to die — and the suffering of thousands will be incarnate in thy one heart! Go, and have faith in my name. Pray not for thine own glory but for the good of those whom I am entrusting to thee. Be calm in face of the haughtiness and oppression and scoffing of the unrighteous: They shall pass away, but thou and my word shall not pass away!”

And after long martyrdom I will let the dawn break above you, I will give you that which I gave to my angels centuries ago:

happiness — and that which I promised to men from the heights of Golgotha: liberty!⁶

One would like to call the rejection of revenge as a way to win freedom the ethical strength of Polish Romanticism. It led its heroes from the extremity of Wallenrod's experience to participate in the Christian creation of freedom. Although the revolt against the Christian ethos was not an uncommon phenomenon (one needs only to remember Mickiewicz's "With God or against God"), when it came to the decisive moment, the wish never proved the father of the deed. The avenger was doomed to fail: Kordian fell at the door to the Tsar's bedroom while Konrad, about to avenge himself on God for this refusal to aid the rebellion, had to stay his hand. Vengeance, invariably, leads Polish Romantic heroes to fall, even before the deed is done. The resemblance between Irydion, Kordian and Konrad rises to a symbolic plane: vengeance, where it involves the sacrifice of man's conscience, cannot be carried out in the name of freedom. The fall of the would-be avengers is brought about by the working of the moral law under which the greatest admissible sacrifice is that of body and blood. Christianity allows none greater not because man is incapable of it but because it would condemn his soul. The fall of the Polish Romantic hero does not repeat the flight of Icarus, it is a Christian version of a flight to freedom, the start of a "second trial".

The "second trial" of heroes such as Irydion and Konrad will take the form of a sacrifice measurable in human terms and intelligible within the cultural tradition. Polish Messianism, particularly that of Mickiewicz, is in essence an attempt to conquer the greatest danger facing man rebelling against slavery and oppression: the temptation to give oneself up to vengeance. Christ, given to the nation as a paradigm to be followed, offered a different way to freedom, which kept the rebel's inner dignity intact. Messianism did not seek to impose the example, but drew lessons directly from Polish history, perceived as a progression towards freedom, a commitment accepted at the time of common baptism. "The belief in one God was, for the Poles, a safeguard of freedom", Mickiewicz said in *Books of the Polish Nation*. He argued that the history of Poland provided marked confirmation of that belief.

In Mickiewicz's view the struggle between Polish love of freedom and Russian oppression had come to a turning point. The future of humanity depended on the outcome: freedom of Poland was a precondition of the freedom of other nations. Poland bore responsibility for the freedom which its faith bestowed on the nation, but it bore also the responsibility for faith itself without which there could be no freedom. Any plan of

⁶ Z. Krasinski, "Irydion", translated by Florence Noyes, London 1927.

action, any strategy had to be worked out with those twin responsibilities in mind. In his Paris lectures, Mickiewicz said that Poland which was always an embodiment of the idea diametrically opposed to that of Russia, could win only by force of that idea. Mickiewicz himself used to be a Russian subject, he knew the nature of imperial power. He had no illusions about the system being able to change of its own volition. He warned therefore the western writers, who “assessing Russia according to their experience of their own countries doubted its strength” and underestimated the threat of despotism brought to perfection.

The ukase, that spirit of hell, not satisfied with the conquest of the North, will not let the Russians stop within their borders but throws them against the Tartars, sends them towards the Danube, makes them attack Poland. The will of the ruler dominates all, it is the start and the goal of all action. All serve him, the word *service* is the keyword of Russian life. The Tsar has no duties towards his subjects but has the right to demand public service from them: it is his due and needs not be rewarded (. . .) I will remind you that, in Mongolia, it was the soldier who had to pay his master. In Russia, the Tsar does not have to pay either: moneys, given to servants and soldiers are called “zhalovanie”, a good will offering, in other words alms. The Tsar dispenses charity to his subjects. *Institutions*, in the modern sense, do not exist in Russia, the country is ruled by *will*. (Paris lectures)⁷

The Russian army of serfs, blindly obeying orders, is not an adversary easy to conquer. Spiritually subjoined to its master, it has no will of its own. Its strength lies in identifying with the master’s will. Victory over Russia wouldn’t come in a battle; it would only be achieved by breaking the spiritual chain on which that nation was led. It would be brought about by a campaign which would imbue the Russians with a sense of dignity and love of freedom. Mickiewicz argued further, that it was Poland’s vocation to confront Russia. The Polish state had never been governed by the will of its masters but by the strength of its institutions, which existed in order to “develop human spirit, keep it in a state of vigilance, inspire it to understand the nature of its own dignity and responsibility”.⁸

Polish history taught Mickiewicz that “this nation was always intent on having a political system founded on *good will and inner conviction*”.⁹

⁷ A. Mickiewicz, “Literatura słowiańska”, op. cit., Vol. XI, p. 186.

⁸ Ibid., p. 191.

⁹ Ibid., p. 194.

Russia vanquished Poland not only because we failed to carry our principles into practice. While truth and love can be as strong as anger and hatred, the higher ideals are always more vulnerable to an attack: "simple and little developed structures have greater staying power". Other Slavs were also powerless when facing mighty Russia, whose power was grounded in fear. Only a Western power had been ever able to disturb it. That shock, as well as the moral influence of the neighbouring Poles and Czechs, caused the Tsar's autocracy to weaken: "A general, while still obeying the cruel order of his monarch, feels nowadays a need to justify it to his own conscience; he no longer believes in the Tsar's moral infallibility".

Mickiewicz considered that the struggle of Poland with Russia, and of Russia with other Slavonic nations was, in moral terms, over. A new spirit, which was to liberate the strength and the moral, social and political qualities of Slavonic peoples, was abroad. Now was the time for Poles, Czechs and Russians to recognise they were brothers. Poland was to be the cradle of the new spirit, which would become embodied in a great leader; Poland, the nation which had suffered most, which, among all the Slavs, had served Europe best and the one which owed most to Europe. Mickiewicz repeated after Brodziński, that Poland, the most unhappy among the nations, having been forced into a union with the world's greatest power, the progeny of that marriage would continue Napoleon's work and bring freedom and brotherhood to nations.

This is not the place to deal extensively or in depth with the problems of Polish Messianism. My aim is to present those elements which are relevant to consideration of the Polish Romantic idea of freedom. If we leave aside the marginal aberrations, the futurologist, and the quasi-spiritualist speculations, what remains is the core of Polish Messianism and therefore the core and essence of Polish Romantic thinking. For a Romantic, the crucial challenge was a call to serve freedom. In that service, men born slaves were transformed into knights of freedom, immunised against the bacillus of vengeance, made aware that for the victory to be real, it had to leave human dignity unimpaired and human identity intact. Polish Messianism was an act of accepting responsibility for freedom of the whole of humanity but also for the freedom of each and every individual. It not only rejected the debasement of revenge, it also showed in its true light the barbaric face of despotism and banned it, morally, from the civilised world.

The question to consider is how Polish Romantic philosophy relates to Hegel's concept of history, which regards the great powers as the embodiment of God in history. How does it stand up to a charge, which Nietzsche might have brought against it that it was indulging in moral

indignation, no more relevant than a bleating of a lamb in protest against a mighty predator?

It would be difficult to defend the messianic position without being convinced that Christianity is an essential factor in the development of European civilisation. But for those who believe that continued existence of that civilisation depends on the survival of traditional Christian values, the theory of Poland's historical mission may not be unacceptable and it does not necessarily have to be regarded as an expression of national megalomania.

Cyprian Norwid's understanding of what freedom meant differed from that of the Messianic school. In his "Poem about the Freedom of the Word" Norwid linked the history of man to the development of that freedom, thus integrating the philosophy of mankind with the philosophy of language. That is why, when he discusses man's freedom he concentrates on the word and asks whether the word itself had not been in fact enslaved. No man can remain free if he distorts the meaning of the word "freedom" and uses it in its perverted sense. The word is not, by nature, man's slave. It is not a man-made tool, it is God's gift with which He imprinted His will in man's consciousness, God gave man not only free will, but also the ability to understand the divine will. God allowed man to participate in His nature through the gift of the word. Were human freedom to mean only freedom of choice, one would have to say that man is "doomed to freedom". But we follow St. Paul and speak of "a call to freedom": we assume that in performing acts of free choice we are not left alone but choose in the presence of Him who bestowed freedom on us. He did not impose it but revealed it. Norwid says that man becomes free when his will is united with the divine will.

August Cieszkowski expounded a concept of "social and religious freedom" on similar lines, arguing that true freedom could only be reached by following God's will. But Cieszkowski considered human nature to be the source of our knowledge of divine will, while Norwid in the "Poem on the Freedom of the Word" sees that source in culture, the fruit risen from the seed of divine revelation.

It is not up to man to give meaning to a Word, his duty is to learn the meaning given to it at the beginning of time. Freeing the Word from false accretions, we arrive at the truth i.e. at the meaning given to it by the Creator. In order to discover the truth of the word "freedom" it is necessary, says Norwid in his poem "Królestwo" ("The Kingdom"), to remove the accretions which have grown around it. For Norwid's contemporaries freedom has become identified with "libertas", with the absence of external constraints, with personal freedom and civil rights; according to Norwid, freedom does not depend on external circumstances.

Nie niewola ni wolność są w stanie
Uszczęśliwić cię . . . nie! — tyś osobą:
Udziałem twym — więcej! . . . *panowanie*
Nad wszystkim na świecie i nad sobą.

Neither slavery nor liberty can
Bring you happiness . . . no! you are a person:
And have right to more than that: *Dominion*
Over all the world's creation and over yourself.

(II, 64)

Man has right to more than what is habitually meant by “freedom” in its restricted meaning of “libertas”. He has been called to “dominion over all the world’s creation” and over himself. These are two aspects of man’s freedom. He is allowed to dominate the world but he has also the duty to master himself, his passions and his desires. As St. Thomas Aquinas put it: “the condition of perfect freedom excludes the temptation of evil”. Man’s mastery includes command of all matters having a bearing on human relationships and the individual development within the historical process.

(. . .) *gdy wolność — postępu w osobie*
Na rzecz postępu w historii zaprzeczysz,
Wielki ci stanie mąż na woli — grobie,
Pytając: “Czemu to ducha kaleczysz? . . .
(.)
Wierzę — iż postęp w historii gdy zgładzę
Na rzecz postępu w osobie człowieka,
Odwlekę wolność, ojczyznę przesądzę,
I będę cieszył się, że sprawa czeka.

If you deny the *progress of inner freedom to man*
For the sake of *historical progression*
On the grave of freedom a great man will rise
To ask: “*Why do you maim the spirit so? . . .*
(.)
It is my belief that by sacrificing the *historical advancement*
for the sake of *man's inner freedom*
I would delay freedom, work against my country's interest
And happily allow the case to remain open.

(III, 392)

Norwid’s definition of freedom has, in Polish, an etymological aspect:

the words “wolność (freedom) and “wola” (will) share the same root. The concept of “being with the will of God” and therefore participating in God’s Dominion forms the core of Norwid’s philosophy of freedom.

Man, to be free, must rise spiritually above all form, also his own. The form is to be mastered and used as a means to achieve salvation:

*Bo wolność? . . . jest to celem przetrwanie
Doczesnej formy. Oto wyzwolenie! . . .*

*Freedom? . . . The aim is to transform
The transient form. That is what freedom is! . . .*

(III, 377)

Norwid’s attitude is that of an artist who “makes ideals out of the earth” and thus commands it. Form, including the bodily form and all the experience acquired through the body, is given to us not to tempt us but to allow us to experience freedom. If form is allowed to become the object of desire and an aim in itself, defining man’s consciousness, an act of betrayal is committed, a betrayal of mankind’s vocation to be free:

*Niewola — jest to formy postawienie
Na miejsce celu. — Oto uciśnienie . . .*

*Slavery? To make form the end
And the aim, that is slavery . . .*

(III, 376)

Form is to be the means: the human progression passes through it, and in that sense it makes the progression possible. For a Christian, the road leads back to the Father who bestows, but does not impose, freedom. Man can choose servitude, if he so wishes; if, to his mind form is worthy of surrender. Or, he may not be strong enough to resist the temptation it offers. Man is not alone on his way, “The Lord’s spirit keeps vigil over us”, so that freedom’s appeal to man does not weaken and man continues to command form and to make use of it in order to achieve freedom in God.

Niejeden do was faryzeusz rzecze:
“Bez-formalnego nie ma nic — niestety!”
Tak — lecz *niestety!* — więc już formie przeczę,
Więc chcę, by środkiem była mi do mety,
Więc jej używam ja, nie mnie używa;
Więc po co *cel* mój, *Boga*, mi zakrywa

A Bog mój — żywot jest i zmartwychwstanie,
I to jest wszystkim cel, choć przez konanie —

Many a Pharisee will tell you
“There can be nothing without form, alas!”
Yes, but just by adding *alas* I question the form,
I wish it to be the means to an end
To use it, not to allow it to make use of me;
Why does it, then, still stand between me and God who is my goal?
God who is my life and my resurrection,
In whom is contained all my purpose, even if it be to my dying —
(III, 377-8)

Does not Norwid touch on the essence of the Christian concept of freedom, when he defines it, in general yet unequivocal terms, as the command and conquest of form? Command which he does not equate either with a stoic's contempt or a dialectic compromise. Even if, in practice, form may appear as an obstacle on the human road to freedom, man must on no account tamper with the concept in order to remove the problem of form's resistance. It is difficult to achieve anything without “using the tool of irony” (“skrzypnięcia wstecz ironii”), but it does not follow that the sculptor's chisel should be a blunt one.

The so called *sensible* people, afraid of ideals, maintain that it is simpler to achieve truth by tampering with it a little. This is a distorted view of the difference between word and deed, between a concept and its realisation: the imperfection starts with realisation! *How otherwise could anything be imperfect if it had not perfection as its end? Imperfection*, considered not as a failing of human nature in its struggle, not as a distortion of it but as an end in itself, would cease to be *imperfection* and become a *perfect example of evil*.

(III, 380)

The political enslavement of Poland represents an attempt to impose on the nation an alien form, but as long as the spirit resists the imposition the nation remains free. In the poem “Slavery” Norwid discussed problems arising from his understanding of freedom in the circumstances of political subjection. The situation presents two specific dangers to freedom conceived as “Dominion”: it makes both command over the external circumstances and the command of oneself a formidable task. Command over social and political institutions is

barred by brute force, a means of organised enslavement. The situation does not absolve the individual from responsibility for the whole of the community, nor does it justify him in giving up his duty to command. Norwid attaches great importance to all action directed towards the strengthening of public opinion and the provision of institutional forms to that end. The poet believes that public opinion is, potentially, a force capable of overcoming slavery, injustice, and brute force, that it can act as the highest court of moral law. Its voice speaks for God. Through public opinion mankind can control social institutions. It is public opinion which guards individual interests against the overwhelming pressures of the community. It may enable the European community of nations to triumph over enemy forces which threaten one of its members and thus endanger the whole community. Norwid's own activities during the Polish insurrection of 1863 gave practical expression to his belief in the power of public opinion.

It should be remembered that organised political emigration seemed to Norwid, and not only to him, to be the principal means of saving the freedom of Poles by enabling them to overcome the form of slavery. Yet Norwid knew, better than other great Romantics, the unhappy lot of the émigrés and the dangers implicit in breaking off the direct ties with one's country. He felt therefore that their countrymen still in Poland should share the responsibility for the brethren scattered over the world. The emigration was to be an expression of the national veto against slavery. "As public opinion does not disapprove of emigration, why should it not aid the émigrés and encourage their national usefulness until such time that they master the language and learn a skill", wrote Norwid in "Letters about the Emigration" published in "Dziennik Poznański" in 1849. (VII,43)

Suffering experienced by man deprived of freedom mobilises mechanisms of just anger and rebellion against evil. Intolerable suffering may cause anger so violent that the power of self-control cannot contain it. This is how the urge for vengeance is born, the emotion which is a threat to mankind precisely because it represents a break of self-control, "the dominion over oneself". Norwid showed much understanding and compassion for those whose suffering drove them into the desolation of vengeance but the burden of his moral teaching was that that driving force should be mastered before it deprives its subjects of their freedom. The hero of *Zwolon*, trying to stop people rising against a tyrant says "This young man, fed on thirst for revenge, is not a man of freedom" and

Zemsty, mówię, żądza
Gdy o ojczyzny losach rozporządza,

Ojczyzna z zemstą w związek wchodzą taki,
Że kiedy jednej *stanie się*, to drugiej
Może nie stanie już . . .

The thirst for revenge
When it decides the fate of the nation
Creates a bond of such a nature
That when the vengeance *succeeds*
Nation may be no more . . .

(IV, 42)

Freedom and vengeance are, in the Christian vocabulary, mutually exclusive. Vengeance deforms the meaning of the word freedom and can transform it into its own opposite. Norwid found an example of it in a poem by Gustaw Ehrenberg:

Gdziekolwiek wyrok carski nas zawlecze,
Oszukamy jego dumę;
Poniesiem z *sobą prawa człowiecze*,
Poniesiem wolności dżumę! . . .

Wherever the Tsar's sentence sends us
We shall cheat his swelling pride,
We shall glorify *the rights of man*
And spread the plague of freedom!! . . .

(VII, 40-41)

For Norwid the poem stands for the domination of the element of vengeance in the struggle against the enemy of Christendom, which can only end in the destruction of Love (charity), the greatest of religious virtues. The "plague of freedom" would be as dangerous to its begetters as to their enemies. Norwid diagnosed that kind of freedom as a disease, a pathological outcome of circumstances, which led to inappropriate decisions and unnecessary martyrdom. "The plague", born out of the suffering of slavery, would wither in the clear air of freedom. Norwid's philosophy of freedom was, among other things, an attempt to strengthen the will of the enslaved to fight as free men and not as slaves.

There is much more to be said about Polish Romantic freedom. But not all of it is equally relevant. History does not tell everything when we care to listen to its voice. This essay is no more than an attempt to show the parameters of the romantic thinking on the subject and to describe the set of values which dominated it. I hope it succeeds in demonstrating

that the romantic search was for a road to national independence which would not deny man either his dignity or his freedom.

“Within the Polish and Slav concept of freedom, the individual and national freedom (and the individual and national development) are so intertwined that they cannot be separated, no more than you can separate body and soul without inflicting death”.

(III, 383)

II

“THE CONSCIENCE OF MANKIND”: NORWID ON PUBLIC OPINION

At the time the term *public opinion* was introduced into Polish, it had had a long European history due not only to the spread of Gutenberg's invention but also as a factor for profound social and political change initiated by the French Revolution.¹

It did not appear in Linde's *Dictionary*. One of its earliest definitions in Polish was Adam Mickiewicz's in 1820: “public opinion is an accumulation of a number of personal views”,² This definition lacks the element which in the eyes of a modern expert marks the difference between individual and public opinion: public opinion is not a loose accumulation or collection of individual views but an organised whole.³ It must be said, however, that the looser definition is a safer one. History provided many examples of “organised opinion” which had very little in common with the genuine views of the public opinion.

Nevertheless, the effectiveness of public opinion undoubtedly depends on its being organised. The principle *divide et impera* beloved of all absolutist governments, was so because co-operation among their subjects represented the greatest possible threat to the rulers. The development of posts and communications, of economy and commerce, of the art of printing and journalism went hand in hand with the integration of public opinion and the democratisation of society. The growth of public opinion was not, however, as fast as might have been expected because the authorities were quick to develop means of manipulating and dominating the new force. To quote as example a view taken by a historian of the role played by public opinion under “fully developed capitalism”: “the authorities either try to make public opinion conform to their aims and plans, or, having failed in that respect, prevent the free play of opinion and thus paralyse its unwelcome effect”.⁴

Having acquired importance under the Enlightenment, public opinion did not lose either prestige or influence in the period that followed.

¹ F. Peplowski, *Słownictwo i frazeologia polskiej publicystyki okresu Oświecenia i Romantyzmu*, Warszawa 1961, p. 252.

² A. Mickiewicz, (Uwagi o piśmie periodycznym), in: *Dziela*, Warszawa 1950, vol. 5, p. 103.

³ J. Stoetzel, *Théorie des opinions*, Paris 1943, p. 165; A. Sauvy, *L'opinion publique*, Paris 1961; F. G. Wilson, *A Theory of Public Opinion*, Chicago 1962.

⁴ J. Jabłoński, *Opinia. Parlament. Prasa. Wstęp do badań roli opinii publicznej w epoce rozkwitu kapitalizmu*, Warszawa 1947, p. 307.

Opinio! *ojczyzn ojczyzno* — twe sity
Są z głosu ludu ... głos ten wszakże wtedy
Pozarastane otwiera mogiły
I jest ogromnym głosem Boga, kiedy
Już tylko *głosem* i bez *swojej* sity,
Kiedy orzeka prawdę, by ją orzec,
Jak w nieczłowieczym ujęciu toporzec ...

I say to you — said Wieslaw —
That what is called the voice of opinion
Is ... what? ...

... *a ray of prophecy*
The last ... not quite abandoned by the world.
It is mankind's troubled conscience
And not the conscience of any one nation
Inherited and confined to its own;
(.....)
But of mankind, as it developed
Throughout the ages, with men of destiny, miracles and
achievement
If they be conceived in the sight of God!
(.....)

Opinion! You who are the country of all, your strength comes from
Being the voice of the people, yet its sound
Opens overgrown graves and becomes
The great voice of God himself only when
No longer relying on its strength
and *only as a disembodied voice*
It proclaims truth for its own sake.

(III, 451, 455)

The prophetic quality of public opinion means that it frequently meets with resistance, and is often no more than a voice in a wilderness. Nonetheless, it is the voice of truth, the expression of supranational morality; it carries values common to the whole of mankind, bridging its cultural and political divisions. A determinist view of truth is alien to it by its nature it is opposed to violation of human dignity for whatever reason. If that occurs, its voice increases in resonance:

O Polsko! granic twych nie widzę linii,
Nic nie masz oprócz *głosu* — tak uboga!
Istniejesz przecie — tyś *córą opinii,*
Tyś głosem, który jest to — co głos Boga.

Poland! The line of your boundaries cannot be seen,
You have nothing but *voice* — so poor you are!
Yet you survive: you, the *daughter of opinion*,
You, the voice which is the same as the voice of God.

Poland, your part it to prophesy,
You are the only *voice in the wilderness*.

(III, 459)

Because Poland had been enslaved, its voice acquired a special prophetic quality: it proclaimed her own life, the hope of liberation and a lesson for the world. For Norwid, who was against Messianism and other nationalist and ethnocentric aberrations of the time, the concept of Poland as “special” carried an essentially negative weight. The prophetic voice of Poland enslaved was not a lesson for the world in the sense in which Mickiewicz understood it: “I say unto you: you do not have to learn civilisation from foreigners, you have to teach them the true Christian civilisation”.⁶ To Norwid, Poland’s lesson was not a paradigm but a warning.

Progress depends on the existence and survival of institutional forms of public opinion: “Cleanse the voice of opinion, so it is heard in all its clarity, being but an instrument of the voice of God”. (III, 469)

Polish public opinion, the opinion of a conquered nation, lacked institutional forms and it was essential to utilise all the means available to make it heard. Norwid asks in *Promethidion* for national art which would absorb popular imagination, with its wealth of allegorical forms, into the national heritage. The imagination of the people, through the national art (like the music of Chopin who lifted folklore to such artistic heights) will express public opinion “which is the same as the voice of God”; *vox populi, vox Dei*.

Having said in *Promethidion* that public opinion carries a supranational truth, an expression of divine revelation, Norwid was intent on drawing practical conclusions from this belief and appealed on many occasions to the public to provide conditions in which the voice of opinion could properly be heard.

When, during the Russo-Turkish war, there seemed to emerge a hope of improving the Polish situation by organising a Polish Legion to fight on the Turkish side, Norwid declared it essential to make Polish national opinion in the matter known:

⁶ A. Mickiewicz, *Księgi narodu i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* (VI) in op. cit., vol. 6, p. 26.

Great events are taking place. We have no navy and no ambassadors but we have opinion. *It is essential to discuss public views on the matters now under consideration*, in order to coordinate individual negotiations and private initiatives and to place them under public control. Without it, and without public opinion to steer our actions, we are in danger of another *Targowica, or the Galician massacre*. (VII, 179)

Norwid goes on to provide detailed directions on preparing a manifesto, which should aim at creating a national quasi-representative body:

The manifesto ought to be published under the signature of one Polish member of the German parliament, another from the parliament of Austria, one member of the Warsaw Agricultural Society, a village school teacher and a peasant. (VII, 180)

This was not Norwid's first attempt to encourage the creation of institutional forms for national opinion. In Norwid's view the concept of national representation derived directly from Christian understanding of human personality.

Man as an individual is subordinate to society but he is also as a person subordinated directly to God. He has duties which he is under obligation to carry out but, equally, he has the right to expect reciprocal treatment from society, which should provide him with conditions for moral and spiritual growth. Norwid describes the state as *un devoir collectif* and in this matter as in others he remains a Christian personalist:

In the nature of things, duty has two facets: *the country's duty towards the individual and the duty of the individual towards his country*. (VII, 113)

It would be wrong to see man as having only duties and to ignore his expectations. Man is not defined fully by his place in society and by what he does; he also stands for mankind and has a claim on society to be respected as a person in his own right. It should be remembered that Norwid wrote a memorandum suggesting the formation of the "Society for the Defence of Human Rights" in 1875.

If man were stripped of *everything he stands for* and left only with his outward achievement, that man would no longer be whole nor would society (...). Man not prepared to "represent"

(externalise) what he stood for would be diminished and restricted to that which is *visible, tangible and wordly*. He would be bereft of inner striving for what is *worthy of attainment*. To proclaim a campaign for freedom it is necessary that the individual and society seek to represent (publically) this goal and, under its banner, find wholeness. (VII, 52)

The concept of representation expresses Norwid's belief in the human bond which is above man-made institutions, being rooted in the divine order. Society, in acting to strengthen the universal bond, works towards social integration. It also contributes towards the integration of individuals by creating an environment in which they develop. For every man, to add to mankind's bond his own contribution is a moral imperative and a duty to humanity as a whole.

The idea of representation, rooted in man's consciousness leads him to activate public opinion, through which speaks the voice of God. Opinion provides, collectively, "representation" of each and every responsible member of the community. Elected representatives of the people make up the parliamentary authority, which gives expression to political pluralism.⁷

The Poles, who through "*a long period of political non-existence* lost the mastery of the parliamentary art", (VII, 161) lost also respect for lawful authority. This led to political demoralisation and an ebbing of national bond:

The émigré community is close to complete political disarray; the concern for common good has nearly disappeared. This is caused by primitive ignorance of what lawful authority is and plain failure to recognise it. (VII, 166)

To Norwid, lawful authority in this context does not mean the authority of an individual or of a political party but "three parliamentary bodies freely elected" i.e. a representation of the emigration, elected in free and open vote, a representation of Polish members of the Prussian and those of the Austro-Hungarian parliament. ("Polish Legal Representation", 1869: *O polskiej władzy prawowitej*) (VII, 166-168).

Norwid's social and political philosophy is in many ways close to republican tradition but it concentrates on problems of civil responsibility of the national community rather than on those of power and authority. Lawful authority is one which expresses collective

⁷ Z. Łapiński, "Spółczesny ekstrem" in: *Cyprian Norwid w 150-lecie urodzin*. ed. M. Żmigrodzka, Warszawa 1973, p. 110-123.

commitment, not private interests. The creation of a lawful authority does not absolve citizens from personal responsibility for the common good; the authority should, at all times, be given respect which is its due. Norwid was deeply disturbed by the émigrés' indifference to their national representation, shown so disastrously when men who deserved well of the nation were allowed to end *dans la fosse commune*: "The great sage, Hoene-Wroński, died unknown, and nearly destitute, Joachim Lelewel, a man who for fifty years toiled in great poverty for the nation, a writer of great merit and at one time member of the Government, had been buried *dans la fosse commune*" (X, 187) wrote Norwid in a letter to Konstancja Górska from the Hospice of St. Casimir, not unmindful perhaps of his own fate.

Throughout, Norwid tried to activate Polish public opinion to create representative institutions. He called also for adjustment and improvement of institutions already in existence so that they would become genuinely representative of public opinion.

In "Letters about the Emigration" written for *Dziennik Poznański* in 1849, Norwid discussed the problems of the new emigration, the outcome of the events of 1846-1848. His aim was to bring to public attention the tragic predicament of those young people and to point out that the whole nation should make themselves responsible for their future:

As public opinion does not disapprove of emigration, why should it not aid the émigrés and encourage their national usefulness, until such time as they master the language and learn a skill?
(VII,18)

The emigration remained part of the nation. The nation had no right to question an individual's decision to go abroad. Emigration as a whole was, in effect, an aftermath of sacrifice made in the public interest by individuals.

Norwid called for aid to be sent from Poland. He asked: "Why had a decent collection not been organised?" (VII, 18) and maintained that there were no excuses to justify this lack of response. He reacted sharply to Libelt's attempt at self justification, argued from a Messianic standpoint: "Do not shield behind the Cross when discussing purely material matters, not concerned with God's glory" (VII, 21).

In Norwid's view the emigration had to rely on the moral and material support of the nation, if it were to fulfil its mission. Without it the émigrés were doomed. The emigration was the one part of Poland "in a position to speak openly on public matters" (VII, 23) but were it to lose touch with opinion at home its usefulness would be at an end. Opinion

capable of directing their actions could be formed only in Poland and not “in a foreign oasis”. The views of the émigrés, taken in isolation, were bound to remain one-sided separated as they were from the natural pluralism of public opinion: ‘Never had national opinion been formed outside a country, only a one-sided view, never otherwise’ (VII, 23). Norwid appealed, time and time again, to opinion at home to establish contact with the new émigrés and not to regard their fate with indifference. Only opinion at home “can assure *economy of sacrifice as it is not committed to a party, does not exclude anyone, in fact because it is national.* (VII, 23).

In “Letters on Emigration”, Norwid stressed the importance of the press in forming public opinion. In his view, it was the task of the press to mobilise intellectual resources so that a national strategy could be worked out. It was up to the press to develop social consciousness and not to pander to the tastes of its readers: “it is not the job of a newspaper to publish only what is wanted but also that which the public ought to take an interest in; that is how *public opinion should be formed*”. (VII, 19).

During the January insurrection of 1863, Norwid tried to launch *Dziennik*, a newspaper which, he hoped, “would respond adequately to the demands of the moment”. (VII, 135). Military action needed to be supported by moral pressure, with the whole nation behind it. Without it, it was possible to win battles but not to win the war: “But we cannot exert pressure of that kind on the organs of the Russian state *without having at our disposal an intellectual instrument, operating in an atmosphere of freedom*”. (VII, 131). “The pressure on the organs of the Russian state” meant exposing the underlying immorality of the conduct of “the St. Petersburg government, the St. Petersburg State and of some members of the St. Petersburg intelligentsia”, who should on no account be identified with Russia as a whole. There were no grounds for such identification and to attempt it would be damaging to Poland and an encouragement to Russian nationalism:

In attacking Russia *as such*, one brings out *Russian patriotism* and thus works FOR THEM ... The Emperor Alexander said as much in his latest speech:

“I have that one consolation that *since the events in Poland Russian patriotism has strengthened.*” (VII, 133-134)

In an attempt to differentiate, Norwid proposed a terminology of his own, contrasting St. Petersburg with Moscow so that only the Northern capital became identified with the wrongs committed. “To attach odium to the words Moscow and Moscovite is a historical and also a political

mistake. To my mind, we should rather use descriptions such as St. Petersburg government, St. Petersburg State, the people of St. Petersburg State, usually called Russian . . .” (VII, 136). The terminology served to express the essential dichotomy of Russian culture well known to Russian philosophers and writers: “Since the arrival on our shores of the bronze rider, who established a perennial imprint on Finnish granite, our country has been broken in two, and so has our destiny.”⁸

In a memorandum on the press, prepared at the request of Karol Ruprecht, a delegate of the National Government, Norwid speaks of the “moral pressure by the Polish intelligentsia” intended to support the armed struggle and to spread disarray and dejection among the enemy. In Norwid’s opinion, a military win could not be equated with victory. Russian spirit had to be conquered and that could only be achieved by means of moral pressure which would demonstrate to the enemy the odiousness of his conduct, thus depriving him of motivation to wage war. Norwid’s hope of destabilising the Russian army was based on the belief that once it were shown to the people of “St. Petersburg State” that Poland had been the victim of a political rape, the Russians would be disarmed morally.

Respected Sirs, Having accepted the *mot d’ordre* and having agreed the *principle*, as already described, we now have to demonstrate to the public of *St. Petersburg State and the independent intelligentsia of that State that it was the bleeding corpse of Poland which they had used to make a vade-mecum to teach their government its limitations*. We should now provide the intelligentsia and other inhabitants of St. Petersburg State with another blood vade-mecum to teach them their own obligations as men and as citizens. We should also make representations to the effect that this inert monolith, the St. Petersburg State, never initiated a *progressive programme of its own volition*, to anticipate the needs of its subjects Yet, as it must have some sort of programme, it steals it. *Its own initiative comes to the fore only when it arranges to massacre the genuine innovators.*⁹ (VII, 138)

⁸ A. Biely, *Petersburg*. Translated by S. Pollak, Warszawa 1974, p. 115.

⁹ Norwid’s views about Russia find ample confirmation in the Russian literature of the early 19th c., among others in P. Chaadaev’s writings: “We move in time in such a peculiar way that, with every step forward, the moment just passed disappears for ever. This is the result of our culture being a conglomerate of borrowing and imitations. There is no inner development, no natural progression, every new idea obliterates the old ones, because there is no organic bond between them. As we always take over the ideas ready-made, our brains do not grow those grooves which cannot be ironed out, the grooves which arise as a result of continuity of development and are its strength” (in “The absence of History” quoted in *Rosyjska myśl filozoficzna i społeczna* (1825-1861) ed. by A. Walicki, Warszawa 1961, p. 100).

In a poem, written on learning of the start of the January insurrection of 1863, Norwid addressed the Russians directly:

Czyż myśli każdej — każdej myśli prawie
Uczyć się trzeba ciągłymi ofiary:
Patriotyzmu — na bruku w Warszawie,
A chrześcijaństwa — u krwawych wrót Fary?! . . .

Czyż nigdy z siebie ty *nic, własną siłą*
Nie poczujesz nigdy: boś wszystko zabierał;
Cofnij się! — wołam — głucha lodu-bryło:
Dopókiż będę *pod tobą* umierał?

Must it be so, that nearly every thought
Has to be learnt through unremitting sacrifice:
Patriotism on the pavement stones of Warsaw
And *Christianity* at the blood spattered church doors?

Will you never initiate *anything by yourself, building on your own strength*:

You have taken everything?
Retreat, impassive frozen mass — I cry.
For how long must I stay dying
Under your dominion?

“Do wroga pieśń” (To the Enemy) (I, 373)

During the insurrection, Norwid did more than mobilise public opinion. Having conceived an idea of a European Congress (whose members would be famous and high ranking military personages), he wrote on the subject to Ludwik Mierosławski, Władysław Zamoyski, and the general officers of the Polish Army.

The task of the Congress would be to pronounce, after study, whether the conduct of Tsar Alexander’s army was consistent with military honour. (VII, 155)

Europe, to Norwid, was a community of nations, linked not by blood but by an idea. Development of each nation and the development of the whole depended on each member’s independent and active contribution. Communion with the other members and understanding of the moral unity of Europe was a prerequisite of the growth of each. The Congress, in discharging its responsibility to public opinion would act both as a witness and as a judge of the Polish insurrection. Norwid

hoped that it would decide to deprive the Tsar's forces of the name and dignity of an army in the European and Christian sense and brand it as organised lawbreaking.

Norwid's social and political thinking had clearly much in common with the democratic ideology which spread throughout Europe in the wake of the French Revolution. There are also traceable links between Norwid and the thinkers influenced by Joachim Lelewel. There are as many differences; the mystical radicalism, the Slavophile and Messianic tendencies were alien to Norwid. The concept of human duties and obligations which gives his syncretic philosophy its character differs greatly from the emphasis other writers placed on the natural rights of individuals. Norwid saw the carrying out of *obligations*, moral rather than legal, inscribed in the Ten Commandments or derived from it, as vital to social coexistence; God gave Moses a charter of duties, not of rights.

In following Norwid's views on human intercommunion we find in all his writings, be it a journalistic tract or a lyrical poem, a consistent emphasis on the social dimension of man. To the question "what is man?" Norwid replies that man is a child, made in the image and likeness of God. What obviously distinguishes man from God is the multitude of human beings contrasted with God's uniqueness. When God created man, he made him a member of a community in the widest sense (i.e. mankind, or a nation) but allowed him to make his own decisions about participating in more restricted social structures. By making him a partner in the process of creating life and in shaping of history, God extended man's responsibility to the whole of mankind and to the historical process. God opened for man the infinite riches of his presence in other human beings, in culture and in history. He demanded from man a willingness "to reveal" himself to others: without man's participation in the process of divine revelation no genuine social bond would exist. There would be no community but a collection of individuals, a human mass. Making a community out of an inchoate mass is a continuation of the process of creation. It produces an environment in which man can develop as a free person, a lord of creation rather than a slave:

Nie niewola ni wolność są w stanie
Uszczęśliwić cię . . . nie! tyś osobą:
Udziałem twym — więcej! . . . panowanie
Nad wszystkim na świecie i nad sobą.

Neither slavery nor liberty can
Bring you happiness . . . no! you are a person:

And have right to more than that: Dominion
Over all the world's creation and over yourself.

(II, 64)

The exercise of the “dominion over all the world's creation” means, among other things a refusal to allow oneself to be reduced to slavery. Human tasks include self control, domination of one's senses and passions, but also participating in the government of the community of which one is a member. In Norwid's view, an individual's participation in the control of social structures is an essential attribute of freedom. In his lectures on Juliusz Słowacki, Norwid discussed the results of subordinating the individual to the interests of society. A nation prepared to do that was doomed. The Crucifixion “was the first but also the last diplomatic step in the pilgrimage of Israel into political nothingness” (VI, 410).

The Polish Liberum Veto was, according to Norwid, the expression of the opposite approach. Norwid described Liberum Veto as the most precious and greatest jewel in the Polish crown. For the author of *Promethidion* (also for Mickiewicz, at the time of his Paris lectures) Liberum Veto was a political embodiment of the Thomist doctrine of the preeminence of a person, regarded ontologically and theologically:

Historically, the Polish Commonwealth took an opposite view: that *it is right and proper to put the whole nation at risk for the sake of one just man*. It is to me an honour and a privilege to be able to count myself a member of so unreasonable a society. I do not agree that Liberum Veto, that great and precious jewel brought Poland to ruin in any way whatsoever. It was the *unenlightened application* of the principle which was at fault. Great national ideas must not be allowed to become corrupted by being tampered with to suit the minds of uncomprehending masses. Instead, the minds of men should be made to rise up to the height of great ideas.
(VI, 410, 411).

The principle of Liberum Veto failed to save the nation because according to Norwid, its practical application had been crude and ill-considered. The political and social thinking was too far ahead of the practice of the day.

Norwid's support for the idea of Liberum Veto is closely linked with his view of the role played by public opinion. He points to the interdependence between the voice of public opinion and the political stand of an individual. Public opinion is not an abstract concept, it needs an institutional framework, whether expressed by a group such as a

chorus in a Greek tragedy or by a single voice of a Roman tribune making use of his right of veto.

It is possible to disagree with this interpretation of *Liberum Veto*. It is impossible not to see why, for Norwid, it stood for those qualities of the national character which made the Poles particularly aware of the value of human dignity and the importance of the rights and obligations of a person.

III

ON ALONENESS AND COMMUNICATION

*I cannot be myself without communicating
with others and I cannot communicate
unless I am alone.*

Karl Jaspers

The motto of *Vade-mecum* tells us how important Norwid considered the question of human communion:

Do not flatter the shadow, Odysseus, noble son of Laertes! I would rather be among you, a servant to the lowest landless labourer, owning nothing but a plough with which to eke out a living than be a ruler over the country of the dead! *Odysseon* (II, 7)

“To be among you“ means, in this case, simply “to be alive”. But not only that. The affirmation is not of life but of *life with others*, in communion. Servitude among the living is preferable to dominion over the dead. The distinction has, for Norwid, yet another meaning. Life is not a sum of biological functions, and they, by themselves, do not constitute life. Man, though alive, may have become “dead” if he has lost the ability to accept, to take in the Word. Norwid’s poem-parable “The Sight” (“Wzroki”) tells the story of a blind Greek lyre player who guesses the numbers in his audience by listening to the applause which his performance brings. If we follow the lines of the parable into the world of values it becomes reasonable to substitute for the opposites in the *Odyssey* a contrast between a community of the living who are open to the Word and another, of beings alive yet unable to accept it.

Taking into account the wider context of Norwid’s thought and treating Homer’s distinction as a metaphor, we can move the demarcation line (the shadow line of death in the *Odyssey*) so that the division occurs wholly in the world of the living.

In the whole of the human space communication occurs continuously. But the demarcation line means that it is different, qualitatively, on each side. So different, that man about to cross from one sphere to the other may find himself in a vacuum. The demarcation line is the shadow line of solitude.

Norwid thought of himself as a man alone, a solitary. In a crucial autobiographical fragment he thus described himself: “I entered this space alone and walk on, lost and lonely” (II, 15). Isolation is not a figure of speech, nor is it a *mise-en-scène*, nor yet a romantic pose. It is

the unhappy outcome of a lack of understanding between the poet and society in regard to a number of aesthetic and ethical problems. In contrast, the closeness of Norwid's understanding with a few becomes even more pronounced. Norwid called this understanding one of "intimate communion". Norwid's correspondence provides many examples of it and so do poems written in form of letters and messages to friends. The way Norwid inscribed some of his works also suggests relationships of close friendship and understanding. *Vade-mecum* has this dedication: "I send this to men with whom I often talked in happy confidence".

Loneliness lies in wait on the border line between two modes of thinking, two languages. In jeopardy, in an attempt to save himself, man turns back to his original community, however small and unimportant it may appear, an island in an alien sea. But a close community, with its sense of security, is an artificial refuge and it implies acceptance of an immutable division, there for ever more. The dramatic choice made by the nameless young man, the hero of Norwid's poem "Quidam", has to be repeated by everyone prepared to risk alienation for the sake of acquiring knowledge. Solitude is not, for Norwid, an aim but a means to increase and enrich the forms of communication between men. It adds a "touch of irony" to the undertaking.

Norwid sublimates, somewhat idiosyncratically, the self-preservation instinct. His poetry forms a record of living in an extreme, knife-edge situation. To his mind the borderline between the two types of human community, one open to the Word and the other closed to it, this shadow line of solitude, forms also an important strategic position, be it still only a means to achieve an aim. But the word Norwid uses to describe the *means* (*środek*) stands also, in his vocabulary (as in Polish), for the description of the situation itself ("środek = means and centre).

In a poem "Friends" ("Bliscy") Norwid described three kinds of human relationship:

Lecz i tu ludzi trzy widziałem sfery,
Trzy obcowania ich strony:
Jedni, co znają Cię, jak się litery
Zna — pókiś ku nim zwrócony ...

I póki twarzą przestajesz z niemi,
Zaś — ani chwilę już potem:
Tak kły pszeniczne ruszają się z ziemi,
Wyzieleniając, za grzmotem ...

Drudzy — mniej żądni oblicza i gestu,
Mniej osobistej poręki,
Bo życie całe pamiętni, jak Chrzestu,
Tych, których dotknęli ręki.

I trzeci wreszcie — rzadcy niesłuchanie,
Co, choćbyś umarł od wieku,
Weszli w poufne z Tobą obcowanie,
Jak — siedzący człek przy człeku.

Here also I saw three kind of men,
Three ways of being together:
Some who knew you as a letter of the alphabet
Which one knows on sight, as long as it is there to be seen . . .

And only as long as that,
But not a moment longer:
Like the wheat piercing the soil
Greening, after thunder . . .

Others, less dependent on the sight of you,
Less in need of personal contact,
Able to retain the memory, as they retain the memory of baptism,
Of the hand they had touched once.

The third kind, beings of utmost rarity,
Who, though you have been dead for aeons of time,
Continue to be as close to you,
As two men seated together.

(II, 76)

The *first* category coexists in time and space and achieve understanding on a “vegetative” level. The sense of bond is so tenuous that it vanishes as soon as the subjects part. This lowest of all forms of human tie, Norwid compares to a world of plants (“wheat greening”) and recognises that in that world human cognitive activity does not manifest itself. The *second*, higher group, while still devoid of understanding, enjoys the possession of memory. That group can retain the sense of a bond to last throughout life, even if personal contact ceases. If the first group could be equated with the plant world, the analogy here would be with the animal kingdom. The two lower groups, the “vegetative” and the “animal” contrast with the *third* and highest,

which represents the extremely rare and exclusively human kind of intercommunion. Only man is capable of entering and maintaining a “closeness” with someone long dead, someone of whom nothing is left behind but a “dramatic trace of existence”. The concept of full human communion cannot be applied to the first two categories, which include only those who had met physically, in time and space. They exclude even those dead who had left behind a living inheritance such as works of art. Full intercommunion of the third kind includes those who now live in the past, or in Norwid’s vocabulary, “today, but a little further”.

Jorge Luis Borges says

A day was when the last pair of eyes to have seen Christ, was no more. The battle of Junin and the love of Helen both died with the death of a witness. What is it, which is going to die with my own death? What frail or perhaps grandiloquent memory will the world loose?¹

Each individual death is a three phased process, an exit of a particle of the universe. After the clinical and the biological death comes the third phase, when the last pair of eyes to have registered our image closes. For Norwid, that last phase of death is also a form of “awakening”. In an earlier version of “Friends” Norwid says:

Więc gdy na chustki ostatniej już brzegu
Łży ślad spełznie swym ostatkiem;
Więc gdy ostatni z przyjaciół szeregu
Wspomni cię już, już przypadkiem —

Wtedy — o! wtedy — myśl i życia wątek,
I ślad dramatyczny bytu
Twego, w swój wtóry wnikłszy *od-początek*,
Zbudzi się *Tobą* do sytu.

When on the last remaining cloth
The tear dried to end all crying;
When the last of your friends
Remembers *you* but only just —

Then, and only then — the thought and the sense of life
And the dramatic trace of your existence,
Entering *a new beginning*
Will wake and with *you*, be whole.

(II, 75-6)

¹ J. L. Borges, *Twórca*. Transl. by U. Z. Chądzyńska, R. Rodowska-Wiesiołowska, Warszawa 1974, p. 29-30.

As the memories of the dead wane, so they become cleansed from all distortion, the masks which the others made them wear, or those with which they provided themselves for self protection. "It would be pleasant to be understood in one's own time" was but a dream, naive and compromised, not to be taken at its face value, Norwid says in his satirical poem "Fan". The process of understanding man through his work does not end in his own time: the contemporary audience cannot give the final verdict; what is more it often blurs the meaning and misunderstands the value of the achievement. It may tamper with the intention to the point of forgery: "editing which is a diminution" ("Redakcja jest redukcją") as Norwid said in "Ad Leones". The contemporary reader is, not necessarily deliberately, a co-creator of the work. In the poem "The Contemporaries" ("Spółcześni") Norwid says:

Nie ma dzieła, nie było może ani myśli
Zrodzonej i nazwanej bez świadków . . . zaś *ile*
Udziału ich? . . . to — krytyk właśnie niech określi.

There can be no writing, perhaps not a thought even
Born and named without witnesses. *How much*
Is their part in it? . . . the critic must decide himself.

(II, 212-3)

Only in the future, later generations of readers will be able to understand the poet's work to the full, only "the late descendants" will be capable of sharing the "close communion" and discovering its real importance.

Czyta się poetów, że tak powiem w coraz głębszych głębiach —
tak, że czytanie każdego arcydzieła jest nieskończone, aż przyjdzie
dzień, w którym wszystkie konsekwencje jego aż do dna wyczerpią
się, a wtedy *gama wtóra treści powstaje*.

Reading is tantamount to putting together what the poet wrote and
what the labour of ages added to it . . . Poems are read in greater
and greater depth until all the original meanings have been
exhausted, only to be replaced by a new stratum.

"O Juliuszu Słowackim" (VI, 428, 444)

This would be impossible without the "close communion" created by
"a dramatic trace of existence" left behind by the poet: the word in its
multiplicity of meanings is the medium through which transmission

down the chain of generations occurs. Communion, achieved through the word, that single reminder of the poet's existence, remains a living relationship, living and dynamic, capable of liberating ever new strata of meaning. The love of words, a true philological approach becomes a command, a direct translation of the Christian commandment to love one another. The divine gift of words widens the meaning of the commandment to include the past generations which left, in words, their "testament". Thus human communion is capable of creating a bond between the living and the dead, giving man a sense of being a part of history and of having a direct link with a long line of ancestors.

The approach described in the conjunction of two Greek words: *phileo* — *love* and *logos* — *word*, not only presents a chance to understand. It also creates its own demands regarding the way words are used. Paying close attention to words is a prerequisite of understanding the past. True, not all words of the past preserve their living strength, just as not all words spoken today carry the same weight. *Sunt verba et voces* quoted Norwid in the motto to his poem "Polishwoman" ("Polka"). Only great words, born within our common inheritance of *logos*, have the strength to survive. *Logos* makes human intercommunion, Norwid's "close communion", across the barriers of space and time possible. The language of the Word requires to be used with energy and initiative. The philological imperative requires man to be receptive to "great words" but also to be able to reply in the same language, Norwid states in the poem "Great Words" ("Wielkie słowa").

For a poet whose aim is to commune with his audience on a plane defined by the intellectual inheritance of the past and the system of values set by divine Revelation, the present is the moving shadow line of solitude intersected by a dense network of communication difficulties, which hinder human contact. The same difficulties do not occur in communication with either the past or the future. The dead, moving in a space where "No One is, and is a Person" ("Jest Nikt i jest Osobą"), (Poem "To a deceased . . .", "Do zeszęj") are ideal readers: "A shadow leans over the parchment, reads the true words, knows no deceit . . ." (*Promethidion*, III, 425). The same ease pervades relations with the future, "the perennial corrector". The poet can address his letters, with confidence, to the future Jerusalem, says Norwid in the poem "Their hands were swollen with clapping" ("Klaskaniem . . ."). But neither the messages to the future, nor communing with the past can obliterate the poet's existential isolation. Even when he is able to communicate on the plane chosen by himself, where the word carries its full weight of meaning, the communication remains a one-sided activity. It does not overcome isolation, on the contrary, it makes it more acute. For a living person, there is only one way to conquer it: communion

with another living being. Only then is true dialogue possible. And while dialogue is not enough to obliterate the shadow line, it is a step in the right direction.

Czyż łatwiej, łatwiej, planetę zwaśnioną
Zeswoić z Tęczą Twórcy rozjaśnioną,
Lub upiąć w niebie gwiazdy nowej klamrą,
Niż serca ludzi — wpierw, nim ludzie zamrą?!

Is it easier, much easier to join
The warring planet to God's bright rainbow,
Or to pin it, up in the sky, with a new buckle,
Than to join human hearts, before they die?!

(I, 308)

The question is put in the poem "Rainbow" ("Tęcza"). Instead of the expected storm, a rainbow, the biblical symbol of reconciliation, appears in the sky to link the towers of two Verona palaces, that of Capulet with that of Montague. The image, an ironical *tour de force* forms, together with the poem "In Verona", a poetical micro-adaptation of the legend. Norwid's epilogue to the tragedy of Romeo and Juliet, gives the story a symbolic dimension: "the warring planet", which had left nothing but ruins behind, proclaiming man's inability to come to terms and to understand one another, a heritage of hate:

Zamków dwóch gruzy powyłamywanych
Po obu stronach sterczały przede mną,
Jako jędz dwojga kły nieprzejednanych;

The mutilated ruins of two castles
Stood out on the opposing sides,
As two furies' fangs, never to be reconciled;

(I, 275)

Disintegration in human relations moved the poet to write "Circle" ("Kółko"). In it, as in the "Rainbow", humanity is shown tearing itself to shreds and men — alienated, their predicament seen as a sequence of events on a transcendental, symbolical scale. Even that scale proves inadequate: it is easier to reconcile the whole warring planet under a rainbow arc than to bring together the hearts of men. In "Circle" the

degree of communion between individuals is shown to be less than that between the warring nations of the globe, bonded together by the sky above them.

In "Circle" the irony reduces the human bond to no more than being in the same place at the same time, clothed in uniform like garments dictated by fashion. Uniformity instead of communion suggests an extreme of social disintegration.

Jak niewiele jest ludzi i jak nie ma prawie
Pragnących się *objawić!* . . . — Przechodzą — przechodzą —
Odpychają się, tańcząc z sobą lub w zabawie
Poufnej, kłamią płynnie, serdecznie się zwodzą:
Ni współczesni, ni bliscy, ani sobie znani,
Ręce imając, śliniąc się szczelnym uściskiem.
Głębia pomiędzy nimi wre i oceani,
A na jej pianach — oni; bliscy czym? . . . nazwiskiem!
Świat zaś mówi: "*To — swoi, to — kółko domowe,*
To nasi!" — szczerzej niebo łączy lazurowe
Tysiąc ludów, co rzną się przez wieki, bo szczerzej
Z każdego aby jeden w wspólne niebo wierzy.
— Oni zaś tańczą: łonem zblizeni do łona,
Polarnie nieświadomi siebie i osobni;
Dość, że nad nimi jedna lampa zapalona
I moda jedna wszystkich wzajemnie podobni.
— "*To nasi!*" — *Mapę-życia* gdyby kto z wysoka
Kreślił jak *mapę-globu?* . . . góry i pustynie
Przeniosłyby się w krótkie jedno mgnienie oka,
Ocean by zaś przepadł, gdzie łza drobna płynie!

How few men, and hardly any
Willing to come out into the light! . . . They pass by, pass by
Jostling, dancing, playing
Close, they lie smoothly, happily deceive:
Not of the same time, not close, not known one to another,
Holding hands, drooling in a close embrace.
The deep in between them in turmoil
And on its foaming surface: they! Close? In what? In name!
The World says: "*But they are friends, our domestic circle,*
Our own!" More truly does the azure Heaven unite
A thousand nations warring through the ages:
In each, at least one man trusts the same Heaven.
But they? Still dancing, in close embrace

Remote in their unknowing and apart;
 But for the lamp which lights them all
 And fashionable garments they all wear.
 “*Our own!*” If, from up above *the map of life*
 One would draw *an image of the globe*, mountains and deserts
 Would, in a split second move,
 And ocean be engulfed where a tear now falls.

(II, 84)

“Circle” provides the most biting of Norwid’s statements on communication between human beings but other works convey a similar sense of desolation. The editor of Norwid’s Collected Works, Juliusz W. Gomulicki, lists them in his commentary to the edition’s first volume: the poems: “Letter” (“Pismo”), “Thoughtfulness” (“Dumanie”), “After a Ball” (“Po balu”), “Listener” (“Słuchacz”), “In an album” (“W pamiętniku”), “The Capital” (“Stolica”); the short story “Civilisation” (“Cywilizacja”) and an etching: “Le Musicien Inutile”. One could add to the list: “Last act of despotism” (“Ostatni despotyzm”), “Politeness” (“Grzeczność”), “Harmony” (“Harmonia”) and “Marionettes” (“Marionetki”).

It is perhaps worthwhile considering the historical and literary circumstances in which “Circle” came to be written. The *Domestic Circle* (“Kółko Domowe”) was a weekly for women, launched in April 1861, when the poetess Deotyma wrote a poem under the same title. Gomulicki pointed out the possible connection. The meaning of “Circle” should not, however, be reduced to an anecdotal stratum. In any case, the circumstantial links seem somewhat tenuous and the connection, even if it existed, fails, ultimately, to elucidate the problems of the poem.

The poem does not present a circumscribed situation, suggested by the “Circle” of the title. It is, in fact, a wide ranging generalisation supported by an extensive argument. Take the very first words:

How few men and hardly any willing to come out into the light!

The term “to come out into the light” (“objawić się”) i.e. to reveal oneself needs special attention if we are to understand its implication in this somewhat surprising context. The dictionary definition of “revelation” is not very helpful, the meaning remains obscure. Only consideration in a larger context makes it intelligible. There are only very few willing “to come out into the light”, to reveal themselves: the revelation, in this case means more than “becoming visible”. The wish to reveal oneself requires one to make manifest what is, in ordinary

circumstances, hidden from others. To “reveal oneself” means to define oneself by revealing one’s unique qualities. This can only be done by means of communicating the hitherto hidden truth in a generally understood language: a common code has to be employed. Not, however, the obvious, trite code of uniformity, mocked by Norwid in the poem. A person willing to “come out into the light” has up to a point to discard those ready made forms of communication. One has to take a risk (even if it be the risk of alienation) and create one’s own form.

The will to “reveal” oneself implies readiness to open oneself to others to let them discover new values, till then unknown. It is a way of coming closer to people by spurning that which keeps men apart. The poet makes clear that communion cannot be achieved by use of external means (or objects, such as the lamp and fashionable clothes in the “Circle” or the deck of a ship in the short story “Civilisation”) which create only an illusion of contact. The elements of intercommunion come from within. The generally accepted mode of human communication is not, as a rule, a means by which man reveals himself but a way of hiding one’s shortcomings, covering one’s unwillingness to reveal oneself. To Norwid, art and poetry were a form of revelation of the highest order and an essential factor in true human communication. Already in *Promethidion*, Norwid followed Plato’s ideas on “beauty being the shape of love” and the consequent need to find adequate form to express love. In one of his later poems, “To Bronisław Z.,” Norwid speaks of goodness as a quality more fitting than any other to be the subject matter of art:

Michelet stary (...)

Mówił mi był: że “sztuki przyszłość polega na tym,
By wyrazić *dobroć*” ... piękność bowiem i świętość
Częstotliwiej zachwycał niejednen dostojny mistrz.

(.....)

Z rzeczy świata tego zostaną tylko dwie,

Dwie tylko: *poezja i dobroć* ... i więcej nic ...

The old Michelet (...)

Told me: “the future of all art is

To express *goodness*” ... Beauty and sanctity

Have been subjects more frequently treated by the masters

(.....)

Of all the things of this world only two will last,

Poetry and goodness ... and none other ...

(II, 237)

The revelation of fundamental human values and a readiness to spring to their defence are, to Norwid, the ways art and above all poetry contribute to the shaping of Christian society, as laid down in the New Testament. In his lectures on Juliusz Słowacki Norwid states that in his view the revelation of Christ's coming created the need for a restatement of the poet's task. It was no longer a question of preparing an individual but society to receive the Word.

Read within this context, "Circle" with its emphasis on "coming out into the light", the revelation of self, refers the reader to the mystery of divine revelation. Man by revealing himself, carries out the divine plan to bring mankind together, as expressed in the commandment to love one another. Man thus responds to Christ's call to follow him and the human "uncovering of self" becomes a historical continuation of divine revelation.

Awareness of the need to follow the example of Christ, particularly in shaping human relationships according to the principles he had established, is crucial to the understanding of Norwid's idea of the role of poetry. Norwid's poet is not one of the chosen, unlike Orpheus, the favourite of the Gods who had the unique gift of transmitting knowledge, he is only one of the human multitude, all of whom had the truth revealed to them. His mission is to accept the words of the revelation and to become an apostle, "following the Saviour with his own cross".

The very title *Vade-mecum* refers the reader to Christ's "Follow me". Norwid deliberately linked his poetic cycle to the Latin version of Christ's summons to his disciples.

* * * *

In his lecture on Juliusz Słowacki Norwid refers to the crucifixion scene in Słowacki's *Anhelli*:

This crucifixion does not stand in need of explanation. It happened many times (in life, not in a metaphor) and it will happen again and again in all the Northern lands. Wherever hate presses brutally until it tears open the background cloth; whatever the figures painted on it are, be they of an ass, a frog or a goat, a wooden cross will be disclosed behind the rents in the cloth.

(VI, 446)

We find in Norwid's work two versions of the symbolism of the Cross: the Cross on which man crucified God and another, that of man crucifying man. The first, watching over the world for nearly two

thousand years ("Oh, streets and streets and cities above which the Cross . . .") radiates hope, and provides a key to the understanding of man in the spirit of hope. Its arms stretch into the space inhabited by humankind, providing it with a structural scaffolding of moral order; they accomplish what the Babel tower failed to do: they unite humanity around the values for which the Cross stands.

The other cross, put up by man for man, symbolises a failure in human intercommunion. It was that cross Norwid spoke of in his lecture on Słowacki. That cross is part and parcel of humanity. It stands in the space given to man. It has little in common with the symbol of salvation: it is its negation and symbolises the contradiction inherent in man and society. But the cross, like all symbols, carries more than one meaning; it can indeed bond the opposed meanings together. As soon as we start to read its symbolism from the direction of one pole, we find ourselves within the field of the other. While still speaking of the Cross of salvation dominating streets and cities, Norwid enters the region dominated by the cross of hate, prejudice and disharmony. In the poem "Nerves" ("Nerwy") Norwid faced this situation literally when, caught by a nail in a mouldering beam, he recognised in the plank of rotting wood an arm of Christ's own Cross.

Most of Norwid's thinking on human communication is marked by the symbolism of the Cross.² Not only as the symbol of faith, but as an instrument of human cruelty which mankind, torn apart by contradictions, will continue to erect.

We cannot acquire knowledge of man without paying attention to the oppressive presence of contradiction in his relation to others. If we follow Józef Tischner and accept three structural divisions of human communication: the sphere of reciprocity, the sphere of contradiction and the sphere of domination,³ Norwid was most closely concerned with the sphere of contradiction. The human continuum is not a sphere of harmonious reciprocity if regarded from the ethical standpoint as the poet does in the poem "Harmony":

I nerwów gra, i współ-zachwycenie,
I tożsamość humoru —
Łączą ludzi bez sporu:
Lecz *bez walki* nie łączy *sumienie*.

Trudne z łatwym w przeciwne dwie strony
Zoyerwą wprzód człowieka.

² See: F. J. Corliss, "Dimensions of reality in the lyrics of Cyprian Norwid", *Antemurale* 1972, vol. XVI, p. 95-186.

³ J. Tischner, "Przestrzeń obcowania z drugim", *Analecta Cracoviensia* 1977, vol. IX, p. 81.

Nim harmonii doczeka —
Odepchną wprzód, gdzie zmarłych miliony.

W gwiazd harmonię poglądać weselej
Przez wiele lat samotnych,
Niż w źrenicach błyskotnych
Wyczytać raz — co? serca rozdzieli! . . .

Excitement, and elation,
And the affinity of humour
Bring men together with ease:
But *conscience* cannot do it *without a struggle*.

Ease and hardship pull apart
Tear man asunder,
Afore the coming of harmony —
They will thrust him to where there are millions of dead.

It is better to contemplate the harmony of the stars
Alone, for many years,
Than, in a pair of luminous eyes
Read but once — what? that which rends hearts asunder! . . .
(II, 21)

Nature is the paradigm of harmony. Man, in as far as he is a part of nature, participates in the accord. But the harmonious world of nature is surmounted by the world of human values, governed by different laws. As Tischner says:

The organisation of the continuum of communication is the outcome of outside factors: the values. The structure cannot be understood without reference to axiology.⁴

All human activity is related to ethics which do not know harmony. There can be no accord between good and evil, or between various degrees of either.

Norwid did not seek harmony in the sphere of human relations: “I am an enemy of harmony in matters of conscience . . .” he wrote in one of his letters. The first verse of “Harmony” tells us that only superficial accord is possible between men, achievable only at the price of eliminating conscience from the relationship. Man can find harmony

⁴ Ibid., p. 83.

only by abandoning his humanity and accepting the rules of the world of nature. But is that feasible? In the second verse, the problem is restated: the condition of harmony is not achievable in this life, man is doomed to struggle until that last instant of disharmony, death. The seventeenth century poet M. Sęp-Szarzyński with whom Norwid has much in common, put it most tersely:

Peace is happiness but our fate on this earth is to struggle.⁵

In the third verse, Norwid considers the nature of the difficulty inherent in human relationships: prolonged solitude and isolation is easier to bear than a single experience of “that which rends hearts asunder”. The contrast between a long period of lonely contemplation of cosmic harmony and a traumatic glance into the eyes of the person loved serves to bring out the disunion and disharmony man experiences in relating to another.

Norwid’s continuum of human relations is built on the principle of contradiction: there can be no harmony in matters of conscience, no harmony that is, in the sense of accord. Many names come to mind illustrating the crucial part the dialectic of contradiction plays in modern philosophic thought. Enough to remember Marx, whose man exists within the confines of class struggle and Jaspers, who maintained that only borderline situations define man for what he really is. Norwid’s own sense of contradiction derives, ultimately, from the Gospel:

Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace but as word. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother and the daughter in law against her mother in law. (*Mat.* 10, 34-35)

He who brings the new commandment of love had been foretold by Simeon as “a sign which shall be spoken against”. (*Luke*, 2, 34) Above all, he is the fulfilment of the promise of the Creator who, being above good and evil, chose to stand from the beginning on the side of good, throwing a curse on Satan after the Fall and foretelling the coming of the Messiah:

And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel. (*Genesis* 3, 15)

From the beginning, it was foretold that the history of man and of the

⁵ M. Sęp-Szarzyński. *Rytmu abo wiersze polskie oraz cykl erotyków*, Wrocław 1913, p. 10.

world, rooted as it was in the contradiction between good and evil, would not develop harmoniously. From the beginning also, God entered into a covenant with man in the name of good, of which he himself is the highest embodiment. Norwid's choice to consider human relations in terms of ethics arose from his belief that man, rent by the perennial antagonism of good and evil, of the Word and the Anti-Word, was yet able to rely on his covenant with the highest Good.

IV

“ARCHITECTURE OF THE WORD”: NORWID’S THEORY AND PRACTICE

The range of Norwid’s linguistic interests can be glimpsed not only from his notes on philological and ethno-philological subjects and from essays such as “Słowo i litera” (Word and letter), “Milczenie” (Silence), “Rotacje słowa” (Word’s motions), but also from his lectures on Juliusz Słowacki, analysis of “Bogurodzica” and the poetic treatise “Rzecz o wolności słowa” (Poem about the Freedom of the Word). The writings Norwid refers to in his notes and letters indicate that his interests ranged widely, from grammar to philosophy of language. The names of Max Müller, Eugene Barnouf, Constantin F. Volney, Jan Nepomucen Kamiński¹ all appear in his notes. These names do not, of course, represent Norwid’s complete “Linguistic Library”, which could be reconstructed by a detailed study. It must be said that the author of *Vade-mecum* does not make such study easy: Kazimierz Wyka remarked once that Norwid’s posture suggested his reading did not extend beyond Dante, Shakespeare and Byron: “While his short stories show that he had read E. A. Poe, whose work had been already introduced into European literature by Baudelaire, neither name appears in his letters”.²

The interest in Norwid’s philosophy of language was signalled by the appearance of a work by K. Bereżyński: *Filozofia Cypriana Norwida* (*Cyprian Norwid’s philosophy*). The author discusses Norwid’s interpretation of *logos*, a key concept in the poet’s linguistic thinking, he analyses and comments on the “Poem about the Freedom of the Word”. Bereżyński presents Norwid’s thoughts on the word thus:

The word breaks the dichotomy of human and divine nature. It has two facets, the inner one, representing the spiritual resources of man and therefore divine in origin, and the material facet, strictly human. The harmony between the two is Norwid’s ‘aim and masterpiece’. History of mankind oscillates, sometimes closer sometimes further away from the ideal. Christianity brought about

¹ See also Norwid’s letter to August Cieszkowski, dated 20.7.1878: “Actes de la Société Philologique de Paris”; list of members: Norwid (Comte de); also gives details of Norwid’s participation in the activities of that learned body: the Basque language, decyphering a Mexican inscription, glossolalia, origin of speech; „Sur l’origine du langage — sur l’origine de la lettre — sur la liberté de la parole du point de vue scientifique” (X, 119)

² K. Wyka, *Cyprian Norwid. Poeta i sztukmistrz*. Kraków, 1948, p. 65-66.

the longed for harmony, Christ being its revealed sign, the Word in which divinity and humanity united.³

Bereżyński deals with Norwid's theory of silence and recognises its fundamental importance in the poet's philosophy:

The speech is not the only way in which the human spirit reveals itself. The sound and the silence are of equal importance; they are, in a sense, the two sides of the word.⁴

Twenty years after the publication of Bereżyński's work Ignacy Fik published *Uwagi nad językiem Cypriana Norwida* (Observations on Norwid's language). The author collected an impressive array of material to illustrate the links between Norwid's poetical practice and his philosophical views. Some of Fik's opinions anticipated the approach of a later generation of critics. Take, for instance, this statement: "Norwid's aim was to stretch the language beyond the commonly accepted meanings"⁵

The latest attempt to present Norwid's philosophy of language comes in the first chapter of Z. Łapiński's book: *Norwid: Filozofia i poezja języka*⁶ (*Norwid's Philosophy and Poetry of Language*). Łapiński employs arguments from a number of disciplines, including information theory. He argues that three assumptions formed the core of Norwid's views: the dialogic quality of language, the principle of "reticence" and "approximation" and, finally, the conventional nature of language. Having thus define Norwid's concept of language Łapiński develops an outline of Norwid's poetics.

Łapiński's work, and the writings of Fik and Bereżyński, have greatly influenced my own thinking.

* * * *

To his unfinished work on the history of art, "Sztuka w obliczu dziejów jako syntetyki księga pierwsza" (Art and History, the First Chapter of a Synthesis), Norwid gave a motto from St. John's Gospel:

In the beginning was the *Word*, and the *Word* was with God, and the *Word* was God.

The same was in the beginning with God.

All things were made by him; *and without him was not any thing made that was made.*

³ K. Bereżyński, *Filozofia Cypriana Norwida*. Warszawa 1911, p. 19.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 26.

⁵ I. Fik, *Uwagi nad językiem Cypriana Norwida*, Kraków 1930, p. 72.

⁶ Z. Łapiński, *Norwid*, Krakow 1971.

The concept of *logos* which had played such an important role in Polish Romanticism, the mystical poetry of Słowacki and Mickiewicz's Paris lectures, appears here, in the work of Norwid's early maturity, in its fundamental Christian context. St. John uses the Greek word of many meanings to define the relation of Christ to God the Father: Father who created the world, and revealed himself to it through his Son.⁷ John the Evangelist is an apologist of the Word: only God's love for the world could cause the Word to be made flesh and to dwell among us (J. 1, 14). The word revealed became the intermediary between Divinity and mankind, between the world of spirit and the material world. The dichotomy of the linguistic sign is also to be regarded from the perspective of Christian tradition.⁸

In the preface to the "Art and History", Norwid points out sources of art, both formal and spiritual. They are to be found where, for the first time, "the spirit reveals itself and indicates its own relation to nature" (VI, 279). This first encounter between the creative human mind and nature stands at the beginning of the relationship between man's predisposition to order reality and to express its meaning. Earliest linguistic signs were of a symbolic nature.

The ability to *designate* and to *create symbols* is common to all mankind, it is a gift given to man. Therefore sources of art are to be found everywhere, although they mirror diverse circles of the firmament of heaven and earthly landscapes. By *going back through history* of the arts to their inner source we descend as if into *the art of arts*, whence art developed through *words, numbers, sound, form and colour*. (VI, 279)

The ultimate, indivisible elements and sources of art are the symbolic primal forms: right angle, triangle, square, circle and oval from which are derived the primal sounds (a, e, i, o, u), numbers (from 1 to 5) and the basic colours, also five. The concept of five "Ur" elements, common to all the arts, serves to demonstrate their closeness and common origin. The awareness of the basic elements, and the ability to create symbolic signs, were not acquired by man somewhere along the evolutionary chain, but were given to him at the time of creation:

The primal numbers, sounds, forms and colours were given to all nations without exception, as they are a part of man and derive from the Word revealed to him in the beginning. (VI, 280)

⁷ A. H. Armstrong, *Wiara chrześcijańska a filozofia grecka*. Transl. H. Bednarek. Warszawa 1964, p. 27-28.

⁸ On this subject see Bereżyński, *op. cit.*, Z. Koczyńska, *Język a poezja. Studia z dziejów świadomości językowej i literackiej Oświecenia i romantyzmu*. Wrocław 1976, chap. 6.

The Word, given to man at the time of creation, therefore an organic part of him and the symbolic Ur-forms derived from it are contained in the lesson of the Gospel: "That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world" (John 1, 9). Thus, even in "Art and History", a relatively early work, Norwid made the word carry an anthropological content within the framework of Christian philosophy. The ability to create symbolic signs although its ultimate source is God, is an integral part of human nature. It is this which enabled man to create cultural constructs.

The argument comes up time and again in Norwid's later writings, particularly as ammunition in his critique of Darwin's theory of evolution. It is not possible to consider Norwid's "word as a linguistic act" apart from "the Word as an act of God's creation". Indeed, the origin of the word as a linguistic act is inseparably linked with the act of creation in the image and after the likeness of the Creator and a part of the revelation of the Word through which all things were made.

The language is, because of its origin but also because of its creative potential, a mirror of the Word, which was with God in the beginning. In another unfinished treatise given by its editors the title 'slowo i litera' (Word and letter), Norwid again discussed the nature of the word and the part it played in the development of culture. These views were expanded in the later work, a poetic treatise "The Poem about the Freedom of the Word" which will now be discussed.

At the start Norwid re-examines the concept of "freedom of the word", questioning the commonly accepted interpretation brought about, he thought, by lack of genuine understanding:

So far the *freedom of the word* is no more than gaining the *freedom to reveal the word*. It is therefore only an attribute of personal freedom.

But the *freedom of the word* itself has not been even considered.
(...)

What is commonly called *freedom of the word* is in fact *freedom of speech: la liberté de dire* ... (III, 559)

The title of the poem indicates anthropological approach. Of all the attributes of the word the freedom is the one Norwid selected. The poet tells us what he understands by freedom of the word in the first lines: Norwid contrasts the commonly accepted meaning with the new one: an autonomous creation, independent of man and not simply an instrument in human hands. By its nature, the word is as free as man is: "Word is as free as humankind" (III, 573). True freedom of the word does not lie in

man's right to use it, freedom is as much an essential part of the word's existence as it is of human existence. Consideration of freedom of the word is also consideration of freedom of man: man realises his freedom through the word and freedom of the word comes to fruition in man.

The poem is, in principle, a historic sequence but it also proclaims a theory of the *word* and describes the process of "inner reading". The historic sequence coexists with theoretical argument, they complement one another. In order to find a key to the understanding of the poem, it is essential to reconstruct Norwid's own definition of the word. Norwid makes a consistent use of a metaphor, which had appeared earlier in *Promethidion* where the word is likened to a building and given its own "architectural" characteristics (III, 434). Kazimierz Wyka pointed out the importance of "architectural reflections" in Norwid's poetry,⁹ here the architectural image serves to define the nature of the word. A similar analogy (architecture of a building — architecture of the word) is present in the "Poem about the Freedom of the Word":

Słowo więc całość w sobie od początku niosło,
Rozwinęło je tylko uczone rzemiosło,
I od początku była część *zewnątrzna* słowa
I *wewnętrzna* — jak wszelka świątyni budowa.
— Duch, miał czym się na *zewnątrz* wyrażać lub *w górę*
Monologiem podnosić; miał — architekturę!
Lecz budowa, gdy części w ciężeniu się miną,
Czołem zapada w ziemię i sterczy ruina

From the beginning the word carried within it the whole,
The role of the craftsmen was to bring it out,
From the beginning the *outer* aspect
And the *inner* one coexisted as in temple buildings.
Thus the spirit was given means of expression and of scaling
heights

All by itself; it had architecture!
But when the two aspects no longer fitted together,
The whole building sank into the ground, a wretched ruin.
(III, 582)

Romanticism tended to consider language in terms of its two aspects. The word is a material creation as well as a spiritual one, earthly as well as heavenly, human and superhuman, mirroring human nature of flesh and spirit. Mickiewicz used Stanisław Potocki's image: "The word is like a globe of two hemispheres, one of them invisible, the other accessible

⁹ K. Wyka, *op. cit.*, p. 82-89.

and material, one of heaven and the other of the earth. The spirit and the flesh, the whole of man”.¹⁰

In support of this definition Mickiewicz brings in the common usage of uneducated people who while they do not know “either the rhetoric or the French Dictionary”, yet they have retained the sense of anthropological unity of the word. This awareness is, however, uncommon in every day speech and given only to those marked by a charismatic sign. The speech of most people ignores the totality of the word, neglects its spiritual dimension. Paradoxically the word is the least known thing (or known most imperfectly). Everyone speaks, “pouring words out like water”, but hardly anyone asks “What the purpose of the word is . . . how to read in itself?” (III, 565).

Norwid saw the process of debasement of the word as a historical phenomenon and as a contemporary ill. The “Poem about the Freedom of the Word”, in presenting the historic perspective of the word — *logos*, emphasises its creative culturogenic role. The instrumental view of the word Norwid contrasts with the creative vigilance over the word’s “architecture” preserving the original balance between the spiritual and the material.

The inner word is, in Norwid’s language, first a spiritual act, given the ability of vocal organs to articulate; secondly it is the material world, the verbal act (VI, 311). A similar set of definitions is to be found in the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas who distinguished between the inner model of the word and the externalised word i.e. the language. The verbal act is a sign of the inner word, which is the meaning and the cause of the former.¹¹

The relationship of the inner word to the externalised one cannot be regarded as a simple two part relation of the *signifiant* and *signifié*, the inner word is not only a model of the outer sign, it is also the model of the word — *logos*, and therefore a part of the tripartite relation: idea — expression — object. The reader’s difficulties in decyphering the “Poem about the Freedom of the Word” stem partly from Norwid’s habit of treating as interchangeable such pairs of concepts as: word as a linguistic, “*psychical*” act of the psyche and word as *logos*; linguistic sign and a form of culture; inner essence of the word and cultural construct. Again as in “Silence” (“*Milczenie*”), the same laws which govern the development of culture are deemed to operate in the realm of language.

In the fragment quoted above Norwid expressed the relation between the inner word and the material one in terms of architecture. The linguistic sign (the material, externalised word) has always been “the

¹⁰ A. Mickiewicz, *Literatura słowiańska*. Kurs IV. In: *Dzieła*. Wyd. narodowe, Vol. 11. Warszawa, p. 374.

¹¹ Thomas Aquinas, *Questiones disputatae De Veritate*, q. IV, art. 1.

temple”, “the carapace”, of the essence (the inner word); the inner word always had, from the beginning of time, its own architecture. Just as an architectural work survives owing to the precision of its design so there is a need for the inner and the externalised word to remain in balance. Otherwise the word loses its strength and, like a building “Sinks into the ground, a wretched ruin”.

Norwid rejected both the Darwin theory of evolution and the assumption of the conventionality of the linguistic sign. He sided with those linguists who took a rationalist view of the relation between the sound, its graphic expression and the inner word. This was the position taken by Jan Nepomucen Kamiński in the debate on the philosophic quality of Polish language. Kamiński developed a theory of natural origins of linguistic signs, suggested earlier by Kopczyński and Wyszomirski. We have to bear in mind that the supporters of that theory held it was no longer possible, in a contemporary language, to reconstruct the original meaning of the signs. That was Kopczyński’s opinion: when dealing with current linguistic forms, he used the term “linguistic habit”, which brought him nearer to the conventional definition, which employed this concept. Norwid knew Kamiński’s work and shared many of his views, ascribing, together with Kamiński, meanings not only to the roots of words but also to letters of alphabet and to numbers. Although Kamiński’s writings may seem, today, ridiculous in their pseudo-scientific superficial etymology, and his language is nearly impenetrable, it must be said that in their own time, they formed an important bridge of understanding between philosophy and poetry.¹² Norwid, while accepting many, questioned some of Kamiński’s assertions. (e.g. VII, 386).

The “architectural” aspect of the inner and the physical word is inherent not only in verbal act but also in letters of the alphabet. The form of letters is neither a matter of chance nor a convention, but a “perennial element” of which the letter itself is but a mirror: “The perfect architectural edifice should be transparent, even if built of granite; it can be called that if its facade allows us to gather its plan and the internal structure of the whole” (VI, 407). The same applies to the letter, the basic linguistic sign which allows us to glimpse behind it the multilevel, symbolical contribution of language. The basic function of letters, their ability to “establish” words, cannot be understood without accepting the close connection between the form of letters and the inner world of meaning. A letter is not an arbitrary sign “without its

¹² Z. Kopczyńska (op. cit., p. 140) says: “they provided material which made it possible to build bridges between philosophy and poetry, pointed to the poetic sources of the philosophic quality of language and to the vitality of the links between the philosophic aspect of language and writing of poetry”.

architecture". It also was established at the beginning and contains a particle of eternity. (III, 572).

The form of letters has the element of imitation in it. Created in the remote past, it is an externalised expression of inner essence. While the direct link is no longer clear, it is possible to reconstruct it, just as it proved possible to decypher the runic writing.

The conviction that letters and phones carry semantic content, so popular among the scholars of the Enlightenment, such as Charles de Brosses, Court de Gébelin, did not lack adherents among the linguists, philosophers and poets of the Romantic era. August Schlegel, among others, devoted considerable attention to the semantic value of vowels and consonants. He concluded that national character and spirit was reflected in the relation between the former and the latter and in their respective characteristics (*Sprache und Poetik*). Victor Hugo, we know, looked in the signs of alphabet for images capable of conveying a synthesis of man and the universe.

The poetic interpretation of alphabetical signs tends to see them in a causal relation with the human predisposition to designate by means of symbols. When this occurs on the level of primal elements of language the letter, being a part of the sign system, acts also as "a link between the inner and the physical world". (VI, 322).

The word and the letter formed an indissoluble entity since the beginning of human existence. Man's development produced new forms of expression including alphabet. The development was not always harmonious and the natural link between the word and the letter was often blurred, yet Norwid's conviction that in this matter every language conforms to universal linguistic laws never wavered.¹³

The primal universal idiom has not been lost; only its material, external shell has been destroyed. God's own safeguarding of language meant that its inner structure, created perfect, remained unaltered and that it still unites languages of the earth. In "Notes on Mythology" Norwid recorded:

Man does not invent language but he keeps vigil over ancient tongue and respects ancient words.

"Vetera Verba majestas quaedam et, ut sic dixerim, religio commendat" (Quintilianus).

Noah's original language was lost and can no longer be identified (Babel). *"Ecce unus est populus et unum labium omnibus* (Gen. 11)

If the language were of man's making, every family would speak its own" (VII, 253)

¹³ The topicality of some, at least, of Norwid's linguistic speculation, is illustrated by the fact that linguistic universals are much discussed in modern science of language.

During the 18th Century interest in the origin of language was universal. Two hypotheses were advanced. The first proclaimed that language was a gift of God, given to man at the time of creation fully developed and perfect in every detail. The alternative theory saw in language a man-made, slowly developed, construct. Norwid rejected unequivocally the latter theory, developed mainly in Great Britain by thinkers such as Bernard Mandeville and Adam Smith. He also rejected another idea, which developed from the theory of “exclamations”, first advanced by Democritus, followed by Epicurus, Lucretius, Vico and Rousseau and taken up by Darwin. In Norwid’s view, one of the arguments against the naturalistic approach could be deduced from the fact that early man was sensitive to beauty and searched for it beyond the world of the senses, “*beauty more than skin deep*” (“Szukał jakiegoś piękna *ponad piękno — skóry zmysłowe*”). (III, 570).

Herder’s view that language was a work of man must have also been unacceptable to Norwid. Locke’s theory which limited divine intervention to giving man the ability to form articulated sounds could not have satisfied him. But even within the orthodoxy recognising in language the gift of God, it was possible to occupy positions as diverse as those of Süssmilch and Saint-Martin. In considering the origin of language Norwid consistently refers to the authority of the Bible. In the “Poem about the Freedom of the Word” his main argument is based on the *Book of Genesis*. In the introduction to the poem Norwid states:

Man has not created the word by himself: God lent him power to give names, and he brought forth the word out of him, a word which, from the beginning, defined the essence of the creation.¹⁴

Designating, or, in Norwid’s language “fitting” names onto objects, was in the beginning God’s prerogative. By lending this power to man, God shared with him his own perfection:

And the God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. (*Gen.* 1, 5)
 And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air and to every beast of the field (*Gen.* 2, 19-20)

¹⁴ See Notes on Mythology: Word: not a human invention: perfect from its inception, because “expressing”. Almost, in a sense, the more primitive, the truer. The word in the beginning: Adam names in words. Man created perfect. “*Et videt quod esset bonum*” (*Genesis*) (VII, 253); In *Genesis* “Adam will name the animals: it is said, with their own names” (VII, 262).

And Adam called his wife's name Eve; because she was the mother of all living. (Gen. 3, 20)

In his poetic adaptation of this fragment from *Genesis* Norwid makes it clear that the original names given by man to the creation were neither arbitrary nor a matter of chance. God brought animals to man and "man called them all by *their* own names . . ." (III, 573). The perfection of the original language lay in it being an expression of immediate and true understanding, comprising *signifiant* and *signifié*.

The truth of the word resided, from the beginning, in both its spiritual aspect and the letter which is a representation of nature, fitting the word: Words, when born, "measure their fitness against the substance of nature". (III, 574).

The primal speech carried within it the universal Logos, in which was expressed the act of creation by God himself and by man united with his Creator. It was so at the beginning of history. The changed condition of the world, after the fall and the dispersion, must have affected the language. There are interesting parallels between Norwid's views and those of Louis Claude de Saint-Martin, a Romantic in spirit, although he happened to live during the era of the Enlightenment. That leading Illuminatus held that there existed a close link between history of man and that of human speech, they being but two facets of the same act of creation. Man fell from the state of perfection through sin: a few shreds only remain to remind him of his former condition. But those poor remnants are a partial proof of man's divine descent and their presence supports his longing to return to unity with God. Just as mankind moved from original perfection through fall to expiation and the way towards God so also the flawless primal speech, lost through sin, left behind a few vestigial remains in today's languages. Yet those shreds of meaning have the power to direct man back towards the lost paradise. Saint-Martin thought that the poetic language was the one closest to the lost universal speech. In poetic language names and objects fit to perfection. Early man must, then, have been a poet. Norwid expresses a similar thought in "Silence":

The absence of prose is the universal phenomenon, occurring at the beginning of all literature. Man, making first steps in the world was a complete thinking being: a poet! (VI, 242)

Language is thus not only an instrument of perception, it is understanding itself, an expression of spiritual forces of creation. The closer man is to God, the closer to perfection his speech becomes: a revelation of truth, its designation given by God himself. When man becomes

separated from his Creator, after the fall through sin, he is banished from truth and doomed to conduct a semantic activity on his own. Saint-Martin calls the speech created by God “language”, the speech of man after the fall “langue”. “Langue” carries only feeble reflections of the primal speech but it signals its existence: the relationship between the two is similar to that between *natura naturata* and *natura naturans*.¹⁵ Norwid’s philosophy of language considers not only linguistic signs and their inner essence, but also their connotations of divine Logos and its historical presence.

Original sin was a turning point in the history of man: from the moment it was committed, a gruelling search for lost perfection started. In the “Poem about the Freedom of the Word” original sin becomes an act of self destruction of man’s integrity but also a starting point on his way back to “wholeness”. In the beginning “man was whole and beautiful”, since the fall it is “the toil which possesses, shapes him and makes him regain something of what he had lost”. (III, 571).

Harmonious balance of the spiritual and the material was, in Paradise, given to man. Now, if it is to be attained at all, it has to be through unceasing effort. In presenting the history of man as the history of the word, Norwid refuses to restrict it to its linguistic aspect; he looks at its widest possible anthropological implications. In “Silence” and “Word and Letter” the laws governing language were said to rule also human history, in the “Poem about the Freedom of the Word” the inner and the material word are treated as matrices of cultural change.

It is not by chance that language is made to play such a decisive part in this poetic vision of history. Saint-Martin signalled the interpretation of language as a model of mankind, Norwid’s own period carried the trend much further. The writings of Wilhelm Humboldt gave it its fullest expression. Humboldt, like Saint-Martin, considered language not as a completed work but as an activity, a process (*energeia* rather than *ergon*), requiring a leap of imagination to give expression to inner life.¹⁶ Saint-Martin thought of it in terms of the history of mankind. Humboldt regarded it synchronically correlating the phenomena of externalised and inner form of language. The greatest linguistic scientist of his century, while treating the mystery of the creation of language with circumspection, Humboldt evolved a theory of language, based on synchronic analysis across the linguistic borders. Humboldt perceived language as a dynamic whole, capable of changing the world to make it “das Eigentum des Geistes”. He recognised the external form of

¹⁵ Z. Florczak, *Europejskie źródła teorii języka i gramatyki*, Wrocław 1978, p. 17.

¹⁶ W. von Humboldt, *O różnicach w budowie ludzkich języków oraz ich wpływie na duchowy rozwój rodzaju ludzkiego*. Cont. in: *Teoria badań literackich za granicą*, Ed. S. Skwarczyńska. Vol. 1. Kraków, p. 147.

language (“äussere Sprachform”) and the inner form (“innere Sprachform”) which, in case of each nation, defined its national character.

Norwid’s distinction between the inner and the material word seems to comprise, in its complexity, both the metaphysical approach of Saint-Martin and Humboldt’s anthropological view.¹⁷

In the “Poem about the Freedom of the Word” Norwid devotes some attention to that Eighteenth Century survival, the problem of linguistic universals. He does not reject the Cartesian assumption of a universally applicable linguistic structure, mirroring the common mechanism of perception. He left some interesting notes on the subject, jotted down while he was reading the work of Max Müller:¹⁸

100. Does multiplicity make common origin impossible? Max Müller thinks it may be so.

Indo European — Chinese — American Indian — Semitic — Finnish and Hottentot, there is no trace of common origin.

Max Müller’s answer: let them first prove that *they cannot be reconciled*.

110. Missionaries and travellers have found after a few years’ absence whole languages of South Sea Islanders, Kaffirs and Amerindians irretrievably changed. (VII, 393)

Norwid shares the view that diversification of language does not negate a common origin and therefore the existence of an underlying common structure.

But even before pronouncing the Cartesian principle in the “Poem about the Freedom of the Word”:

All languages share the same origin
Surviving to this day in identical *parts of speech!*

(III, 574)

Norwid tried to prove the underlying structural identity in “Art and History” and “Word and Letter”. His principal “proof” was concerned with the existence of “primal shapes”, common to all mankind and their complementary units of sound “primal phones”, or vowels. Norwid saw the link between the primal shapes and the primal phones in the

¹⁷ As so many theoretical solutions, these had their forerunners in the early Greek thought, the metaphysical view of the language being represented by Heraclitus and the opposite, which postulated that “man was the measure of all things” by the Sophists.

¹⁸ Norwid’s ethno-philological notes confirm that he had read the Oxford lectures of Max Müller (*Lectures on the Science of Language*. Vol. 1-2. London 1862-1864), which made more accessible Schleicher’s linguistic notions, while modifying them slightly.

similarity of their form; thus: a pyramid, a projection of the primal triangle, is linked with the letter *A*, a symbol of one of the primal phones, vowel *a*. The symbolic primal shapes, even before the Phoenicians organised them into an alphabet existed as architectural forms expressing the intentions of rulers and the embodiment of the spirit of “ukase”.

As the scholars of the Enlightenment before him, Norwid, while aware of the diversity and multiplicity of languages, was trying to establish common principles and existence of universal elements of speech. As for the origin of the prodigality of linguistic variation, he referred back to the disastrous incident described in the Bible. N. Beauzée, the author of the entry “langue” in “Encyclopédie méthodique” wrote much in the spirit of Port-Royal: “This was the beginning of the multiplication of tongues. It happened at once, suddenly”. The “Poem about the Freedom of the Word” also leans on the biblical legend in order to explain the motley diversity.

God confused and dispersed the human tongues, because man in an attempt to reach beyond established limits found himself getting further and further from God. Even if, in the intention of its builders, the tower of Babel was to be a symbol of unity (Gen. 11, 3-4), Jehovah perceived potential danger of building a formally organised community and decided to prevent it. Not until the advent of Christ did a unity resting on love come into being, its symbol the gift of tongues. In the Old Testament, God disrupted the communication between men (the material word) in order to preserve the unity between men and Himself (the inner word). As Norwid puts it: “The reason for the scattering of tongues was in the spirit” (III, 576).

The multiplicity and diversity do not negate, however, the existence of universal laws. In a sense, they even represent two aspects of language: the inner and the material word. Norwid does not support *in toto* the universalist view of the Age of Reason, but he does not follow to its conclusion the romantic tendency to see linguistics in national terms. Language represents unity in multiplicity, the structure of language, like human structure, is realised simultaneously “within oneself” and in community, whether national or supranational:

*Oderwać się od siebie i wejść w siebie: słowem
Aby być narodowym — być nad-narodowym!
I aby być człowieczym, właśnie że ku temu
Być nad-ludzkim ... dwoistym być a jednym — czemu?*

*Tear oneself away and yet enter oneself: in a word,
 To be of the nation one has to stand above it!
 And to be truly human,
 One needs to be above mankind . . . of dual nature, yet one —
 why?
 (III, 569)*

Like many romantics, Norwid believed in correspondences, the links between the visible and the invisible world achieved with the aid of symbolic language. A linguistic sign was like an iceberg, its visible part enabling us to calculate the size of the greater part hidden under the watery mirror. The totality, signalled by the sign, is the word, the fruit of *logos* having been grafted on human nature. The inner word is externalised in the form of language, at the level of its primal elements but also in its higher reaches and, finally, in culture, widely interpreted. The freedom of the word is, for Norwid, a principle of harmony between the two aspects of the word. The link between the sign and its inner essence can be broken — when:

Words change their sound time and again
 (III, 610)

and the freedom of the word may be lost. The poet follows human history from its inception and the tumultuous story of the freedom of the word, the inner instrument of change. Whenever the material word outgrew its inner core and thus the principle of harmony was violated, slavery intervened. Slavery came into play whenever a community lost its sense of authentic values and replaced them by an empty form, which became an aim in itself:

*Niewola — jest to formy postawienie
 Na miejscu celu. — Oto uciśnienie . . .*

*Slavery means allowing the form
 To replace the aim. — That is slavery . . .*

(III, 376)

But excessive growth of form and the resulting formalism, are not the only causes of slavery. Inadequacy of form, a traditional weakness, according to Norwid, of Polish culture, may also be its cause.

The antiquity, although it developed a wide range of forms, thus providing the means or expression for the inner word, was inclined “to fall into idolatry”, which “repressed the spirit”, or the inner word. Yet

the prophets, vigilant in their guardianship of the integrity of the word, prepared the advent of the Word which was made Flesh. Christ introduced an era of Christian anthropocentrism, which replaced the theocentrism of the Old Testament (“Not only God, Man also had been revealed to humankind” (III, 587). Christ revealed to man his real purpose and the supremacy of the spirit; He returned to the inner word its true stature. Search for truth replaced the urge “to create great marmoreal masterpieces” of the ancient world: the function of formalised means of expression was now to mediate between the world of the spirit and the material world. The externalised word was to serve the inner essence, “until it reaches the state of seeming impotence, even depersonalisation, and finally the absence of all bias and Truth!” (III, 560).

In the “Poem about the Freedom of the Word” the poet intended to take stock of his own mother tongue, to weigh its material and its inner aspects. Polish art and its cultural background had been subjected to similar treatment in *Promethidion*; now the poet’s language was to be judged against universal principles. In *Promethidion* Norwid hurled at Polish art this accusation: “You have no form to fit your spirit” (III, 441).

Language is now subjected to a similar charge: while it possesses “word’s spiritual riches”, its formal aspect, its “letter” remains inadequately developed.

The formal laxity of Polish language Norwid ascribes to historical causes but also to the lack of respect and understanding for “the letter” (meaning not only the formal side of the language but also the arts and skilled craftsmanship). Without the recognition of “the letter”, there can be no historical continuity, only a kind of febrile pulsation, its high amplitudes marked by actions coming too early and books published too late. The impoverished condition of the language,¹⁹ its “uncertain spelling, muddled punctuation, use of foreign terms and the inadequacy of its own terminology” (III, 613) and the absence of polemical skill, all go to prove that the Poles fail to care sufficiently for “the letter”.

Norwid’s own experiments in neologising and in developing his own style of punctuation arose, no doubt, from his concern for the common neglect of the language and a conviction that a great effort was needed to improve matters.

Norwid’s linguistic views are firmly grounded in the tradition of the Age of Reason, but the influence on them of comparative linguistics and

¹⁹ See a letter to Karol Ruprecht, dated 12.8.1868: “Truly, Polish language has been so neglected, the errors are such, that a single writer cannot hope to make much difference, whole society must go into action”.

the romantic theory of symbols of his own century cannot be disregarded.

The theory, which assumed a reciprocal determination between the form of a language and its essence guided early comparative linguistics: the resemblances found in different and remote languages were believed to prove man's natural ability to create symbolical signs (not necessarily linguistic).

The theory of symbolic prototypes followed the reasoning behind the hypothesis of Johann G. Hamann on fundamental resemblances present at the source of all languages.²⁰ Norwid thought that linguistic signs symbolised natural phenomena and he looked to symbolic elements, common to different languages and cultures (primal or Ur — sounds, shapes etc.) for confirmation of his insights. Their symbolic quality lay in Norwid's view, in their form representing observable natural phenomena:

Słowa się *po sprawdzenie odnoszą gdy rodzą.*
Swoją zaś ścisłość mierzą natury obrazem:
Są z prawdy, ducha i są z litery zarazem

Newly born words need to be tested.

Their fitness is to be measured against the substance of nature:
They come forth from truth and the spirit but also from the letter.

(III, 574)

The ability to create symbolic signs can be equated with the seminal gift of creating language itself, a symbolic construct in that its form not only signals ideas and objects but acts as their defining equivalent. It should be possible, therefore, to establish, etymologically, not only the historical origin and the original meaning of words but deduce also the definition of the *signifié* from the structure of the word itself. This approach to "reading" of language rests on the belief in the allegorical quality of both the letter and the word. For Norwid the allegory, the parable and the symbol are interchangeable. Going further, beyond the letter and a single word, into a general interpretation of language, Norwid applies this method to all linguistic phenomena (including silence and irony), situations and events and to literary interpretation

²⁰ J. G. Hamann, *Kreuzzuge des Philologen* (1762). Quoted from R. L. Brown, *Wilhelm von Humboldt's Conception of Linguistic Relativity*. The Hague 1967, p. 61. The parallels between Norwid's and Hamann's concepts are numerous. They both considered language to be numinous but also human, expressing man's reaction to the system of signs inherent in the world. They both viewed it as an act of direct perception and not of abstract cognition. (See also K. Krzemień, "O myśli estetycznej J. G. Hamanna". *Studia Estetyczne*, 1969, p. 215-227).

(e.g. *Bogurodzica*, Slowacki's *Balladyna*). For the author of *Quidam* each letter, each word, each character and almost any incident represented in poetry or prose is an allegorical structure, turning abstract into concrete terms.

Norwid's persistence in searching for allegorical and parabolic meanings gives the impression of an identical method being employed to interpret history, culture and the contemporary concerns and circumstances. This is so: Norwid uses the allegorical interpretation in the analysis not only of literary structure, but also in "reading" history, culture and the multiplicity of signs marking human existence.²¹ The allegorical interpretation recognises universal content behind the literal meaning, bestows life on the writings of the past, endows contemporary texts with a universal perspective; it conquers time. Norwid's own view of the past fitted well with this approach. The past continues, changing its form: what has happened, comes back, pregnant with more meaning than before. As in Norwid's "Post Scriptum" (I):

Nie tylko *przyszłość* wieczna jest — nie tylko! . . .
I przeszłość, owszem, wieczności jest doba:
Co stało się już, nie odstanie chwilką . . .
Wróci Idea, nie powróci *sobą*.

Not the *future* alone lives in eternity — not only!
The past is also its particle, a day in it:
What took place, will not be erased in a fleeting instant . . .
Its Idea will yet return, though *not itself*.

(I, 366)

In the opinion of Michał Głowiński, Norwid's all-pervading preference for parabolising was the main reason for his rejection by the reading public of the second half of the 19th Century. For them, the allegory and the parable as one of its forms became anachronistic rhetorical figures, to be replaced by symbol. To make matters worse, Norwid not only displayed a preference for it, he also employed it in contexts previously unheard of.²² It was the latter, more so than the former, which led to the public's resistance. The process of rejection and the disowning of the allegory by poets started with Goethe at the end of the previous century but only the Symbolists were to bring out in full the contradiction between a symbol and an allegory and to draw

²¹See M. W. Bloomfield, "Allegory as Interpretation", transl. Z. Łapiński, *Pamiętnik Literacki* 1975, No. 3.

²² M. Głowiński, "Norwida wiersze — przypowieści". In *Cyprian Norwid. W 150-lecie urodzin*. Warszawa 1973, p. 106-107.

practical conclusions. Yet, in the best known works of Polish romantic poets the dominant modes of expression are allegory and symbol.²³ Głowiński discusses also the use of parable (understood as a form of continuous allegory) in Norwid's shorter poems: this construction, with its two level semantic content, played an important part in the poet's work.

Norwid's liking for the allegorical construction may be better understood in the context of his overall attitude to the problems of language. Allegory accords with the structure of language as he saw it, not only at the level of single signs but also of more complex forms. Allegory employed as a poetic device provided means to express the "architectural" complexity of linguistic signs and events. Yet, for Norwid, allegory was but one of the means serving to represent the architecture of the word; penetration into its semantic content was another. The substance of reality cannot be perceived other than through understanding the word, nor can an object be named without it.

Ponad wszystkie wasze uroki,
Ty! Poezja, i ty, Wymowo,
Jeden — wiecznie będzie wysoki:
(.....)
Odpowiednie dać rzeczy — słowo!

Above all your enchantments,
Yours, Poetry and yours, Eloquence,
One stands highest and perennial:
.....
Ready to give each object — its name!

(“Ogólniki”) (“Generalisations”) (II, 13)

By choosing to give these attributes to describe the highest reaches of the poet's mission Norwid came close to the classical definition of truth: *Veritas est adaequatio rei et intellectus*. The demand that object and word should “fit” is not the same as the principle of rhetoric “suitability” (*aptum*), repeatedly criticised by the poet. Norwid noted with displeasure the principle's survival, be it in modern form:

There are those who teach that poetry needs subject matter
neither insensitive nor unpleasant . . . That kind of poetry, which
needs sensitive subjects . . . and awaits the advent of pleasant
ones, is beyond my competence. (III, 557)

²³ J. Krzyżanowski, “Alegoria w prądach romantycznych”. *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 1962, No. 5, p. 10-13.

Again, in the poem “Co slychać” (“What is the News?”) Norwid attacks those who want the subject matter of poetry to be restricted to “naturally” poetic concerns, thus narrowing its range by using it as a tool of their imaginings.

The final line of “Ogólniki” (“Generalisations”) declares proclamation of truth and representation of the word — *logos*, of which truth is the key the chief objects of “seasoned” poetry. The first two verses of the poem prepare the reader for its ultimate conclusion; they describe the gradual climb towards the accord of object and word. Aristotle’s definition makes truth depend on objective reality. Norwid accepts this and evolves a universal principle, which makes it incumbent on the poet to develop a language capable of representing growing complexity of reality.

The process of perception must go hand in hand with the intensification of linguistic prowess, as the word which was “fitting” yesterday may have ceased to be so and has to be replaced. The formal structure of yesterday, if it survives only for its own sake, is no longer capable of carrying today’s meaning: it acts against Janus like quality of the word. When the link between the form of the word and its content loosens, when a schism proclaiming word as enemy of thought takes place, the belief in the organic quality of the word vanishes. The whole of culture is in danger, the balance of representation and content having been disturbed.

Norwid was aware that the culture of his own country was going through a crisis of that sort, the condition of poetry, in particular, giving rise to concern and anxiety. The romantic poets failed their “office of the word”, were guilty of escapism in fleeing from reality into the refuge of dreams. They were like false prophets, riding in brilliant chariots away from the genuine cares of the world:

Our literature, having, in poetry, reached nearly to European heights must yet be blamed for the neglect of our own crucial concerns to such a degree that, in fact, we know nothing about matters which concern us most. (“Slavery”) (III, 390)

The bias and oneness of the romantic poets led to the neglect of the word’s cognitive function: the late followers of romanticism represented a threat of destroying the means of expression offered by the language. In “Slavery”, Norwid attacked the romantic poetic of inspiration, but only for its oneness bias: for him also poetry was not only a debate or a treatise but an act of creation, as he asserted in “Liryka i druk” (Poetry and Print). Zofia Stefanowska noted that Norwid’s programme for a new poetry assumed conquest of both the

romantic and classical bias.²⁴ Romanticism, in its role of a militant counter-formalism, had been a necessary step to neutralise the formalism of classical poetry.²⁵ Both models of poetry are injurious to the word in their way and they both tend to destroy its totality: by overstressing either content or formal structure and encouraging excessive growth of either inner or material word.

In his argument, Norwid makes the case for a synthesis of the thesis of classicism and the antithesis of romanticism: it would free the word from dangerous disproportions in its “architecture” and make poetry a guide in search of truth.

It is time to turn from “Generalisations” to detail and to analyse Norwid’s ways of freeing the word from romantic bias. We have already discussed his philological piety, which resulted in much etymological research, and his preference for allegory. We will now try to find out whether Norwid, in his own poetry, “gave each object — its name” and whether he had done justice to the “architectural” complexities of the word, particularly in its semantic aspect.

Although the poem “Kingdom” (“Królestwo”) as a whole is an interpretation of the concept of freedom, only its final part reaches towards a positive definition. The purpose of all the rest is to persuade the reader that freedom as commonly understood has little to do with its own true meaning, dictated by history. Our times, says Norwid, tend to restrict, in practice, the meaning to what is, in effect, *libertas*, an absence of external constraints, an ability to exercise personal and civil rights. The awareness of that kind of freedom does not lead to progress of humanity but to madness (lines 1-8). Freedom, so perceived, turns against man.

But the opposite position: acquiescing in slavery as a way of breaking free from the burden of making one’s own decisions deprives man of dignity and threatens him with descent to an animal condition (lines 9-12).

Norwid discusses an intermediate solution of bringing together and reconciling the two extremes but rejects it with some disdain. The interpretation of either freedom or slavery within the narrow confines of *libertas* is bound to bring forth a disordered sick structure which could not be treated successfully with its own medicine (lines 13-20). Only in

²⁴ Z. Stefanowska, “Norwidowski romantyzm”, *Pamiętnik Literacki* 1968, No. 4.

²⁵ See the introduction to “Slavery” (Niewola) (III, 365): “Now, after the spiritual and de-formalising treatment it has received, this literature will, I have no doubt, be spurred into activity (. . .). Today, we stand on the threshold of an endeavour which may meet with fiercer obstacles than the earlier one, which was all inspiration and knew no rules. It can be said that that movement was able to press forward on the strength of its opposition to form alone. In this new task, if it is to flourish and come to fruition, direction will be needed, conscientious moderation and an acceptance of definite principles of conduct”.

the last verse, the restricted connotation of *libertas* having been discarded, Norwid's own definition of freedom makes its appearance. As, commonly, the word is associated with "libertas", another Latin term would have to be translated to do it justice. It would have to be *liberum arbitrium*, free will or free choice, concepts which Norwid is happy to equate with a definition of Christian inner freedom. The word itself having acquired through ill use a pejorative connotation would not serve. *Liberum arbitrium* has to be polonised by means of a paraphrase in order to return to freedom its right dimension:

Nie niewola ni wolność są w stanie
Uszczęśliwić cię ... nie! — tyś osobą;
Udziałem twym — więcej! ... panowanie
Nad wszystkim na świecie i nad sobą.

Neither slavery nor liberty can
Bring you happiness ... no! you are a person:
And have a right to more than that! Dominion
Over all the world's creation and over yourself.

(II, 64)

Liberty and slavery affect only the senses but man is a person and according to Thomist hylomorphism, a unity of spirit and flesh. Freedom, that "dominion over all creation and over yourself" is an inalienable attribute of man. The word "dominion" carries two meanings which are also two aspects of free will. Freedom enables man to rule over the world and it orders him to exercise control over himself, over his passions and his senses. St. Thomas said that the condition of perfect freedom excludes the temptation of evil.²⁶ Man is free by nature, whatever his circumstances; the only way to gain happiness is by spiritual progress which is also the true road to freedom, man's vocation defined by St. Paul in a letter to the Galatians:

For you brethren, were called to freedom; only do not use your freedom as an opportunity for the flesh but through love be servants of one another. (Gal. 5, 13)²⁷

²⁶ J. Keller, *Katolicka teoria wolności jako swobody od determinacji psychologicznej*. In: *Antynomie wolności. Z dziejów filozofii wolności*. Warszawa 1966.

²⁷ The words, spoken by Cardinal Karol Wojtyła during a Vatican retreat (A Sign Which Shall Be Spoken Against ... Vatican Retreat, 5-12 March 1976) could be a commentary to Norwid's "Kingdom". The subject was the Christian concept of freedom: "The key to the moral greatness of man, to his "royal" stature, his lordship, which in its humanist aspect is, more than anything else, a dominion over oneself, can be found by obeying one's conscience" — *Znak* 1976, 10, p. 1349.

The degree of freedom man is called to is to be measured, according to Christian personalism (and to Norwid) by the degree of dominion over self:

Wtedy to *próba* jest, wtedy jest waga,
Ile? nad sobą wzięłeś panowania;
Wartość się twoja ci odśłania naga —
I oto widzisz, *ktoś* — *ty?* . . . bez pytania.

Then you are *tried* and weighed,
How much are you a master of yourself?
Your naked substance is exposed.
You see *who you are* . . . no questioning is needed.

(IV, 458)

In everyday speech and in social consciousness the concept occurs only as a social and political term. It is deprived of depth suggesting inner freedom and its ethical aspects. The accepted view of the word does not “fit” its proper essence, it stands like a building without a structural frame. Not surprisingly, the poet in questioning the accepted usage goes back to the essential meaning which accords with the conceptual structure of Christian anthropology. To give freedom measured on human scale its right name, Norwid creates a synonymatic framework (“dominion over all the world’s creation and over yourself”), which describes multi-faceted human freedom; not the one-sided view of it, presented and dismissed in the initial verses of the poem. This definition of freedom corresponds, of course, with the indeterminist view of man.²⁸

“Tenderness” is another word Norwid subjected to a searching analysis. Like freedom it also has been made by common ill use to stand for conditions and circumstances which have little in common with its true semantic content:

Czułość — bywa jak pełny wojen krzyk,
I jak szemrzących źródeł prąd,
I jako wtór pogrzebny . . .

I jak plecionka długa z włosów blond,
Na której wdowiec nosić zwykł
Zegarek srebrny —

²⁸ See G. Gomori, Chapter “Against Slavery” in *Cyprian Norwid*, New York 1974, p. 122-134.

Tenderness — is like a full cry of war;
And like the current of whispering streams,
And like a funeral march . . .

And like a long plait of golden hair
On which a widower wears
A silver watch —

(II, 85, transl. A. Czerniawski)²⁹

The poem is divided, graphically and structurally, into two symmetrical parts each carrying a different meaning of “tenderness”. The first verse brings in three widely diverse uses of the word, thus demonstrating its range. The fourth simile, with tenderness treated as a static fetish or symbol, operates in quite a different plane. The first verse demonstrates the range of semantic possibilities, the second restricts the concept of tenderness to a conventional token. An ironically treated particular usage is contrasted with extensive scope and poetic viability of the word.

A category of words Norwid explored in order to restore their true meaning are designations of time.³⁰The words like “times”, “periods”, “eras”, “epoch”, “years”, “days”, “instants”, “past”, “future”, and “eternity” appear in Norwid’s poetry in contexts which bring out their buried content and focus the reader’s attention on the connotation blurred in everyday speech.

The second poem of *Vade-mecum* cycle “The Past” (*Przeszłość*) centres on the meaning of the title word. Its last verse, referring to a parable built into the poem describes the past thus:

*Przeszłość — jest to dziś tylko cokolwiek dalej:
Za kołami to wieś,
Nie jakie tam coś, gdzieś,
Gdzie nigdy ludzie nie bywali! . . .*

*The past is today but a little further away:
A village beyond, not immediately seen
Not a place somewhere
Where men have never been*

(II, 18)

In order to define the past Norwid employs simultaneously categories of time and space. The description “the past is — today but a little

²⁹ *Polish Poetry Supplement* No. 2, p. 17. *Oficyna Poetów*, London 1973.

³⁰ See J. Trznadel, *Czytanie Norwida. Próby*, Warszawa 1978, p. 90-93.

further away” reveals, astoundingly, a relationship which can be more easily understood today than a hundred years ago when the reasoning behind it may have appeared obscure. In our time, when watching the sky at night, we inevitably read into it what we know of the relativity theory “the past is — today, but a little further away”.

But time and space in “The Past” are not of cosmic order: they are historical categories. Only a child believes that what happened yesterday no longer is, that it has escaped somehow from time and space of today. The continuity of time and space exists despite efforts to disrupt it; despite Hegelian dialectics, the past is not just a step on a ladder of progress, to be pushed away when its task is done. Time and space have God’s promise of eternity, so has man. Neither death nor any other cataclysm can disrupt the perennial bond of man and history. The first two verses of “The Past” make this point:

Nie Bóg stworzył *przeszłość*, i śmierć, i cierpienia,
Lecz ów, co prawa rwie;
Więc — nieznośne mu dnie;
Więc, czując złe, chciał odepchnąć *spomnienia!*

Acz nie byłże jak dziecko, co wozem leci,
Powiadając: “O! dąb
Ucieka! ... w lasu głąb ...”
— Gdy dąb stoi, wóz z sobą unosi dzieci.

God has not made the *past* and death and suffering
They are a lawbreaker’s work
Who cannot bear the time
And who, conscious of evil, wants to repulse *the memory!*

Like a child, who, riding in a cart
Says: “Look! the oak
Is running away! Into the wood ...”
The oak stands still, the cart carries the child away.

(II, 18)

Norwid’s poetical definition of the past is interesting not only for his semantic speculations but also for etymological insights it suggests. The parable makes clear that while man changes his place in time and space, time and space remain stable; the word past carries etymological implications, in Polish as much as in English, of man having passed (i.e. left behind) things which nonetheless continue to exist.

Norwid's poems provide us with many examples of this kind of creative activity. We have discussed three poems, "Kingdom", "Tenderness" and "The Past": they illustrate the poet's resolve to reinterpret words, their semantic but also their conceptual and moral strata in order to uncover meanings blurred by usage and to build on the latent riches of readers' associations of ideas.³¹

Consistency with which Norwid confronted the common semantic usage with the meanings suitable to be enshrined in the "lexicon" of a Christian moralist lead us to believe that it was his preferred way of presenting his own views on the nature of language: the word which is numinous (in its layer of *logos*) and human in its expression. The purpose of the confrontation was to bring language as practically experienced closer to the ideal meaning established in *logos* and to make it the means of perceiving truth and of expressing it. This was to be a perennial task, to continue throughout man's historical existence. It is because the word has "architecture" which extends to both its external and its inner (and in a sense latent) area, that a poet's task was to create "lexicons" which would bring them closer. The means of doing so include etymologising, the use of allegory and parable, semantic reinterpretation and redefinition in depth. These attributes of Norwid's poetical theory become clearer in the light of his view of language and aims he wished his poetry to achieve.

Transl. by Krystyna Griffith-Jones

³¹ See: I. Fik, op. cit., I. Sławińska, "Chrześcijaństwo w przemyśleniach Norwida", *Znak* 1966, 6; J. Błoński, "Norwid wśród prawników", *Twórczość* 1967, 5; S. Sawicki, "O śmierci C. K. Norwida. Z zagadnień semantyki poetyckiej", *Teksty* 1972, 4.

IN MEMORIAM



* Pojoscie
24. VI. 1893

† Roma
29. V. 1982

Bonum certamen certavit, cursum
consummavit, fidem servavit (II Tim. 4,7)

WALERIAN MEYSZTOWICZ

(1893 - 1982)

Father Walerian Meysztowicz, Canon of St. Peter's, professor of the University of Wilno, founder and president of the Polish Historical Institute of Rome, died there on May 29, 1982.

He was nearly ninety. Anyone whose fate it has been to survive for the last four score and ten, lived through a period of change more dramatic than any earlier generation. Walerian Meysztowicz, born in Lithuania into a well-to-do land owning family, had a blissful childhood and a happy youth. I felt that his own retelling of the stories of those years brought back the atmosphere of *Pan Tadeusz*. He himself seemed surprised when I mentioned it, as it had clearly never occurred to him that life could have been different. The memories of the idyllic Polish-Lithuanian world, gone but never forgotten, stayed with him to the end, although he lived long enough to witness the advent of the nuclear age.

His school years were spent in St. Petersburg where, in the *Alexandrowski* College, he acquired a thorough knowledge of the spirit and history of Russia. Few Poles equalled him in understanding the true nature of our neighbour. This made him recognise Russia as a potential threat to the world; it also gave him a deep sense of foreboding which played an important part in his later life.

His knowledge of Russia grew further, enriched by his experiences of the war period 1914-1920. During the first world war Meysztowicz served in the Russian army. In the Polish-Soviet war he fought in the Polish cavalry and won the *Virtuti Militari* Cross. Today that war, fought on horseback, has acquired a patina of history. For him, it remained one of his happiest memories. Meysztowicz stayed, temperamentally, a cavalryman to the end of his days. His country, living and fighting for it, was the very core of his existence.

Meysztowicz entered the Wilno seminary in 1921, immediately after the end of the war. Here, his sense of purpose widened and deepened. Service to Poland within the Church and to the Church in Poland pervaded all he thought, wrote and did from then on.

On taking holy orders, Meysztowicz went for the first time to Rome, to study canon law. He was awarded a doctorate (*iuris canonici*) in 1926 at the *Institutum Pontificium S. Apollinaris*. He then returned to Wilno to continue his theological studies. Law remained an abiding interest. He was very much aware of the structural part it played in the cultural

division between Western and Eastern Europe: Western civilisation had been built on the foundation of Roman law, the East was governed by ukase. Meysztowicz knew that the West ended where lawlessness began, on the eastern border of Poland. Beyond that border stood another world, a threat to Poland and to other nations.

On the completion of his theological studies, Meysztowicz decided on an academic career. His work *Dobra kościelne w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim* (Church Owned Lands in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) brought him the title of assistant professor in the Stefan Batory University, Wilno. In 1938 Meysztowicz published *La religion dans les constitutions des états modernes*; it won him international recognition. He wrote it in Rome, where he returned in 1932 as a counsellor at the Polish Embassy to the Vatican.

He was appointed professor of canon law in Wilno University in 1936. He was the first of the students enrolled at the University on its post war recreation to be given a chair and this distinction gave him much pleasure. He kept his position at the Embassy, returning to Rome during each university vacation.

In the university, he devoted much time to looking after the student community; it became a joy and a passionate interest. His own perennially youthful and lively temperament fitted him admirably for the task and he became very popular with the young.

The outbreak of the second world war found Meysztowicz in Rome. Against considerable odds he managed to reach Wilno where, as chaplain, he joined the only detachment of his regiment, the 13th Wilno Lancers, still there. His unit was forced into Lithuania by the advancing Soviet troops. From there, Meysztowicz made his way to Sweden, where he found at the Embassy telegrams recalling him to Rome. He returned, to live there till the end.

In 1940, after Mussolini's entry into the war, the diplomatic staffs of the countries at war with Germany had been offered shelter in the Vatican by Pope Pius XII and they remained there until the end of the German occupation. Meysztowicz found the confinement very difficult to bear. Life in conditions of personal safety, far from the activities of the war, was at odds with his military temperament. He rarely talked about that period and when he mentioned it at all it was with a degree of embarrassment.

His duties included keeping the Vatican informed about developments in Poland and providing facts to counter the misrepresentations of the German propaganda machine. During this period, he came to know well the future Pope Paul VI, then Monsignor Montini. His task was made exceedingly difficult and complicated by the

fact that regular contact with Poland and the Polish government in exile was tenuous and often impossible.

But Meysztowicz turned his confinement to excellent use in another direction. While some members of the diplomatic corps, confined in the Vatican, filled their time playing bridge, Meysztowicz devoted months and indeed years to the Vatican archives, plying through their unexplored labyrinth. Meysztowicz's knowledge of their contents has not been equalled by any Polish historian.

During the war Meysztowicz developed a strong conviction that it was his duty, now that military activity was out of his reach, to concentrate on research into the history and culture of his country. With this in mind, he embarked on the publication of documents in the Vatican archives concerning Poland. Among others, he published at that time *Repertorium Bibliographicum pro Rebus Polonicis Archivi Secreti Vaticani* and *De Archivo Nuntiaturae Varsaviensis*.

When the Allies reached Rome, the Polish Embassy (still, at the time, officially recognised), had to undertake new tasks, hard to carry out in the far from normal circumstances. It had to deal not only with the direct propaganda of the new occupants of Poland but also with the influence they exercised through their Lublin (and later, Warsaw) adherents.

Meysztowicz, while still engaged on diplomatic duties, continued his academic work. For many years, he had been interested in the earliest period of the Polish state's existence, the time of the country's baptism and its entry into the Western community. He wrote extensively on the subject (see the bibliography). His work in the fifties included *Koronacje pierwszych Piastów* (Coronations of the Early Piasts), *Szkice o Świętym Brunie-Bonifacym* (Essay on St. Bruno Boniface) and *La vocation monastique d'Otton III*. In those works he analysed the relations between the early Polish heads of state and the Empire, including the events of the year 1000 and the relationship of Boleslaw I the Brave and the Emperor Otto III. He also published the earliest known 11th Century manuscript of the Piast dynasty: *Manuscriptum Gertrudae, filiae Mesconis II, regis Poloniae*.

In 1945 Meysztowicz founded the Polish Historical Institute in Rome as a focus for independent Polish research. At the start, the work took the form of lectures and meetings, providing a forum for presentation of new work and for discussion, invaluable to young research workers (most of them priests) in Rome at that time. It soon widened its scope to include established Polish historians working in Europe and America.

In time the Institute started publishing on its own behalf and continues to do so. It publishes two series: the annual *Antemurale* (for

which this is written) and an irregularly published series *Elementa ad Fontium Editiones*. *Antemurale* has been given its name by Meysztowicz to indicate the importance he attached to that particular aspect of Poland's role in Europe. From the start, the contributions appeared in the main European languages so as to make the material accessible to Western scholars.

The source material series *Elementa ad Fontium Editiones*, of which 57 volumes have so far appeared, contains documents concerning Poland, preserved in the Western archives. So far, documents from the following archives have been published: in Italy: the Vatican Archives, the archives of Trent, Brisighella, Parma, Aquila, the Medici Archives in Florence; in the United Kingdom the Public Record Office and the British Museum; in Spain the National Archives at Simancas; in Denmark the Royal Archives at Copenhagen and in Germany the Koenigsberg Archives, now in Berlin. The texts are published in the original language. Meysztowicz edited himself the seven volumes of documents now in the Spanish archives. He went to Spain on a number of occasions, came to know and love the country, and was made a member of the Spanish Academy. He also edited the documents from Parma, Brisighella and Florence.

The original intention was to publish documents preserved in the West to replace, in some degree, the grievous losses suffered through the destruction of Polish archives in the second world war. This, however, proved to be only partially the role of the series. The material came in the main from national archives and it soon became evident that its principal relevance was to throw new light on the relations between Poland and the countries concerned; hence the presence in the series of *Documents on the relations between the Roman Curia and Poland*, *Documents on the relations between England and Poland*. In fact, the series brought together source material for a future and as yet unplanned history of Polish foreign policy. *Elementa* gained considerable recognition and are frequently referred to by working historians.

Meysztowicz's last work appeared (in Polish) in two volumes called respectively *Poszło z dymem* (World Gone for Ever) and *To co trwało* (World That Survived). He gave them an overall title *Gawędy o czasach i ludziach* (Notes on People and Places). The two slim volumes had no academic purpose, yet they are a valuable source for the history of our time. Altogether there are ninety profiles of people representing a wide range of background and achievement. Meysztowicz describes peasants from his own Lithuanian countryside, his father (at one time Polish minister of justice) to whom he was greatly devoted, his country neighbours, army friends and Wilno priests, some of whom died

martyr's deaths. Volume 1, which portrays graphically figures from the earlier years, includes also a strikingly original profile of Piłsudski.

A gallery of six popes, painted in frank detail, opens the second volume, followed by sketches of cardinals, prelates and diplomats. The volume closes with silhouettes of some other people Meysztowicz knew, of little wordly importance but large in spirit.

Meysztowicz, who refused to write formal memoirs, gave us in this modest work an equivalent by conveying in evocative and vivid portraiture of others much of his own personality.

Karolina Lanckorońska

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and papers published by Professor Rev. Walerian Meysztowicz

- Domicilium et q-domicilium in Codice iuris canonici*, Rome 1926.
De conditione iuridica Ecclesiae in Polonia, Rome 1931.
'Dobra kościelne w W.Ks.Litewskim', *Studia Teologiczne*, vol VIII, Wilno 1935.
La religion dans les constitutions des états modernes, Pontif. Institutum Utriusque Iuris, Rome 1928.
'Natalinus, Grand Empereur de toute la Russie', *Orientalia Christiana*, Periodica No. 3-4, Pontif. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, Rome 1941.
Elisabeth, reine de Hongrie, Pontif. Institutum Ecclesiasticum Hungarorum in Urbe, Vatican 1943.
'Repertorium bibliographicum pro rebus Polonicis Archivi Secreti Vaticani', *Studia Teologiczne*, vol XII, Vatican 1943.
L'Eglise catholique en Pologne entre les deux guerres, Ambassade de Pologne près le Saint-Siège, Vatican 1944.
'Chevalerie-honneur-dévotion', *Rivista Illustrata*, Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta, anno VIII, No. 5-6, 1944.
'De Archivo Nuntiaturae Varsaviensis', *Studia Teologiczne*, vol XII, Vatican 1944.
'Elisabetta di Polonia regina d'Ungheria', *Iridion*, Quaderni di Cultura Polacca, II Corpo Polacco, Rome 1945.
'Alexandre Meysztowicz', *Ecclesia*, numero speciale, ottobre, Vatican 1945.
'Poselstwo Mieszka I do Abderamana III', *Kultura*, Paris 1951.
'Polsko-morawska księga w Bibliotece watykańskiej', *Duszpasterz polski za granicą*, Rome 1950.
Un monumento polacco di lingua e d'arte, Leo Olschki, Florence 1951.
'La Polonia cavalleresca e la Chiesa', *Roma d'oro al Mondo*, Sapedil, Vatican 1951.
'Dispensa od ślubu Królowej Jadwigi z Wilhelmem Rakuskim', *Duszpasterz polski za granicą*, Rome 1951.
'Les diocèses de Pologne' in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, Louvain 1951.
Rôle des universités contemporaines, Association Polonaise des universités catholiques, Rome 1952.
'Współczesny wizerunek Chrobrego', *Teki Historyczne*, vol V, London 1952.
'L'Antemurale', *Studium*, rivista di vita e di cultura, Rome 1953.
'Porta dell'Aurora', *Ecclesia*, rivista, Vatican 1954.
'Złe duchy w Dziadach', in *Adam Mickiewicz*, Centenary Volume, Polskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, London 1955.
'Marszałek Piłsudski', *Pamiętnik Wileński*, London 1972.
'L'union de Kiev avec Rome sous Grégoire VII', *Studia Gregoriana*, Abbazia di S. Paolo di Roma, Rome 1956.

- 'L'insegnamento del Decretum di Graziano in Polonia', *Studia Gratiana*, vol IV, Bologna 1956.
- 'Manuscriptum Gertrudae, filiae Mesconis II regis Poloniae', *Antemurale*, vol II, Rome 1955.
- 'Les archives de l'ambassade impériale à Varsovie à l'époque des partages', *Antemurale*, vol III, Rome 1956.
- 'Kościół katolicki w Polsce' in *Polska i jej dorobek dziejowy*, London 1956.
- 'Koronacje pierwszych Piastów' in *Sacrum Poloniae Millenium*, Rome 1956.
- 'Szkice o św. Brunie-Bonifacym' in *Sacrum Poloniae Millenium*, Rome 1958.
- 'La vocation monastique d'Otton III', *Antemurale*, vol IV, Rome 1958.
- 'Św. Brun na Litwie', *Alma Mater Vilnensis*, Społeczność Akademicka USB, London 1958.
- 'Epistola Ioannis III regis Poloniae ad Christinam reginam Sueciae', *Antemurale*, vol VI, Rome 1960-61.
- 'Sylvestre II, auteur de La Vita Prior S. Adalberti', in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol V, Vatican 1964.
- 'Las Misiones Catolicas en el Imperio Ruso', *Misiones extranjeras* No. 47, Burgos 1965.
- La Pologne dans la Chrétienté*, Nouvelles Editions Latines, Paris 1966.
- 'Aliqua documenta gentis Szembek', *Antemurale*, vol XI, Rome 1967.
- 'Epistola Pauli IV and Bonam reginam Poloniae', *Antemurale*, vol XI, Rome 1967.
- 'Le testament de Marie de Hongrie', *Antemurale*, vol XII, Rome 1968.
- 'Antonii Martinelli relatio de Hippolyti Aldobrandini legatione in Polonia', *Antemurale*, vol XII, Rome 1968.
- 'Ceremoniarum anonymi relatio de cardinalis Georgii Radziwill legatione ad Sigismundum III regem Poloniae', *ibidem*.
- 'Relatio burgravii Abraham de Dohna, oratoris regis Hispaniae, de missione, quam anno 1612 ad regem Poloniae absolvit', *ibidem*.
- 'La nunziatura de Achille Ratti in Polonia', in *Pio XI nel trentesimo della morte*, Milan 1969.
- 'Rzeczpospolita chrześcijańska' in *Kongres współczesnej nauki i kultury polskiej na obczyźnie*, London 1970.
- Poszło z dymem*, Polska Fundacja Kulturalna, London 1973.
- To co trwałe*, Polska Fundacja Kulturalna, London 1974.
- Miscellaneous articles in *Osservatore Romano* (Vatican), in *Orzel Biały* (London) and in *Wiadomości* (London).
- Editorial work in *Elementa ad Fontium Editiones*:
- 'Documenta Polonica ex Archivo generali Hispaniae in Simancas', parts I-VII, 1963-1970.
- 'Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Parmensi', parts I and II, 1970
- 'Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Capitulari in Brisighella', 1970.
- 'Res polonicae ex Archivo Mediceo Florentino', parts I-III, 1972.
- Collaboration in several other volumes in the Series.

ELEMENTA AD FONTIUM EDITIONES (cont.)

- Vol. XVI — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, V pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. VII+336, 227 doc. (A.D. 1587-1590), 5 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1966.
- Vol. XVII — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Musei Britannici*, II pars. Ed. C. H. TALBOT, pp. VII+311, 169 doc. (A.D. 1411-1616), 2 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1967.
- Vol. XVIII — *Collectanea ex rebus Polonicis Archivi Orsini in Archivo Capitolino*, II pars. Ed. W. WYHOWSKA DE ANDREIS, pp. VIII+256, 140 doc. (A.D. 1669-1676), 4 tab. Ind. nom. propr. 1968.
- Vol. XIX — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, VI pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. VIII+429, 121 doc. (A.D. 1556-1620), 4 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1968.
- Vol. XX — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Regni Daniae*, II pars. Ed. C. LANCKORONSKA et G. STEEN JENSEN, 266 doc. (A.D. 1577-1696), pp. VI+325, 4 tab. Ind. nom. propr. ind. chron. 1969.
- Vol. XXI — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*. VII pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, 187 doc. (A.D. 1471-1696), pp. VIII+262, 2 tab. Ind. nom. propr. ind. chron., 1970.
- Vol. XXII — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Parmensi*, I pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ et W. WYHOWSKA DE ANDREIS, doc. 183 (A.D. 1535-1598) pp. VIII+210, 2 tab. 1970.
- Vol. XXIII — A. *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Parmensi*, II pars. Doc. NN. 184-319 (A.D. 1598-1772) Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. B. *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Capitulari in Brisighella*. 63 doc. (A.D. 1578-1588) Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ et W. WYHOWSKA DE ANDREIS, p. 297, 2 tab. 1970. (A.D. 1419-1564) pp. VIII+301, 4 tab. 1971.
- Vol. XXIV — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Regni Daniae*, III pars. Ed. C. LANCKORONSKA et G. STEEN JENSEN, 152 doc.
- Vol. XXV — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Regni Daniae*, IV pars. Ed. C. LANCKORONSKA et G. STEEN JENSEN, 78 doc. (A.D. 1563-1572) 6 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. pp. VIII+248, 1971.
- Vol. XXVI — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Mediceo Florentino*, I pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ et WANDA WYHOWSKA DE ANDREIS, 262 doc. (A.D. 1589-1612), pp. VIII+377, 1972. ANDREIS, 145 doc. (A.D. 1559-1589), p.p. VIII+V. MEYSZTOWICZ et WANDA WYHOWSKA DE
- Vol. XXVII — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Mediceo Florentino*, II pars. Ed. 320, 1972.
- Vol. XXVIII — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Mediceo Florentino*, III pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ et WANDA WYHOWSKA DE ANDREIS, 205 doc. (A.D. 1613-1626), 4 tab. Ind. nom. propr. ind. chron., pp. VIII+376, 1972.
- Vol. XXIX — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Regni Daniae*, V pars. Ed. C. LANCKORONSKA et G. STEEN JENSEN, 139 doc. (A.D. 1578-1630), 5 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. pp. VIII+376, 1972.
- Vol. XXX — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Regiomontano*, I pars. Ed. C. LANCKORONSKA, 447 doc. A.D. 1525-1548, 9 tab., pp. XV+259, 1973.
- Vol. XXXI — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Regiomontano*, II pars. Ed. C. LANCKORONSKA, doc. NN. 448-854 (A.D. 1549-1562), 7 tab., elenchus epistolarum, ind. nom. propr., pp. IX+241, 1974.
- Vol. XXXII — *idem (cont.)* III pars, doc. NN. 855-1237 (A.D. 1563-1572), 10 tab., elenchus epistolarum, ind. nom. propr., pp. VIII+268, 1974.
- Vol. XXXIII — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Regni Daniae*, VI pars. Ed. C. LANCKORONSKA et G. STEEN JENSEN, 140 doc. (A.D. 1632-1699), 5 tab., ind. nom. propr., ind. chron., pp. X+210, 1974.

- Vol. XXXIV — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Regiomontano* IV pars. Ed. C. LANCKOROŃSKA, doc. NN. 1-212 (A.D. 1525-1530), 6 tab., elenchus epistolarum, ind. personarum et locorum, pp. XVI+230, 1975.
- Vol. XXXV — *idem (cont.)* V pars., doc. NN. 213-551 (A.D. 1531-1537), 3 tab., elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., pp. XX+228, 1975.
- Vol. XXXVI — *idem (cont.)* VI pars, doc. NN. 552-761 (A.D. 1538-1542), 3 tab., elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., pp. VIII+227, 1975.
- Vol. XXXVII — *idem (cont.)* VII pars, doc. NN. 762-1051 (A.D. 1543-1547), 4 tab., elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc. pp. VIII+256, 1976.
- Vol. XXXVIII — *idem (cont.)* VIII pars, doc. NN. 1052-1215 (A.D. 1548-1549), 6 tab., elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., pp. XII+206, 1976.
- Vol. XXXIX — *idem (cont.)* IX pars, doc. NN. 1216-1424 (A.D. 1550-1553), 4 tab., elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., pp. VIII+226, 1976.
- Vol. XL — *idem (cont.)* X pars, doc. NN. 1425-1724 (A.D. 1554-1559), 3 tab., elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., pp. X+226, 1976.
- Vol. XLI — *idem (cont.)* XI pars, doc. NN. 1725-2009 (A.D. 1560-1566), 4 tab., elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., pp. VIII+226, 1977.
- Vol. XLII — *idem (cont.)* XII pars, doc. NN. 2010-2220 (A.D. 1567-1572), 4 tab., elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., pp. X+196, 1977.
- Vol. XLIII — *idem (cont.)* XIII pars, doc. NN. 1-269 (A.D. 1534-1565), 4 tab., ind. pers. et loc., pp. VIII+228, 1978.
- Vol. XLIV — *idem (cont.)* XIV pars, doc. NN. 1-156 (A.D. 1546-1567), 3 tab., ind. pers. et loc., pp. VIII+190, 1978.
- Vol. XLV — *idem (cont.)* XV pars, doc. NN. 1-197 (A.D. 1525-1572), 6 tab., elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., pp. X+192, 1977.
- Vol. XLVI — *idem (cont.)* XVI pars, doc. 1-172 (A.D. 1525-1535), 4 tab., elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., pp. X+188, 1979.
- Vol. XLVII — *idem (cont.)* XVII pars, doc. 173-302 (A.D. 1536-1538), 4 tab., elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., pp. VIII+212, 1979.
- Vol. XLVIII — *idem (cont.)* XVIII pars, doc. 303-419 (A.D. 1539-1541), elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., pp. VIII+246, 1979.
- Vol. XLIX — *idem (cont.)* XIX pars, doc. 420-526 (A.D. 1542-1548), 5 tab., elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., pp. VIII+210, 1980.
- Vol. L — *idem (cont.)* XX pars, doc. 527-602 (A.D. 1549-1568), 4 tab., elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., elenchus omnium epistolarum vol. XXX-XXXII et XXXIV-L, bibliographia, pp. VIII+212, 1980.
- Vol. LI — *idem (cont.)* XXI pars, doc. 1-258 (A.D. 1525-1528), elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., pp. X 196, 4 tab., 1980.
- Vol. LII — *idem (cont.)* XXII pars, doc. 259-676 (A.D. 1529-1531), elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., pp. X 284, 1981.
- Vol. LIII — *idem (cont.)* XXIII pars, doc. 677-1079 (A.D. 1532-1534), elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., 2 tab., pp. VIII 272, 1981.
- Vol. LIV — *idem (cont.)* XXIV pars, doc. 1082-1379 (A.D. 1535-1536), elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., pp. X+241, 1982.
- Vol. LV — *idem (cont.)* XXV pars, doc. 1380-1587 (A.D. 1537-38), elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., pp. VIII+190, 1982.
- Vol. LVI — *idem (cont.)* XXVI pars, doc. 1588-1868 (A.D. 1539-1540), elenchus epistolarum, ind. pers. et loc., pp. X-282, 1982.
- Vol. LVII — in typis.
- Vol. LVIII — in praeparatione.

DEPOSITARII:

"International Book Distributors" Libreria 117-120, Piazza Montecitorio 00186 Roma	Orbis (London Ltd.) 66, Kenway Road London S.W.5	Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae 19, via Virginio Orsini 00192 Roma
---	--	---

Pretium: £8.50

Printed and made in Great Britain by Caldra House Ltd.,
23 Coleridge Street, Hove, Sussex, BN3 5AB, England.