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(Textual) Poetics and Genetics

Pierre Marc de Biasi's seminal book „Génétique des textes" [The genetics of texts] was published in Poland in 2015. It must be emphasized that de Biasi's book is paradigmatic: it describes the basic principles of genetic criticism (la critique génétique), the role it plays in the contemporary humanities, its prospects, and also its purely pragmatic social meaning. Génétique des textes has quickly become one of the basic reference points for all researchers interested in or practicing genetic criticism in Poland. Thus, in this issue of „Forum of Poetics", it constitutes the foundation on which reflection on contemporary poetics is built.

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(Textual) Poetics and Genetics

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Pierre Marc de Biasi's seminal book Génétique des textes[1] *[The genetics of texts] was published in Poland in 2015. It must be emphasized that de Biasi's book is paradigmatic: it describes the basic principles of genetic criticism (*la critique génétique*), the role it plays in the contemporary humanities, its prospects, and also its purely pragmatic social meaning.* Génétique des textes *has quickly become one of the basic reference points for all researchers interested in or practicing genetic criticism in Poland. Thus, in this issue of* Forum of Poetics*, it constitutes the foundation on which reflection on contemporary poetics is built.*

We are particularly interested in the changes that genetic criticism has undergone in recent years in Poland and abroad, the nature of its interactions with other fields of knowledge, and, above all, the question of how genetic criticism shapes and/or may shape, modify, and influence modern poetics. The transactions between genetic criticism and other fields of knowledge should not be construed as one of barter. Indeed, this relation may best be described as an overlap of research fields – a unique form of oscillation or inter-

[1] P. M. de Biasi, *Génétique des textes* [The genetics of texts]. CNRS, Paris 2000. Polish edition: *Genetyka tekstów*. Transl. by Filip Kwiatek, Maria Prussak. Wydawnictwo IBL PAN, Warsaw 2015.

ference. In this issue of Forum of Poetics, *this question is discussed by Jean Bellemin-Noël, who defines the fundamental concept of a "avant-text" and combines literary practice with psychoanalysis; Daniel Ferrer, who constructs an original process of genesis based on the philosophical concept of "possible worlds."*

In this case, an overlap of research fields is often associated with the "microanalysis" or "micro-reading" of a given textual fragment (similar to the one proposed by J.P. Richard in his book Microlectures*; the smallest textual elements, margins, and details, which nevertheless are meaningful in the context of larger textual units, should be analyzed; it is a detailed reading and the reading of details); a "microscopic view" (similarly to R. Jakobson's reading of one of Charles Baudelaire's* Spleens*; the focus is on sounds, phonemes and the relations between them); or, finally, "micrology" (Aleksander Nawarecki's concept*[2]*). All these terms may be slightly modified and employed in the genetic reading of selected poems, which is both a "micro-reading" and a "microscopic view," as it focuses on almost invisible and minute details and margins. This micro scale is crucial in genetic criticism: the focus is on the analysis of textual details which are usually magnified, although today we use technology and not a magnifying glass.*

Indeed, the "micro-reading" of avant-texts may influence the interpretation of the text. The "micro" scale may give rise to a completely different interpretation, expanding and discovering new semiotic fields of the text. The relations between textual poetics and textual genetics seem to be obvious but they are not: their experiences and practices overlap, which opens up the space of the analyzed text in a unique manner. This, in turn, opens up mis en abyme, ad infinitum, *making it difficult to trace the origins of the text. Such vague textual origins, often by necessity described using the conditional (*perhaps it could happen that…, or perhaps it is possible that…*), are the most fascinating and important subject of genetic analysis. The "micro" scale is present in almost all of the texts in this issue of* Forum of Poetics. *Formal details and often marginalized aspects of manuscripts are analyzed. When magnified, such details raise a number of interpretative questions. These questions, in turn, lead to surprising discoveries: prevailing opinions are questioned or undermined. Sometimes, they are "annihilated:" genetic criticism, by definition, is anti-mythological. Indeed, it is an anti-mythology. For example, Serge Fauchereau and Lydie Marie Lachenal in their genetic edition of André Breton and Philippe Soupault's* Les champs magnétiques *undermined one of the greatest literary myths related to* écriture automatique *(automatic writing; the words allegedly arise from the Subconscious| and are not corrected). As de Biasi says, numerous deleted words which "decorate" the manuscript in Fauchereau and Lachenal's genetic edition effectively debunk the modernist literary myth of automatic writing.*

In genetic criticism, we approach the text as if it were a picture. On the one hand, we are equipped with a set of tools and procedures which help us organize the material we are analyzing. On the other

[2] A. Nawarecki, *Mikrologia, genologia, miniatura* [Micrology, genology, miniature]. In: *Miniatura i mikrologia literacka* [Literary miniature and micrology]. Ed. A. Nawarecki Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice 2000. Vol. 1, 9-29.

hand, when we examine manuscripts, we always find places that elude explanation, raising complex interpretative questions. They may remain unanswered or be answered only partially, as evidenced by some of the texts in this issue of Forum of Poetics. *Each text possesses unique narrative values: each text reveals a textual secret. Old findings give way to new textual discoveries.*

In this issue of Forum of Poetics, *I refer to the classic French texts of genetic criticism. We publish excerpts from the seminal books of genetic criticism in Polish for the first time. Indeed, we publish excerpts from Jean Bellemin-Noël's* Le Texte et l'Avant-texte. Les brouillons d'un poème de Milosz, *which was first published by the Larousse publishing house in 1972, i.e. almost half a century ago. We also publish excerpts from* Logiques du brouillon[3] *(previously published as an article, which is the basis for the translation published in this issue of* Forum of Poetics*) by outstanding contemporary researcher-specialist in literary genetics Daniel Ferrer. This book should be published in Polish in its entirety, because it is an extraordinary source of methodological and theoretical inspiration. It demonstrates how genetic analysis should be performed, revealing the detailed procedures and, to repeat after Ferrer, "possible worlds" of genetic criticism and the analyzed texts. We invited Polish literary scholars who employ genetic criticism in their works to contribute to this issue of* Forum of Poetics*: the results are surprising and fascinating. Authors employ different methodological approaches, different ways of analyzing archival materials, as well as highly diverse textual and interpretative practices. I sincerely hope that they will be evaluated and appreciated. To draw on Daniel Ferrer, the texts in this issue of* Forum of Poetics *may be best summarized in the words of Roland Barthes:*

> *I have a manuscript page in front of me; something which also participates in perception, in intellectual understanding, in association – but also in remembering and enjoying – and something which is called reading is set in motion. What is reading, where am I going, where do I stop? Of course, I can clearly see the textual field; but towards what is my eye drawn? What other space does it accommodate? Does it transgress the page? (but behind the page, there is the table). What fields does reading discover? How is the cosmogony postulated by this simple gaze constructed? A lonely astronaut, I traverse many worlds, I do not stop: the whiteness of the paper, the shape of the signs, the form of the words, the rules of the language, the constraints of the message, the profusion of associated meanings.*[4]

[3] D. Ferrer, *Logiques du brouillon. Modèles pour une critique génétique* [Logics of the draft: Models for genetic criticism]. Éditions du Seuil, Paris 2011.

[4] "J'ai devant moi une page de manuscrit; quelque chose qui participe à la fois de la perception, de l'intellection, de l'association – mais aussi de la mémoire et de la jouissance –, et qu'on appelle la lecture, se met en marche. Cette lecture, où vais-je, où puis-je l'arrêter ? Certes, je vois bien de quel espace mon œil part ; mais vers quoi ? Sur quel autre espace accommode-t-il ? va-t-il derrière le papier ? (mais derrière le papier, il y a la table). Quels sont les plans que toute lecture découvre ? Comment est construite la cosmogonie que ce simple regard postule ? Singulier cosmonaute, je traverse bien des mondes, sans m'arrêter à aucun d'eux : la blancheur du papier, la forme des signes, la figure des mots, les règles de la langue, les contraintes du message, la profusion des sens associés." Quote after: R. Barthes, *Variations sur l'écriture*: *Infini*. In: R. Barthes, *Œuvres complètes*. Éditions du Seuil, Paris 1980, vol. 3, 1564.

Even if Ferrer is critical of Barthes, in my opinion, he adequately describes the very nature of the articles in this issue of Forum of Poetics. *"L'écriture-lecture" [writing-reading], as Barthes observes later in the same passage, expands into infinity and draws man as a whole, both his body and his history, into action that could only be defined as follows: it does not stop anywhere.*[5] *Indeed, Barthes refers to "infinity:" it is a theme that, not always explicitly, connects the texts in this issue of* Forum of Poetics.

When I was preparing this issue, I realized how many researchers in Poland employ genetic criticism in their works and how much and in what extraordinary way genetic criticism has developed in recent years. Today, researchers from the Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Jagiellonian University, and many other academic centers in Poland enter into an open dialogue with international researchers-specialists in literary genetics, presenting their original methodological and interpretative proposals.

As an editor of this issue of Forum Poetics, *I want to ask: Well, shouldn't we finally establish a Polish ITEM, a real center that would bring together many generations of Polish editors and researchers in literary genetics? Such a center would not only define the framework for editorial and genetic research, but also collect and organize documents, prepare model editions, and make them available to researchers (and readers)* via *the new media. As always, finances may be a concern, but they should not undermine this project, because it is a matter of the utmost importance, closely related to Polish national heritage. I do not think that we need any further justifications: researchers in Polish culture believe that such a center should be established, and decision-makers should feel the same way. Considering the remarkable progress in the field of editing and genetic criticism in Poland, it seems to me that this project should be supported and implemented. I sincerely hope that it will be.*

translated by Małgorzata Olsza

[5] See: Barthes, 1564.

The Tone of a Manuscript.
Literature – Edition – Life

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1.

Wasilij Rozanov, a jester and peculiar genius, writes, probably at the turn of the first and second decades of the 20th century in a train compartment – if we are to believe the metatextual note of the author:

> It is as if that bloody Gutenberg licked the bronze off all writers who printed, lost their face, character, they no longer have their souls. My "I" exists only in my manuscripts. In fact, this is the case with every writer. This is the reason why I experience the superstitious fear of tearing letters, notebooks (even those from childhood), manuscripts, and so I never tear anything. I keep each and every letter from my school friends. I only tear my own works, because there are too many of them; I do it very seldom and with pain[1].

[1] This note entered Rozanow's 1912 volume *Ujedinionnoje*. In Poland it was published in 2004 as *Odosobnione* [secluded] (Warsaw: Fundacja Augusta hr. Cieszkowskiego), translated by Ireneusz Kania and Piotr Nowak. The quoted excerpt appears in page 22. I used here Józef Czapski's translation, who cited the same excerpt translated by himself in his essay *Sprzeczne widzenie: Rozanow – Mauriac* [contradictory view] quoted after: Józef Czapski, *Patrząc* (Kraków: Znak, 1990), 282. Translated into English by PZ.

These words can be read in two ways: firstly, with some distance, seeing emphasis in them, characteristic for Rozanow, and maybe even a provocation, or secondly, completely seriously, understanding them as a testament of a responsible person, for whom writing is a document of utmost importance – a document of Existence.

The paradox is obvious. The reader reads those words in print. Although admittedly in this unique case it is supposed to be an equivalent of a manuscript[2], this is only the author's wish. Regardless of the form, print will not substitute for handwriting. In a way, Rozanow ridicules himself, "loses his face". But he also leaves a promise: you will find me *there*.

2.

Taking notes by hand is often spontaneous, instant, it captures a thought which is escaping with every movement of the body. This is why Rozanow did not trust any additional manipulations introduced by print. He often added information about the place and moment of writing to his hand notes, which were immanently ascribed. When taking notes, he was sometimes afraid to turn the page – for fear of losing his thought. In such cases he would take dense notes, everywhere where there was any free space left. "His whole life could be reduced to fighting for maintaining his ties to the Word"[3] – that fight, as one may suppose, also had its completely material aspect.

Various disciplines and fields of science have dealt with manuscripts. It can be said that genetic criticism is a school (method) of studying manuscripts (more broadly: pre-published working material). This sentence is generally true, but imprecise, deprived of the fundamental addition, which defines the most important issue, i.e. the goal of such studies: the abstract, reconstructed writing process.

Process means time, and genetic criticism deals with time. It is a speculation regarding the temporal course of creation. It studies material documents, but its (postulated) stake is to capture, describe – and in most ambitious cases also to define – a non-material event. This is probably enough to consider genetic criticism paradoxical. And rightly so. Not without reason already in the 1970s one of its initiators, Louis Hay, author of the iconic volume *Essais de critique génétique*, told the story about fairy godmothers present at the birth of genetic criticism and the most powerful of divinations: the "divination of paradox"[4]. It was the biggest force that gave life to genetic criticism and defined its future stride.

[2] „[...] ever since the invention of print, none had the strength to overcome Gutenberg. My real loneliness, almost mysterious, has achieved this", W. Rozanow, *Opadłe liście* [fallen leaves], quoted after: J. Czapski, *Sprzeczne widzenie: Rozanow – Mauriac*, 282, translated into English by PZ. This excerpt – translated differently – can be found in the Polish edition of *Opadłe liście* (translated by Jacek Chmielewski, Ireneusz Kania, [Warsaw: Fundacja Augusta hr. Cieszkowskiego, 2013], 110), but yet again I am using an earlier translation by Czapski.

[3] Piotr Nowak, "Posłowie" [afterword], in W. Rozanow, *Odosobnione*, 157.

[4] Louis Hay, "La critique génétique: origines et perspectives" in *Essais de critique génétique*, ed. Louis Hay, (Paris: Flammarion, 1979), 227.

Science does not like paradox. After all, it has to somehow deal with paradox, solve it, deconstruct it, explain it, describe it, and hence reduce it to a non-paradoxical form. The divination was problematic.

3.

Another paradox may stem from the fact that genetic criticism, which has to a great extent sprung from the structuralist tradition and the notion of text proposed by structuralism, has developed its own, completely different paradigm of text as an opportunity. *"Le Texte n'existe pas": réflexions sur la critique génétique* – it is the categorical title of one of Louis Hay's works from 1985[5], although the text made its biggest career in its English translation entitled *Does 'Text' Exist?*[6]. The translators introduced some insurance – the original title refers to a quote from Jacques Petit – but it is only a stylistic measure, the contents of the paper are telling. By referring to the history of defining "text", since the 18th century defined in opposition to "notes, comments, glosses", Hay admits that it is not a good idea to stick to one, absolute interpretation of "text"; instead, one should always talk not about one "Text", but rather many "texts"[7], because a text held in hands is always one of many options. "In other words, the writing is not simply consummated in the written work. Perhaps we should consider the text as *a necessary possibility*, as one manifestation of a process which is always virtually present in the background, a kind of third dimension of the written work"[8].

4.

Genetic criticism inspires obvious – and less obvious – controversies, often amongst editors. A lot of them treat it with suspicion and take a somewhat defensive approach towards it. Why? The first reason, not at all trivial, existing and irritating on a deep level, is – to my mind – that genetic criticism is very influential as a school of reading and describing the creative process. The French L'Institut des textes et manuscrits modernes (ITEM) has been successfully functioning since 1982, and the history of genetic criticism dates back to the 1960s. If we look at the edition of scenarios and plans for *Madame Bovary* published as a fruit of ITEM's work, at the very end we will find a brochure-call by Daniel Ferrer, who organized subscription for a hypertextual edition of *Madame Bovary* in 1995. This means that a quarter of century ago French scholars realized something that in many countries, including Poland, has not even functioned as a topic of theoretical editorial considerations on a bigger scale. It should also be said that in France the significance of genetic criticism has led to its incorporation into high school curricula. Outside of France there has also been an interest in such literary studies, which in some cases has led to the creation of special

[5] Louis Hay, "«Le Texte n'existe pas»: réflexions sur la critique génétique", *Poétique* 62 (1985).
[6] Louis Hay, "Does 'Text' Exist?", trans. by M. Jocelyn, H. W. Gabler, *Studies in Bibliography* 41 (1988).
[7] Hay, "«Le Texte n'existe pas»: réflexions sur la critique génétique", 154.
[8] Hay, "Does 'Text' exist?", in: *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol. 41 (1988), 75.

research centers, directly inspired by this method: in Belgium, Brazil, Argentina, as well as in Poland. A few years ago Paolo D'Iorio, head of ITEM, set up an international research group "Genetic Criticism and Digital Humanities"[9] in France, whose aim was to promote genetic criticism, among other things. In terms of that promotion there is a group who is working on a dictionary of genetic criticism and using digital tools for creating electronic genetic editions.

What are some reasons for the dislike for genetic criticism by editors? If we were to borrow one of the books devoted to it, such as *Logiques du brouillon* by Daniel Ferrer, we would soon learn that it cannot be found in the "editing" section. For instance, in the Institute for Literary Studies it can be found in the "Language of literature – theory. Poetics. Stylistics" section. Admittedly, it is not an optimal classification, but neither is it accidental. Genetic criticism is not a school of editing, and despite this fact it introduces some ferment to editing, some messiness, because genetic critics want to spread manuscripts, they want to make access to them and working with them easier, and so they also deal with editing, write about editing, they even come up with their own editing typologies[10] and they publish editions. Editors often do not like such works, for they are often peculiar (since manuscripts are weird and peculiar), and "incorrect" (since manuscripts contain much "incorrectness" of various kinds), and editors by definition like to normalize, polish, make uniform.

Apart from that, editors, who typically make a face when they hear "genetic criticism", generally deal with old manuscripts (copied), which *de facto* served as publications. Genetic criticism is only interested in modern manuscripts, i.e. those written after 1750[11], for they are – generally speaking – documents of a far more private character.

The already mentioned subject of research for genetic criticism, i.e. the writing process, is another potential controversy, and not just for editors. It is elusive, reconstructed through genetics, it does not exist materially, being only hypothetic – which is what editing, which used to be compared to the sciences, does not like by definition. It is true that critical editing "reconstructs a text" through textual criticism, and so it dissects a textual entity, which maybe existed or did not exist at all, but boasts about the final, material product of its reconstruction (sometimes referred to as "canonic"). Of course, there are also genetic editions, but their job is to reproduce and spread source materials rather than compile a text out of them. The textological story remains the domain of genetic criticism.

One could say that there are two global tendencies in works devoted to genetics: some focus on acquiring new knowledge about the text, on studying the manuscript and the creative process in order to learn more about the work itself: to learn the story of its production, find out more about its enigmatic, unclear, suspicious, troubling moments. But there are

[9] GDRI DIGEN, http://www.item.ens.fr/digen/, date of access: 15.06.2020.

[10] See for example Pierre-Marc de Biasi, *Genetyka tekstów* [genetics of texts], translated by Filip Kwiatek, Maria Prussak (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IBL PAN, 2015), 113–130.

[11] De Biasi, 22.

also works which focus entirely on studying the text production process itself, in order to discover its dynamics or the mechanisms of its creation, in order to learn about the writing process. In such a case looking beyond the process is not necessary at all, or even banned. The product of the process is beyond the scope of many genetic papers; an aberration for scholarly editing.

There are other differences which cause resistance against getting to know and adapting genetic criticism. Transcription or transliteration of a manuscript will always depend on the researcher's perspective, on their perception of the document and interpretation. It is hard to read manuscripts "canonically". They can be read and understood in many ways, many of which will be fully valid. Hence, one document can be transcribed and understood in various ways. For scholarly editing in its critical version, which strongly aims at establishing one binding text, this is a strange way of thinking. Similarly to methods applied by genetic criticism, which are supposed to make the genesis legible – they are different, depending on the material and the goal. Critical editing likes using the defined and strictly limited set of methods and tools.

Moreover, textual criticism and editing are interested in what is repeated in the following versions of a text. Editing is based on repetitions, it traces what is repeated, both from the perspective of "correctness" and "error". After all, stemmatics is based on the "community of error implies community of origin" rule, hence by definition we look for what is repeated in order to sometimes confirm the credibility of a lesson, and we look for errors repeated in different versions, in order to confirm the common origin. Meanwhile, genetic criticism does the opposite – it analyzes what is different, new, diverging from the rest, focusing on that what transforms and how it does it. For editing everything that diverges from the dissected "correct" text is worth referring to the critical apparatus, typically at the end of the volume. Genetic criticism thrives on what is different in different versions. Hence the different approaches of editing and genetic criticism to the notion and term of a "variant". It is an essential thing which forces us to mention here several fundamental terms of genetic criticism – one can either accept or reject them, but nevertheless it is important to be aware of their existence and significance, in order to understand what the most problematic proposals of genetic criticism are.

5.

A genetic *dossier*, i.e. a genesis document, includes various testaments which help reconstruct the origin of a text. These are predominantly various working manuscripts by the author: projects, plans, notebooks, drafts, drawings, notes from books, collections of books with marginal notes by the author, extracts from documents, first drafts, final drafts, author's correction, etc. However, there are also documents which are in no way incorporated into the forming text, other materials which help understand its genesis: diaries, correspondence, contracts with publishing houses, etc.

A *dossier* is the result of preparatory work. It is not an entire archive of an author, their complete archival heritage. It is things selected from those materials for the purpose of specific studies.

Text and pre-text. In a nutshell, genetic criticism, especially in its rigorous form, equals "text" with print. Print's caesura separates the intimate sphere, the sphere of pre-text, the sphere of what led to a text, from the public sphere, the result of creative work: the "text". Pre-text is the work of a researcher, their critical construct. It is not just manuscripts as such, but their critical arrangement. Pre-text is the result of the selection of the material from the *dossier*, a classification of this material, arranging it chronologically, in short: it is the result of subjective critical activities, on the basis of which it is possible to create a convincing textological narrative. It should be openly admitted that pre-text is always a hypothesis, but that hypothesis is strictly rooted in the source material. It is not a creation, but rather an extraction of specific material and composing it into a collection, which will give a basis for reconstructing the origins. One *dossier* can serve as a basis for many pre-texts, which in turn can be analyzed in different ways, depending on the method of reading the pre-text: socio-critical, linguistic, psychoanalytical (very popular in the French genetic criticism), etc.

6.

Hence, genetic criticism analyzes the stages of the creative process rather than the result of this process, i.e. the text. In consequence, it is not interested in the teleological perspective (at least in terms of the theoretical declaration). Most geneticists do not study manuscripts as an inferior testament of stages of perfecting the text. Teleology, so important for critical editing, is mostly interested in the effect of the process, perfected on subsequent stages. It does not concern genetic criticism, because – again: according to the theory – a geneticist should not, while dealing with the creative process (and most often, some fragment of it), take the perspective of the effect of the process which the studied manuscripts could not know at the time of their production. In other words, genetic criticism wants to get to know the text better through the prism of manuscripts, their causal and temporal arrangement, but warns against interpreting them with the use of the text, since this would be a *par excellence* anachronistic action. Logics introduced to the world of chaos – arranged, but still chaos – and a narrative referring to the arrangement of the final goal would be a reversal of perspective, would mean imposing a ready-made sense on something that a moment earlier was the origin of various senses; we would know the destination before studying the way to it.

The echo of the ominous divination can be heard. One could accept that genetic criticism sometimes feeds on – at least on the theoretical level – the utopia of abstracting the text, created by itself. De Biasi writes:

> Hence, a geneticist should, especially on the stage of interpretation, avoid any teleological reduction and evaluate the role and specific status of these "remnants" of creative activities, this colossal "surplus" (often far more extensive than the "basic" text), which is an irremovable trace of other ways in the genesis of the text, ways it could have chosen, which it actually did choose or it tried to choose, before it shrank to its final form, which we know thanks to the final draft or printed version of the text, as accurately as possible[12].

Wherein, as de Biasi states simultaneously, the arrangements introduced by a geneticist "assume some simulation of the goal, to which the pre-text strives". It is also true that the very name of "genetic criticism" may imply the kind of teleology it undertakes[13], and that it is very difficult to avoid the sometimes unnoticeable forms of teleology in genetic considerations, but the anti-teleological stand is frequently present in genetic works (especially in the theoretical ones).

7.

What are the consequences of identifying text with print? We should pay attention to the name of the most important genetic center: ITEM, institute of texts and manuscripts – which is a fundamental distinction. This distinction means accepting the manuscript's autonomy, respecting its existence on different laws than the text. Hence, if the manuscript is not a "text" (Daniel Ferrer calls manuscript "a protocol of creating the text"[14]), then any handwritten notes and other pre-texts cannot be a variation of the text – they belong to two different worlds. De Biasi categorically states that the term "variant" loses its application in the usage tying it to the modern manuscript – the manuscript does not know the text, and thus it cannot be treated as its variant.

> For a long time, during the creation, nothing is accepted, or stable, or definite – each created element can at any moment disappear or transform into its opposite, or develop itself at a the cost of some other element, or lead the whole creative work to annihilation.

Meanwhile combining these two textological orders is common in critical editions. The world of notebooks has its own rules and requires its own typology and research methodology, within its framework – just like the world of print – it is full of variants, indeed, but these are not "text" variants. For genetic criticism the difference between writing and text is fundamental. This is why it will use such enunciations as "secondary writing" (*réécriture*), "stages of writing" or "history of the writing process", and "variant" will use first of all "for describing changes in texts of the same status, occurring between different versions of the same text"[15]. De Biasi calls such activities "print genetics", whose task is to "describe and interpret changes in the text on each stage of its printed existence"[16].

[12]De Biasi, 136–137.
[13]Frank Paul Bowman, "Genetic Criticism", *Poetics Today* 11 (1990): 628.
[14]Daniel Ferrer, *Logiques du brouillon* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2011), 182.
[15]De Biasi, 36.
[16]De Biasi.

8.

Spreading access to manuscripts and working materials remains one of the missions of genetic criticism. Genetic editions play the same role. The ones that are printed can be divided into two types: horizontal and vertical. A horizontal edition shows documents concerning a specific moment of a text's genesis, highlighting the stage of shaping ideas[17]. A vertical edition shows subsequent genetic phases of a given text, hence it is chronologically arranged and shows a defined course of transformations.

Do these editions fulfill their roles? Methods and textological effects of actions of genetic critics are commonly acknowledged, however, book genetic editions are equally often considered to be unclear, time-consuming and, as a result, useless. One good example of this problem is the edition of *Billy Budd*[18].

Genetic critics soon started to think about electronic editions. The main argument was of course the capacity of the new medium and the possibilities of presenting the creative process, inaccessible in print. De Biassi roughly estimates that the disproportion between the volume of first and "final" drafts is more or less 5-10 pages of first draft per one page of final draft, whereas diplomatic transliteration in a genetic edition takes 2-3 pages per one page of autograph. As a result, a genetic edition documenting the writing process will be 10 to 30 times more extensive than the final text. Hence, if we were to transliterate first drafts of a 500-page long novel, we would have to deal with a 5,000- to 15,000-page book.

9.

If the paper medium is not good enough for a clear, and (as far as possible) complete, extended genetic edition, we have to resort to the digital medium. The basic question is: what is a genetic electronic edition? Or, more accurately: what do we want it to be? There is no commonly accepted definition of such an edition, but there are postulates. If we assume that a genetic edition showing the process, and hence liquidity, is our goal – how do we want to show this liquidity? Is it enough to scan the manuscripts with different hand-written editions of the text? Or maybe facsimiles and electronic transcription/transliteration of manuscripts? Or maybe it should be something more? Visualization of changes? Diagrams – what kind and for what purpose? A tool for collating changes?

First let us say that – for instance – a digital facsimile edition, reliable, but still a facsimile, i.e. with no transliteration and thus unable to serve as a basis for operations on the text, interesting from the academic perspective, is surely different from a digital genetic edition (henceforth DGE). Such an edition is, for example, a part of the Nietzsche Source project,

[17]Plans and scenarios for *Madame Bovary* are an example of such an edition, see footnote 9.
[18]See https://christopherohge.com/hayford-sealts-billy-budd-transcription.pdf, date of access: 15.06.2020.

which emerged from the pioneering Hyper Nietzsche (1999)[19]. We will find a digitized critical edition of texts which are encoded in the XML-TEI standard, but first and foremost, we will find there an edition of the whole (sic!) archive left behind by Nietzsche.

A digital edition of a manuscript/manuscripts, which typically means sharing scans of manuscripts and their simultaneous transliteration, is a completely different thing. There are many such projects, for example *Jane Austen's Fiction Manuscripts Digital Edition*[20].

There are also editions, and more often archives, which share high resolution scans of manuscripts, supplemented by transcriptions which are already available in paperback editions, not new criticism-wise – for example, the digital archive of Emily Dickinson[21].

An interesting and useful thing can be found in the digital archive of Walt Whitman[22]. It is worth paying attention to its elements: apart from the scan and transliteration with a basic key, it also contains the metadata which includes the names of the people responsible for a specific digital element (which is a very good practice). Typically such editions are the result of many people's work, often students, and they deserve credit for their efforts.

There are many similar manuscript editions, and they may have different goals. The family archive of the Shelleys-Godwins[23], which comprises facsimiles, transcriptions, and transcriptions with code, offers a very convenient insight into the documents, and as such should also be mentioned here. Finally, there are also projects which aim at showing – in a clear, useful way – textual liquidity, such as the so-called *fluid edition* of *Taipi* by Herman Melville[24] (paid access).

10.

Let us consider then, what a digital genetic edition in a strict sense should be, and what such a project should encompass. Proposals regarding the contents of such an edition were presented already 10 years ago by Paolo D'Iorio[25]. It would seem that this proposal should still be taken into consideration. To put it simply, D'Iorio lists the following elements of such an edition:

[19]http://www.nietzschesource.org, date of access: 10.06.2020.

[20]https://janeausten.ac.uk/index.html, date of access: 10.06.2020.

[21]http://www.edickinson.org, date of access 10.06.2020. The project offers an additional convenient option: after logging in, it is possible to take notes and make own editions.

[22]https://whitmanarchive.org, date of access 10.06.2020. Notice the fundamental feature of such an edition: there are whole pages devoted to the used coding.

[23]http://shelleygodwinarchive.org/, date of access: 10.06.2020.

[24]https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/melville/, date of access: 10.06.2020.

[25]Paolo D'Iorio, "Qu'est-ce qu'une édition génétique numérique?", *Genesis* 30 (2010).

1. A genetic dossier. If we have a medium with more capacity than a book at our disposal, we should gather all written, visual, audiovisual documents concerning a text or a work of art whose origins we are trying to present. In the case of a text this would be first drafts, consulted books by other authors, letters concerning this text, biographical materials, contracts, invoices, etc. Finally, if they exist, galley proofs with the author's corrections and the text published under the author's control. In other words: this part should encompass the author's archive concerning a given text. Of course, one could also create such an edition and a relevant dossier for the purpose of editing the materials, which have not been published, and which also are the subject of genetic editions, tracing – sometimes – the whole creative process, which did not necessarily end up as a complete work.

Creating such a dossier, just like in the case of a printed edition, typically relies on a strict classification of the genesis documents. It is important to remember that here we are talking about a critical edition, for which one should gather documents often scattered in different institutions. A dossier collects those documents, and hence it is often an entity with no material, i.e. a non-digital equivalent. A dossier requires cataloguing and providing readers with information on where the documents are stored. A table of contents of such a dossier is also necessary.

2. A facsimile edition of documents, which is a "necessary, yet insufficient"[26] part of the whole project. Such an extended dossier, which includes textual, iconographic, and audio elements have been created for e.g. *The Dream* by Emil Zola[27] (wherein the whole facsimile material is unavailable at the moment – which is often an issue with digital projects; to this day editors have problems with maintaining the continuity of the whole digital project). The above-mentioned edition also encompasses the history of reception, which is more and more frequently practiced in digital editions, similarly to presenting possible continuations of motifs in the theater, cinema, etc.

3. Transcription. From a purely theoretical perception, according to D'Iorio a transcription is not a necessary element of a digital genetic edition, because – as has already been stated – it is not supposed to create a new text (like in a critical edition). Its task is to share the documents from the creative process, hence the realization of such an edition could be boiled down to a facsimile edition of the dossier with a classification of documents and presentation with explanation of the basic genetic processes. The contents of such an edition would greatly depend on the target reader. Genesis documents available only in such a facsimile form may be difficult to read by laymen. It will depend on the legibility of the author's handwriting, and one should also remember that apart from manuscripts there are also newer genetic documents, often typed. Of course D'Iorio suggests supplementing the edition of a transcription which would allow to work with the text, and which is necessary from the practical perspective. But which transcription/transliteration should it be? First of all, diplomatic, i.e. preserving the *mise-en-page*, as well as linear, which finds a wider application when searching the

[26]D'Iorio, 50.

[27]https://gallica.bnf.fr/dossiers/html/dossiers/Zola/, date of access: 15.06.2020.

entire corpus. D'Iorio also mentions a potential ultra-diplomatic transliteration, which adds – instead of manuscript symbols – typographic symbols to the facsimiles of manuscripts. Such an "ultra" edition may be interactive in such a way as to change symbols at a user's request, for instance by placing a cursor on a given manuscript symbol, which then changes to a typographic one.

4. A genetic classification. The already mentioned cataloguing is the first form of classifying an archive, whose aim is to locate and describe the significance of those documents, which also takes place while arranging them according to their types. On the other hand, a strictly chronological classification, significant for genetic criticism, should leave out the typology of the documents, and place each element on a timeline according to the date of production, if it is possible to establish it precisely. Hence it is also about a classification which overlaps with the so-called genetic path.

5. The final and the most important element of a genetic edition: recreating the creative processes. How does one reconstruct this process in a digital edition? 10 years ago D'Iorio suggested that the so-called genetic diagrams can be of use here. They allow to show, for instance, what manuscript pages are the basis for a given text segment, chapter, etc. Another digital tool which makes understanding the origins easier is visualization of textual changes. If a text is adequately tagged, it is possible to visualize genetic operations, such as adding, moving, crossing out text, etc.

I still find D'Iorio conclusion regarding possible forms of digital representation of the text-creating process as a key one. Despite the indisputable effectiveness of these tools, the history of text creation is better told than shown. The editor has to become an interpreter and narrator of changes to a greater extent than before, and the true history of a text's origins, according to D'Iorio, most likely remains between a genetic edition and genetic criticism, which is "only" a story.

11.

As has been mentioned, there is no one and unchangeable definition of DGE. Neither is it known whether such a definition will ever be created, and, more importantly, whether it is required. However, it would seem that such a project should approach the model sketched above, and certainly consider it in the theoretical phase. There is no doubt that DGE is the most difficult type of edition: regardless of how one designs it, its goal is predominantly to present changes in time, which is still problematic also in the digital environment.

There are not many projects which can define themselves as DGE. If there are, typically one has to pay to access them. *The Beckett Digital Manuscript Project*[28] is in many ways a model project. It is an edition by Dirk Van Hulle, *spiritus movens* of the Beckett project. Van Hulle

[28]https://www.beckettarchive.org date of access: 10.06.2020.

stresses that this is not a model of digital genetic edition, but rather a model of an scholarly edition which serves genetic criticism, for the use of genetic criticism[29]. Van Hulle derives this edition's model and its contents and functionality based on five aspects of genetic criticism, predominantly exogenesis and endogenesis[30].

Exogenesis is also known as selection and assimilation of different sources in a way in which external elements "fit into" manuscripts, how they pave their way to them. In the case of historical novels it would be about extracting materials/facts from historical sources by the author and transforming them into literature. Marginalia preserved in books belonging to the author's book collection can also be related to their own works. Van Hulle gives the example of Beckett's notes on Proust's novel and proves that while working on his essay on Proust, Beckett very actively read *In Search of Lost Time* – for example, he combined different threads scattered across various volumes, gave them numbers, and this was his writing practice, his creative practice: intensive reading. Hence the postulate that a digital genetic edition should not just reconstruct an author's book collection, but also conduct a simulation of a pathway of this aspect of the creative process, i.e. a simulation of how the author used external sources.

Endogenesis means forming structures, i.e. subsequent stages of the writing and transformation process. It is obviously closely tied to exogenesis; in fact, sometimes it is difficult to separate the two.

In order to present these transformations in the digital world, tools for collation, such as the still very popular CollateX, are often used. In the Beckett project it was used, for example, for locating any sentence selected by the reader – a sentence being here a comparative unit – and visualized its forms on different stages of the creative process in an instant.

Van Hulle also considers epigenesis, i.e. processes which take place in texts accepted as completed, published. It can be assumed that they do not belong to pre-text, but there are cases like Beckett, in which what the author introduces as a change to the text becomes a pre-text to another text. For instance, when Beckett translated his own texts into different languages and when the original text became, to some extent, the translation's pre-text.

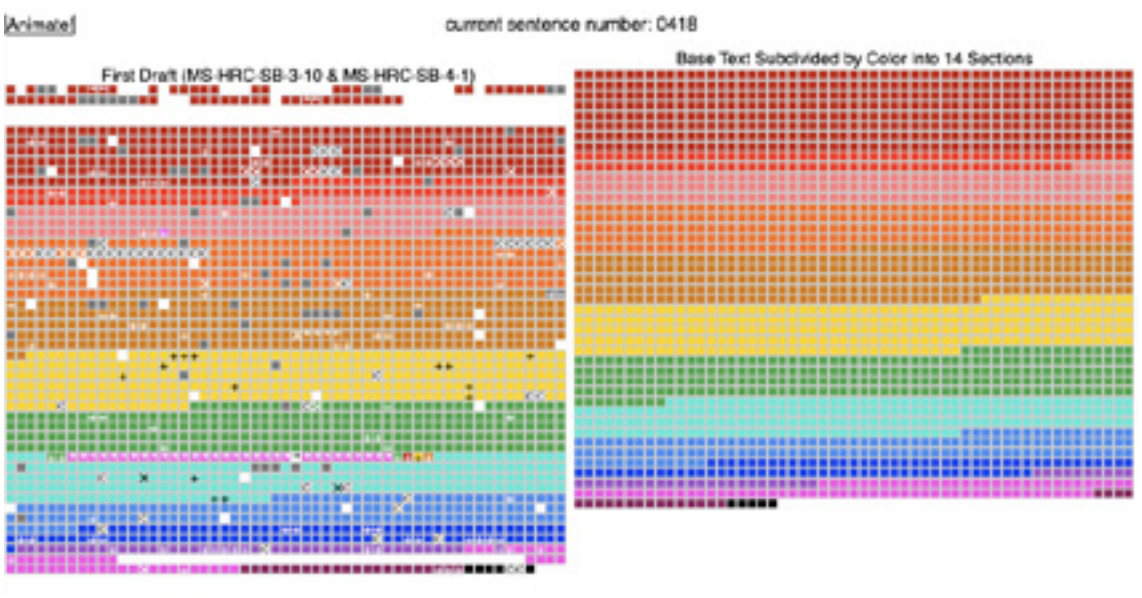
Another aspect, microgenesis, i.e. transforming some exogenetic source text or a history of changes of one element in the whole endogenesis and/or epigenetics in the writing process, or changes or corrections in one version.

In turn, macrogenesis is the entire work's genesis from the perspective of all its versions.

[29]Dirk Van Hulle, "Modelling a Digital Scholarly Edition for Genetic Criticism: A Rapprochement", *Variants. The Journal of the European Society for Textual Scholarship* 12-13 (2016): 36, footnote 3.

[30]The terms were introduced to genetic criticism already in 1970s, see Raymonde Debray Genette, "Genetique et poétique: Le cas Flaubert", in *Essais de critique génétique*, 21–67.

Let us have a look at Van Hullen's example, *The Unnamable*, the third installment of his trilogy. When Beckett was completing the first twenty-something pages of the first notebook with the manuscript of *The Unnamable*, he got the idea for the ending of the novel. He wrote it down on two separate pages and put them at the end of the notebook. Eventually he did not use those notes as the ending – instead, he reproduced them for one fragment towards the end. A macrogenetic analysis establishes and presents the relationship between the notebook's topography and the narration's development. The visualization used in the edition highlights the fact that those two loose pages were written in the early stage of the writing process (which is contradictory to the impression created by the notebook's topography). In order to visualize this event within the framework of macrogenesis, the same numerical system was used (encoded in XML), which allows a comparison in a synoptic preview. The reader can create several visualizations, including a "more textual" and a "more documentary" one. A documentary visualization, focused on the documentary aspect of the manuscript, shows the sequence of sentences as they were written on the manuscript's page (and simultaneously compares them with the book edition). It presents each sentence as a page related to its number based on the sentence sequence of the text, and color-encoded according to 14 narrative sequences into which the editors divided the novel. Visualization focused on the text concentrates on the author's sentence sequence in the manuscript rather than their location on the notebook page. Hence, if Beckett wrote down a sentence,



Il. 1. Samuel Beckett Digital Manuscript Project. Screenshot of the effect of the finished animation visualizing (left) the sentence sequence in the French manuscript of *The Unnamable* and their relationship with the printed version of the novel. Sentences from the manuscript, which did not enter the final text, are marked grey. In white – those sentences which did not appear in the manuscript, but occur in the printed version of the novel. The "+" symbol marks a working version of a sentence, which appears in the manuscript it yet another form, "x" – sentences crossed out from the manuscript, and the arrows show the direction in which a sentence was moved in the later stage of the writing process. Source (and animation which can be played!): https://www.beckettarchive.org/writingsequenceofinnommable.jsp

and then, in some relatively distant place he wrote down another one on the margin, which is its continuation, in the visualization they will be shown linearly. In a documentary visualization, they will be presented in the same sequence as the topography of the manuscript. Such tools allow us to "see the difference between the document's topology and the text's chronology"[31].

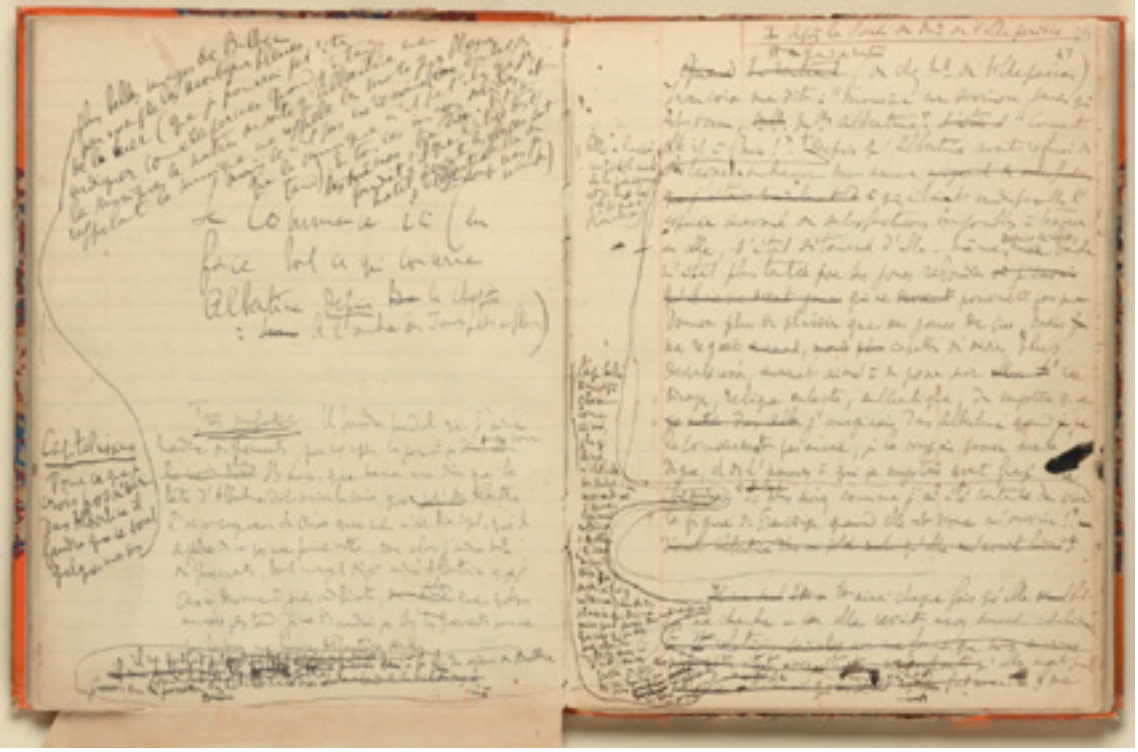
Another interesting – through, unfortunately, only prototypical – digital project, which allows us to take advantage of visualizations of subsequent sequences of "accretion" of handwritten notes, was created in 2011, while working on the coding language appropriate for encoding manuscripts with numerous corrections. The project, presented on a conference organized by ITEM in 2012, was devoted to one of Proust's notebooks[32]. It showed facsimiles of a document and transliteration. Such digital enterprises typically face two problems: one is sometimes known as "the page paradigm"[33], i.e. the ambition to maintain the topography of the manuscript page in the presentation of the transliterated material. First of all, such a presentation never reflects the dynamics of writing, and secondly, even the most ultra-diplomatic edition will never fully reflect the page's typography – it is still impossible to achieve. Transcription will most likely never reflect the spirit of the page. Moreover, such a solution typically forces the reader to single-handedly combine a fragment of the manuscript with the transcription presented next to it, which can be inconvenient. Additionally, digital editions generally present the text "page by page". In some cases this could be unreliable – in his notebook, Proust took notes on one side, and used the opposite side for corrections, additions, etc. The sequence of writing is thus not page-by-page, which required introduction of transcription to facsimiles or rather: on facsimiles. In such projects most often a simple solution is used: when the user places the cursor on a fragment of the manuscript, a transcription appears immediately next to it. In this case the solution was to click on any place of the facsimiled picture. Hence, the visualization showed, through electronic transcription appearing in the place of hand-written notes, the reconstructed sequence of writing dropping down after each mouse click (Fig. 2). The project's goal was to maintain the academic value, as well as to encourage reading and give some pleasure to laymen. To put it simply: to spread and popularize the manuscript[34].

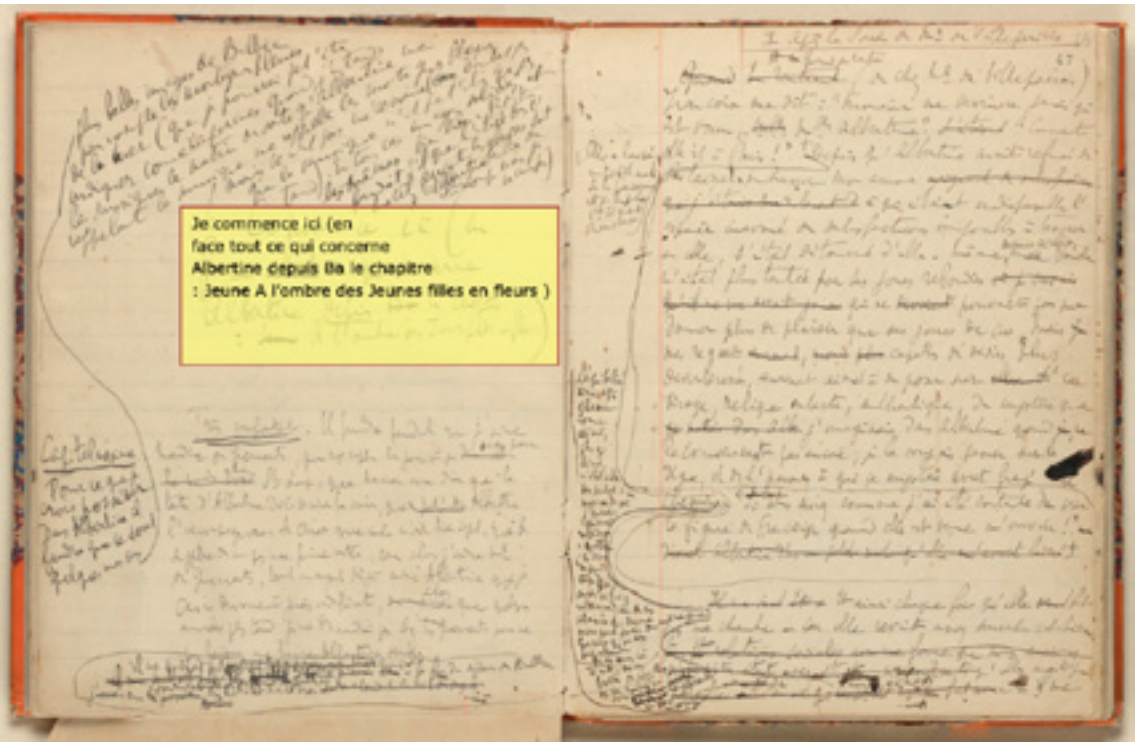
[31]Van Hulle, 52.

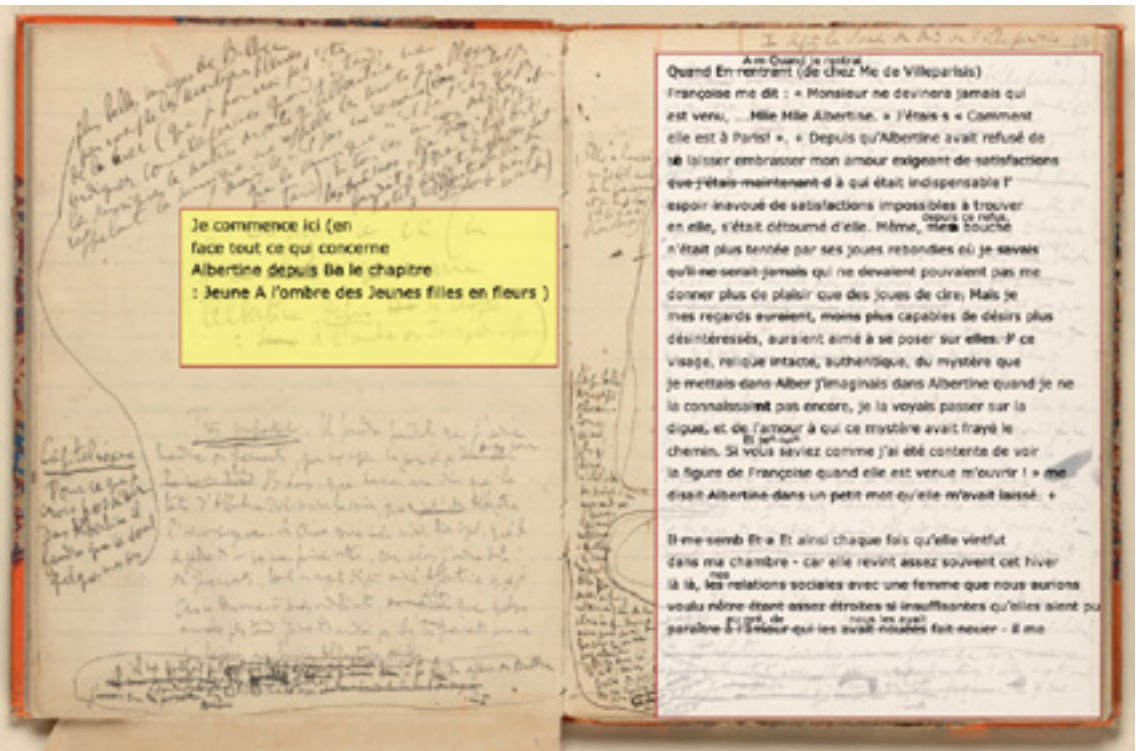
[32]http://research.cch.kcl.ac.uk/proust_prototype/_, date of access: 16.06.2020.

[33]Patrick Sahle, *About a catalog of Digital Scholarly Editions*: http://v3.digitale-edition.de/vlet-about.html, date of access: 16.06.2020.

[34]The availability and accessibility of the material presented in the digital edition and the toolset is crucial. Some digital solutions, although interesting and ambitious on the conceptual level, can scare off. One sophisticated (both academically and technologically) as well as – to my mind – somewhat difficult example is the complex digital edition of *Faust* which incorporates genetic aspects: http://faustedition.net, date of access: 16.06.2020.







Il. 2. Julie André, Elena Pierazzo, *Around a sequence and some notes of Notebook 46: encoding issues about Proust's drafts*. A screenshot of a chronological visualization of the reconstructed writing process. The sequences are shown to the reader after each click. The shades of yellow reflect different levels of the editors' certainty regarding the arrangement of the sequences – the more intense, the less certain. Source: http://research.cch.kcl.ac.uk/proust_prototype/, date of access: 16.06.2020.

Je commence ici (en face tout ce qui concerne Albertine depuis Be le chapitre : Jeune A l'ombre des Jeunes filles en fleurs)

A m Quand je rentrai

Quand En rentrant (de chez Me de Villeparisis) Françoise me dit : « Monsieur ne devinera jamais qui est venu, ___Mlle Mlle Albertine. » J'étais s « Comment elle est à Paris! ». + Depuis qu'Albertine avait refusé de ~~se~~ laisser embrasser mon amour ~~exigeant de satisfactions que j'étais maintenant d~~ à qui était indispensable l'espoir inavoué de satisfactions impossibles à trouver en elle, s'était détourné d'elle. Même, ~~mes~~ depuis je refus bouche n'était plus tentée par ses joues rebondies où je savais qu'il ~~ne serait jamais~~ qui ne devaient pouvaient pas me donner plus de plaisir que des joues de cire. Mais je mes regards auraient, ~~moins plus~~ capables de désirs plus désintéressés, auraient aimé à se poser sur elles. P ce visage, relique intacte, authentique, du mystère que je ~~mettais dans Alber~~ j'imaginais dans Albertine quand je ne la ~~connaissaient~~ pas encore, je la voyais passer sur la digue, et de l'amour à qui ce mystère avait frayé le chemin. Et je* sur* Si vous saviez comme j'ai été contente de voir la figure de Françoise quand elle est venue m'ouvrir ! » ~~me~~ disait Albertine dans un petit mot qu'elle m'avait laissé. +

Il me semb Et a Et ainsi chaque fois qu'elle ~~vinrtut~~ dans ma chambre - car elle revint assez souvent cet hiver là là, ~~les~~ nos relations sociales avec une femme que nous aurions voulu ~~nôtre étant assez étroites si insuffisantes~~ qu'elles aient pu ~~paraître à l'amour qui les avait nouées fait nouer~~ - il me

Elle a laissé un petit mot. Je le parcourt et en lus la 1 ligne à Françoise

Capitale-série sortie chemin, Comme Aimé, plus qu'Aimé, n'était-elle pas autant à la mesure où j'aurais désiré retourner à Balbec (ou dire) ou son bonjour que j'aurais aimé à retourner) un lieu plaisirs qu'en elle n'était pas qu'un lieu qui pouvait attendre ou un lieu, d'où, de son bolleu de circulation de soi pensées qui vous font faire couper de vous rendanté un peu un voyage

Je commence ici (en face tout ce qui concerne Albertine depuis Be le chapitre : Jeune A l'ombre des Jeunes filles en fleurs)

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Très important. Il faudra pendant que j'aime Madame de Guermantes, par exemple le jour où je dînerai chez pour* pour le voir avec St Loup, que Maman me dise que la tante d'Albertine doit venir la voir, que peut-être Albertine l'accompagnera. Je dirai que cela m'est bien égal, que je le supplie de ne pas me faire rester, car alors j'aime Me de Guermantes. tout en ayant déjà aimé Albertine que je crois devenue à jamais indifférente, ~~de même~~ alors que quelques années plus tard je ne descendrai pas chez les Guermantes pour ne pas laisser une heure Albertine seule.

12.

What language should be used for encoding manuscripts in a genetic edition? The first one, from 2003, was known as "Genetic Encoding Language" (GEL), earlier known as "HyperNietzsche Markup Language" (HNML) – a variation of the XML[35] language created for encoding manuscripts. A bit later, a dedicated working group was created within TEI[36], who was supposed to design such a language. It can be assumed that the workshops *Genetic Editions in a Digital Framework* organized by ITEM in May 2009 in Paris by, among others, Paolo D'Iorio and Elena Pierazzo, were the founding event for the new language. The goal was to work out a coding model for the purpose of genetic editions, which indeed happened in 2011 with the publication of TEI P5 2.0. It incorporated solutions which allow to encode some features of the document, not just its text. Moreover, they simplify encoding time, sequencing, and stages of writing in the transcripts of the documents. The <sourceDoc> element, which exists in the code's hierarchy on the same level as <teiHeader>, <facsimile> or <text>, was introduced then. It was a TEI manifesto of a sort, an initiative, which – as the very name suggests – so far had favored "text". Ever since it has been possible to transcribe documents as documents[37], rather than using coding dedicated to texts. In order to make encoding a sequence in the transcription of the manuscript easier, for example, a <change> element was introduced, which allows to mark changes in a single document. The model is constantly updated, but its core persists[38].

13.

After this quick and necessarily skin-deep reconnaissance I would like to return to Rozanow and controversy. Andriej Bieły recorded a meeting with this "hostile, splendid writer"[39]:

> On one occasion, after bumping into me, trampling me and groping me, he spat out a question; and I, when answering it, traced my finger on a tablecloth, without thinking about it. At first he didn't hear me. He leaned forward with his (huge) ear, watched the trace of my fingernail, with which I was drawing zigzags. Next, looking intently at that drawing, he accidentally spat and said: "You understand!".

Genetic criticism wants to understand traces, establish how the process of human creative and intellectual activity proceeds. Literary studies remain the most common example of it. "Our notion of European literature would be radically different, however, were it not for the fortuitous survival of such unique manuscripts as Pascal's *Thoughts* or the *Urfaust* by Goethe, *Lucien Leuwen* or Kafka's great novels"[40]. History of Polish literature would also be

[35]XML (ang. Extansible Markup Language) – a universal language used for representing structured data.
[36]TEI (ang. Text Encoding Initiative) – a standard used for defining the formal structure of XML documents.
[37]For example, *Shelley Godwin Archive* uses it: http://shelleygodwinarchive.org/, date of acces: 09.06.2020.
[38]An Encoding Model for Genetic Editions: https://tei-c.org/Vault/TC/tcw19.html, date of access: 09.06.2020.
[39]Andriej Bieły, *Rozanow*, w W. Rozanow, *Odosobnione*, 5.
[40]Louis Hay, "Does 'Text' Exist?", trans. by M. Jocelyn, H. W. Gabler, *Studies in Bibliography* 41 (1988), 68.

different – it is enough to mention *Liryki lozańskie* or late plays by Słowacki, *Vade-mecum*. The spectrum of interest of genetic criticism is systematically growing, more and more often incorporating other fields of life – geneticists deal with laboratory records, which register the development of a scientific experiment, they study music scores, preparatory sketches and drawings of painters, unused film records, photographic collections, scene notes, etc.[41] Would all authors of manuscripts be happy if subsequent generations of scholars investigated them? Sometimes the answer is clear, but sometimes there is no way for us to know. Probably not all writers shared Rozanow's attitude towards their manuscripts. And definitely many authors who only make their text public, leaving out hand-written notes, which could be highly intimate, would rather avoid scholars' inquisitiveness. For example, Ladislav Klíma and Claude Simon destroyed many of their manuscripts. Others, such as Czesław Miłosz and Zbigniew Herbert, carefully maintained their private archives. The very fact that they did – which required a lot of work – does not prove anything, and does not automatically mean that they would consent to browsing through such archives. Actually, do we even have the right to do such research without written consent? The solution of this dilemma goes far beyond academic arguments, and the possible conflict is of moral nature, in which there are no right answers. If an author had not formally forbidden access to such materials, the matter remains open for discussion. Finally, there are also authors who actually shared reproductions of their manuscripts so that they would be printed (Tadeusz Różewicz), thus changing the potential pre-text into a text. By looking into working materials which document numerous transformations of author's records, in a way we bring them back to life, we give them a new rank, and sometimes we re-situate abandoned fragments.

In *Opadłe liście* [Fallen leaves], a later collection of fast notes, Rozanow writes:

> They totally didn't notice, what was new about *Odosobniony* [Isolated]. They compared them to Rousseau's *Confessions*, whereas this was not my intention at all.
> What is new – the tone, tone (again!) of the manuscripts, tone "from before Gutenberg", for myself[42].

Genetic criticism is inquisitive. In terms of literature, for a few decades now it has been analyzing someone's "tone for myself". I think that the fascination with manuscripts has its actual source not in the wish to get to know the process for the process's sake. The epistemological stakes are even higher: it is not just about discovering tendencies and creative predilections, various author's inclinations and practices, but, to put it bluntly – about discovering some part of the author's "essence". I would not like to evaluate the cognitive abilities, legitimacy or academic usefulness of such investigations, but the fact remains that to my mind genetic criticism, even if it shies away from such a thesis, wants to understand the specificity of the person it writes about. This is why it is probably no coincidence that its

[41]http://www.item.ens.fr/thematique/, date of access: 09.06.2020.

[42]Wasilij Rozanow, *Opadłe liście*, trans. by Jacek Chmielewski, Ireneusz Kania (Warsaw: Fundacja Augusta hr. Cieszkowskiego, 2013) 110.

closest relationships, evident from the subject bibliography and several specific case studies, are with psychoanalysis and its tools; if we look at the state of research accumulated over several decades, they are among the most often-used tools by geneticists. Hence genetic criticism studies a person and their life. And if philosophy is also about "experiencing words intimately"[43], then only "the tone of a manuscript" can provide a deep experience and new knowledge.

translated by Paulina Zagórska

[43]P. Nowak, *Posłowie*, in W. Rozanow, *Odosobnione*, p. 157.

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KEYWORDS

digital genetic edition

scholarly editing

Abstract:
The paper is about the theoretical and practical proposals of genetic criticism and its complicated relations with scholarly editing. The author discusses the benefits from applying that method of reading manuscripts, the related difficulties and possibilities of using its effects in digital editing. Examples of existing digital genetic editions are presented, with practical tips regarding the technical aspects – including the language used for encoding manuscripts and digital reconstruction of the text-producing process – related to such a presentation of a text in a digital environment.

DIGITAL HUMANITIES

genetic criticism

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Poetics, genetics, work. (On the art of rhyming)

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1. Preliminary questions, preliminary answers

In what way can genetic criticism be useful for poetics? Of course, this question may be also posed from a different point of view: why does genetic criticism "collaborate" with poetics? Because it has undoubtedly been trying to collaborate with it for several decades (and has managed to do it), as demonstrated by, among other things, one of the classic "textbooks" of *critique génétique*, Pierre-Marc de Biasi's *Génétique des textes*.[1] However, the question "why does genetics need poetics?" seems to me both less appropriate and less interesting. Firstly, because I am speaking at the "forum of poetics." The perspective of the host seems to be more important, i.e. I should focus on the benefits that poetics can derive from cooperating with genetics (and not the other way around). Secondly, the answer to the question about the merits of poetics for genetics seems relatively trivial to me: the subject of interest of genetic critics is difficult to understand (and sometimes even difficult to notice), if one is not familiar with the methodology of the so-called descriptive poetics. The object of study in genetic criti-

[1] *Cf.* Pierre-Marc de Biasi, *Génétique des textes* [Genetics of texts] (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2000), 192: "Questions about the relationship between the interpretation of text and genetic criticism turned out to be the most productive, both from the theoretical and practical point of view, in research conducted by narratologists and scholars of poetics." Poetics is mentioned in de Biasi's textbook as the first modes of literary studies with which genetic criticism collaborates (and there are nine modes in total). The book was published in Polish: *Genetyka tekstów*, trans. by Filip Kwiatek, Maria Prussak (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IBL, 2015).

cism may be defined in various ways: as a text in-the-making; as a rough draft, which, as some researchers argue, is not yet a text;[2] or, finally, as a text-making process (or its traces, remnants, signs). Whatever definition we adopt, "what" genetic criticism deals with will always exhibit formal qualities that are the object of study of the so-called poetics. Indeed, the first draft version of a poem (even if it is still unfinished, interrupted) is divided into lines and possesses certain sonic and rhythmic features. The genetic critic who wants to name them has to use poetical terms.[3] The short story in its early draft versions, with numerous deleted words and passages, is nevertheless a narrative. This draft narrative may be radically different from the final narrative: if the researcher is not familiar with narratology, they may not even notice the dynamics of the text (both as a process and as a product; after all, we cannot see what we cannot name).[4] The genetic critic who studies the history of a play should be familiar with the poetics of drama in order to skilfully characterize the changes that the text of the play underwent before it was published in its final form.[5] I could provide many similar examples but I will stop here. Indeed, my answer to the "less interesting" question is no longer a short aside but a long paragraph. To sum up, poetics is one of the most important languages of genetics.

[2] Genetic criticism often questions whether a rough draft, i.e. a manuscript, may be referred to as a "text." One of eminent representatives of genetic criticism, Daniel Ferrer, observes (in his discussion of one of Joyce's notebooks, but this statement seems to be an intentional extrapolation): "The draft is not a text, or a discourse; it is a protocol for making a text. It can be compared to a musical score, which is not melodious, not even sonorous, but engenders music; or to the color names jotted down by the painter on a rapid pencil sketch, which are not pictorial elements in themselves (although they may acquire a secondary pictoriality, for instance in the paintings of Jasper Johns) but instructions toward a further picture," Daniel Ferrer, *The Open Space of the Draft Page: James Joyce and Modern Manuscripts*, in: *The Iconic Page in Manuscript, Print, and Digital Culture*, ed. George Bornstein, Theresa Tinkle (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 261. Of course, the question of "whether or not a draft may even be called a text" ultimately leads to the essential (and very broad) question: "What is a text?"

[3] For example, Curtis Bradford analyzed Yeats's poetry. Bradford showed that during the works on the third section of the poem *The Tower*, Yeats could not decide between a line with three stresses and a line with four stresses (as evidenced by the drafts). See: Curtis Bradford, *Yeats at Work* (New York: Ecco Press, 1978), 11 – 12).

[4] A model example of combining genetic criticism and narratology is Raymonde Debray Genette's *Métamorphoses du récit* (Paris: Seuil, 1988). In Poland, an example of a genetic study which analyzes a very interesting change in the narrative form of the novel in-the-making is Zofia Mitosek's *Morał i historia* [Moral and history]. An unquestionable pioneer of Polish genetic criticism, Mitosek analyzes *Bramy raju* [Gates of Paradise]. The researcher demonstrates, among other things, how the classic third-person narration gave way to the experimental polyphonic "mixed" narration. She also explains the philosophical implications behind this change. Mitosek describes her method of analysis and interpretation as "genetic poetics." See: Z. Mitosek, *Morał i historia (transformacje sensu w genezie „Bram raju" Jerzego Andrzejewskiego* [Moral and history: Transformations of meaning in Jerzy Andrzejewski's *Bramy raju*], in: *Ecriture / Pisanie. Materiały z konferencji polsko-francuskiej, Warszawa, październik 1992* [Ecriture / Writing: Proceedings from the Polish-French conference, Warsaw, October 1992], ed. Zofia Mitosek, Jakub Zdzisław Lichański (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 1995), 41-49.

[5] For example, the analysis of the draft of Jerzy Zawieyski's drama *Gdy płoną lasy* [When Forests Are Burning] carried out by Olga Dawidowicz-Chymkowska. The scholar demonstrates how the artist gradually moved away from the epic model of drama (and theater), which was his starting point. See: Olga Dawidowicz-Chymkowska, *Przez kreślenie do kreacji. Analiza procesu twórczego, zapisanego w brulionach dzieł literackich* [From deletion to creation: Analysis of the creative process recorded in the drafts of literary works] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IBL, 2007), 230-284. Other, more recent, examples of "genetic poetics of drama:" Anna R. Burzyńska, *Praca na rzeczywistości. Ślady dokumentalności w procesie twórczym "Lalka"* [Working on reality: Traces of documentary in the creative process of *The Doll*], *eadem "Pomysł w kształcie trójkąta", czyli "Trzy lekcje lustra"* ["Idea in the shape of a triangle" or "Three mirror lessons"]; Mateusz Antoniuk, *Historia "Drugiego pokoju" (z autorskim komentarzem)* [The history of *Drugi Pokój* (with author's commentary)], *idem Między intencją i realizacją. Powstawanie dramatu "Baśń zimowa"* [Between intention and execution: The process of writing *Baśń zimowa*], all essays in: *Pracownia Herberta. Studia nad procesem tekstotwórczym* [Herbert's studio: Studies on the process of creating texts], ed. Mateusz Antoniuk (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2017); Mateusz Antoniuk, *"Bebeszenie (się) dramatu", albo "jakże to Herbert pisywał…". O powstawaniu dramatu sokratejskiego* ["Disheveling drama," or "how Herbert wrote it …:" On the emergence of the Socratic drama] in: *Archiwa i bruliony pisarzy. Odkrywanie* [Archives and drafts of writers: Discovering], ed. Maria Prussak, Paweł Bem, Łukasz Cybulski (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IBL, 2017), 217-255.

On the one hand, it conditions how it experiences reality (reality it wants to study). On the other, it also conditions its ability to communicate this experience.[6]

Let me start again: why does poetics need genetics? After all, there are enough finished and published texts in the world which can be analysed in terms of style (and stylometry), narratology, or verse structure, allowing us to test the old instruments and prove their operability. Does the study of the pre-publication history of a (draft) text only lead to a feeling of *déjà vu* (The same old thing again! It is as old as the hills!) or does it create a "new situation of poetics?"[7]

What does genetic criticism contribute to the economy of poetics? I believe that it draws attention from the text *in actu* to the text *in statu nascendi* and thus helps poetics fulfil its aspirations and desires.

And what does poetics "want?" Probably different things. As Dorota Korwin-Piotrowska observes in her 2013 definition,

> concepts and terms in the field of poetics document the cognitive effort involved in studying and describing the work of the human mind, imagination, and language found in prose and poetry as a process of bringing to the surface certain meanings at the expense of others, suggesting a flickering meaning with a finite number of units; "the appearance," as Heidegger calls it, of a world in a word.[8]

When the definition is formulated as if "from within" the defined sphere (and this is exactly what happens here; after all, poetics is defined by a researcher and a theoretician of poetics), it is as much a description as a projection: we learn what poetics "wants." Poetics, as defined by Korwin-Piotrowska, wants to correlate ("cognitive" but also creative) effort (because cognition is creation) of poetics with (creative and thus cognitive) effort of the analysed text. Poetics, in other words, wants to be work that responds to work. Well, I think that this "desire of poetics" may be fulfilled when poetics becomes "genetic poetics," i.e. when poetics ventures into the archives of the text-making process. I will try to show this in this article.

I will try to present *in praxis* how the question of how "the human mind works" may become the most important question for poetics that draws on genetic criticism, especially when a certain formal quality of the text becomes the primary object of study (and this formal quality would be otherwise not considered the most complicated or intellectually stimulating problem for poetics). Indeed, I will focus on rhyme.

[6] *Cf.* the concept of poetics as an "intermediary language" formulated by Stanisław Balbus in *Granice poetyki i kompetencje teorii literatury* [Limits of poetics and tasks of literary theory] in: *Poetyka bez granic* [Poetics without borders], ed. Włodzimierz Bolecki, Wojciech Tomasik (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IBL, 1995).

[7] I refer to the term coined by Tomasz Mizerkiewicz in his first article published in *Forum of Poetics*. Mizerkiewicz convincingly describes poetics as "situational knowledge," emphasizing that it is a theory and practice that must constantly "prove its worth" in contact with the ever-changing "textual world." Poetics should be vigilant: prepared to verify, expand and modify its definitions and dictionaries. Thus, all situations which stimulate reflection, provoke redefinition (and not only reinforce an already acquired or constructed identity) are "new situations of poetics." See: Tomasz Mizerkiewicz, "New situations of poetics", *Forum of Poetics*, summer 2015: 18-23. Online: http://fp.amu.edu.pl/lato-2015-20151/.

[8] Dorota Korwin-Piotrowska, "Życie pośmiertne poetyki" [The afterlife of poetics], *Tematy i Konteksty*, no. 3 (2013): 28.

2. (Genetic) Poetics of rhyme

Rym [Rhyme]. It was the title of Lucylla Pszczołowska's book published in 1972.[9] This publication, part of the series "Poetyka: Zarys encyklopedyczny" [Poetics: Encyclopedic overview] endorsed by the Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences, is a significant achievement of Polish structuralism in the field of descriptive and historical poetics. The book's consistency and quality of argumentation are impressive. Rhyme (a repetition of similar sounds) is discussed, successively, in the context of prosody, phonetics and morphology, lexis and semantics of language, syntax and studies on the composition of a literary text. The synchronic approach (for example, a table that classifies Polish rhymes in accordance with their phonetic structures) and the diachronic approach (for example, in the last part of the book, where rhyme is described as a historically changing literary convention) intertwine. Linguistic and literary discourses intertwine. Numerous examples from different eras are discussed, from early medieval rhyming practices to Miron Białoszewski's poetry.

Is this book a testament to the cognitive effort involved in trying to understand and describe the work of the creative mind and, in this case, the rhyming mind? *Rym* definitely aspires to it. Lucylla Pszczołowska classifies (creates criteria for classification and then applies them to specific cases) and calculates (gathers and analyzes numerical data concerning the frequency of various types of rhymes in the work of a given author, in a specific timespan, etc.). But it can also be said that Pszczołowska used the cognitive efforts of many different schools and many different researchers who, at least since the 1920s, had been developing modern poetics "in the light of linguistics." Russian Formalism, the Prague School of structuralism (led by Jakobson, Tomaszewski, Mukařovski[10]), and interwar and post-war Polish scholars (including Nitsch, Siedlecki, Furmanik, Dłuska, the authors of rhyme dictionaries of Mickiewicz and Trembecki[11]) all make cognitive contributions to Pszczołowska's book. However, is the cognitive effort focused on the work of the rhyming mind? I do not think so, or at least, it is not a direct effort. Pszczołowska studies the "finished product:" rhymes that already exist (e.g. "an assonance with an alternation of an intervocalic consonant" or "a consonance with a posttonic alternation"), and not an intellectual, psychological, and somatic effort involved in establishing correspondences between the sounds of given words. Rhyme, as the title of the book suggests, is in the center. Rhyme and not rhyming.

Naturally, I refer the concept of "rhyming" found in *Sztuka rymotwórcza* [The art of rhyming], a famous poetical treatise by Franciszek Ksawery Dmochowski published in 1788. I am interested

[9] Lucylla Pszczołowska, *Rym* [Rhyme] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich - Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1972). The exact location of the book in the publishing series is as follows: *Poetyka. Zarys Encyklopedyczny*, Dział III *Wersyfikacja*, tom II *Wiersz. Podstawowe kategorie opisu*, część II *Eufonia*, zeszyt 1 *Rym* [*Poetics: Encyclopedic overview*, Section III *Versification*, Volume II *Poem. Basic categories of description*, part II *Euphonia*, book 1 *Rhyme*].

[10] Roman Jakobson, "O lingwistycznej analizie rymu" [Linguistic rhyme analysis], *Prace Filologiczne* [Philological Works], XVIII (1963); Boris Tomashevsky, "Przyczynek do historii rymu rosyjskiego" [A contribution to the history of the Russian rhyme], in: *Rosyjska szkoła stylistyczna* [The Russian School], ed. Maria Renata Mayenowa, Zygmunt Saloni (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1970); Jan Mukařovský, *On Poetic Language* (Lisse: Peter de Ridder Press, 1976).

[11] Kazimierz Nitsch, "O nowych rymach" [About new rhymes], "O rymach głębokich i niezupełnych" [On perfect and imperfect rhymes], "Z historii polskich rymów" [History of Polish rhymes], in: *idem Wybór pism polonistycznych* [Selected writings on Polish language] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1954); Franciszek Siedlecki, *Studia z metryki polskiej*, cz. II *Problem transakcentacji w wierszu polskim* [Studies in Polish metrics, part II: The problem of displaced stress in the Polish poem] (Vilnius: funded by Fundusz Kultury Narodowej, 1937); Stanisław Furmanik, "Rym" [Rhyme], in: *idem Z zagadnień wersyfikacji polskiej* [Selected issues of Polish versification] (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1956); Maria Dłuska, *Studia z historii i teorii wersyfikacji polskiej*, t. 1 i 2 [Studies in the history and theory of Polish versification, vol. 1 and 2] (Kraków: PAU, 1948-1950).

in this treatise, because it places a strong emphasis on the status of rhyme as an artifact that requires hard work and effort: the poet is called the "rhyme-maker" and poetry is called "the work of rhyming." Of course, I am aware of the fact that until the nineteenth century the word "rhyme" in Polish had referred not only to the sonic agreement between words in the poem but also to the entire poem.[12] When Dmochowski writes about "rhyming" as "work," he generally refers to the work(s) of poets. However, there are passages in this eighteenth-century treatise which undoubtedly refer to rhyme as a repetition of similar sounds, words, and verses, clearly emphasizing the effort and hard work involved in rhyming.

Interestingly, Dmochowski is inconsistent when it comes to the recommended degree of effort involved in "the work of rhyming" (*Sztuka rymotwórcza* is an example of normative and prescriptive poetics). In the beginning of his poem, Dmochowski seems to praise, so to speak, "light" work:

Jaką rzecz przedsiębierzesz, trefną czy wysoką,	Whatever you do, whether it is low or high,
Zawsze na rymowanie chciej baczne dać oko,	Always pay attention to rhyming,
By naturalne było, bez żadnej przysady.	So that it is natural, without exaggeration.
Gdzie rym dużo kosztuje, nie będzie bez wady.	If rhyme costs a lot, it will not be without flaws.
Komu trudno przychodzi w rym związać dwa słowa,	Who finds it difficult to connect two words in rhyme,
Tego - jeźli ma dowcip - wolna wzywa mowa;	should use speech, if he has wit;
Wiersz go nie chce, bo musu żadnego nie lubi.[13]	The poem does not want him, because it does not like effort

Already at the end of the First Song, however, a different approach is discussed. It may be considered a warning against indolence. Hard work involved in rhyming is praised:

Pracuj na osobności, bez zgiełku, hałasu.	Work alone, without hustle and bustle.
Trzeba, żeby co zrobić, i miejsca, i czasu.	In order to succeed you need the right place and time.
Niechaj cię próżnej chwały nie zwodzą pozory,	Do not seek easy glory,
Nie szukaj z tego chluby, żeś w pisaniu skory.	Do not boast that you can write fast.
Rzadki ten, co i dobrze, i prędko napisze,	Few can write well and write fast,
Zatem, wy, co piszecie, mili towarzysze,	Indeed, my dear writing friends,
Nadto czasu w pisaniu łożyć nie możecie,	You have to devote time to writing,
Jeżeli prawdziwej chwały dostąpić pragniecie.	If you want to find true glory.
(...)	(...)
Pośpieszaj, ale zwolna. Pisz ostrożnie rymy.	Hurry up slowly. Write your rhymes carefully.
Nie leń się ich dwadzieścia razy wziąć do limy.	Do not be lazy and work on them over and over.
Nie trać serca w robocie, zniknie trudność z pracą,	Do not lose heart, you will resolve all difficulties,
A nic na opóźnieniu twe dzieła nie stracą.	And your works will not lose anything if you take your time.
Czemu dziś nie wydołasz, nazajutrz dokażesz,	What you cannot do today, you will do tomorrow,
Z czasem przydasz, co trzeba, a co nadto, zmażesz.[14]	In time, you will add what is needed, and delete what is too much.

[12]Pszczołowska, *Rym*, 78.

[13]Franciszek Ksawery Dmochowski, *Sztuka rymotwórcza* [The art of rhyming] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1956), 12. This and all subsequent fragments translated by M.O.

[14]Dmochowski, 31-32. Ironically, one of the lines proclaiming the need for perfection was misprinted in the first edition. The verse "Jeżeli prawdziwej chwały dostąpić pragniecie" has one to omany syllables. "Jeźli" instead of "jeżeli" was used in later editions. However, the contemporary edition which I use is based on the first edition and lists the mistakes and subsequent corrections in the footnotes.

Genetic poetics, i.e. poetics that studies the work of the creative mind and enters into a methodological cooperation with genetic criticism, may actually analyze all that Dmochowski describes, including the "today" and the "tomorrow" of rhyming, its pace, "cost" (the amount of effort put into "rhyming"), drafts, and experiments.

Perhaps two (not necessarily conflicting, rather, potentially complementary) models of the poetics of rhyme can be distinguished: the poetics of the product and the poetics of production. We read in academic textbooks that the poetics of the product postulates that: "rhyme in a poem consists of a partial or complete agreement between the endings of words which occupy a specific position in the line."[15] The poetics of production is interested in words whose position in the line is not yet fixed: it is dynamic. The poetics of production studies the "repetition of sounds" as a negotiable consensus. The poetics of the product studies the poem. It sees (and hears) the rhymed rhyme (I apologize for the tautology). It describes something that *is*, constituting a formal (constructive) feature of the written text. The poetics of production, inspired by genetic criticism (or, to put it more clearly, poetics that engages in voyeuristic activities inspired by genetic criticism), sees (and hears) rhyming. Its object of study is the very act of finding sonic equivalences between textual units. The poetics of production also studies the hard work and effort involved in rhyming.

I will now discuss a specific example and demonstrate how these two poetics cooperate.

3. How is Miłosz's rhyme made? How was it made?

Let us focus on two poems by Czesław Miłosz: *Rozmowy na Wielkanoc 1620 roku* [Conversations at Easter 1620] and *Na ścięcie damy dworu* [On the beheading of a lady at court].[16] These two poems have a lot in common. Miłosz added the same paratextual information to both poems: Montgeron 1959. Both poems were first printed in the 5th issue of *Kultura* in 1960. Both poems were included by Miłosz in a collection entitled *Król Popiel i inne wiersze* [King Popiel and other poems] from 1962. Thus, we are dealing with texts from the same artistic phase (and this phase is specified). Finally, both poems use rhyme.

I will quote them in their entirety.

[15]Michał Głowiński, Aleksandra Okopień-Sławińska, Janusz Sławiński, *Zarys teorii literatury* [Outline of the theory of literature] (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1972), 211. The definition in the new textbook is similar: "Rhyme: repetition of similar sounds in the final stressed syllables of pairs of words, used in the final position of lines of poems (the so-called rhyme components)." D. Korwin-Piotrowska, *Poetyka: Przewodnik po świecie tekstów* [Poetics: A guide to the world of texts] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2011), 281.

[16]One of the things that I am particularly passionate about in genetic criticism is its connection with the interpretation of the text, which is how I usually try to "genetically" analyze poems, plays, fiction and essays. I do not perform strictly interpretative operations in this article. Therefore, I do not refer to important and interesting readings of both poems by Miłosz. However, I have to mention Stanisław Balbus's outstanding poetological (formal) analysis of the poem *Rozmowy na Wielkanoc 1620*. Balbus discusses the stylistic devices used by Miłosz. However, he does not focus on rhyme in his interpretation. See: Stanisław Balbus, *Między stylami* [Between styles] (Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych „Universitas", 1993), 53-64.

Rozmowy na Wielkanoc 1620 roku

– Waść teraz jesteś jako mucha w dzbanie.
Winem opita łapkami wiosłuje.
Z niej tyle samo co z waści zostanie,
Darmo nadzieja frasunki cukruje.
Złociste guzy, kiereje i stroje
W skrzyniach jaśnieją, a śmierć mówi: moje.

Spódnice dziewkom waść zawijać raczył,
W gaju brzozowym biegał z twardą pytą.
Sekreta jakie możeś tam zobaczył?
Albo gdy konia pod tobą ubito,
Umazanemu bitewną posoką
Mądrość odkryło słupiejące oko?
Pies, koń i owad, zwierz leśny i polny
Żyją i giną, a ty chcesz trwać wiecznie?
Jak one mocom nie swoim powolny
Krucyfiks chwytasz, bo tak ci bezpiecznie.
Drewno masz w ręku, a w tym drewnie próchno.
Pacierze mruczysz, ale strachem cuchną.

Już gęba twoja oddarta od kości
I w czarnym mięsie robak fossy ryje.
Nie, panie bracie, nie będzie wieczności,
Jej nie kupiły błagania niczyje.
Choć patrzysz w okno, czy nie dane znaki,
Tobie i bydłu przypadek jednaki.

– Ani ja wierzę w duszę nieśmiertelną,
Ani nagrody czekam dla zasługi.
Imię i pamięć z szatą mi odejmą,
Wiek mój skończony i wiek mój niedługi.
A kiedy, pusty, legnę sam w mogile,
Na nieskończone czasy, nie na chwilę.

Lecz jako Bóg mnie postawił na ziemi,
Jeżeli zechce, znowu mnie postawi.
Nie mnie dochodzić, u jakich płomieni,
W jakich kuźnicach serce mi przetrawi,
Ani zgadywać, w roku czy godzinie
On się objawi, kiedy świat przeminie.

Gdybym nie ufał słowu Boga mego,
Za cóż ufają ludzie słowom ludzi?
Może nie świętych, ale nikczemnego
Swoją miłością do chwały przebudzi

Conversations at Easter 1620

– Sir, now you are like a fly in a pitcher.
Drunk, it tries to swim.
As much will remain of it as of you,
You cannot sugarcoat worries with hope.
Golden buttons, pockets, and clothes
They shine in boxes, and death says: mine.

You were lifting girls' skirts,
In a birch grove, you were running with a hard-on.
Did you see any secrets there?
Or when a horse was slaughtered under you,
Smeared with blood
Did your dull eye discover wisdom?
Dog, horse and insect, animals of forests and fields
They live and die, and you want to last forever?
You wish to deny it
You grab the crucifix because it makes you feel safe.
You are holding wood in your hand, and the wood is rotten.
You say your prayers, but they reek of fear.

Your face has already torn away from the bone
And a worm is eating the black meat.
No, sir, no, brother, there will be no eternity
No one prayed for it.
Though you look through the window to see the signs
You and the cattle will both die.

– Neither do I believe in an immortal soul,
Nor do I wait for a reward.
They will take away my name and memory with my garment,
My age is finished, and my age is doomed.
Empty, I will lie alone in the grave,
For eternity, not for a while.

Since God made me live on this earth,
If he wants to, he'll do that again.
It's not up to me to guess what flames
What forges will torment my heart,
I do not want to guess the year or the hour
Of his second coming, when the world is gone.

If I did not trust the word of my God,
How can people trust the words of others?
Maybe not saints, but the wicked
He will awaken for glory with his love

I proch połączy niepojętą siłą,
Aby co skryte wyjawione było.

A jeśli dla mnie dola zgotowana
Wróbla i kruka, liszki i łasicy,
I, nocny motyl, nie doczekam rana,
Ale zgoreję cały w ogniu świécy,
Jeślim nie po to, żeby mnie ocalił,
Przecie do końca Jego będę chwalił.

– Waść kalwin. Proszą kłaniać się Kiejdany.
Jedźże z pospólstwem tam zawodzić DIEVIE
Albo kazania słuchać z Angliczany
W zborze bielonym, zgoła niby chlewie.
Kiedy herezja dotąd w tobie siedzi,
Co z wielkanocnej waścinej spowiedzi?

W dolinę tedy idziesz Jozafata?
A czyś pomyślał, jacy tam królowie
I narodzonych w nieobeszłe lata
Jakich tam ludów nazbiera się mrowie?
Jakie tam śpieszą tysiąców tysiące,
Straszne machiny, smoki latające?

Jakie przestwory i jakie marmury,
Jakie rozumy, jakie palmy święte.
Ów cuda czynił i przenikał mury,
Tamten Sodomy zratował wyklęte.
Mitry papieskie, berła, pastorały
Wyżej od Alpów tam będą leżały.

Gdzie sprawiedliwych, zgromadzonych w domie,
Hyzopem, myrrą witają anioły,
Gdzie lekkie duchy stąpają widomie,
Potrzeba jeszcze durnia z Wędziagoły,
Który gniótł dziewki, znał myślistwo ptasze?
I jakże tobie nie wstyd, powiedz, wasze.

– Iżem niegodny i pokornej cześci
Maluczkich, biednych szanować nie umiał,
Ja pod majestat chronię się niewieści,
Bom więcej pragnął, niżeli rozumiał.
Maryi Matki warga moja wzywa.
Niech mnie gwiazdami swoimi okrywa.

A jeśli w bramę ostatniej doliny
Zastuka za mnie kij mego pasterza,

And bind dust with inconceivable strength,
So that what is hidden is revealed.

And if my destiny is the same as that of
A sparrow and a raven, a caterpillar and a weasel,
And, like a nocturnal butterfly, I will not live to see the dawn,
But will be burned in the flame of a candlelight,
Even if he does not save me,
I will praise him to the end.

– You are a Calvinist. Give my regards to Kėdainiai.
Drive with the crowd and pray DIEVIE
Or listen to sermons with Anglicans
In a white wooden church that is just like a pigsty.
If you are still a heretic,
How can you go to Easter confession?

Do you go down to the valley of Jehoshaphat?
And have you thought what kind of kings are there?
And those born in years gone by
What kind of peoples will gather there?
How thousands and thousands rush there,
Scary machines, flying dragons?

What spaces and what marbles,
What minds, what sacred palms.
This one performed miracles and penetrated walls,
And that one saved the cursed Sodom.
Papal miter, scepters, crosiers
Higher than the Alps, they will be there.

Where the righteous gathered at home,
are greeted with hyssop and myrrh by angels
Where light ghosts walk among people
We still need a fool from Wędziagoła,
Who abused maids, knew falconry?
And how are you not ashamed, say, sir.

– I am unworthy and humble
I did not respect the little ones, the poor ones,
I want women to protect me,
For I wanted more than I understood.
I pray to Mary, the mother of God.
Let her cover me with her stars.

And if at the gate of the last valley
My shepherd's stick will knock for me,

Nie dbam, ku czemu wezmę obłóczyny
Pomny obietnic wiecznego przymierza.
Po Jego woli przybranie dostanę,
Nie ciało szpetne, dawno zapomniane.

Przez kraje wschodu i kraje zachodu,
Ziemie południa i ziemie północy
Dzieckiem pobiegnę w świetle do ogrodu
Jutrzenną porą po nawalnej nocy.
Wzrok, smak i dotyk nie takie posiędę,
Lepszych niż tutaj muzyk słuchać będę.

Grecką, egipską odezwę się mową
I wszelką, jaka była od początku.
Księgę Rodzaju odczytam na nowo,
Świadom splątanej osnowy i wątku.
I każdą poznam tajemną przyczynę.
A potem w Jego szczęśliwości zginę.[17]

I don't care what happens next
Mindful of the promises of the everlasting covenant.
He will decide what will become of me
My ugly body will be gone, long forgotten.

Through the countries of the east and the west,
The lands of the south and the lands of the north
I will run like a child into the garden in the light of
The dawn after a stormy night.
My sight, taste and touch will be extraordinary,
I will listen to better music than here.

I will speak Greek, Egyptian
And all languages that existed since the beginning.
I will read the book of Genesis anew,
Aware of its complexity.
And I will know every secret cause.
And then I will die in His happiness.

Na ścięcie damy dworu

Migdałowe anioły z obłokiem woalki,
Co nigdy nie kucają pomiędzy pokrzywą,
Ciało bez dziurek mają, gładkie jak u lalki
I nikt ich nie potrafi zaprosić na piwo.

Tak mi się ukazały wtedy, chłopcu z wioski.
Rżały konie, łęk siodła spod rękawic błyskał.
I podniosłem w ukłonie kapelusz ojcowski.
A one przeleciały, huczał śmiech jak wystrzał.

Suczko. To jakże teraz. Jęzor swój różowy
Zwiesiłaś, pełznąc do mnie bez farb ni przepaski.
I na czworakach, futrem kędzierzawej głowy
U mojego trzewika dopraszasz się łaski?

A czemu byłaś posąg, skoro jesteś cieniem
I frufru twoich spódnic latami mnie piekło?
Niech to, za czym goniłem, będzie zapomnieniem.
To jabłko niech od mojej gałęzi odetną.

Dziś ja wielki, największy z całego powiatu
Ogłosić mogę wyrok. Służba. Dać ją katu.[18]

On the beheading of a lady at court

Almond angels with a cloud veil,
Who never crouch between nettles
Their body is devoid of holes, as smooth as a doll's
And no one can ask them out for a beer.

That's how they appeared to me then, a village boy.
Horses neighed, the saddlebow flashed from under the gloves.
And I bowed, my father's hat in hand.
And they flew by, laughter roared like a gunshot.

Bitch. Even now. You hung your pink tongue
out, crawling up to me, without makeup or frontlet.
And thus, on all fours, with the fur of your fizzy head
At my shoe, you beg for mercy?

Why were you such a cold statue, and now you are but a shadow,
And the rustle of your skirts made me burn?
Let that which I chased (in you) be forgotten.
An apple that I snip from a branch.

Today I am great. The greatest in the entire region.
And I pass sentence. Servants. Take her to the executioner.

[17]Czesław Miłosz, *Wiersze* [Poems], vol. 2, Kraków 2002, 283-286. Translated by M.O.
[18]Miłosz, 290-291. Translated by M.O.

The descriptive poetics of rhyme applied to these two poems could, I believe, allow us to conclude that the works quoted *in extenso* have two different rhyme patterns. Different and yet – and at this point I will allow myself to be non-academically and unprofessionally playful – the same. The first poem has a classic structure: six-line stanzas, with eleven syllables per line, and the *ababcc* rhyme pattern. The second poem has four-line stanzas, with thirteen syllables per line, and the *abab* rhyme pattern. However, at the end of the second poem, Miłosz introduces a distich with the *cc* rhyme pattern. In a way, it can be said that both poems follow the *ababcc* rhyme pattern. In the first poem, the *cc* rhyme pattern is repeated numerous times, at the end of each stanza. In the second poem, the *cc* rhyme pattern is repeated only once, at the very end of the poem. The general rule is the same in both poems: Miłosz uses predominantly perfect double rhymes with a vowel sound at the end (with few exceptions). There are few imperfect rhymes, for example, the consonance "pytą – ubito" in *Rozmowy na Wielkanoc 1620 roku* or the assonance "piekło – odetną" in *Na ścięcie damy dworu*. The poetics of the product could provide us with even more information: we could analyze the phonetic structure in detail (and, for example, notice that the assonance mentioned above is accompanied by the alternation of an intervocalic consonant), analyze grammar (and, drawing on Pszczołowska's classification, who in turn drew on Jakobson, divide rhymes into perfect grammatical rhymes, semi-grammatical rhymes, formal grammatical rhymes and anti-grammatical rhymes), analyze statistical data on the distribution of particular types of rhymes within the entire text and the respective stanzas. The poetics of the product could also act as an interpreter or an intermediary between various terminologies and concepts of classifying rhymes.[19] This notwithstanding, "dynamic" poetics, the poetics of production, begins where the poetics of the product ends, asking questions about the process of rhyming.[20]

[19]For example, Pszczołowska in her monograph does not use the category of the "extended rhyme." It is nevertheless used in *Zarys poetyki* [Overview of poetics] by Adama Kulawik, Ewa Miodońska-Brookes and Marian Tatar.

[20]Czesław Miłosz's poetry has already been discussed from the perspective of genetic criticism, *cf.* Mateusz Antoniuk, *Słowo raz obudzone. Poezja Czesława Miłosza – próby czytania* [Word once awakened: Czesław Miłosz's poetry: Reading attempts](Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2015), 79-117; Mateusz Antoniuk, "Przybranie formy z dawna wyglądanej (dosięganej / obiecanej / wysnowanej...). Brulion Czesława Miłosza – próba lektury" [Taking the desired (available / promised / threadable ...) form. Czesław Miłosz's draft: An attempt at reading], *Teksty Drugie*, no. 3 (2014): 29-48; Mateusz Antoniuk, "Miłoszologia i krytyka genetyczna (rekonesans)" [Miłoszology and genetic criticism (reconnaissance)], *Świat i Słowo* 25, no. 2 (2015). Bożena Shallcross and Karina Jarzyńska wrote about the visual aspects of Miłosz's drafts (I refer to these texts later in my article, *cf.* footnotes 26 and 27). These works are devoted to the pre-publication dynamics of the text. There is, however, a separate monograph devoted to modifications (both approved by the author and not) to which Miłosz's poems were subjected in subsequent editions and reprints. See: Paweł Bem, *Dynamika wariantu. Miłosz tekstologicznie* [Dynamics of the Variant: Miłosz textologically] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IBL, 2017).

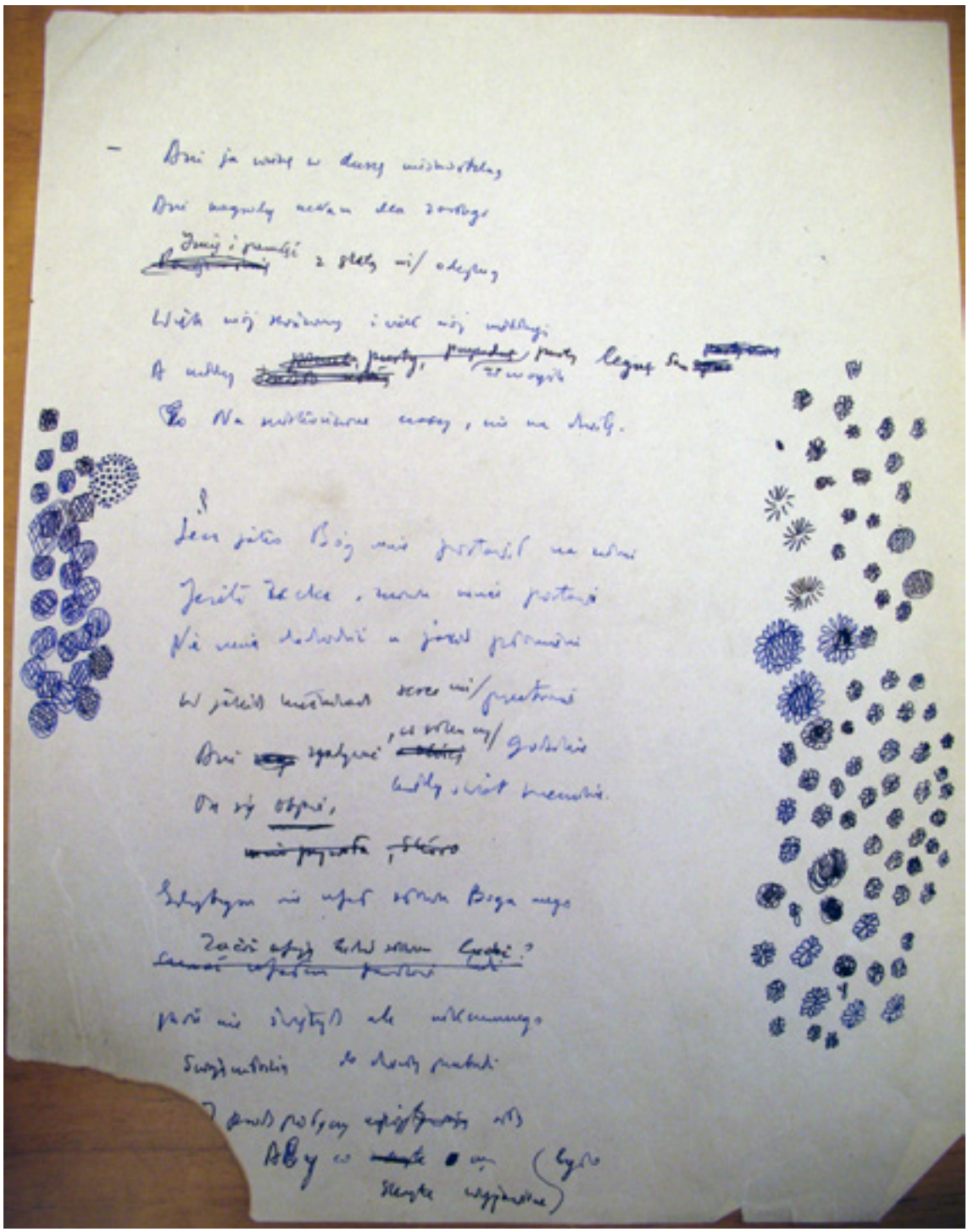

Fig. 1: A draft of a poem "Conversation at Easter 1620" (work on the stanzas V i VI), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

Let us look at Figure 1. It takes us *in medias res* to the draft history of the poem *Rozmowy na Wielkanoc 1620 roku*.[21]. It is a reproduction of the third page (out of seven pages in total). A short *Vorgeschichte*: on the first two pages, Miłosz worked on stanzas one, two, three, and four. The dynamics of producing the text varied: some lines appeared on the page without such signs of hesitation, dodging, and doubt as deletions, overwriting, and annotations. Others proved more problematic. Hard work was required. Basically, however, the process of writing proceeded without major interruptions or drawbacks. Sometimes "faster" and sometimes "slower," it developed linearly, line by line, stanza by stanza, without relapsing, re-starting, and rearranging compositional units.

"Now" (Figure 1), the writing process reaches the fifth and the sixth stanza. This sequence will be of interest to us: a phenomenon that is particularly interesting from the point of view of genetic poetics takes place in it.

To begin with, let us note that the color of ink differs throughout the document: some words are written in light ink and some in dark ink. The document is sixty years old and the colors must have changed to some extent as a result of chemical reactions but there is no doubt that Miłosz used two different colors of ink. Indeed, today, after six decades, we may still distinguish two phases of working on the text: the lighter ink corresponds to the first (earlier) phase and the darker ink corresponds to the second (later) phase. Thus, we are able to precisely analyze the document and recreate the appearance of the manuscript in-between the first phase and the second phase, reconstructing the transitional form of the text (that is neither a white page nor the document we see today).

The fifth and sixth six-line stanzas, in lighter ink, in original looked as follows:

- Ani ja wierzę w duszę nieśmiertelną	- Neither do I believe in an immortal soul
Ani nagrody szukam dla zasługi	Nor am I looking for a reward
odejmą	They will take away
Wiek mój skończony i wiek mój niedługi	My age is finished, and my age is doomed
A kiedy w mogile	And when in the grave
~~To~~ Na nieskończone czasy, nie na chwilę.	~~It~~ For eternity, not for a while.
Lecz jako Bóg mnie postawił na ziemi	Since God made me live on this earth
Jeżeli zechce, znowu mnie postawi	If he wants to, he'll do that again
Nie mnie dochodzić u jakich płomieni	It's not up to me to guess what flames
przetrawi	torment
godzinie	hour
kiedy świat przeminie	when the world is gone

[21]The drafts of this poem may be found at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Yale University) (Czesław Miłosz Papers, Series II: Writings, Box 83, Folder 1108).

Now we can see it clearly: when Miłosz reached the third and fifth line of the fifth stanza and the fourth, fifth, and sixth line of the sixth stanza, he seemed to anticipate the linear increase of syllables and words. He wished to focus on the rhyme and the clause first, so that he may work on the "content" of the poem later. He did this when he had to find the right rhyme (for the words that were already in the poem: he eventually "moved" the word "nieśmiertelną" [immortal] from the fifth stanza to the sixth stanza) and when he had to start rhyming (i.e. find/choose the first word and then find/choose the word that rhymes with it; for example, he chose the word "mogile" [grave] in the fifth stanza and the word "godzinie" [hour] in the sixth stanza first). The poet returned to the empty spaces later (how long did it take him? we do not know) and tried to fill them in during a separate writing session. He must have had a different pen in his hand – with a different, darker, ink. Interestingly, Miłosz also used two colors of ink to make drawings on the margins of his drafts. Both "flowers" (dominant on the right margin) and geometric figures (dominant on the left margin) can be easily divided into drawings made with lighter ink (the color is identical with the words in "rhyme positions") and darker ink (the color is identical with the rhymes that were added later). Upon closer inspection, we may even distinguish lighter doodles that were "crossed over" with a darker line. Therefore, both phases of writing have their drawing correlates.

Eventually, the handwritten version of the poem was transformed into what we see in Figure 1. In the transcription below, I demonstrate as faithfully as possible the spatial arrangement of the handwritten poem (the position of words in relation to each other and in relation to the axis of the page).[22] Notes made in darker ink are written in bold. Illegible words are marked with square brackets with dots. Deletions are marked with strikethrough (I omitted the drawings for technical reasons).

- Ani ja wierzę w duszę nieśmiertelną
Ani nagrody szukam dla zasługi
Imię i pamięć
~~**Pamięć i imię z szatą mi**~~ odejmą
Wiek mój skończony i wiek mój niedługi
~~**pusty [?] [...]**~~
~~**[....] pusty przepadnę pusty legnę sam spać**~~
A kiedy ~~**truchło ułożą**~~ w mogile
~~To~~ Na nieskończone czasy, nie na chwilę.

Lecz jako Bóg mnie postawił na ziemi
Jeżeli zechce, znowu mnie postawi
Nie mnie dochodzić u jakich płomieni
W jakich kuźnicach serce mi przetrawi
w roku czy
Ani ~~**[...] zgadywać o której**~~ godzinie
To się objawi kiedy świat przeminie
~~**[...]**~~
~~**mnie przywoła, skoro**~~

- Neither do I believe in an immortal soul
Nor am I looking for a reward
Name and memory
They will take away ~~**my name and memory with my garment**~~
My age is finished and my age is doomed
~~**empty [?] [...]**~~
~~**[...] empty I will perish empty, I will lie sleep alone**~~
And when ~~**they will put my dead body**~~ in the grave
~~It~~ For eternity, not for a while.

Since God made me live on this earth
If he wants to, he'll do that again
It's not up to me to guess what flames
What forges will torment **my heart**
the year or
I ~~**[...] do not want to guess [the]**~~ hour
It will be known when the world is gone
~~**[...]**~~
~~**will call me, since**~~

[22] In *critique génétique* this is known as "transcription diplomatique" [diplomatic transcription]. Marek Troszyński suggests that this procedure should be called "topographic transcription." This is probably a more functional term that has a sounder etymological grounding. See: Marek Troszyński, *Alchemia rękopisu. "Samuel Zborowski" Juliusza Słowackiego* [The alchemy of the manuscript: *Samuel Zborowski* by Juliusz Słowacki (Warsaw: IBL Publishing House, 2017), 37-43].

It should be noted that the original "clause" words were not replaced. Only the "content" of the lines was subject to changes. Miłosz did not change the rhyming solutions he had developed: neither in this draft handwritten version, nor at the later stages of the text-making process, including the preparation of the text for printing. The rhymes that were used in the first brilliant draft version are in the final published version of the text. Indeed, by placing a word in a clause, Miłosz not only solved the problem of the rhyme: that is the formal problem of the *ababcc* rhyme pattern, where the first line rhymes with the third line, the second line rhymes with the fourth line, and the fifth line rhymes with the sixth line. He also solved the problem of the symbolic and ideological coherence of the stanza (after all, every six-line stanza should constitute a certain "conceptual" whole). In the first stanza

- Ani ja wierzę w duszę nieśmiertelną	- Neither do I believe in an immortal soul
Ani nagrody szukam dla zasługi	Nor am I looking for a reward
odejmą	They will take away

"odejmą" [They will take away] was by no means the most obvious sonic equivalent for the word "nieśmiertelną" [immortal]. Indeed, the two create an assonance (and in general perfect rhymes dominate in the poem). On the other hand, the semantics of "odejmą" [They will take away] is related to what is described in the second line. It can be said that it develops and strengthens the second line, which talks about refraining from wanting more ("nie szukam nagrody" = "nor am I looking for a reward;" I want nothing more). Line three, in turn, talks about loss ("odejmą" = "they will take away;" I will lose what I have). In other words, the word "odejmą" [They will take away] plays a double role: it establishes a sonic relation between the third line and the first line and "transforms" the third line into a semantic amplification of the second line. The same happens here:

Jeżeli zechce, znowu mnie postawi	If he wants to, he'll do that again
Nie mnie dochodzić u jakich płomieni	It's not up to me to guess what flames
przetrawi	torment

The word "przetrawi" [torment] is undoubtedly a good rhyme for "postawi" [do that again] but it also semantically corresponds to "płomienie" [flames] (fire that torments and purifies). In both cases, therefore, we can observe that the poet-rhyme-maker exerts "double" control over the text: Miłosz simultaneously completes the poem's rhyme structure in-the-making and frames its semantic structure. Indeed, he accomplishes both things the minute he puts pen to paper

> That's why poetry is rightly said to be dictated by a daimonion,
> though it's an exaggeration to maintain that he must be an angel.[23]

It would be an exaggeration to say that the rhymes in the fifth and sixth stanzas of *Rozmowy na Wielkanoc 1620 roku* were dictated by an angel or a daimonion. "Lighter doodles" show that even in the first phase of rhyming and jumping between clauses Miłosz not only wrote down the words, but also scribbled something on the margins. He did not write the poem in an instant. He did not simply write down what the muse had whispered to him. Nevertheless, the "rhyming" process appears to be quick and economical. Or, as I shall explain below, at least relatively economical.

[23]Czesław Miłosz, *Ars Poetica?*, in: idem, *The Collected Poems: 1931-1987* (New York: The Ecco Press, 1988).

Bearing in mind the above-mentioned sequence from the draft version of *Rozmowy na Wielkanoc 1620 roku*, let us look at Figure 2. It is the first draft page of *Na ścięcie damy dworu*.[24].

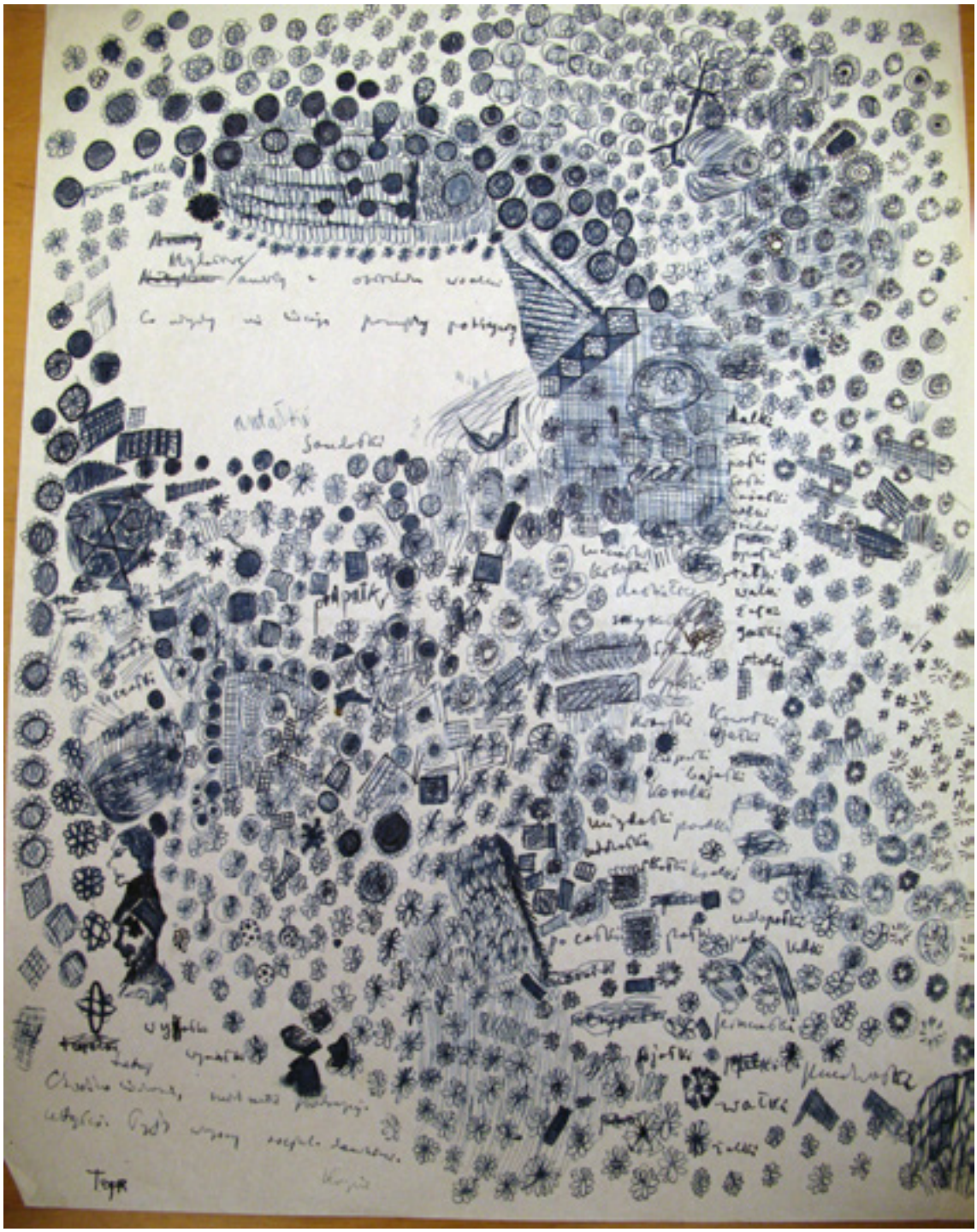

Fig. 2: A draft of a poem "On the Beheading of a Lady at Court " (the first card, the beginning of the work on the text), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

[24]The draft of this poem may also be found at the Beinecke Library (Czesław Miłosz Papers, Series II: Writings, Box 83, Folder 1108).

It is an amazing picture! The margins of the third draft page of *Rozmowy na Wielkanoc 1620 roku* were partially filled with drawings. Here, the proportions are reversed: the drawings dominate on the page. In addition to "flowers" and figures, we can discern two profiles: one is (probably) male and the other, female. Drawings dominate and writing is as if confined to a narrow gap. One has to carefully "inspect" this composition of writing and drawing in order to understand what it communicates. Its genetic history begins to emerge.

I will try to tell it now. I will try to recreate it step by step, as accurately as possible, although without going into too much detail. Let us trace the sequence of actions and events that gradually transformed the white page into an artistic composition that can be seen today at the Beinecke Library reading room (Fig. 2).

It all begun thus (or at least I imagine it did) ... Miłosz writes down the first word on an empty page

Anioły	Angels

Let us look at Figure 2. Let us look at the word "Anioły" [Angels] in the context of the page. Was that indeed the first word? The word is positioned relatively low – much below the top edge of the page. It may suggest that the word "Anioły" was not the first word. Drawings that we can see above this word were executed first (why would the poet start writing so "low"?). However, when we analyze other drafts of Miłosz's poems (especially those written in approximately the same time as *Na ścięcie damy dworu*), we observe that also in those manuscripts in which there are no doodles above the first line of the text (i.e. where the first word could have been written much "higher") Miłosz leaves a wide gap between the opening line and the top margin. This was simply his way of managing the space of the page: his *usus scribendi*.[25]

Back to my story. At the beginning, Miłosz wrote down – how exalted it sounds! well, the language of genetic criticism is in a way the language of the book of Genesis – the word "Anioły" [Angels]. He then crossed it out and decided to start his poem anew: not with a noun but with an adjective. The page "now" (the word "now" is obviously a purely rhetorical addition; it is meant to point to the dynamic nature of the writing process) looks as follows:

~~Anioły~~	~~Angels~~
Nietykalne anioły z obłokiem woalki,	Untouchable angels with a cloud veil,

The first line is there. Miłosz quickly changed the first word in it (the adjective) and then wrote the second line. Or *vice versa*: Miłosz wrote the second line and then returned to the first line and changed the first word. Anyway, on the page – empty a minute ago and now turned into text-in-the-making – there is also an inscription which as if documents the "ongoing" process of creation:

[25]Apart from the spatial arrangement of a text on paper, the term "*usus scribendi*" also refers to writing tools and materials, etc. I use this term after: Daniel Ferrer, *The Open Space of the Draft Page: James Joyce and Modern Manuscripts*. In: *The Iconic Page in Manuscript, Print, and Digital Culture*, ed. George Bornstein, Theresa Tinkle (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 256; Wim Van Mierlo, *The Archaeology of the Manuscript: Towards Modern Palaeography* in: *The Boundaries of the Literary Archive: Reclamation and Representation*, ed. Carrie Smith, Lisa Stead (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), 17.

~~Anioły~~
Migdałowe
~~Nietykalne~~ anioły z obłokiem woalki,

Co nigdy nie kucają pomiędzy pokrzywą

~~Angels~~
Almond
~~Untouchable~~ angels with a cloud veil,

Who never crouch between nettles

At this point, Miłosz should start the third line which, just like the first two lines, should have thirteen syllables. Or – why not? – perhaps now Miłosz should "jump" to the third line and come up with the first rhyme. The third line itself may be "filled in" later. We remember how effective this method was in *Rozmowy na Wielkanoc 1620 roku*. Alas, each poem has a different story. Every rhyming process has a different dynamic.

Fig. 3: A draft of a poem "On the Beheading of a Lady at Court " (the first card, close-up), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

Let us look at Figure 3 which "zooms in" on the fragment of the manuscript. Words appear between the drawings: "lalki" [doll], "gałki" [knob], "pałki" [club], "miałki" [delicate], "szalmi" [scarf], "opałki" [basket], "walki" [fight], "kobiałki" [basket], "kawałki" [piece], "koralki" [beads, "migdałki" [almond], "bajałki" [fairy tale], "skałki" [rock], "niedopałki" [cigarette butt], "kalki" [carbon paper], "piszczałki" [pipe], "wałki" [roller], "antałki" [keg], "sandałki" [sandals], and "podpałki" [fire starter]. In Polish, all these words have one thing in common: they end in "-ałki" or "-alki" and are thus more or less perfect rhymes for "woalki" [veil]. Indeed, it seems that the poet actually decided to employ the writing strategy we already know from *Rozmowy na Wielkanoc 1620 roku* and come up with the clause of the next line and thus the first rhyme. Then, however, something happened – the rhyming mind "froze" – and instead of finding solutions, the poet began to multiply alternatives.

What conclusion can be drawn from the fact that the words which rhyme with the word "woalki" [veil] are "scattered" or "sandwiched" among countless micro-drawings? The function of *doodles* in Miłosz's creative process has already been discussed. Bożena Shallcross inter-

preted Miłosz's "drawing-writing" with the help of a theoretically sophisticated (and at the same time "poetic") discourse of writing, drawing, visuality, and spectral presence. Karina Jarzyńska interpreted Miłosz's *doodles* as a manifestation of a "spiritual exercise," i.e. a writerly and psychophysical practice (involving the body and the mind). Shallcross suggested that micro-drawings could have a regenerative function ("Visual notations (...) strengthen the weakening will, renew creative energy").[26] Jarzyńska argued that *doodles* increased "concentration" and "mindfulness."[27] These are interesting observations and I can use them to analyze this particular draft by Czesław Miłosz (which neither Shallcross nor Jarzyńska examined). I think that the drawing poet rests. Exhausted, he stops working to regenerate his creative energy. Or, on the contrary, I can imagine that drawing helps him concentrate. He is hard at work, focusing his attention on the sound and the meaning of an ideal word that corresponds to the word "woalki" [veil].

I could also be more cautious and not interpret the manuscript as the imprint of the creative mind. I could stop judging and prejudging and simply say that *doodles* are a visual testament to the long and difficult process of finding the right rhymes. It seems that the poet – this is probably the best word – poured over the page, stared at it, and, laboriously, with difficulty, came up with subsequent words (he relied on his memory, a dictionary, and language itself). But none of them, at least according to Miłosz, may complete the rhyme and the semantic structure. We will never know whether the drawings were created when the poet thought hard about the ideal rhyme or when he struggled, and his mind was distracted. In any case, the sheer number and placement of the drawings, which dominate on the page, are a sign, a graphic exponent, of waiting for the right word – *the* word that could complete the third line. Drawings show the inability to rhyme.

Indeed, apart from the words that I have already mentioned, the following words appear among the drawings: "stałki," "żałki," "moczałki" [?], "jajki," "kralki," and "uczałki." If I decipher them correctly and know enough about old regional forms in the Polish language,[28] these "words" are not words, but simply meaningless groups of syllables. The poet wrote them down hoping that one of them would make him find the right word (inspiring his creative mind). To no avail (he did not find the right word and he could not stop the creative process).

> I don't know why I write poems which rhyme from time to time; I can't really answer this question. I simply feel inspired to write one. I do not like writing poems which rhyme because once you start you have to come up with rhymes. I mean, the first line is there and then you have to keep writing – you can't help it. Whether you want to or not, you cry, and you have to sit there and finish.[29]

[26]Bożena Shallcross, "Poeta i sygnatury" [The poet and the drawing], *Teksty Drugie*, no. 5 (2011): 60.

[27]Karina Jarzyńska, *Literatura jako ćwiczenie duchowe. Dzieło Czesława Miłosza w perspektywie postsekularnej* [Literature as a spiritual exercise: Czesław Miłosz's work in the post-secular perspective] (Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych "Universitas", 2018), 270-272.

[28]And Miłosz, as the author of *Elegia na kłopoty z polszczyzną*...[An elegy on the problems with the Polish language], was very knowledgeable about regional forms of the Polish language.

[29]Czesław Miłosz, *Podróżny świata*, rozmowy z Renatą Gorczyńską [A traveler of the world, Renata Gorczyńska interviews Czesław Miłosz] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2002), 266. When Miłosz talks about how difficult it is to find the right word and the perfect rhyme, he, perhaps unintentionally, refers to Juliusz Słowacki's meta-*ottava rima* (*ottava rima* about *ottava rima*). Słowacki observes that sometimes it is so difficult to find the third rhyme in *ottava rima* that it makes the poet cry.

This is how Miłosz described the experience of writing a poem which rhymes to Renata Gorczyńska. It seems that the first draft page of *Na ścięcie damy dworu* is an excellent visualization of what the poet is talking about in the last sentence. Rhyme becomes a trap.

What is the solution? The poet chose one of the words that he had scribbled on the page. Miłosz finally chose "lalki" [doll's]. Its placement on the page is interesting. Let us look again at Figure 3. The word "lalki" is relatively close to the two first lines, at the beginning of a vertical sequence of words (I assume that Miłosz wrote "traditionally" from top to bottom). We may assume that Miłosz was "browsing through" his mental dictionary, rejecting different options until he finally returned to the word ... he had considered in the first place. However, nothing in the first draft indicates that a decision was made: the word "lalki" is not underlined, circled, or marked in any other way. The decision to choose "lalki" is only visible in the second draft:

Migdałowe anioły z obłokiem woalki	Almond angels with a cloud veil,
co nigdy nie kucają pomiędzy pokrzywą	Who never crouch between nettles
I Ciało ~~mają~~ bez dziurek mają, gładkie jak u lalki	Their body is ~~without~~ devoid of holes, as smooth as a doll's

"Woalki"/ "lalki." The findings of "static" poetics, the poetics of the product, would be as follows: it is an enclosing rhyme (considering the structure of the stanza); it is a perfect grammatical rhyme (in terms of its grammatical form); it is a feminine rhyme (in terms of prosody); and it is a perfect rhyme (in terms of phonetics). In turn, the findings of genetic poetics, the poetics of production, would be as follows: it was an extremely difficult rhyme to find, as evidenced by the page filled with words and drawings...

I will not reconstruct the entire "genetic history" of *Na ścięcie damy dworu*. Although there is still a lot to tell, one has to be brief and selective in an article. Perhaps, I will tell the history of this poem in more detail in a longer text.[30] Let me only add that the above-described situation of focusing on a single rhyme repeated itself a number of times during the writing process. In order to finish the poem, in order to end it with the distich:

Dziś ja wielki, największy z całego powiatu	Today I am great. The greatest in the entire region.
Ogłosić mogę wyrok. Służba. Dać ją katu.	And I pass sentence. Servants. Take her to the executioner.

Miłosz needed four more draft pages. He struggled with, among other things, rhymes to the words "pokrzywą" [nettles] and "wioski" [a village boy]. The first struggle and the first writer's block turned out to be a revolving paradigm in this particular text-making process. This not-

[30]Let me add: in my genetic history, I do not discuss the very significant fact that there is more text on the first page of the draft of *Na ścięcie damy dworu*. In the bottom left corner, there are two lines, which are almost illegible. I decipher them, not without hesitation, as follows: "Chodźcie [...] niech mnie podrapią [?] / Utyłeś. Tyją wszyscy socjal-demokraci" [Come [...] let them scratch me [?] / You've got fat. All Social Democrats put on weight]. These two lines have nothing to do with the key "problem" of this page (i.e. the search for the first rhyme of the poem). Thus, another problem, another text, might have been "solved" on this page. Perhaps, but this is only a (most likely unverifiable) hypothesis, Miłosz played with these two lines, searching for the perfect ending to his new poem. It is also possible that it is a digression: a different new poem that comes to life on the margins. In any case, such (or similar) words do not appear in the published version of *Na ścięcie damy dworu*, nor do I recall them in any other of Miłosz's published poems.

withstanding, it must be clearly emphasized that none of the later "blocks" were so long, intense, and dramatic. One the first page of the draft, to be more precise, after the first two lines and before the third line, Miłosz did not so much as lose his momentum, did not so much as slow down, but rather came up against a brick wall. The draft page (Figure 2) is a perfect visualization of impossibility.

The two creative sequences discussed above demonstrate how the process of rhyming may differ in each individual case. And how it may engage with other aspects of the writing process. In the case of the fifth and sixth stanzas of *Rozmowy na Wielkanoc 1620 roku*, rhyming is at the center of the writing process: the poet's hand is guided by rhyme, rhyming drives the text. The rhyme structure can be compared to a frame, or a scaffold, which determines the shape of the text in terms of sounds, semantics, and structure. In the opening lines of *Na ścięcie damy dworu*, an opposite situation takes place: rhyming becomes a problem. Unsolved and chronic, it blocks the writing process. In *Rozmowy na Wielkanoc 1620 roku*, rhyme is a catalyst for the writing process. In *Na ścięcie damy dworu*, it slows it down.

Indeed, the summary of my findings may be simpler and more succinct. Let us consider the following:

Lecz jako Bóg mnie postawił na ziemi,	Since God made me live on this earth,
Jeżeli zechce, znowu mnie postawi.	If he wants to, he'll do that again.
Nie mnie dochodzić, u jakich płomieni,	It's not up to me to guess what flames
W jakich kuźnicach serce mi przetrawi,	What forges will torment my heart,

And

Migdałowe anioły z obłokiem woalki,	Almond angels with a cloud veil,
Co nigdy nie kucają pomiędzy pokrzywą,	Who never crouch between nettles
Ciało bez dziurek mają, gładkie jak u lalki	Their body is devoid of holes, as smooth as a doll's
I nikt ich nie potrafi zaprosić na piwo.	And no one can ask them out for a beer.

In the light of genetic poetics (the poetics of production), both texts are products of two writing processes that are incomparable in terms of the workload. It is as if while working on the first of the quoted stanzas, Miłosz was guided by those fragments of *Sztuka rymotwórcza* in which the ease and joy of rhyming is praised ("If rhyme costs a lot, it will not be without flaws"). Respectively, while working on the second stanza, he followed different instructions from the same treaty ("Hurry up slowly").[31]

[31]The genetic poetics of the rhyme becomes a fact! When I was finishing the final version of this article, I received an extremely interesting sketch by Tadeusz Budrewicz, devoted to Adam Asnyk and his rhyming process. Budrewicz analyzed new material that shed new light on this problem: he did not analyze a draft, but a notebook used by Asnyk to write down rhymes, which he later used in poems. Thus, Asnyk's rhyming process was not related to a specific literary work. It preceded the actual writing process. Tadeusz Budrewicz's observations are brilliant: he draws on historical poetics and, *inter alia*, the nineteenth-century theory of the rhyme See: Tadeusz Budrewicz, "Asnyka notes z rymami" [Asnyk's notebook with rhymes], in: *Przed-tekstowy świat. Z literackich archiwów XIX i XX wieku* [The pre-textual world: 19th-century and 20th-century literary archives], ed. Marzena Woźniak-Łabieniec (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2020), 31-50.

4. And thus: work

Dorota Korwin-Piotrowska observes that "concepts and terms in the field of poetics document the cognitive effort involved in studying and describing the work of the human mind."[32] I argue that the genetic *modus operandi* is one of the most privileged and effective modes of accessing the "work of the human mind" available to poetics or (so that I may refrain from personifying poetics, which I have done extensively in my article) the poetics scholar (or a scholar in the field of genetic criticism, versology, stylistics, composition studies, narratology ...). Of course, the access to "the work of the human mind" is neither complete nor unlimited: the thought processes of a specific person at the time of writing a specific text cannot be reconstructed on the basis of a draft in the same way as, for example, the work of the human heart in an ECG.

If I were to conceptualize the complex relation between the draft of the text (which we can find in the archive) and the writing mind (which we cannot touch), I would refer to two concepts. On the one hand, I would refer to the concept (metaphor?) of a trace, so important in contemporary philosophical reflection. On the other hand, I would refer to the concept (metaphor?) of the "extended mind," which was introduced into the humanistic discourse at the end of the 20th century by Clark and Chalmers,[33] and then, in the 21st century, effectively operationalized for the purpose of genetic criticism by Dirk Van Hulle.[34]

If I were to refer to a trace, I would say: the draft (as a material object, including deletions and notes) is a trace of the mental processes which take place in the author's mind. It is a trace, i.e. it is inevitably defective, deceptive, residual, and it does not represent that which leaves the trace in its entirety. Nevertheless, it testifies to the ephemeral and fleeting reality (at least according to those philosophies of the trace that are not radically critical).[35] If I were to refer to the "extended mind," I would follow in the footsteps of Van Hulle and say that the draft is not only a passive (and imperfect) reflection of the creative processes which take place outside of it, i.e. in the somewhat mythical "inside" of the mind (which has been referred to as consciousness, subconsciousness, imagination...). The draft is also an interactive element of the writer's instrumentarium. It is the author's mind that is at work but at the same time the author looks at how their thoughts are recorded "on paper." What they see "on paper" stimulates (or maybe sometimes blocks) the work of "the mind," which wants to express its thoughts on (physical, material) "paper." In other words, the text is born both "in the mind" and "on paper." Indeed, it is not born "in the mind" or "on the page" but in "in-the-mind-and-on-the-page" ("the mind" and "the page" interact).

We can see the drafts discussed in this article – the one shown in Figure 1, in which we can "see" that Miłosz first wrote down the final words in the line (which rhyme) and only then "filled in"

[32]See: footnote 8.

[33]See: Andy Clark, David Chalmers, "The Extended Mind", *Analysis*, no. 58 (1998): 10-23.

[34]See: Dirk Van Hulle, *Modern Manuscripts. The Extended Mind and Creative Undoing from Darwin to Beckett and Beyond* (London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014).

[35]*Cf.* Andrzej Zawadzki, *Obraz i ślad* [Image and trace] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2014), 7: "(...) the basic ontological question that we may ask in connection with the trace is as follows: is it a 'living' sign of and a testament to the presence of the one who or which left the trace or, on the contrary, is it a 'dead' mechanical imprint, in which all presence disappears or turns out to be only the secondary effect of the trace? The latter question is best reflected in the works of Jacques Derrida, while the former question is discussed by, among others, Barbara Skarga, whose reflections on the trace are foundational for the Polish humanities."

the rest; and the one in Figure 2, which demonstrates a rhyming and thus a creative crisis – as either faint traces of the writing and creative mind or as the currently inactive "external mind." Whichever rhetoric and logic we choose, one thing is certain: these pages allow the scholar who studies "Miłosz's rhyme" perceive this rhyme not as a product but as production. In other words, poetics returns to its source and original meaning, i.e. reflection on creation.[36]

I will say it again: poetics which cooperates with genetic criticism and employs poetological concepts and procedures may gain a better understanding of the writing process that is hidden or encoded in the aesthetic structure of the text, thus discovering how, as cognitive scientists say, the embodied mind works. In the end, however, I would like to move away from cognitive science and comment on "work" in a more general manner. Indeed, the work that genetic poetics studies is the work of the psychophysical subject called the author,[37] but it can also be conceptualized as the work of language, which, tired of endless draft versions, makes an effort to finally "mean" and "convey" something, or as the work of literary conventions which are employed in the writing and semantic process.

It seems to me that redirecting poetics in such a way – towards work, understood as producing text, but also more broadly as a manifestation of an active, useful, and creative mode of being in the world – effectively "moves" poetics (which has been criticized as outdated in recent years and relegated to a secondary role) closer to the center (or one of the possible centers) of contemporary humanistic reflection. Adrienne Rich's famous question "Does this poem work?"[38] is a question in which the verb "to work" does not only mean "to act" but also "to be effective." The poem has to "work," i.e. it has to be effective. Indeed, it has to affect the reader (and through them – the world; even if it sounds grandiloquent). If we are interested in how and if the text "works," it is only natural that we take into account how and if the draft "works." In other words, we should construct interdisciplinary stories which combine poetics, genetic criticism, the history of ideas, and cultural anthropology. We should talk about how the "work on" the text looked like (i.e. the work of the creative embodied mind), how text "works" (i.e. how texts affect and change our consciousness – the reader's consciousness), and what "work" can be done through text (i.e. what work can be done by those writers and readers who process the world of social interactions through their creative and hermeneutic acts).[39] But this is a broader topic. It is a topic for a different text (that has to "work")...

translated by Małgorzata Olsza

[36]Indeed, referring to the etymology of the term "poetics" and the Greek verb "poiein" ("to produce") is one of the *topoi* of the meta-poetological discourse. Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, among others, points out to this "productive" ancestry in "Poetyka dawniej i dziś" [Poetics in the past and today], *Tematy i Konteksty*, no. 3 (2013). Tomasz Mizerkiewicz (*New situations of poetics*) referred to it as well (indirectly, referring to Kostkiewiczowa's article). In his discussion of "cognitive poetics," Piotr Sobolczyk drew on this concept as well (and signaled it in the title of his text), see: "Kognitywna vs. Kognicyjna? Poetyka vs Poietyka?" [Cognitive vs. Cognitive? Poetics vs. Poietikos], *Teksty Drugie*, no. 4 (2010).

[37]It should be added that genetic criticism is not focused solely on the instance of the author, perceived as the sovereign of the creative process. Genetic criticism recognizes the problem of the "multi-agency" of the text, i.e. the fact that agency is divided (to a different and varying degree) among many agents, who are involved at various stages of the creative process. This approach is expressed in the article that has been translated into Polish: Nicolas Donin, Daniel Ferrer, "Autor(zy) i aktorzy genezy" [The author(s) and actors of genesis], transl. Dorota Jarząbek-Wasyl, *Wielogłos* 39, no. 1 (2019).

[38]Adrienne Rich, *Poetry and Commitment: An Essay* (London-New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007).

[39]I refer to the terms and considerations presented by Ryszard Nycz in the book *Kultura jako czasownik. Sondowanie nowej humanistyki* [Culture as a verb: Probing the new humanities] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IBL, 2017), 174-175.

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KEYWORDS

work

rhyme

POETICS

Abstract:
The article attempts to answer the question of what the potential benefits of a methodological cooperation between poetics and genetic criticism are. The answer is based on the definition formulated by D. Korwin-Piotrowska who observes that "concepts and terms in the field of poetics document the cognitive effort involved in studying and describing the work of the human mind." I argue that we may understand (although, in a limited degree) how "the human mind" works when poetics, in cooperation with genetic criticism, studies not only the final version of the text, but also the text in-the-making (a record of a textual process, i.e. a draft). Combining poetics and genetic criticism, I analyze two poems by Czesław Miłosz, *Rozmowy na Wielkanoc 1620 roku* [Conversations at Easter 1620] and *Na ścięcie damy dworu* [On the beheading of a lady at court], demonstrating how the poet arrived at the final rhyme pattern. In the end, I make further theoretical comments in connection with, *inter alia*, the concept of the "extended mind" and the contemporary subjective and functional concepts of culture.

the process of creating

MIND

genetic criticism

Note on the Authors:
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Variation and game rules in *The Steps to Parnassus**

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The interpretation of literary manuscripts, especially rough drafts, benefits from an approach that avoids both the pitfalls of unrepresentative atomistic microanalysis, as well as the perils of too general views solely based on acknowledging the existence of writing operations (namely, accretions, deletions and reorderings). To profile the middle road between these two approaches it is not without interest to briefly recall different takes on the notion of connected variant («variante liée»). The notion was first put forth by Almuth Grésillon as any variant that emerges due to the pression of textual or contextual data, the consequence of this pressure being the need to substitute Y for X[1]. More recently, Grésillon and Jean-Louis Lebrave have adopted a more restrictive approach to the scope of connected variants, having established that they are the result of language constraints (namely, morphological, lexical, syntactical) or the grammatically mandatory outcome of a first variant. In turn, unconnected variants would be classified as free variants[2]. This view was included in Grésillon's major work

[1] Almuth Grésillon, 'Les variantes de manuscrits: critères et degrés de pertinence', in *La publication de manuscrits inédits*, ed. Louis Hay and Winfried Woesler (Berne: P. Lang, 1979).

[2] Almuth Grésillon and Jean-Louis Lebrave, *Tendances actuelles de la linguistique française: numéro spécial de la revue Le français moderne publié à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire.* (Paris: Conseil international de la langue française, 2008).

Éléments de critique génétique[3], in which the connected variant is defined as a change that obeys to language constraints or that incorporates the linguistic effects of a free variant over the remainder of the sentence. A free variant is there said to be any instance of rewriting or change, except what is determined by grammatical, syntactical or orthographical changes. As stated by Daniel Ferrer, whereas this has a heuristic value in the field of linguistics, it is seemingly less productive in a broader theoretical framework. Therefore, Ferrer reactivated the view also held by Grésillon in 1979 when she claimed that, strictly speaking, there are no free variants. Additionally, while calling for a broadening of the scope of connection, inspired by Wittgenstein's games theory[4], Ferrer suggested a closer look on the structure of the draft in order to see how the connections within the textual genesis are dynamic, causing new changes and evolving with every change[5]. It goes without saying that when Grésillon, Lebrave and Ferrer reflect upon concepts such as those of connected variants, they are thinking of variation *in presentia*, i.e., the situation in which two or more documented textual alternatives are considered by the writer in the genesis of a given work. Apart from this situation, the literary game can also be profiled through the analysis of variation *in absentia*, that is, the situation in which, although only one alternative is written down, the genetic critic can check it against a more familiar alternative. Variation *in absentia* may be relevant to the analysis of textual genesis *per se*, but also to the interpretation of material aspects of the writing process (e.g., change of layout, replacement of pen, substitution of writing support, and so forth). Occurrences of variation *in presentia* and *in absentia*, as defined here, would thus contribute to map out the literary game being played by the writer.

The middle road approach to literary genesis, I would like to argue, depends upon the identification of a game which can only be profiled after the identification of its rules, which – in turn – can only be singled out after the scrutiny of the game's textual and documentary components. This is to say that neither the game nor its rules can be pinpointed beforehand because they are only to be grasped in the process of text reading and document observing. Moreover, the game is never fully known due to the fact that one is never thoroughly aware of the number and nature of its rules, the consequence being that the discovery of a previously unaccounted rule may alter our perception of how different rules interact and thus may lead to a different understanding of the game that is being played.

In order to illustrate this view, I will focus on a work by M. S. Lourenço (1936-2009), a Portuguese polygraphic author and analytical philosopher who translated Wittgenstein's most relevant treatises into Portuguese and published a number of poetry volumes in considerably different styles. The title of the collection of essays that will be taken in consideration in this article, *Os Degraus do Parnaso* ('*The steps to Parnassus*'), is inspired by the musical treatise *Gradus ad Parnassum*, by the Austrian composer Johann Joseph Fux (c. 1660 – February 1741). The double thesis underlying these essays is that literature is a learnable art and that, since language is a musical fact, literature belongs to the domain of music.

[3] Grésillon and Lebrave, 291.

[4] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical investigations*, ed. G.E.M Anscombe and R. Rhees, trans. G. E. M Anscombe (Oxford: Blackwell, 1953), §§ 7 and 33.

[5] Daniel Ferrer, *Logiques du brouillon modèles pour une critique génétique* (Paris: Éd. du Seuil, 2011), 169–70.

A brief historical overview of the publishing history of *Degraus do Parnaso* should first refer to 1989, when, in a recently founded conservative newspaper, *O Independente*, Lourenço began a predominantly weekly column in which he wrote about such disparate subjects as the styles of Wittgenstein, the end of literature, cultural policies, or the premiere of a play by Thomas Bernhard in Austria. Besides, a few semi-fictional pieces were also published in this column. The set of 25 texts were two years later collected and published in a book which was awarded the literary prize «D. Diniz». Afterwards, though in a less systematic way, Lourenço kept on writing short prose pieces of a kind similar to those collected in *Degraus do Parnaso*, which first came out in another newspaper, *Público*, and in the literary journal *Colóquio-Letras*, and were eventually inserted in a wholly revised version of *Degraus do Parnaso*. The new (revised, reordered and larger) version, published in 2002, bore the label 'full text edition'. Both book versions, the 1991 and the 2002, having been taken as autonomous works, became part of the collected edition of Lourenço's literary *oeuvre*, which was published in 2009, the year he passed away.[6]

Among other extant documents that are relevant to the history of *Degraus do Parnaso*, a special reference should be made to a set of page proofs of the first edition and, most importantly, to the handwritten versions of all but one text of the very first edition. These versions probably represent the first writing stage of this collection of essays and can be found in two notebooks: *Harmonielehre* (siglum *H*) and *Notizbuch* (siglum *N*), named after the first words on their front cover labels.

After this passing presentation of *Os Degraus do Parnaso*, its publishing history and document witnesses, let us go back to the view of genetic interpretation as a practice that is based on the identification of a game. I will start out with two expected textual rules regarding the work by M. S. Lourenço and check the text in one of the above mentioned notebooks against them; afterwards I will move on to the trial and error identification of documentary rules in the other notebook.

The first rule can be phrased as «The author is expected to write in Portuguese». This rule is established because the text was meant to be published in a Portuguese paper and addressed to readers who, if not exclusively Portuguese, are all either native speakers of Portuguese or proficient in the language. It so happens that the section of the *N* notebook that includes the essays belonging to the collection begins with a page bearing the title «Os Degraus do Parna**ss**o», the last word being wrongly spelt in Portuguese (figure 1).

This word should have been spelt with a single *s*, but it was written down with a double *s*, a spelling with phonemic consequences: intervowel single *s* represents a fricative alveolar voiced sound; whereas intervowel double *s* represents a fricative alveolar voiceless sound. This spelling is not an occasional occurrence, for in the notebooks *H* and *N* the word is consistently written down with a double *s*, a spelling that is also kept in the title of the column of the newspaper

[6] Some of the essays have circulated in other languages as well. An English version of four of them, under the title «Before the Barbarians», was included in *A revisionary history of Portuguese literature*, published in 1996. Another one was translated into German and came out in the issue 353/354 of the Austrian journal *Literatur und Kritik* (Lourenço 2001). In 1997, Helen Tartar, the then editorial director of Stanford University Press, wrote a letter to Lourenço, stating that the Faculty Editorial Board had accepted to publish an English translation of *Degraus do Parnaso*. Correspondence was exchanged, Leland Robert Guyer prepared preliminary English versions of a few chapters, but, apparently because Stanford UP altered its publication plans, the translation has never been made (cf. M. S. Lourenço archive at the National Library of Portugal, Esp. 62, docs. 394 and 405).

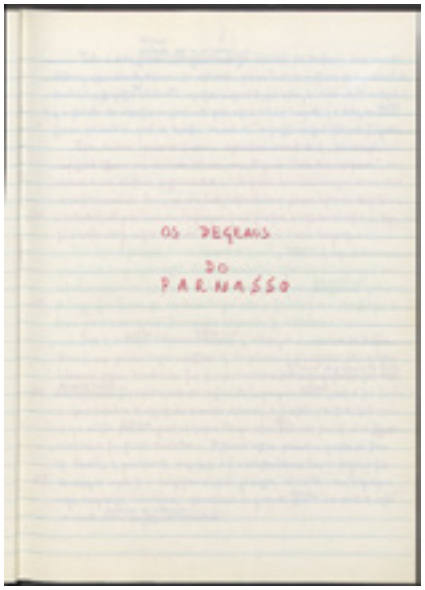


Figure 1. Notebook *N*, 36r, the title page before the drafts of *Os Degraus do Parnaso*.

publication, right from the beginning until the 22nd out of 25 essays. But even when the very last column comes out, with the title of the column corrected to standard Portuguese orthography, the text itself still includes the word with a double *s* spelling (figures 2 and 3).

Likewise the remaining proofs of the first edition bear witness to the conflict between what looks like idiosyncratic and prescribed orthography (figure 4).

The genetic (and editorial) interpretation of this conflict is mandatory if one wants to identify the spelling rules of the game being played. That will allow us to answer the question on how much of Lourenço's Portuguese is Portuguese and thereby to fine-tune rule 1: to what extent can we expect the author to write in Portuguese? A full analysis of the two notebooks suggests that the misspelt title of the series of essays is but one case among several others of orthographic confusion. These include the following: in the draft of essay 6, one reads «nebelina» with a second *e*, instead of «neblina» (meaning thick haze or fog), possibly due to the interference of the German word «Nebel» (fog, mist); in the draft of essay 13, there is an occurrence of «halucinações»,

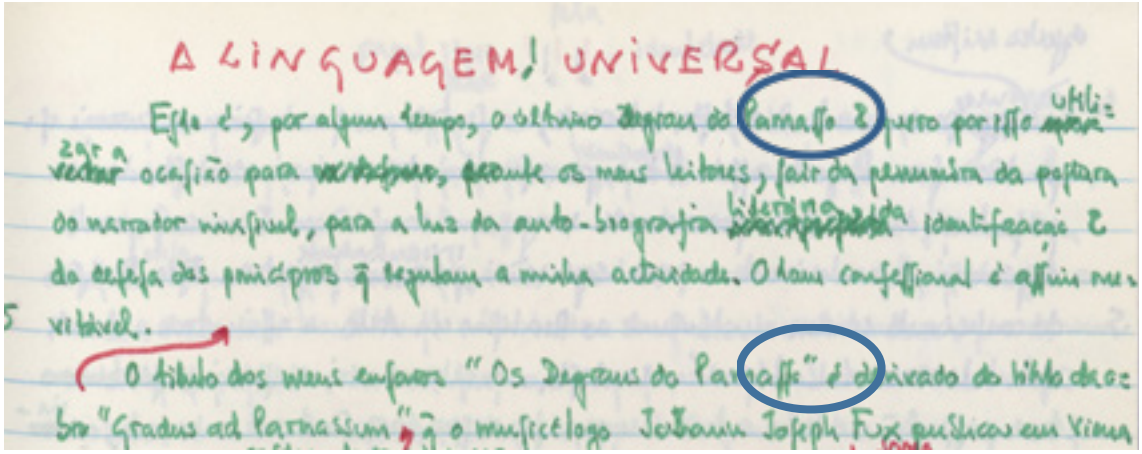


Figure 2. Notebook *N*, 81r. Draft of the last essay. «Parnaso» spelt with double *s*.

Figure 3. The last column of *Os Degraus do Parnaso*, with the title correctly spelt, but in the second paragraph the last word still written down with double *s*.

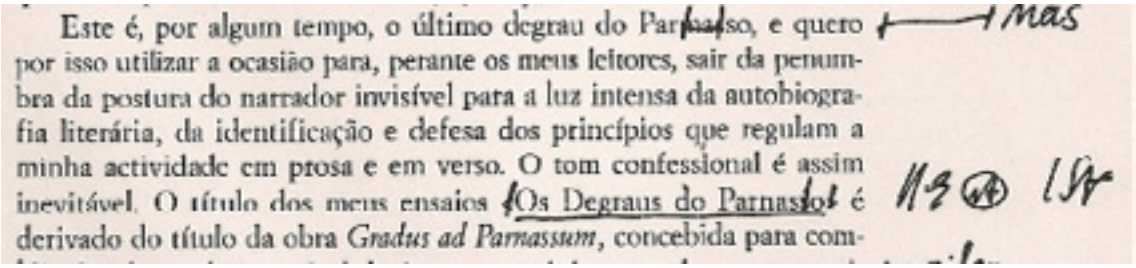

Este é, por algum tempo, o último degrau do Parnaso, e quero por isso utilizar a ocasião para, perante os meus leitores, sair da penumbra da postura do narrador invisível para a luz intensa da autobiografia literária, da identificação e defesa dos princípios que regulam a minha actividade em prosa e em verso. O tom confessional é assim inevitável. O título dos meus ensaios «Os Degraus do Parnaso» é derivado do título da obra *Gradus ad Parnassum*, concebida para com-

Figure 4. Proofs of the 1st edition of *Os Degraus do Parnaso* (last essay), with the correction of the double *s*.

starting with an *h*, whereas the Portuguese word would be «alucinações» (intrusion of German «Halluzination», or English «Hallucination»); similarly, in draft 18 one comes across «juxtaposição», written down with an *x*, as in German or English («juxtaposition»), whereas the correct Portuguese form is «justaposição»). Besides, a number of names are seemingly germanized: the surname of the Canadian literary studies scholar Northrop Frye (1912-1991) is converted into Frey in draft 17; the surname of the Russian composer Alexander Scriabin (1871-1915) becomes Skrjabin in draft 20, the voiceless occlusive /k/ being represented in Portuguese orthography by *c* and the semivowel /j/ by *i* (as in English). In draft 21, the disputed resort city of Yalta, renowned for the post II World War conference on the geopolitical reorganization of Europe, is likewise spelt «Jalta», after the German spelling. Taking these data into consideration, one might say that the way M. S. Lourenço writes in Portuguese is strongly pervious to other spelling systems, namely the German one. Most linguistic interferences of this kind were corrected into standard Portuguese spelling in the newspaper and book editions, but they bear witness to something more relevant than a curious idiosyncrasy. They point to a *modicum* of multilingualism, also documented in syntactical features, and in metadiscursive words regarding the organization of some essays, as key to the genesis of *Os Degraus do Parnaso*.

Incidentally, in the debut novel of his son, M. S. Lourenço is the inspiration source for the father of the narrator, Nuno. At a given moment in the novel, Nuno's father misreads the name of an appetizer while glancing at a restaurant menu. This appetizer, which is one of the gastronomic specialties of Lisbon (clams boiled in a sauce made of olive oil, garlic, cilantro, salt, pepper and dry white wine), goes by the name of Bulhão Pato, a Portuguese writer (1828-1912) who was very partial to this first course. Although the name of the appetizer is widely known in Portugal, the character fails to make sense of what he is reading: « – This menu is incomprehensible. What can clams… style be … what is this? is it "Burlão Pato"? Is it cooked with duck meat [«pato» is 'duck' in Portuguese]? I don't understand. § A trait of Nuno's father was the general impression emanating from him that he had arrived in Portugal for the first time in his lifetime less than an hour ago.» (F. Lourenço 2002: 99)[7].

Let us turn now to rule 2, which reads: «The text is expected to be referential». In an essay included in *Degraus do Parnaso* on Salome as a literary and pictorial matter, Lourenço mentions a book that, strictly speaking, does not exist. Because it is a Dover publication, because

[7] The Portuguese text is: « – Esta ementa é incompreensível. O que será amêijoas à … o que é isto?… será "burlão pato"? Será que é confeccionado com carne de pato? Não estou a perceber. § Uma das características do pai do Nuno era a impressão geral, que dele emanava, de que chegara a Portugal pela primeira vez na sua vida há menos de uma hora». Note that the change of Bulhão into Bulrão may result from a two-step process: 1) pronouncing the *h* in Bulhão as a sound similar to the aspirate German *h*, the consequence being that, instead of a palatalized *l* (represented by the digraph *lh* in Portuguese), the word is pronounced with a glottal fricative which, perhaps for caricature purposes, is voiced, rather than unvoiced; 2) through adjacent metathesis, turning Bulrão into Burlão.

it includes graphic work reproduced in the English version of Oscar Wilde's *Salome*, the reader feels sure it must be *The early work of Aubrey Beardsley*, with a prefatory note by H. C. Marillier, published by Dover in New York, in 1967 (figure 5).

But, contrary to one's referential expectations, the text in the notebook always mentions, not Aubrey (with a *b*) Beardsley, rather Audrey (with a *d*) Beardsley. Accordingly, it is Audrey that appears in the newspaper publication, in the page proofs and in the first edition (figure 6).

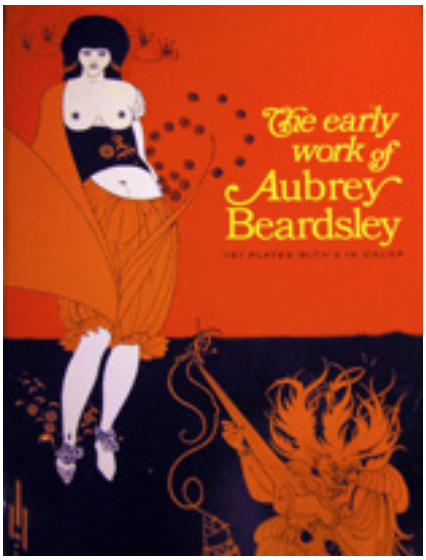
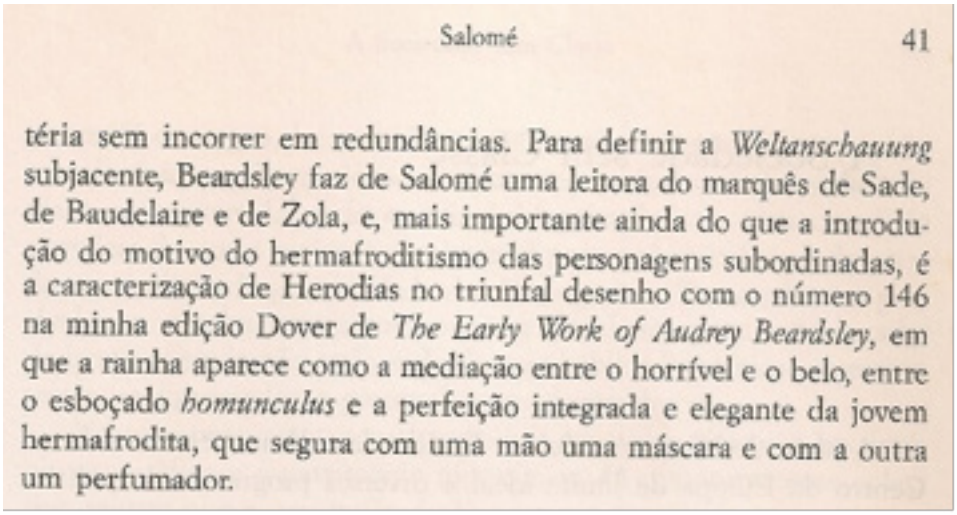


Figure 5. Cover of *The early work of Aubrey Beardsley* (Dover edition).

The unexpected proper name «Audrey» might have emerged for a number of reasons. For instance, a rather common b/d letter reversal due to some kind of reading directionality problem commonly associated with some forms of dyslexia. There is indeed a case of such a graphical reversal in the draft of essay 12, when Lourenço is writing down the word «adoração» ('adoration'), but pens a *b* after the initial *a*, correcting it then into a *d* (figure 7). This one occurrence is clearly not enough to claim that directionality issues account for the presence of «Audrey» instead of «Aubrey» in all document witnesses up to the first edition.

Figure 6. 1st edition of *Os Degraus do Parnaso*, p.41: Aubrey misspelt as Audrey.



Salomé 41

téria sem incorrer em redundâncias. Para definir a *Weltanschauung* subjacente, Beardsley faz de Salomé uma leitora do marquês de Sade, de Baudelaire e de Zola, e, mais importante ainda do que a introdução do motivo do hermafroditismo das personagens subordinadas, é a caracterização de Herodias no triunfal desenho com o número 146 na minha edição Dover de *The Early Work of Audrey Beardsley*, em que a rainha aparece como a mediação entre o horrível e o belo, entre o esboçado *homunculus* e a perfeição integrada e elegante da jovem hermafrodita, que segura com uma mão uma máscara e com a outra um perfumador.

This change may also be due to a banalization, the least current name – Aubrey – giving its place to the more current – Audrey. In fact, «Aubrey» reaches 57 million hits in Google, while «Audrey» almost triples this number[8], and this is in line with what Martin West says about «the tendency to banalize, to erode away the unusual form or expression in favour of the everyday» (West 1973:

[8] This in 2015. On June 29 2020, the proportion had not significantly changed: «Aubrey» produced 112 000 000 hits, whereas «Audrey» reached 269 000 000.

22)[9]. While this is true, the question one might raise here is «usual» to whom, and in what circumstances? Surely it is odd that a diagnosis of trivial banalization would apply in the case of a scholar and writer who is all but too familiar with Beardsley's work. It would also seem perhaps too far-fetched to imagine the contamination of the most famous of Audreys, the actress Audrey Hepburn, in the *Salome*'s cover, thus accounting for the name transaction. But the slim, bony face of the cover figure in Beardsley's book and of the beautiful actress are not altogether at odds (figure 8).

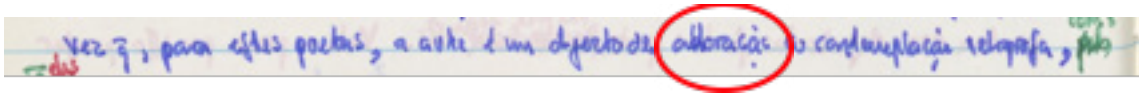


Figure 7. Notebook *N*, 40v, line 4. Lourenço seems to have penned the word «adoração» with the digraph *ab*, having corrected the second letter into a *d*.

Possibly more to the point, one cannot fail to realize that the cover of the first edition of *Degraus do Parnaso* is a pastiche of the 1st English edition of *Salome* showing a hermaphroditic figure (figures 9 and 10), a trait to be taken into consideration when dealing with the gendered renaming of Aubrey Beardsley. This might help us to answer the question about how much of Lourenço's referential writing is indeed referential and to fine-tune rule 2: is the text expected to be fully referential? Although it is, such expectation conflicts with incongruities that seem somewhat in line with Lourenço's partiality to subjects such as ghosts, *Doppelgänger* and hallucinations.

The next rules are different in kind, for they pertain to the documentary dimension of the game. As far as this dimension is concerned, there seems to be no rule corresponding to grammar or referentiality, first and foremost because there are no imposing external criteria leading the writer to make a specific decision as to the layout, writing tools, modes of annotation, and so forth. To a certain extent, documentary rules depend extensively on individual usage, at least much more so than what we have seen in textual rules. This is why I would like first to present some traits of the «Harmonielehre» notebook, the one I will focus on from this moment onwards.

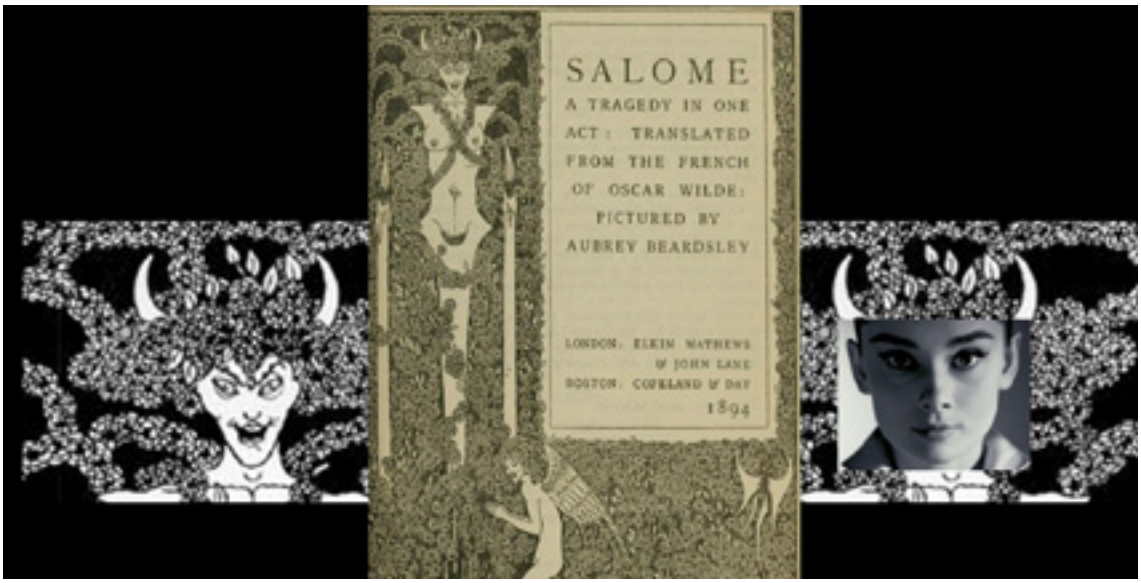
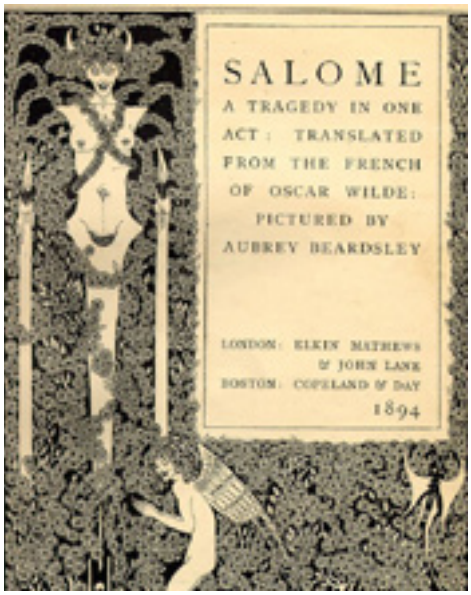
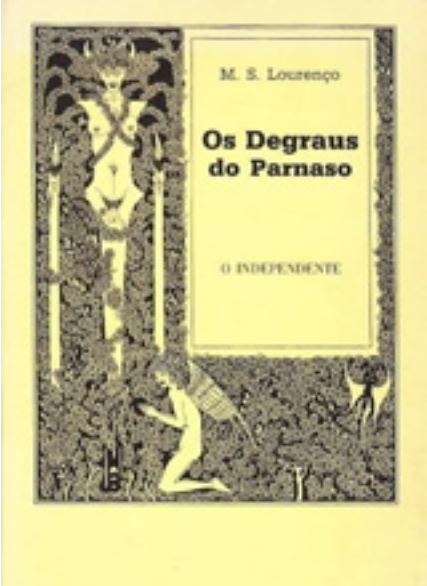


Figure 8. Cover of the 1st edition of Oscar Wilde's *Salome* (English translation) and montage with a picture of Audrey Hepburn by Jack Cardiff (1956, detail).

[9] Note that the number hits of the lesser used name (Aubrey) on Google shows that one can hardly call it an unusual form.

It is an A4 notebook whose content is incompletely mentioned on its cover by means of an adhesive label: «Harmonielehre | III | Skizzen». It should have 100 leaves, but counting out the flyleaves, only 94 remain. As to its content, there are seemingly three sections: 1. some observations on musical harmony; and, also regarding musical harmony, a handful of remarks about the «Stufentheorie» (scalestep theory); 2. a philosophical essay, announced on the label by the word «Skizzen» ('sketches'), bearing the title «Innsbrucker Vortrag», about the nature of understanding, originally in German (pages 1 to 4) and changing into English from the last paragraph of p. 4 on until p. 34; 3. versions of the first nine essays included in *Degraus do Parnaso*, each one of them with its own pagination, the remaining pages of the notebook unused.





Figures 9 and 10. Covers of Oscar Wilde's *Salome* (English translation) and M. S. Lourenço's *Os Degraus do Parnaso* (1st edition).

The explicit dates in notebook *H* are concentrated in the first section, going from December 31 1983 to February 3 1984. As it is plausible that the versions of the essays that belong to *Degraus do Parnaso* were written shortly before their publication in the newspaper, the last section of the notebook was probably penned between 27 January 1989 (when the first essay in the notebook was published) and some time before 31 March (when the last essay in *H* came out).

There can be no doubt that part of the first section of this notebook is based on the reading Lourenço made of the second volume, titled *Harmonielehre*, of the book by Erich Wolf *Die Musikausbildung* (cf. in particular p. 63 and following). There was a copy of this book in Lourenço's library, which can now be perused at the School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon. This copy bears the following annotation on the title-page: «M. S. Lourenço | Innsbruck – 1983», a date which is consistent with the use of the notebook towards the end of 1983. It is also beyond doubt that the second part in this section hosts observations made after the author read Arnold Schönberg's *Harmonielehre* (again there is a copy of this book, purchased in 1984, in Lourenço's library)[10]. As to the philosophical essay in section 2, it is a draft of a paper on mechanical models in the framework of the philosophy of consciousness, presented by M. S. Lourenço at the Institut für philosophische Forschung und interdisziplinären Dialog, Innsbruck, in 1988. A revision of

[10]E. Wolff, *Die Musikausbildung*, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1979 (Library of Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, ULFL119584, A 15-MSL); A. Schönberg, *Harmonielehre*. [Wien]: Universal, 1966? (Library of Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, ULFL121192, A 72-MSL).

this paper was published as «Modelos mecânicos na filosofia da consciência», *Crítica. Revista do Pensamento Contemporâneo*. 6, *Wittgenstein, a linguagem e a filosofia*, Maio, 1991, p.49-80.

Coming after the philosophical essay in section 2, the drafts of *Degraus do Parnaso* in the notebook follow one another in a series that matches, from essay 2 to essay 10, the publication sequence in the newspaper and later on the chapter structure in the 1st book edition. The notebook does not contain essay 1. It should be noted, however, that immediately before the first existing essay, between 56v and 57r, one can identify remnants of a few pages that have been cut out (figure 11). The observation of these stubs leads to estimate that four leaves were removed, three of them with the first essay of *Degraus do Parnaso* (under normal conditions each draft takes three leaves) and another one possibly holding the general title of the series (as happens in notebook *N*, f. 36r) .

After this cursory presentation of the «Harmonielehre» notebook, trying to discern the writ-

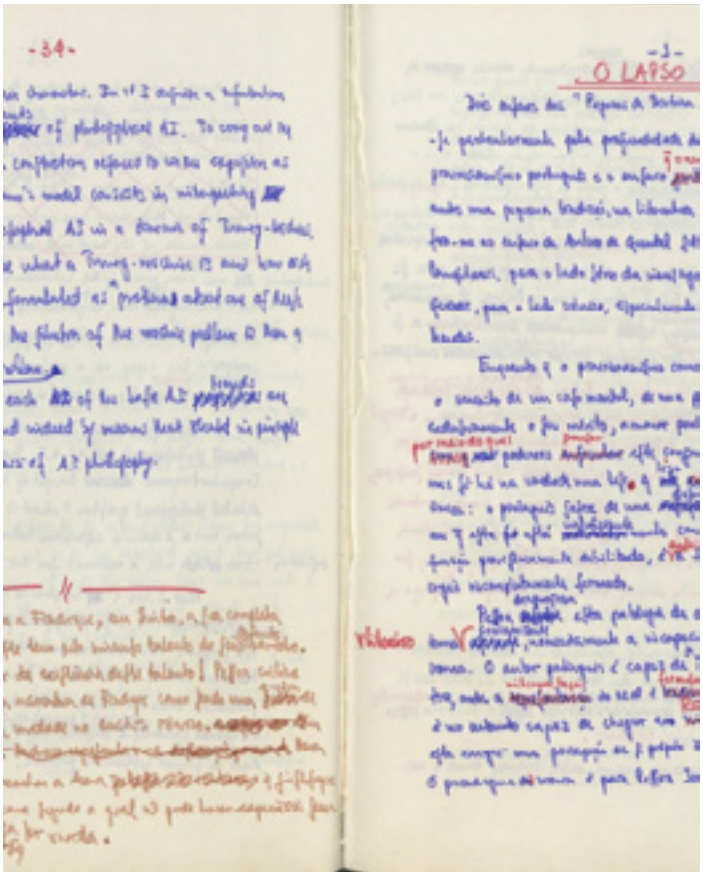


Figure 11.
Notebook *H*,
stubs between
56v and 57r.

ing stages these texts have undegone may be in order. Since every essay, which starts always on an odd page and usually takes 5 pages, was penned with colour felt tip pens, observing how the colours follow one after the other is instrumental for a general view of the writing process. Therefore, it is convenient to list some more or less current features of the writing and revision of the *Degraus do Parnaso* drafts in this notebook:

1. Almost all writing tools are used indicriminately for the writing and for the revision.
2. The colour of the first paragraph is almost always blue.
3. Each colour used on the writing stage is applied to more or less developed textual sequences, going from at least a few words to a number of paragraphs.

4. In each sequence, corrections are usually made by no more than two colour markers different from the one used for the writing.

5. The colour of the correcting markers is frequently the same as the colour used for the writing in subsequent zones.

6. When in the same writing sequence there are corrections by two markers, one of them is always red.

7. The titles, penned in red, are always placed on top of the first page of each essay. In general they apparently adjust to the space made available after the inscription of the page number and before the first line of writing.

These seven tentative observations may serve as the basis for a trial identification of rules according to the connection between spatial information and writing instrument variables. The more clear-cut the connection, the closer we are to the identification of a rule; the more blurred the connection, the more distant we are from the identification of a rule.

Since in the case of the title it always appears on top of an odd page before the first paragraph and it is always written down by a red marker, there is a rule linking the title function and the red colour, besides, of course, the placement on the upper margin of the first page.

Things are different when one moves on to the first paragraph. Eight out of nine essays have the first paragraph written in blue, only one in another colour. The single exception to the possible rule according to which the colour of the first paragraph is always blue happens to be the essay on Salome whose first paragraph was written with a red marker. Whereas the blue marker plays the starting function in purely documentary terms, i.e., it looks like an arbitrary decision as to its textual meaning, the deviation from this rule with the intervention of the red marker specifically in «Salome» seems to be motivated by an aspect of the subject the essay deals with. Suffice it to recall the account Vincent O'Sullivan gave of the genesis of Oscar Wilde's play: after Wilde started writing the play in his lodgings in Paris, he interrupted this work to go to the Grand Café, «where he informs the leader of the orchestra, 'I am writing a play about a woman dancing with her bare feet in the blood of a man she has craved for and slain'» (Tydeman & Price 1996: 16). Such a minimal description of the play suggests the strong chromatic impression it deploys which is associated with the red colour. Should this assumption prove correct, the rule can be formulated as excluding or including a colour other than blue in the first paragraph. Although this rule can only be perfectly phrased after taking into due consideration the evidence from notebook *N*, for the time being I prefer an inclusive formulation: the first paragraph is always written in blue or in an otherwise motivated colour.

Finally, an observation about the stages of writing and revision. This is the third and last case I will be referring to and it is the most difficult to grasp, the most difficult to describe and, consequently, the one whose observation is least prone to generate a rule because of the number of its variables. Unlike the first and second cases (title and first paragraph), one is not dealing here with text in prefixed positions, but rather in relative positions: before and after something. Likewise: there is no clearly predominant colour similar to blue in the first paragraph; there is no fixed length for the intervention of each colour marker; because the revising colour frequently coincides with the writing colour used one or two portions below, there is a material connection between the two stages, but one is not sure as to which of them happened first (the revision of the preceding portion or the

writing of the ensuing portion)[11]. Similarly, owing to the fact that the same tools are used for most of the writing and the revision, when we are before the same writing tool playing these two roles, it is hard, if not impossible, to decide whether a correction took place instantly during, say, the first writing action or, afterwards, during the revising process[12].

However, none of these unanswered questions prevents the observer from getting a glimpse of Lourenço's, say, ideal *modus scribendi*: he pens down a writing sequence A, introducing instant corrections; changes writing tool, revises the previous sequence and writes down sequence B, introducing instant corrections; changes tool, revises sequence B and writes down sequence C, making instant corrections, and so forth. Schematically, this could be thus presented: A | ArB | ArBrC | BrCrD…

Thus, for instance, on p. 3 of the essay «Salomé», paragraph 1 is written with a light green marker, with a few corrections in red having been introduced; red is the colour of the following paragraph which goes on to the top of the following page; some corrections have been inserted with another green marker, green being the colour of the following paragraph (figure 12).

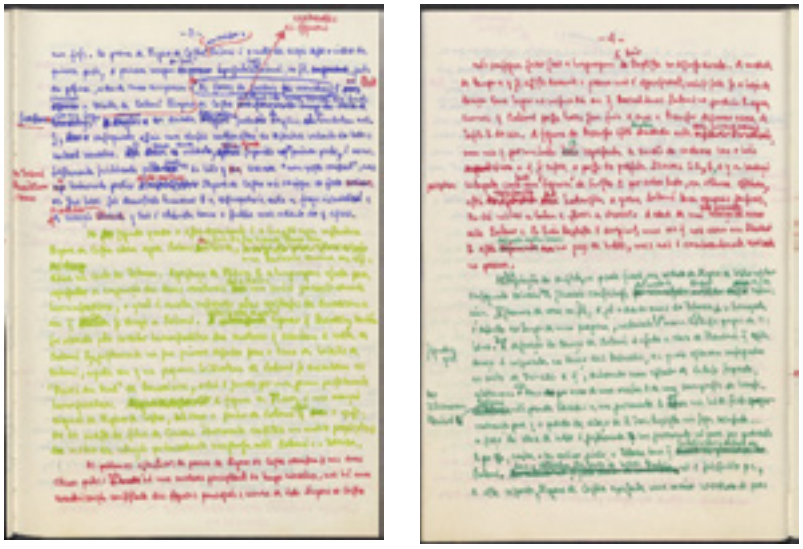


Figure 12. Notebook *H*, f. 77r-77v. The paragraph on page 3 penned by a light green marker was revised by a red marker, red being the colour of the following paragraph which continues to the top of page 4. Then a green marker inserted some corrections, green being the colour of the upcoming paragraph.

This step by step method shows that writing and revision follow one another according to the rhythm of the changes in colour markers and it is plausibly complemented by a global revision carried out with a red marker, which is also responsible for the insertion of the title. Above all, Lourenço seems to write in a gradual progression mode, «ascending step by step», as Johann Josef Fux states in the preface to his *Gradus ad Parnassum* («quâ pedetentim tyrones tanquam per scalam scandere, atque ad artis huius adptionem pervenire possent»)[13].

To conclude, while variation *in presentia* plays a key role in textual genetics, the scrutiny of words and passages in the drafts that do not appear in the published version are not without importance

[11]Now there is ground to think that the revision takes place before the writing of a new sequence (cf. Dionísio & Pimenta forthcoming).

[12]All these are questions without definite answers, challenging a markup approach that seeks to do justice to a genetic account of the writing process.

[13]This is how Fux presents his work on the practice of writing music: «a simple method by which the novice can progress gradually step by step to attain mastery in this art» (transl. Alfred Mann, 1971: 17).

for an analysis of text as process. Accidentals, such as spelling peculiarities, and trivial mistakes go frequently through editorial correction so that the end result meets orthographic standards and textual transparency. In the case of the M. S. Lourenço's *Os Degraus do Parnso*, an effect of such editorial standardization is that phenomena of linguistic contamination and meaningful slips are only accessible through a perusal of the extant drafts. These drafts also enable the reader to make sense of the material dimension of text as process, namely the writing instruments used by Lourenço and the layout that frames the preliminary versions of this work. The way in which writing and revision are intricately enmeshed in these drafts is analogous to the gradual progression endorsed in Fux's treatise on musical harmony as the method to attain mastery in composition. In light of the above, the acknowledgment of textual and material constants and variables allows for the understanding of literary genesis as a game, the rules of which call for tentative identification.

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KEYWORDS

the genesis of the text

Variation

Abstract:
The article, inspired by Daniel Ferrer's view of genetic variation as a process built of many interconnections, rather than a series of free operations subordinated to other operations, presents literary genesis as a game of variation. The rules of the game can only be tentatively discern by identifying its components from text and document. In the article, I devote special attention to the analysis of variations *in absentia*, i.e. a situation in which, although only one version of the text is written, it can be compared with a version that is closer to the reader (or more expected). Variation *in absentia* is essential for analyzing both textual and material aspects of the writing process (e.g. page layout changes, pen changes, replacing writing aids). In this article, I follow this kind of variation from the sketches of *Os Degraus do Parnaso* (*The Steps to Parnas*), a collection of essays by the versatile writer and analytical philosopher M.S. Lourenço (1936–2009). Accurate interpretation of textual and material constants and variables, in terms of spelling and the use of writing tools, leads to the conclusion that cases in the text (elements that, according to W.W. Greg, affect only formal presentation) are not always accidental in literary genesis.

the materiality of the text

RANDOMNESS

Note on the Author:
João Dionísio - lecturer at the Faculty of Literature (University of Lisbon), where in 2010–2013 he led the course of text criticism. He works at the Linguistics Center of the University of Lisbon (CLUL) as a member of a philological group and focuses his research on text science. He prepared an electronic edition of the medieval work *Loyal Counselor* [*Leal Conselheiro*] (http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/IbrAmerTxt.LealConselIntro), belonging to the canon of Portuguese literature, and prepared three volumes of critical editions of Fernando Pessoa (1993, 1997 and 2004). He coordinated the inventory of M.S. Lourenço (held at the National Library of Portugal). In 2013–2016 he was the president of the European Society for Textual Scholarship. |

Engrams of the Body:

The Poetics of Pain Notes in Aleksander Wat's Archive

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The experience of the archive is, above all, the experience of generic heterogeneity and confusion. Organizing and cataloging all forms of textual presence is a formidable task.[1] Aleksander Wat's archive, which will be discussed in this article, openly and radically confirms this thesis. Although the archive was re-arranged in 2010, and the Beinecke Library made every effort to make Wat's legacy as transparent as possible, when we are browsing through boxes and folders we have the impression that we are analyzing scattered typescripts and manuscripts. Many pages have been numbered by the writer (or Ola Watowa), but when we open a folder, it turns out that pages are missing or misplaced. It is a fragmented, torn, and incoherent corpus. At the same time, this tendency of the archive to disperse, to create a space of atopic unrooting, corresponds to Wat's writing techniques. Wat used the poetics of small fragments in his writing: some of them are dated (but often only the day, and not the year, is given), while others function only as notes. Some pages are used and re-used many times: drafts of poems, bibliographic entries, and remarks about Wat's health can be found on the same page.

[1] On the theory of the archive and the experience of reading the archive: see J. Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian impression* (Paris: Éditions Galilée, 1996); M. Antoniuk, "Proces tekstotwórczy jako najpiękniejszy przedmiot badań, którego nie ma" [The process creating a text as the most beautiful subject of research, which does not exist], in *Pracownia Herberta. Studia nad procesem tekstotwórczym* [Herbert's Studio: Studies on the process creating a text], ed. Mateusz Antoniuk (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2017), 11-26; special issue of *Czas Kultury* titled *Archiwum prywatne* [Private archive] [*Czas Kultury* 193, no. 2 (2017)].

All texts in the notebooks were preserved as, as Wat observed in an entry from the Kaiser Hospital dated Sep. 11, 1964, "broken and naught (devoid of its sh shape e and volume of characters, with which I filled hundreds of pages paper sheets notes, uselessly, undecipherable sometimes even to myself."[2] The quoted fragment, with its spelling and syntax mistakes, testifies to the "draft" and plastic nature of Wat's notes. Their "naught nature," however, is a testament to the stylistic chaos of Wat's notes. Only the careful reader will understand them, with all their flaws and imperfections. At the same time, the notes provide us with a new perspective on genological ordering. On the one hand, Wat sees the notes as potential parts of a bigger whole, and plans to include them in various projects: his autobiography,[3] *Rapsodie polityczne* [Political rhapsodies], novel about Stalin, or journals (the archive gives rise to the concept of a diary, which Ola Watowa later transformed into *Dziennik bez samogłosek* [Diary Without Vowels], and the concept of a recorded diary; unfortunately, only a few pages have survived; they were most probably transcribed from tape recordings; see: Box 32, Folder 743-745). On the other hand, their "naught nature," their chaotic origins, their stylistic heterogeneity, and their fragmentary nature elude genological ordering, i.e. cataloging. In order to resolve this contradiction, and fully understand the meaning of Wat's atopic archive, we have to redefine genology in a post-structural spirit: we should focus on the notion of the "scattered" archive and "family resemblance," moving beyond the principle of uniformity. As Adam Dziadek rightly points out, referring Jacques Derrida's *Archive Fever*:

> The archive is concerned with the future. The archive is a place of tradition; it is a place where the past creates the present and the future. It is true that it is associated with responsibility (ethics), with responsibility for the future, because we organize and interpret the archived material.[4]

Wat's archive, tradition, and history all intertwine. The poet constantly demands recognition for his texts. He wants his texts to be part and parcel of culture. He writes, although he knows that his notes are illegible, to make his voice heard, to restore the sense of presence he lost because of the disease. At the same time, he is unable to tame, structure, and organize his idiosyncratic experience: the genological boundaries of Wat's texts are blurred. How can we talk about idiosyncrasy and belonging at the same time? The future of the archive is not concerned with negating its structure and its need to preserve tradition. The future must remain plastic.

The archive as a constellation of fuzzy sets

Grzegorz Grochowski in *Pamięć gatunków* [The memory of genres] reconstructs the relationships between post-structural genology and Ludwig Wittgenstein's concept of "family resemblance." He observes that:

[2] Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library (New Haven), Aleksander Wat Papers (GEN MSS 705), Series II: Writings, Box 28, Folder 662.

[3] I wrote about the possibility of including some of Wat's notes (e.g. from the Kaiser Hospital) in the project of heterotopic autobiography *Moje więzienia – moje szpitale* [My prisons – my hospitals] in "Zapiski z Kaiser Hospital Aleksandra Wata – fragmenty autobiografii heterotopicznej" [Alexander Wat's notes from the Kaiser Hospital: Fragments of heterotopic autobiography] (*Wielogłos* 31, no. 1 (2017): 67-86).

[4] A. Dziadek, "Aleksander Wat w Beinecke Library w Yale" [Alexander Wat at the Beinecke Library at Yale], *Teksty Drugie* no. 6 (2009): 257.

> Belonging to a given set should be governed by (...) a dynamic system of overlapping relations between components, "a complicated network of similarities overlapping and crisscrossing; similarities in the large and in the small."[5]

Grochowski quotes *Philosophical Investigations* and demonstrates that genres may be construed as a network of overlapping features or determinants. Each text can come into contact with its different parts, flexibly changing its position within the whole. Indeed, to draw on Stanisław Balbus, we could say that today, when we are dealing with a large number of texts that deliberately violate traditional generic rules, we should move away from taxonomic genology and generate

> a varied field of genological references, references that are usually obscure, because many literary scholars find genre distinctions more and more obscure, multi-faceted, and ambiguous, and thus doomed. The literary genre of a given "hypertext" does not have an "obligation" to implement a genre paradigm, even in a negative sense (...). Instead, it must, in various ways, point to various genological references. There can be many such references and they do not have to be mutually complementary.[6]

Balbus draws on Gérard Genette's "architextuality" and defines a field in which every text is a modifiable prototype of a genre made of different (sometimes contradictory) traditional features. Genology thus becomes "modified" intertextuality.

In Grochowski's post-structural approach, one more element comes to the fore: contingency. In keeping with Wittgenstein's notion of "family resemblance," we order and catalogue texts in accordance with the degree of similarity, by placing them in different configurations and contexts.

> Ordering according to similarities is therefore dynamic and, depending on the adopted perspective, it allows one to create various sets, devoid of permanent assignment (...). Similarities make it easier to group objects, but we cannot systematize objects on the basis of similarities; similarities do not establish transparent relations of inferiority and do not create permanent conceptual systems. They do not constitute an objective order. They are only contingent effects of ordering. Their operational advantage is their significant plasticity, thanks to which they can be adapted to the adopted assumptions and goals on an ongoing basis.[7]

Grochowski emphasizes that the analyzed texts and the created sets are neither stable nor permanent. Such is the case with Wat's archive. First of all, it contains texts that (depending on the adopted rules or research perspective) may be classified as different genres. The notes from the Kaiser Hospital are the best example of such complexity: dates and numerous personal and biographical references indicate that the notes may be classified as a quasi-diary. However, when we read the whole, we learn that the notes were not written on a day-to-day

[5] G. Grochowski, *Pamięć gatunków. Ponowoczesne dylematy atrybucji gatunkowej* [The memory of genres: Postmodern dilemmas of generic attribution] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IBL, 2018), 52.

[6] S. Balbus, "Zagłada gatunków" [Destruction of genres], *Teksty Drugie* 59, no. 6 (1999): 34.

[7] Grochowski, *Pamięć gatunków*, 55-56 (emphasis mine, MK).

basis (thus they cannot be classified as a diary; they function as a journal). Upon closer analysis, we find in these notes features of literary autofiction.[8] The reliability of Wat's notes is thus questioned; a sylleptic subjectivity is established in the text:[9] it is torn between the grotesque represented world filled with masked figures and the experience of solitary confinement in the heterotopia of the hospital. Consequently, the contingency of the genological order is exposed: different notes give rise to different classifications. Unstable and atopic fragments undermine genre distinctions: generic boundaries are blurred. There are no clear definitions. Notes from the Kaiser Hospital, just to refer to the same example, may be classified (and thus read) as a journal, a diary, an autobiography, and a fantasy story.

Archival texts therefore should be "tested in different contexts."[10] They "proliferate by crisscrossing."[11] They play with traditional genres, creating hybrids, and at the same time rely on traditional determinants. The text is always plastic: it has its limitations and frames; it is defined by its limits (paper, page), and at the same time it has "the ability (...) to deform, to transform and break its (...) original form."[12] Archival texts are thus generic and idiosyncratic. They are a convention and an idiom, an engram of the world and an engram of the body, a genre and an anti-genre. Classification is always fluid. It never simply is.

Therefore, the archive can be characterized as a place that is meant to generate plastic genres that defy stable classifications and only function within fuzzy sets. Drawing on Lotfi A. Zadeh's mathematical theory and his concept of fuzzy sets, we can redefine the taxonomic possibilities of genology.[13] As Ernest Januszewski argues:

> Until now, it has been assumed that a given element either belongs to a set or not. For Zadeh a given element may belong to a set to a greater or lesser degree, and therefore the boundaries of the set become somewhat blurred. (...)
> The fuzzy set theory created by Zadeh provides us with tools with which we can analyze ambiguous or incomplete phenomena. Ultimately, the need to define and classify should disappear, especially since it is often simply impossible to satisfy.[14]

Archival texts defy generic definitions. In such a pre-textual and draft field, various conventions may be tested and defined (in keeping with Wittgenstein's idea). Archival texts are part of generic sets only to a certain extent and must remain "vague and incomplete." Atopy is un-identification, un-rooting, and difference: a given text may be found in different sets.

[8] See: A. Turczyn, "Autofikcja, czyli autobiografia psychopolifoniczna" [Autofiction, or psychopolyphonic autobiography], *Teksty Drugie* no. 1-2 (2007): 204-211.

[9] See: R. Nycz, "Tropy «ja»: koncepcje podmiotowości w literaturze polskiej ostatniego stulecia" [The tropes of the 'I:' Concepts of subjectivity in Polish literature of the last century], *Teksty Drugie* 26, no. 2 (1994): 22-26.

[10] Grochowski, *Pamięć gatunków*, 62.

[11] Grochowski, 61.

[12] C. Malabou, *Plasticity at the Dusk of Writing: Dialectic, Destruction, Deconstruction* (New York: Columbia UP, 2010), 46.

[13] See: B. Witosz, *Genologia lingwistyczna. Zarys problematyki* [Linguistic genology: Introduction] (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2005), 99-111.

[14] E. Januszewski, "Logiczne i filozoficzne problemy związane z logiką rozmytą" [Logical and philosophical problems related to fuzzy logic], *Roczniki Filozoficzne* vol. LV, no. 1 (2007): 109.

Therefore, as generic nomads, archival texts are not so much moved from one "folder" to another, defying generic classifications, but function in the gray zone of a fuzzy set, moving towards and away from different classifications.

The pain note as an engram of the body

Fragmentary, broken, and "naught" texts therefore find their contingent labels in different places. And since they are everywhere, we cannot assign and find them anywhere. This paradox results not only from their complex and ambiguous form (often devoid of distinctive features) but also from their idiosyncratic nature.

When I studied Wat's notebooks at the Beinecke Library, I had the impression that they were internally inconsistent. The writer made different notes. Some of them were dated, like diary entries. I was looking for fragments that could theoretically fit into the spectral corpus of *Dziennik bez samogłosek*, so I was pleased to find fragments that resembled diary entries in the analyzed texts. Still, though they obviously fit into a larger corpus of Wat's life writing, the notes as a whole form a completely different corpus: they are scattered pain notes, in which the writer summarizes his experiences as a patient. The theme that connects these short texts – disease – forces us to reflect on their formal and genological "family resemblance." While we can read them like diary entries, they function as a specific kind of a diary: in terms of form, we can read them as a medical narrative (in keeping with the tradition of pathographic writing[15]), a lyrical text, and, at times, (since the addressee is mentioned) a prayer, or a letter.

Thus, on the one hand, they encourage genological reflection (and test various fuzzy sets) and function as imprints of real somatic experiences: engrams of the writing body. Jean-Luc Nancy writes in *Corpus*:

> "Written bodies" – incised, engraved, tattooed, scarred – are precious bodies, preserved and protected like the codes for which they act as glorious engrams. (...) We have to begin by getting through, and by means of, *exscription* of our body. (...) the only thing left is an in-finite line, tracing the writing, which is itself exscribed, to be followed, infinitely broken, distributed among the multitude of bodies, a line of separation imparted to all its sites – tangential points, touches, intersections, dislocations.[16]

The body can become an engram not only through marks on the skin, but also through exscribing: as a sign. Writing is a process of exscribing the body into text. As such, the text transcends the textual and enters the experienced. When the skin of the writing "I" (and Wat's skin burns; it is impossible to forget about it) and the skin of the text (its linguistic, phonic, and syntactic tissue, whose rhythm may be found in the rhythm of thinking and breathing) touch, they are both truly close and truly apart.

[15]For more on pathographic writing and the phenomenon of literary pathographies, see: I. Boruszkowska, *Defekty. Literackie auto/pato/grafie – szkice* [Defects: Literary auto/pato/graphies] (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2016) and I. Boruszkowska, *Sygnatury choroby. Literatura defektu w ukraińskim modernizmie* [Signatures of the disease: Defect literature in Ukrainian Modernism] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IBL, 2018).

[16]J.-L. Nancy, *Corpus* (New York: Fordham UP, 2008), 11.

It is in the ephemeral and contingent pain note, as a genre, that such a strange encounter may take place. The writing body may reveal its egoism and idiosyncrasy. The pain note documents a somatic experience (it is recorded physiologically, in the linguistic tissue of the text itself). In the pain note, the self is "the flextion of a place, a fold or motion."[17] The self tells in the most intimate form (a diary that is not meant to be published) about his inexpressible and constant pain. At the same time, the self describes himself "from the outside" as a case. The narrative is full of medical terms (names of drugs, calculation of doses). As Nancy writes: "*Ego sum* this local inflection, singularly, such and such each time (and how many times in "one" time? How many articulations in "one"?), even this accent, or this *tone*."[18] The pain note documents a continuous experience (Wat constantly feels pain and follows uniform medical protocols) that nevertheless differs (the body's response is always different; it is impossible to feel exactly the same thing twice). Thus, the notes are similar in form (and thus may be classified as a genre) but constitute a different engram each time (a trace of a different event). The Derridean "the each-time-only-one time"[19] best describes this paradoxical situation of uniformity and novelty.

Unfortunately, I cannot discuss all of Wat's notes which "resemble" the pain note in this article. However, I will analyze an exemplary fragment from a notebook from the 1960s, dated December 8 and demonstrate how the experience of pain may be forever coded in language.

> December 8
>
> Here is a generality: to the keeping of each poem, of every poem, the inscription of a date, of this date – for example, a "20th of January" – is entrusted. But despite the generality of the law, the example remains irreplaceable. And what must remain, committed to the keeping, in other words, to the truth of each poem, is this irreplaceable itself: the example offers its example only if its valid for no other. But precisely in that it offers its example, and the only example possible, the which it alone offers: the only one.[20]

In "Shibboleth: For Paul Celan," Derrida discusses a poem with a date: it is both unique (because of the day on which it was written) and repetitive (because the same date may be repeated). The poem is therefore non-and-repeatable; it is a prototype of the genre. However, the discussion of the dating system should not be limited to poetry: notes from Wat's archive are also dated texts. They also have their "20th of January."

Dating makes them unique, while the experience of constant pain makes them repeatable. According to Derrida, date becomes a gift[21] because it allows one to break free from the world of constant pain, a homogeneous experience of suffering. When Wat dates his notes, he uproots and extracts a specific moment from the world of constant pain.

[17]Nancy, 27.

[18]Nancy, 27.

[19]J. Derrida, "Shibboleth: For Paul Celan" in *Sovereignties in Question: The Poetics of Paul Celan* (New York: Fordham UP, 2005), 11.

[20]Derrida, 6.

[21]See: Derrida, 14.

Indeed, let us focus on the note dated December 8:

> December 8
>
> Today I had a foretaste of my best possible death. The night was terrible, I took Euphyllin at night, I felt sort of special afterwards (after 20 minutes) and, contrary to my 15-year-old custom, I ~~fe~~fell asleep without the sleeping pills which I always take. Well, it was 36 hours after my morphine injection (+ Papaverine), which~~h~~ this time had such a terrible effect that I decided to get rid of morphine injections from my pharmacopoeia, once and for all (I had morphine injections very rarely, with deep reluctance and with increasingly worse results) and it made me very ~~sl~~ drowsy for an hour. Indeed, Euphyllin (after all a derivative of morphine) in a suppository had a stronger effect, not so much euphoria, but it calmed the central nervous system like nothing else, unfortunately for a short time (1-1 / 2 hours, and I had to observe 4-/5-hour breaks so that its effect does not decrease).
>
> Well, I woke up at 3 a.m., well-rested, but in pain naturally. I took my second Euphyllin – but this time, instead of putting it to sleep, it revived the brain, it worked faster and faster. It felt wrong in my head. But the idea of tomorrow, sleepless since 3 a.m., terrified me, I feared the consequences, a whole world of pain, paresis, irritation, oppression, sinister thoughts! So, at 3:10 a.m., according to the last ritual, I took: a glass of Passiflorine + only one Mogadon. After ½ an hour, only one ~~I Litrium~~ + Litrium. My brain is working so fast that it makes me tired or destroys me, pain comes back. So, at 5:30 a.m. I decided to take one Nembutal. To no avail, unfortunately. At 6 a.m., I took the second Nembutal, fearing that I would feel the consequences of poisoning tomorrow. ~~I fell asleep~~ like lead thrown into deep waters, ~~fe~~fell asleep, ~~at~~ having plugged my ears at 3 a.m., tightly. At 11 a.m. I was awakened by Ola's languid gaze. In terrible condition. My pains + severe pain in the back of the head + numbness, ~~mild~~ + photophobia. Bath. At 1 p.m. I took Euphyllin. Again, ~~excell~~ calming for my pain and nerves. Almost bliss. Breakfast in my armchair. Normal conversation. Then Ola, the dear tender wife ~~Ola~~, is bustling around in the bathroom. I can't ~~wr~~ read, but I feel comfortable in my armchair. Then the pain comes back. Then I feel – painfully – that my blood gradually stops circulating. Numbness. Head falls to the side, the hand which is holding the notebook is lifeless, legs are wooden, I'm in pain. Heavy torso slides down and I sleep / I do not sleep. My eyes close. And again I am awakened from numbness by Ola's gaze and her agitated questions. With difficulty, struggle, I stand up, turn my head, move my hands, rub my face, close and open my eyes, I can't walk around the room: I'm in pain, so I drag myself to the couch, I lift and lower my legs, move my fingers, rub my neck, roll my eyes, drink strong coffee. Minimum 1½ hour until my next Euphyllin, 1½ hour of severe pain. But I am writing it down. Because this is how I will die one day, <u>in an armchair</u>, from ~~lack~~ poor circulation, it will be for the best. ~~Die~~ At least not in the bed I hate so much. Unfortunately, in pain, and God knows how much pain, because pain changed too. After 15 years of my face and legs burning, now – additionally – terrible ~~pa~~ *ecorché*; flaying. Maybe it will get worse, much worse. But – ~~maybe~~ in pain, despite ~~falling asleep~~ pain, thanks to pain that cannot be tolerated consciously, maybe I'll fall asleep **V** What's next, good God
>
> **V** And Ola, Andrzej maybe they will think that I fell asleep without pain, which is possible?[22]

[22]Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library (New Haven), Aleksander Wat Papers (GEN MSS 705), Series II: Writings, Box 31, Folder 730.

The note dated December 8 was written on an orange Rhodia pad (Wat's favorite model). However, the writer did not adhere to the page division. His handwriting is neat and relatively legible. Lines are closer together (line spacing seems to be smaller) in the passage "So, at 3:10... I sleep / I do not sleep." When Wat starts writing on a new page, line spacing grows wider. Considering that an entire painful day is described here (it begins in the morning, around 3:00 a.m.), we assume that Wat wrote the note when his pain alleviated in the afternoon. This is also indicated by the broken form, which marks the moment when writing becomes impossible or difficult due to increasing somatic ailments. Wat also inserts a couple of additional mini-notes in the note (on the margin or as a "check mark" [V]). Two interpretations present themselves: either he corrects the text immediately (he read it when he considered it finished) or adds marginalia, as if simultaneously with the new sentences. He supplements his text on a regular basis whenever a new thought comes to his mind. The broken ending suggests that the second interpretation is true: the note is made on the go. It is an excerpt made in a moment, when the writer felt better. The writer does not reread the text. Once the somatic state at the beginning of the day is documented, the note takes the form of a momentary record, as evidenced by the rhythm of the sentences and the use of the present tense.

A unique double notation is characteristic for this note: at first, it reads like an entry in a journal (the past is reconstructed by means of a literary style); then, it appears to be a diary entry (focus on the present moment; syntax is more "relaxed;" signs which facilitate notation and abbreviations, e.g. "+ Litrium" or "3:00 a.m. well-rested," are used); and finally it even resembles a daily journal of a chronic illness (focus on drug doses and symptoms), which could be included in the patient's medical documentation.

Stylistic and generic complexity may be noticed in the first two sentences. In fact, only the opening sentence suggests that this is an attempt to universalize the experiences described later – that the author will try to discuss his suffering in the context of his philosophy of mortality that we know, for example, from his poetry.

> Dzisiaj miałem przedsmak śmierci mojej, najlepszej z możliwych.
> Today I had a foretaste of my best possible death.

In Polish, inversion governs the rhythm of this sentence: Wat writes "śmierci mojej" [death my] and not "mojej śmierci" [my death].[23] A single phonologic word becomes two: the first intonation unit is thus endowed with a strong rhythm:

/_| _ _ /_| /_| /_

Upon careful analysis of this unit, we notice that tension is building up: time is underlined, then the sentence takes momentum, only to tone down, and rhythmically move towards the main intonation unit. "Śmierci mojej" reads like a funeral march, taking us to the other side of the phrase. We find relief in its descending part (it is also regular; the stress falls perfectly in the middle of the three-syllable phonological word): we learn that it would be

[23] This difference unfortunately disappears in translation (translator's footnote).

the best possible death. Terror evaporates and, in its place, we find majesty, peace, and acceptance. The opening sentence is intentional: the stresses are distributed perfectly. It is an ideal phrase. The following sentence

> The night was terrible, I took Euphyllin at night, I felt sort of special afterwards (after 20 minutes) and, contrary to my 15-year-old custom, I ~~fe~~fell asleep without the sleeping pills which I always take.

violates this perfect rhythm which alternately rises and falls. The sentence is in fact divided into two parts, which are governed by an expressive subcode. In the first part, "the night was terrible," the emphasis is on the word "night." The emphasis is also on time, but it can have a symbolic dimension: at night the writer is in pain; he cannot sleep and rest. Fear (of pain) and hope (for relief) intertwine. This state of tension is emphasized in the second part. The intonation is alternately rising, falling, rising, falling, and rising again. Wat starts this part of the sentence a number of times ("I took ...," "I felt," "after 20 ...," "contrary to..."), but the tension is defused only in the following clause ("I fell asleep without the sleeping pills which I always take"). Such a structure suggests that Wat tried to go to sleep a couple of times. It also demonstrates that Wat was thinking about a million things: each thought required clarification (he named the drug and emphasized its unique effects and its onset) and "gradual" specification (first added after a comma, then in parenthesis). Wat's intonational chaos is additionally reinforced by "relaxed" semantical (elements of colloquial speech: "sort of") and stylistic (repetition: night, custom, always) rules. The second sentence thus introduces us to the world of a completely different rhythm of pain that may not be subjected to any rules. There are too many words and too many thoughts. In *Dziennik bez samogłosek*, Wat calls such a state "logorrhea:"

> and so much logorrhea, because I wrote only in periods of drunken euphoria between onsets of my illness and what interests, intrigues, and even fascinates my listeners is lost in mediocre storms of verbal mediocrity, when I am alone, alone with myself, when someone's attentive gaze does not keep my logorrhea in check.[24]

The following sentences are consumed by "logorrhea," but Wat is also looking for a way out, creating a dynamic and tense rhythmic structure consisting of alternating "verbal storms" and laconic messages.

For example, relaxed syntactical rules and enumerations signal the "verbal storm:"

> Well, it was 36 hours after my morphine injection (+ Papaverine), which~~h~~ this time had such a terrible effect that I decided to get rid of morphine injections from my pharmacopoeia, once and for all (I had morphine injections very rarely, with deep reluctance and with increasingly worse results) and it made me very ~~sl~~ drowsy for an hour.

[24]A. Wat, *Dziennik bez samogłosek* [Diary without vowels], transcribed and edited by M. Kmiecik (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2018), 270.

> With difficulty, struggle, I stand up, turn my head, move my hands, rub my face, close and open my eyes, I can't walk around the room: I'm in pain, so I drag myself to the couch, I lift and lower my legs, move my fingers, rub my neck, roll my eyes, drink strong coffee.

In the first passage, the sentences are longer. Disruption of harmony and order, also seen in the second sentence of the pain note analyzed above, gains momentum. Wat again uses interjections and abbreviations ("+ Papaverine,", "I had morphine injections very rarely ..."). He also breaks off syntactic relations ("I decided to get rid of morphine injections from my pharmacopoeia, once and for all (...) and it made me very"). Thus, the metaphor of *pharmacopoeia* acquires an exceptionally expressive meaning: the pain note becomes a quasi-*passage*; it is a record of a journey through the meandering world of pain and substances which alleviate it. Elżbieta Rybicka, who defines the *passage* in relation to urban texts, observes that: "in French, *passage* means a passage, a transition (...). Transition (in a more figurative sense) is a conceptual principle."[25] Wat in his note moves smoothly through the stages of his pharmacological odyssey. He lists his distressing symptoms and the reactions triggered by his actions. Enumeration is his basic structuring strategy. He lists names of drugs and doses, forcing us to read this note as a *passage*: a passage that leads from one moment of suffering to the next. There is a thin line, a borderline, between the inside of the body (dark, impenetrable, and non-communicable experience of pain) and the outside (attempts to alleviate pain, to communicate with the body, to win it back for the world).

> Bodies don't take place in discourse or in matter. (...) They take place at the limit, *qua limit*: limit – external border, the fracture and intersection of anything foreign in a continuum of sense, a continuum of matter. An opening, discreteness.[26]

Wat's written body is thus contextualized in a continuous discourse. The pain notes that were made systematically could constitute a pathographic corpus. Indeed, the metaphor of *pharmacopoeia* demonstrates that the writer recognizes the connection between his idiosyncratic experience and tradition: hence the reference to the Odyssey. Respectively, the use of enumeration demonstrates that a single pain note is a configuration of different and unique events and experiences. Repeatability is intertwined with irregularity. And irregular notes and dates create a complex structure, which depends on factors unknown to us. The border on which Wat's text is situated frees him from the obligation to classify and define his place (and the position his note occupies). The poetics that elevates colloquial and, at times, ungrammatical language, as well as enumeration, thus becomes "the anatomical sign of 'self.'"[27] The limit, the external border, does not dismember Wat's corpus but rather allows it to be re-contextualized and re-interpreted:

> An anatomy more of numbering than dismembering. An anatomy of configurations, of the plasticity of what we'd have to call states of body, ways of being, bearing, breathings, paces, staggerings, sufferings, pleasures (...).[28]

[25]E. Rybicka, *Modernizowanie miasta. Zarys problematyki urbanistycznej w nowoczesnej literaturze polskiej* [Modernizing the city: An outline of urban issues in modern Polish literature] (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Universitas, 2003), 166-167.

[26]Nancy, *Corpus*, 17.

[27]Nancy, 85.

[28]Nancy.

Wat seeks to truly understand the experience of the body. He tries to reconnect with the body with the help of drugs, movement, and actions. Writing is for him a form and a sign of regaining control: "I can't ~~wr~~ read, but I feel comfortable in my armchair." The crossed-out "~~wr~~" refers to writing. At that moment, it was still difficult to reach for a pen, but a moment later Wat added: "But I am writing it down. Because this is how I will die one day." "But" at the beginning of the sentence suggests that Wat writes "despite" the pain and discomfort, "despite" the fear that it will be pointless. There are many more similar linguistic traces in Wat's notes which refer to repeated attempts:

> Then Ola, the dear tender wife ~~Ola~~, is bustling around in the bathroom. I can't ~~wr~~ read, but I feel comfortable in my armchair. Then the pain comes back. Then I feel – painfully – that my blood gradually stops circulating.

The repeated use of "then" at the beginning of the sentence suggests that pain is chronic. It also marks the beginning of another "verbal storm." Short and simple sentences intertwine with long lists. Wat seems to speed up and slow down the rhythm of his writing, depending on how well or unwell he feels: suffering resembles a wave. Climax and silence foreshadow another ascent and another attack. Enumeration (and the use of plus signs) allows Wat to verify all his symptoms quickly. The incorrect use of punctuation marks also marks the "waves" of pain: "With difficulty, struggle, I stand up." The comma before "I stand up" suggests that Wat wishes to describe how difficult it is for him to do things – we do not expect the next word to be a verb. Indeed, the comma (and alliteration) endow the word "I stand up" with a completely different meaning: it is a sign of suffering and illness. The reader can feel it firsthand when Wat lists what he does in order to stimulate his body to work more efficiently. The subject tries many different things to re-connect with and activate his body. The patient repeatedly stimulates different parts of the body (stand up, turn, move, rub): he is both the subject and the object of his actions. His body is dismembered and subjected, one by one, to stimulation.

Last but not least, enumeration also allows one to focus on an experience that is singled out from an entire "wave" of sensations (similarly to providing a date). Wat uses enumeration and fragmentation to this effect. For example, some structures read like series of symptoms, recorded in the most objectified and de-subjectified manner, and combined using a plus sign ("My pains + severe pain in the back of the head + numbness, ~~mild~~ + photophobia"). Respectively, such a sequence may function as an asyndetic list of minor actions that are meant as countermeasures ("move my hands, rub my face"). Each time enumeration is only a – seemingly random – configuration of events or symptoms. They can be freely rearranged. There are days when the constellation of symptoms looks different: after all, each symptom is a movable, isolable element. At the same time – and it should be emphasized – different notations suggest a different attitude towards the disease and its perception. The writer tries to separate physical ailments from the subjective perspective and thus isolate them in a twofold manner. He wants to embed strategies of resistance to pain as much as possible within his consciousness. It proves that he does not give up, that he is still trying to control his body. He emphasizes its fragmentation, or its "local" nature. Only with the help of specific micro-actions can he regain a sense of control: he may move his legs gently, move his fingers, and move his

eyeballs. The body is not experienced "in general." This experience is always singular: it can be felt for a moment, in a flash. Pain comes and goes.

Indeed, pain is hidden in various signs. It sends many signals. Pain organizes the entire text and allows us to perceive this collection of idiosyncratic notes as a certain genological whole. Wat emphasizes this at the end of the analyzed excerpt:

> But – ~~maybe~~ in pain, despite ~~falling asleep~~ pain, thanks to pain that cannot be tolerated consciously, maybe I'll fall asleep

In the first draft, the writer avoids the word "pain." It seems that the sentence he intends to write will be shorter. However, pain is always present. It creeps in many forms into each part, creating a polyptoton. It grows like a polyp: multiplying and intensifying negative experiences, making it impossible for Wat to escape this experience. He is terrified and fragile, caring. He talks about his wife and son, proving that the experience of overwhelming suffering does not annihilate the experiencing self, who even manages to ask:

> And Ola, Andrzej maybe they will think that I fell asleep without pain, which is possible?

Whom does he address? Does he address God? The sentence may be divided into two clauses. "Which is possible?" functions as an additional unit. It signals a different approach. It is a question directed at nobody, at a force that will neither react nor comfort. The note thus transforms into a kind of a silent, troubled, almost inaudible prayer for the "best possible" death. The figure of speech at the end of the text (the apostrophe to God) allows it to come full circle. What we thought was a broken ending turns out to be, paradoxically, a framing device that allows for this quasi-journalistic note to be included in the corpus of literary texts that deal with unanswered/unutterable prayers. It also transforms it into a literary testimony: Wat attempts to write about the body and its painful experiences so that it can be touched through reading, handwriting, and the rhythm of the sentences. The silence in the last sentence, which does not even end with a question mark, does not prevent communication. On the contrary, it establishes communication. As Nancy rightly observes:

> Whereof we can no longer speak, thereof we must not stop talking. We have to keep pressing speech, language, and discourse against this body, whose contact is uncertain, intermittent, hidden, and yet insistent.[29]

The pain note, in my view, is therefore a quasi-apostrophe. Words, although they seemingly serve to reconstruct the experience of the writer, are self-analytical, intimate, and meant to touch the listener and the empathic "you." Making room for pain in language is an attempt to communicate the presence of the body, its movements, and dramas. Talking about pain testifies to existence – the somatic is transfigured into the semiotic.[30]

[29]Nancy, 61.

[30]See: A. Dziadek, *Projekt krytyki somatycznej* [The project of somatic criticism] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IBL, 2015), 20.

The body, however, is different, idiosyncratic, although still the same. The experience of the body is the experience of continuity and difference: we are ourselves, though we are constantly changing. By imposing a reproducible genological pattern on the text, by making individual entries, fragments, and notes similar, Wat unifies his experience and endows it with meaning. In writing, he finds "the best possible death:" he finds peace and comfort in listing the next stages of his illness, enumerating somatic changes, analyzing remedial measures, and using "technical" medical terms. In writing, in the intricate rhythm of sentences, sometimes arranged like a pulsating ECG, we discover an engram of the body: recorded on a given day, hour, moment in time. Pain notes may differ from each other slightly: for example, as regards intonation and the structure of sentences. It allows us to observe chronic pain and, at the same time, its idiosyncratic nature. According to Derrida:

> from one repetition to the next, a change had insinuated itself into the relationship between the two initial utterances. The punctuation had been slightly modified, as had the content of the second independent clause. Theoretically, this barely noticeable shift could have created a mutual independency between the interpretative alternative.[31]

A change, which is a signal sent by the body on a specific day (and triggered by a specific sensation), sneaks into the text imperceptibly, without disturbing its cohesiveness. Thus, the text may still obey the law of the genre. From the reader's point of view, however, the "barely noticeable" imprints, the traces of the self, are the most important. They locate the text in different places in the field of literary references and patterns, illuminating it each time (with each sound, the rhythm of the sentences) anew. The body-to-body conversation always takes place in the language we already understand and in the language we have to learn anew each and every day.

translated by Małgorzata Olsza

[31] J. Derrida, "The Law of Genre", *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 1 (1980): 58.

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Abstract:
The article focuses on the microanalysis of one of Aleksander Wat's handwritten "pain notes" (dated December 8, Wat's archive at the Beinecke Library). I discuss the note's genological classification, which – due to fragmentation, randomness, and the very nature of the diary entry (and at the same the fact that it eludes this classification) – may not really be considered part of a larger whole. The "non-belonging" of the note and other similar notes seems to influence their poetics. Drawing on the findings of post-structural genology and the theory of fuzzy sets, I propose to see the note as a fuzzy genre that exists in many genological contexts at the same time and also gives rise its own "singular" form. Inspired by Jean-Luc Nancy's reflections on corporeality and Adam Dziadek's somatic criticism, I define the note as an "engram of the body." I analyze an isolated "pain note" as an example and consider the possibility of using this category both in the context of reconstructing the genetics of the text and performing an exemplary rhythmic analysis of prose.

somatic criticism

ALEKSANDER WAT

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Without a rough draft: Composing Baczyński

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In March 1973, Kazimierz Wyka talked about his *Droga do Baczyńskiego* [Road to Baczyński] at a PEN-Club meeting:

> [...] I beatified him [Krzysztof Baczyński], I was the one who tried to do everything that could be done, from interpretation to editing, to popularize his poetry. And it is all over now. It is a closed chapter.[1]

Wyka referred to himself as a postulator only as a joke; it was a sign of irony and distance. However, the role played by the Krakow critic not only in making Baczyński present, but also (or perhaps most of all) in popularizing his works, was indeed crucial. As Tadeusz Lewandowski observes, Wyka was the one who "investigated the basic traces that critics still analyze today in their study of Baczyński."[2] It was Wyka who first extensively and enthusiastically reviewed Baczyński's debut collection of poems published during World War II. Together with Baczyński's mother, Wyka also co-edited the poet's legally published debut collection of poems in 1947. Eventually, together with Aniela Kmita-Piorunowa, a literary scholar and the poet's cousin, he also researched and edited *Utwory zebrane* [Collected Works], published for the first time in 1961. "Such an adventure happens only once in a lifetime," Wyka claimed. Let us also add, for the sake of completeness, that the first and still the most important monograph devoted to Baczyński

[1] Kazimierz Wyka, *List do Jana Bugaja. Droga do Baczyńskiego* [Letter to Jan Bugaj: Road to Baczyński], ed. Aniela Kmita-Piorunowa (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1986), 26.

[2] Tadeusz Lewandowski, "Lustro sentymentalne – próba" [Sentimental mirror: Attempt], *Poezja*, no. 1 (1989): 53.

was published by Wyka in the same year as the first edition of *Utwory zebrane*. It was no coincidence. The monograph was meant to serve as an introduction to the collected works. However, "It turned out to be too detailed and too extensive and was therefore published separately."[3] A slightly shortened version of the text was included as a critical introduction to *Utwory zebrane*.

This, as Wyka put it, "beatification process" gave rise to a legend and later an icon, which has permanently entered not only the canon of Polish 20th-century literature, but also popular culture. These facts are well known, but are not the focus of this article.

The unique nature of Baczyński's *Utwory zebrane*, and not only the 1961 edition but also all subsequent editions, does not only have to do with the fact that it made Baczyński a legend. The book, which was published four times and successively supplemented and corrected, is endowed with a unique editorial quality. There are few collected works that collect not only everything that the poet had ever written but also everything that he had ever signed. Both the writings that Baczyński approved for publication i those that he did not were published in *Utwory zebrane*. Indeed, apart from literary works, in Baczyński's *Utwory zebrane*, there are also letters, postcards, a publishing contract, and early dedications (basically written by a child). Some texts are therefore so irrelevant that the author not only did not prohibit their publication, but most likely did not even think that they deserved to be published. Naturally, the fact that Baczyński left behind a small number of writings must have played a role in this process. However, not just the question of the length or even the content of the collected works is at issue here. Such an attempt to present the author comprehensively stems from the fact that he is clearly identified with his "work." At first glance, such a concept may seem anachronistic and even a bit naive. In fact, however, it was a conscious, rhetorical and, above all, calculated decision. In the last paragraph of the introduction to *Utwory zebrane*, Wyka wrote:

> If we were to compare the achievements of two twenty-three-year-old and extraordinarily talented poets, we have the right to answer the question of whether Baczyński's death as a soldier in 1944 could be compared to Słowacki's death in 1831.[4]

Let us not answer this question, however, and forget about Słowacki for the time being. We will come back to it. Wyka did not originally think of the comparison between Słowacki and Baczyński and it was a purely polemical move. At this point, we should actually focus on, as Wyka emphasized, whether we have the right to answer the question in the first place.

In *What is an author?*, Michel Foucault argued that the question of collected works is one of the most important "theoretical" and "practical" problems in literature. Foucault asks: "Certainly, everything must be published, but can we agree on what 'everything' means?"[5] It seems that in the process of collecting and meticulously examining Baczyński's works Wyka was confronted with the same problem.

[3] Kazimierz Wyka, "Od autora »Wstępu«" [From the author of » Introduction«], in Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński, *Utwory zebrane* [Collected works], ed. Aniela Kmita-Piorunowa and Kazimierz Wyka vol. 2 (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1970), 712.

[4] Kazimierz Wyka, "Wstęp" [Introduction], in Baczyński, *Utwory zebrane* [Collected works]: 1, LXVII.

[5] Michel Foucault, "What is an author?" in *Modernity and its discontents*, ed. J. Marsh, J.D. Caputo and M. Westphal (New York: Fordham UP, 1992), 302.

No edition of *Utwory zebrane* was complete. In the first edition, "some manuscripts were overlooked," and besides, some of the documents left by Baczyński were found after the book had been published. In the second edition, the "omission" was corrected, and new texts were added but one poem was censored. The third edition, published five years after Wyka's death, turned out to be over-complete – Jerzy Kamil Weintraub's poems were published in it as well. Consequently, in the fourth (and for the time being final) edition, the whole was slightly supplemented and shortened. It would seem, therefore, that the peculiarly dynamic re-edition of *Utwory zebrane* literally answers the question about the meaning of "everything." "Everything" is identified with Baczyński and thus "everything" had to be included in the book.

To put it differently: Wyka is "a technician and a theoretician," because "everything" has to be published in the collected edition of Baczyński's works, but at the same time he has to "balance the accounts" and show that the poet "did not interrupt his work in half, in a quarter of a shapeless sentence, [...] his poetry is a complete and finished sentence."[6] "Everything" is not unconditionally everything, but only "means 'everything.'" The main goal of *Utwory zebrane* was not so much to collect the writings but render them complete.

In the cosmos of abandoned rough drafts and scattered documents, such actions are necessary. Without significant editorial intervention, incomplete or disordered texts could be completely unreadable. As Wyka recalled, in the case of Baczyński, an exceptionally great effort was required to edit his prose:

> We got it [...] in the form of (almost but not utter) rubbish: unnumbered, often it was not known where certain texts belonged, without titles, usually without beginnings and without endings. [...] A very careful reading was required to organize Baczyński's prose.[7]

However, an act of recovery is never innocent. Correction and organization obscures or blurs, often irretrievably, the draft nature of the text. And the draft allows us to reconstruct the creative process. It allows us to understand how the author's mind works. It often allows us to define or even determine the final version of the text. However, this was never the case with Baczyński. Even the beginning is difficult to find.

Baczyński's literary career was not typical – its stages were not marked by publications in literary magazines or books. Two mini-collections of seven poems from 1940 entitled *Zamknięty echem* [Closed with an echo] and *Dwie miłości* [Two loves] cannot really be considered a poetical debut. They were provided with a "certificate" and the impressive ex-libris "*Wydawnictwo Sublokatorów Przeszłości*" [The Publishing House of the Tenants of the Past], but only seven copies of each were published. They can hardly be considered a proper publication. In fact, both "collections," which commemorate Baczyński's friendship with Jerzy Kamil Weintraub, are only several pages long. The text is typewritten, and the pages are bounded together with staples. According to Wyka, both collections were later "disqualified" by the poet. However, as Jerzy Święch, the editor of *Wybór poezji* [Selected poems] by Baczyński published in the Polish

[6] Wyka, *"Wstęp"*, LXI.

[7] Wyka, *List do Jana Bugaja. Droga do Baczyńskiego*, 38.

National Library series, observes, both volumes mark "a poetical debut that took place under Nazi occupation in an exclusive" series. Święch also noted that "Baczyński recorded only half of these poems in the handwritten 'codex' approved for publication."[8] This is quite an unusual observation on behalf of the editor. He believes that the fact that some texts were missing from the manuscript is more important than the fact that the author agreed to publish it.

Therefore, Baczyński's actual debut should be *Wiersze zebrane* [Collected poems]. The poet published it in 1942 under the pseudonym Jan Bugaj. While the volume was published under Nazi occupation, it nevertheless received critical acclaim: it was reviewed, quite poorly, by Tadeusz Gajcy and Stanisław Marczak Oborski, and, enthusiastically, in the form of *List do Jana Bugaja* by Kazimierz Wyka.

The book was twenty pages long (and also included three unnumbered pages). Twenty poems were arranged in three cycles (of different length) entitled: *Legenda* [Legend], *Krzyż* [Cross], and *Erotyki* [Erotics]. Thirty years after the publication of *List do Jana Bugaja*, the former reviewer was equally enthusiastic in assessing Baczyński's 1942 collection. Wyka praised:

> [...] an exceptionally brilliant selection of poems, which proved how self-critical this young man was. In fact, if only these works by Baczyński [...] were to survive, we would still call him a great poet. [...] He was fully aware of what is the most precious, valuable, and important in his writing; indeed, it is easy to talk about it now, when we know his entire *oeuvre*, when we know that he chose the poems.[9]

And yet, despite such a favorable review, none of the post-war editors of Baczyński's poems duplicated or referred to the poet's original selection.

The order proposed by Baczyński in his wartime volumes did not allow one to "investigate basic traces." It was almost certain that apart from a relatively small group of readers who had access to the underground publications, Baczyński's work was not known to the wider public. To paraphrase the title of Wyka's wartime sketches, we could say that the underground publications were "pretend editions."

The next edition faced similar problems. In mid-1943, Baczyński carefully prepared another collection of poems. Twelve poems were divided into two cycles of six poems: *Krzyż złamanych rąk* [The Cross of Broken Hands] and *Słowa nadziei* [The Words of Hope]. The book, or more precisely, "seven loose pages," was published under the pseudonym Piotr Smugosz. It was titled *Śpiew z Pożogi* [Song of Fire].

Nobody had known this collection existed until the end of the 1960s. It caused quite a stir when it was found in an archival file of Tadeusz Borowski's texts. However, we know little apart from the fact that such a volume was once published: it is not known how many copies were published and whether they were distributed in any way. Nevertheless, such ignorance was in fact blissful. The 1943 collection was discovered after the publication of *Utwory zebrane*. As such, it was not

[8] Jerzy Święch, "Wstęp" [Introduction], in Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński, *Wybór poezji* [Selected poems], ed. Jerzy Święch (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1989) BN I 265, X.

[9] Wyka, *List do Jana Bugaja. Droga do Baczyńskiego*, 28.

subjected to editorial limitations and reviewed, alas forty years too late. It was reprinted in 1989 in the first issue of *Poezja* [Poetry] entirely devoted to Baczyński. Jan Z. Brudnicki reviewed the poems. And although the very idea of restoring Baczyński's original voice not only as the author but also as the editor was excellent, it fell through. Brudnicki followed in the footsteps of Wyka's critical and editorial findings. The only new discovery was Baczyński's new pseudonym. Other than that, literary scholars were not interested in the volume. The existence of the book was acknowledged in the Editors' note to the second and all subsequent editions of *Utwory zebrane*, but the fact that some poems had been originally published in *Śpiew z Pożogi* was not mentioned.

At the time when this short twelve-poem collection was published (or perhaps later), Baczyński signed a publishing agreement with Zbigniew Mitzner. He agreed to prepare and publish "the work entitled *Śpiew z pożogi*." The contract was made as a part of the "Wisła" Archive. The book was to be published "within one year from the restoration of state sovereignty or from the end of the war."[10] Under Nazi occupation, about a hundred similar agreements were made with Polish writers and scientists, but none were honored. The royalties were in fact considered a kind of grant.

Baczyński, however, wished to honor the contract and began to work on the most extensive collection of his poems to date. The book was described in the contract in detail. The new collection was to consist of two parts. The first part was titled *Krzyż człowieczy* [The Human Cross] and the second part was titled *Śpiew z pożogi* [Song of Fire] (like the entire collection). Apart from the handwritten contract, "a collection composed of 16 pages [...] with 13 poems that were typed on one side of the page" has survived to this day.

Under the contract, *Śpiew z pożogi* was to be published as the second volume of the *Droga* [Road] Library publishing series, i.e. as part of the publishing series of the underground periodical edited by Ewa Pohoska and Marczak Oborski and published by Juliusz Garztecki. Baczyński was the editor of the poetry section in *Droga*. After the war, the publisher of *Droga* observed that the volume prepared by Baczyński had 60 typewritten pages:

> Poems that were included in this collection were selected by the author, his wife Barbara and his publisher J. Garztecki. The draft version of the text was carefully revised by the author, he chose the title of the collection and made decisions concerning punctuation, etc., and then the draft version was handed over to J. Garztecki so that the technical publishing works could begin.[11]

The final manuscript was kept by the publisher. Shortly before the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising, Garztecki, who had a safe hiding place, also received from Baczyński his notebooks with fair copies of almost all of his poems. Garztecki retrieved this deposit in the early days of February 1945 and shortly afterwards all materials were handed over to the poet's mother Stefania Baczyńska. These notebooks, later called "codices" by Wyka, became the blueprint for post-war editions. Un-

[10]The text of the agreement was included in the annotations to the second and all subsequent editions: Baczyński, *Utwory zebrane* vol. 2, 590–592.

[11]"Wojenne losy rękopisów K.K. Baczyńskiego" (Uwagi redakcji spisane na podstawie rozmowy z Juliuszem Garzteckim) [The wartime fate of K.K. Baczyński's manuscripts (Editorial notes based on an interview with Juliusz Garztecki)], *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, no. 3 (1958): 178. See also: Juliusz Garztecki, "O »Drodze« i Krzysztofie Baczyńskim" [On *Droga* and Krzysztof Baczyński], *Miesięcznik Literacki*, no. 1 (1972): 86–95.

fortunately, a typescript of 60 pages, as described by Garztecki, has not survived. However, handwritten fair copies of 37 poems, entitled, as it was agreed in the contract with Mitzner, Part I: *Krzyż człowieczy*, did survive. It is true that the second part of the oldest "codex," with poems written between 1939 and 1942, also has the same title, but the titles and the arrangement of the 13 poems attached to the *Śpiew z pożogi* contract is the same as of those 13\ poems in the handwritten fair copy. And although it is not a typescript and it has 44 (and not 60) pages, it can nevertheless be assumed that it is a copy of the majority of the poems approved for publication.

It is not known what happened to the typescript Garztecki had received so that he could begin "the technical publishing works." Garztecki may have miscalculated the exact number of pages, but this question is crucial because the final approved copy of *Śpiew z pożogi* may be verified, as evidenced by Stefania Baczyńska's letters to Jerzy Andrzejewski, one of Baczyński's best friends. The letters are archived in the Museum of Literature. In a letter dated Nov. 3, 1945, Stefania Baczyńska writes:

> Well, Krzyś left a final selection of his poems, ready to be published. It seems to me that the selection was rather unfortunate. I don't know why he chose these poems. But a young man brought them to me, Krzyś himself had given them to him in July l[ast] y[ear] and he somehow saved them, but now he cannot publish them and he brought them to me.
>
> I want to publish them, I have paper, Father Drapczyński wants to print them in his printing house, but before they are published, I would like to ask you and Mr. Wyka for advice as to whether I should add other poems, a preface, or a few words [...]. I kindly ask you or Mr. Wyka [...] to visit me for a week so that we can select poems together.[12]

When I first described this situation ten years ago, I assumed that Andrzejewski initially agreed to write a preface, but eventually failed to submit his text and did not edit *Śpiew z pożogi*.[13] However, thanks to Anna Synoradzka's recent discovery, today we know that Andrzejewski not only responded to Baczyńska's letter, but also attempted to write a short essay – a preface to the collection. Two drafts were written but the text was never published. According to Synoradzka, Andrzejewski most likely failed to fulfill his promise because "Baczyńska refused to acknowledge that her son was dead."[14]

It is difficult to say whether the mother truly did not acknowledge Krzysztof's death or whether she wished to believe that her son was alive. Stefania Baczyńska we know from the letters is a very complicated character. On the one hand, she is hopeful as regards the unconfirmed news about her son's death. On the other hand, she quickly edits an abridged collection of her son's poems, as if wishing to commemorate him and his legacy.

[12]The manuscript of Stefania Baczyńska's letter to Jerzy Andrzejewski, Adam Mickiewicz Museum of Literature in Warsaw, ref. no. 1587 [81].

[13]See: Maciej Tramer, "Edycja, której nie było – albo: jak zrobiony jest Krzysztof Baczyński" [An edition that did not exist: How Krzysztof Baczyński is made], in *Balaghan: mikroświaty i nanohistorie* [Balaghan: Microworlds and nanohistory], ed. Mariusz Jochemczyk, Magdalena Kokoszka, Beata Mytych-Forajter (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2015), 85–79.

[14]Anna Synoradzka-Demadre, *Jerzy Andrzejewski. Przyczynek do biografii prywatnej* [Jerzy Andrzejewski: Towards private biography] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, 2016), 245. Both versions of the preface are included in this book.

Stefania Baczyńska sent a similar letter to Wyka, who also agreed to help edit the collection.[15] The two most probably chose the poems in March 1946 and the book was published in the summer of 1947. However, the third edition of *Śpiew z pożogi* was unlike any earlier edition. The selection and the arrangement of the poems, described by Baczyńska as "rather unfortunate," was changed. As a result, instead of two poetical cycles, as Baczyński had intended, the new edition included 129 poems divided and composed into seven separate thematic chapters/cycles entitled as follows: *Oczy otwieram* [I open my eyes], *Magia* [Magic], *W żalu najczystszym* [Pure grief], *Ty jesteś moje imię* [You are my name], *Poematy* [Poems], *Rorate coeli*, and *Z głową na karabinie* [With my head on my rifle]. The poem *Niebo złote ci otworzę* [I'll open for you a golden sky] opened the collection. It stood on its own and was not included in any cycle.

Wyka explained that the nature of his cooperation with Baczyńska on the third edition of *Śpiew z pożogi* was complicated:

> [...] she agreed to cooperate with me, but she did not show me a single manuscript, she did not show me a single codex [...] – she only gave me copies she had made and still hesitated: should I give it to him? Shouldn't I? Should I? Shouldn't I?[16]

We do not know the details of this cooperation. However, Wyka's opinion is contradicted by a very short editor's note in the post-war edition of *Śpiew z pożogi*. The source of the texts as well as the role played by Wyka and the poet's mother in the edition and selection of the poems is acknowledged. Respectively, Wyka's opinion is contradicted by Stefania Baczyńska's letter to Andrzejewski, dated March 25, 1946. The poet's mother thus describes the editing process:

> [...] so I waited calmly and finally, in March, Kazimierz arrived. He stayed with me for a few days, we worked hard on editing this collection and I think that the result is good. Kazimierz is very kind and has invaluable qualities as a man, as a poetry expert, as ... as ... my God! I am delighted with him, but I do not have the courage to share with him my experiences and thoughts, I am ashamed to talk about my ideas, because I think that he would find them bizarre, or exalted, or outdated.[17]

Perhaps Baczyńska did not make the manuscripts available and demanded that they should be read only in her presence. Anyway, such limitations, if any, probably applied only to poems. In several letters sent to Wyka at the turn of 1946 and 1947, Baczyńska asked about

[15] Jerzy Andrzejewski, Stefania Baczyńska, Tadeusz Gajcy, Karol Irzykowski, Karol Ludwik Koniński, Czesław Miłosz, Jerzy Turowicz, Kazimierz Wyka, *Pod okupacją. Listy* [Under occupation: Letters] (Warsaw: Fundacja Zeszytów Literackich, 2014), 247–248.

[16] Wyka, *List do Jana Bugaja. Droga do Baczyńskiego*, 36.

[17] The manuscript of Stefania Baczyńska's letter to Jerzy Andrzejewski, Adam Mickiewicz Museum of Literature in Warsaw, ref. no. 1587 [83]. Aniela Kmita-Piorunowa, who co-edited all editions of *Utwory zebrane* and transcribed Wyka's last lecture on Baczyński, questioned Stefania Bczyńska's attitude. See: footnote 18: Wyka, *List do Jana Bugaja. Droga do Baczyńskiego*, 36–37.

Baczyński's prose: "Why didn't you publish Krzysztof's prose in the last issue of *Twórczość*? It was confiscated from me and I couldn't even say no."[18]

5,000 copies of the third edition of *Śpiew z pożogi* were published. The collection received favorable reviews. And it was only this first collection of Baczyński's poems published after the war that is considered the poet's proper debut. However, in their selection and edition of texts, Baczyńska and Wyka completely ignored the original authorial design from 1943. Only the title was the same. We can no longer reconstruct the book that was the object of the publishing agreement with Mitzner. However, we may reconstruct its fragment and thus try and understand the idea behind the whole.

The materials which were used to create the second edition of *Śpiew z pożogi*, i.e. those 37 poems on 44 pages (which were also later used to compose the first part of the volume), indicate that Baczyński designed his work carefully. *Krzyż człowieczy* ignores the chronological order of the texts. Indeed, it could be said that at the beginning of the cycle, religious themes dominate, and they later give way to erotica. The beginning and the end of the cycle are not independent; nor are they contrasted with each other. All 37 poems from the *Krzyż człowieczy* cycle form a consistent story about transformation. It will take place without sudden twists or flashes, although light will play a very important role in it. The collection opens with the following poem:

Pod nieba dłoniastą palmą nie daj mi chodzić samotnie,
Agni
Otwórz rzeki, a sosny krzykiem z ognia i wiosny
Podpal i nagnij.

Don't let me walk alone under the hand of the sky,
Agni
Open the rivers, with a scream of fire and spring
set fire to and bend the pine trees

The meter of this poem is the Polish epic hexameter. The beginning is heavy and dark. So is the entire poem and the next poems. The second poem in the collection is *Pieśń o ciemności* [The Song of Darkness], and the third poem is *Rapsod o klęsce* [Rhapsody on Defeat]. Let us focus on the first poem. The sky and the pines are subject to the force of gravity, which Baczyński considered one of the most important forces. We can sense impending doom. In such a world, man does not grow up tall but is forced to bend towards the ground. As man matures and grows, he does not so much become heavier but is subjected to gravity. Such a relationship between man and the ground, conditioned by gravity, is difficult and complicated: it both pulls and attracts. Gradually and sequentially, beginning with the central theme of the first poem:

[...] bo oto spadam – owoc w grób ziemi pod sobą
Dojrzały.

[...] Because here I am falling – like a fruit into
the grave of the ground beneath me
Ripe.

[18] *Pod okupacją. Listy*, 258.

In *Pieśń o ciemności* this relation is not as intense:

[...] idą chłopcy o oczach z największych przeznaczeń,
Idą, aż za daleko przechodzą – do ziemi,

[...] boys with the eyes filled with the greatest destiny march,
They march until they go too far – to the ground,

However, after four stanzas, the close relationship between people and the ground becomes almost perverse:

Więc przypadają do stóp drżącej ziemi,
A ta otwiera paszcze, całuje i wchłania,
I niebo drga, nie woła żaden głos.

So they fall to the feet of the trembling ground,
And she opens her mouth, kisses and absorbs,
And the sky trembles, no voice calls out.

The fatal force of gravity gradually decreases in the entire preserved fragment of the volume. "Falling into" later turns into "coming down" and then into "passing," and finally the direction is reserved completely. This change may already be seen in the middle of the cycle, as the titles of two poems in the middle of the volume demonstrate. The seventeenth poem is titled *U niebios rozkwitających* [At the Blooming Heaven] and the eighteenth poem is titled *Nie wstydź się tych przelotów* [Do not be ashamed of these flights]. The closer to the end, the lighter the tone: *Promienie* [Rays], *Wróble* [Sparrows], *Z wiatrem* [With the Wind]. The end is brilliant, light, fast, and short:

Niebo złote ci otworzę,
W którym ciszy biała nić...

I'll open for you a golden sky
where the white thread of silence is...

Indeed, a similar transformation may be seen when one examines closely the gradual shift from darkness to light, from *Pieśń o ciemności* to the "golden sky" and "the liquid song clear birches sing."

However, let us move away from the careful reading of the doomed *Śpiew z pożogi*. We have only discussed it so that we may compare it with the post-war collection of the same title. In the post-war collection, the poems arranged in seven cycles also tell a story, as evidenced by the table of contents. The story begins with *Oczy otwieram* [I open my eyes] and *Magia* [Magic] and ends with *Z głową na karabinie* [With my head on my rifle]. In the third edition of *Śpiew z pożogi*, the story is completely different than in the authorial edition of the collection. Gravity and light are not important; quite the opposite. The post-war *Śpiew z pożogi* is conceived of as a story of awakening: illusions give way to death. Indeed, the "I'll open for you the golden sky" trochee stands on its own at the very beginning of the collection.

Such a dramatic change was by no means made against Baczyński's will. Baczyński's intentions were simply not taken into consideration. We do not know how the final version of the typescript which Garztecki received from Baczyński looked like. After all, the entire second part is missing. Perhaps Stefania Baczyńska was right when she said that the selection made by the poet was "rather unfortunate." The fact that the post-war edition was well-received proves that both editors were right. In 1947, a collection/story which begins with "opening

one's eyes" and ends with "one's head on one's rifle" better corresponded to the "tragic loss" of Baczyński, his career, and his works, despite the mother who found it difficult to come to terms with the poet's death.

In the volume edited by Wyka and Baczyńska, there were 129 poems. It means that the post-war edition included at least twice as many poems as Baczyński's original collection. The careful reader who read a short editors' note discovered that the 1947 book presents only a number (but not all) of Baczyński's works. The 1947 edition violated the authorial integrity of the previous edition, but it certainly contributed to popularizing Baczyński's works.

The laconic editors' note to *Śpiew z pożogi* reads: "the poet recorded the final versions of his works in special notebooks."[19] And it seems that the formula of the "final" or "fair" copy has become the most representative for presenting Baczyński's works. After all, Święch referred to it, rejecting the publication "in the exclusive, at least back then, *Biblioteka Sublokatorów Przyszłości* series" in favor of "final" manuscripts "that were approved for publication." Every text in the notebook was considered approved for publication by the author. A fundamental change took place at the level of the manuscripts, when the editor no longer treated them as "thick notebooks" or "special notebooks" but as "codices." It was an act of "beatification." Baczyńki's works were elevated to a higher status. As Wyka observes,

> we called these notebooks codices [...] and these codices contain everything, all Baczyński's works, in chronological order, which makes the publisher's work very easy. [20]

The "codex" should be and was treated with the utmost respect. In subsequent editions, the "codices" were arranged chronologically: the original arrangement of poems gave way to a "chronicle." Indeed, in *Utwory zebrane* edited by Wyka and Kmita-Piorunowa published 14 years later, there were no cycles and no special arrangements.

After the death of Baczyński's mother, Kmita-Piorunowa looked after the poet's legacy. We may also assume that after the death of the poet's mother, Baczyński's documents and texts were no longer treated as a holy relic. As Wyka observed, "they have fallen into the hands of people who analyzed them without emotion."

> But there are also – because he clearly loved his papers – preliminary editions, drafts, everything. Sometimes there are three or four editions of the same text, and you can see how a given text was created. Later, [...] Baczyński's prose and his only untitled drama were found.[21]

Thanks to this discovery, it became possible to prepare the first edition of *Utwory zebrane*. Contrary to appearances, however, some selections were made. An extensive preface and a carefully prepared and detailed editors' note were added. In subsequent editions, new discoveries and new illustrations were added as well. All texts collected in the book were

[19]Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński, *Śpiew z pożogi* (Warsaw: Wiedza 1947), 247.
[20]Wyka, *List do Jana Bugaja. Droga do Baczyńskiego*, 37.
[21]Wyka, 38.

grouped in accordance with a specific principle. The editors' note, published in every edition of *Utwory zebrane*, reads:

> This edition does not aspire to be a critical edition [...] that is entirely scientific and thus we do not pay attention to every version of the text. Neither scientific purposes nor common sense advocated this. [...] We believe that as editors and publishers we had to correctly read final versions, if under such circumstances, any version may be considered final.[22]

Draft versions allow us to "see how a given text was created" but the editors decided against it. In *Utwory zebrane*, a uniform publishing formula was adopted, especially regarding texts recorded in the "codices" (fair copies). The editors assumed that the author approved each text in his codices for publication. The editors did not take into account the author's decision to use individual poems in various wartime editions and collections, and arranged texts into new cycles, which meant that they did not even try to establish which poem Baczyński considered representative and which he considered *inedita*. The editors only respected the author's decision not to publish his early writings. However, they quickly came up with a solution: poems that Baczyński did not approve for publication were published at the end of the collection. All other texts that the author approved for publication, fair copies, and "(almost but not utter) rubbish: unnumbered, [...] without titles, usually without beginnings and without endings," were treated in the same manner and arranged together.

A comprehensive edition that transforms everything into *inedita* and eliminates the process of selection is a technical and theoretical editorial idea. For the co-editor of *Utwory zebrane* and the author of one of the most important monographs that allowed scholars to "investigate basic traces," the word "choice" seems to be the key to Baczyński. All his works and his biography as a soldier/poet, the two being closely interconnected, are all about choice. According to Wyka, this choice was made when Baczyński almost simultaneously published the poems *Wybór* [Choice] and *Ciemna miłość* [Dark Love] and decided to join the Fighting Boy-Scouts of the Polish resistance during World War II (Harcerskie Grupy Szturmowe). According to Wyka, choice had nothing to do with choosing:

> After all, the term [choice] is so indefinite; it is in itself devoid of content. After all, a choice is only an act of making a decision, because we believe in something, we think that something is true, or we cherish something. The act of choosing and what you choose are closely interconnected.[23]

There is no room for many choices because for Wyka a choice is synonymous with a decision. It marks a turning point. And that is why *Utwory zebrane* functions as the only and ultimate choice that invalidates all other choices. Two selections entitled *Śpiew z pożogi* are too many, as they could suggest that the decisions made by the poet were not final.

[22]Baczyński, *Utwory zebrane*, vol. 2, 594.

[23]Kazimierz Wyka, "Krzysztof Baczyński (1921–1944)", in *Baczyński i Różewicz* [Baczyński and Różewicz] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1994), 48.

All subsequent editions of *Utwory zebrane* were gradually supplemented with new discoveries and findings but the preface remained essentially unchanged. Paying attention to the original collections compiled by the poet, comparing *Wiersze wybrane* from 1942 with three completely different editions of *Śpiew z pożogi*, and noticing how Baczyński included different poems in different editions, would undermine or question the choice. In a dynamic transformation, and even in the "creative process," choice could mean hesitation, questions, seeking answers, or doubt. It was not a one-time decision. By collecting and including "everything" in the monograph *Utwory zebrane*, Wyka moves Baczyński away from the conditional mode and contextualizes him in the "decision mode." Thus, Wyka chooses not to read the drafts left by Baczyński and chooses not to pay "attention to every version of the text." "Common sense" was not at stake. Decisiveness that eludes the editorial process was at stake.

It only appears to be inconsiderate or neglectful. Even though new discoveries were included in subsequent editions of *Utwory zebrane*, the editor did not change the preface. He did not even list all the texts collected in the volume. Yet, he kept an eye on the balance sheet and "assessed equal achievements accordingly."

The change in Baczyński's attitude and writings is not a process that needs to be investigated. It happens instantaneously and only takes place once. No preliminary editing and drafts are required:

> What began in Baczyński's writing in the fall of 1941, or, more precisely, in September of 1941, and continued until the spring of 1942, or, more precisely, until April of 1942, may only be referred to as an explosion. A sudden explosion of mature talent.[24]

Apparently, it was Jerzy Zagórski who "transformed" Baczyński into "a new Słowacki," or so Wyka claimed. However, this is not entirely true. Andrzejewski first used such a comparison in September 1941 in a letter to a professor from Krakow, describing a newly discovered "outstanding poetic phenomenon."[25] Perhaps this analogy was even more popular. However, in Zagórski's essay published in the Easter issue of *Tygodnik Powszechny* in 1947, such a comparison was made only in the title and a single sentence. Indeed, the author of *Śmierć Słowackiego* [Słowacki's Death] argued that, unlike the author of *Anhelli*, Baczyński did not have wise friends and protectors who could send him on a diplomatic mission and thus persuade the young poet to leave Warsaw and not take part in the Uprising.

Wyka tells a different version of this story. He does not revive Baczyński but kills Słowacki at the age of 23. He does not claim that Baczyński is equal to Słowacki. Instead, he balances the accounts. He "freezes" and carefully assesses the achievements of both. And indeed, at the age of 23, it was Słowacki, and not Baczyński, who was up-and-coming. Moreover, in accordance with the accounting books on which the monograph and all the prefaces to *Utwory zebrane* are based, Wyka shows that, despite what Zagórski says, Baczyński was not abandoned but made a conscious choice against the advice of his trusted friends. During his last speech devoted

[24]Wyka, *Wstęp*, XX.
[25]*Pod okupacją. Listy*, 43.

to Baczyński, Wyka showed a calligraphed manuscript of *3 wiersze* [3 poems] he had received "in gratitude for *List do Jana Bugaja*" with an original dedication: "To Mr. Kazimierz Wyka, the first critic with whom I fully agree." Wyka also joked that "Everyone would agree with me if I wrote such a letter for them." Joking aside, consent granted Wyka the status of a trusted friend. And as a trusted friend, Wyka could talk about his attempts to dissuade the poet from taking part in the Uprising and his categorical answer:

> Of course, I knew that Baczyński had graduated from the Cadet School [...], I knew which Home Army battalion he joined. And then, like everyone else, I started to explain to him whether it was really necessary for him to fight in the Uprising with a rifle in his hand [...]. It made Baczyński angry. He was composed but this made him angry. And he told me in no uncertain terms: "Sir, you of all people should know why I have to fight." [...] It was non-negotiable.[26]

Friends did not fail. Baczyński did not turn out to be as naive as Słowacki, which Zagórski, in his otherwise benevolent comparison, inadvertently implied. According to Wyka, Baczyński was a mature poet and a mature man who did not act on the advice of his friends. In short, he was not as thoughtless as young Słowacki. As a monographer and an editor, Wyka believed that it was dangerous to see Baczyński as reincarnated Słowacki. Indeed, though he found himself in the midst of such a discussion, he did not wish to be a part of it. Consequently, he approached this discussion from a completely different perspective and focused on balancing the accounts. It turned out that at the very beginning of his career the future author of *Beniowski* and *Lilla Weneda* was Baczyński, who did not make a decision. From the very beginning, *Utwory zebrane* constituted a collection of final texts (in slight disarray) that were based on fair copies recorded in the "codices" or attached to them. Subsequent discoveries were of secondary importance. The preface did not require fundamental changes, as Baczyński had triumphed from the very beginning.

It is difficult to say whether the conversation between Baczyński and Wyka actually took place. It is unlikely that a student at a secret cadet school would be so reckless as to tell even the most respected critic "which battalion of the Home Army he joined." Perhaps Garztecki's story is more credible. After all, he co-edited an underground literary magazine with Baczyński and was his trusted friend. The poet decided to leave the majority of his writings with Garztecki. According to Garztecki, Baczyński, similarly to all other members of the secret editorial office, was very discreet and never spoke of his role in the Home Army.[27]

Almost certainly, however, Wyka did not get Baczyński's autograph and dedication as a "thank-you" gift for *List do Jana Bugaja*. In fact, he was given a handwritten book almost a year before writing his rave review.[28] Perhaps Wyka misspoke or perhaps he simply misinterpreted

[26]Wyka, *List do Jana Bugaja. Droga do Baczyńskiego*, 34. Original spelling.

[27]See: Garztecki, *O "Drodze" i Krzysztofie Baczyńskim*, 87.

[28]See Marta Wyka, "»List do Jana Bugaja« czytany dzisiaj" ["» Letter to Jan Bugaj« read today"], in *Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński. Twórczość – legenda – recepcja* [Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński: Works – legend – reception], ed. Janusz Detka (Kielce: Kieleckie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 2002), 185. The letter from Jerzy Andrzejewski to Kazimierz Wyka dated October 28, 1942 shows that the critic could have obtained the book in November 1942. See: *Pod okupacją. Listy* [Under occupation: Letters], 79-80. On p. 278 there is a facsimile of Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński's signature, *3 poems* with the date 1942.

the event at the PEN-Club meeting, which was chaired by Jerzy Zagórski. In any case, the poet's handwritten document, which proved that Baczyński "fully agreed" with the critic, legitimized all editorial decisions made by Wyka, even if Wyka received this document before writing his most important review. After all, from the very beginning, legitimization was at stake. Thus, "the theoretical and technical problem" was resolved. "Everything" in the final balance sheet was a hard currency. "Everything" gave us "the right to answer the question" and was synonymous with every choice.

translated by Małgorzata Olsza

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KEYWORDS

SELECTION

Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński

Abstract:
The story of the post-war edition of Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński's poems entitled *Śpiew z pożogi* [Song of Fire] (1947) is discussed. The book edited by Stefania Baczyńska and Kazimierz Wyka completely disregarded and differed from the authorial version *of Śpiew z pożogi* prepared before the outbreak of the Uprising, which was meant to be Baczyński's official poetic debut. The impact of the post-war edition of *Utwory zebrane* [Collected works] on the reception of Baczyński's poetry and the poet's image in Polish literary culture is discussed.

edition

choice

document

Note on the Author:

Maciej Tramer – professor at the University of Silesia, literary scholar, and author of *Literatura i skandal. Na przykładzie okresu międzywojennego* [Literature and scandal: The example of the interwar period] (2000), *Rzeczy wstydliwe a nawet mniej ważne* [Embarrassing and even less important things] (2007), *Brudnopis in blanco. Rzecz o poezji Władysława Broniewskiego* [Blank draft: On Władysław Broniewski's poetry] (2010). He also edited Władysław Broniewski's critical texts: *Pamiętnik* [Journal] (2013) and *Publicystyka* [Journalism] (2016).

Pomarańcze na drutach by Witolda Wirpsza. Problems with understanding a prose experiment in the light of a pre-text

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In November 1964, when the printing of the novel *Pomarańcze na drutach* [Oranges on wires] was completed, Witold Wirpsza was mostly known as a poet. Every book of his poems, beginning with the debut *Sonata* (1949), was widely discussed in literary magazines. Suffice it to say that Jan Błoński[1] (who was then starting his career as a literary critic) was the first reviewer of that debut in *Twórczość* [Creativity] magazine. Other reviewers of subsequent volumes include: Jerzy Kwiatkowski, Jan Józef Lipski, Paweł Beylin, Jacek Trznadel, Ryszard Matuszewski, Zbigniew Żabicki, Julian Rogoziński, Alicja Lisiecka, Stanisław Barańczak, and others. In 1964 Wirpsza was also a famous essayist, theater critic and a beginner playwright (he wrote two plays published in *Dialog*), an esteemed translator (for example, he translated *Doctor Faustus* together with his wife, Maria Kurecka), editor and publicist of *Po prostu* [Simply] (dissolved by the government) and *Nowa Kultura* [New Culture], which in 1958 he left to protest government intervention in the magazine management, together with Leszek Kołakowski, Wiktor Woroszylski and Tadeusz Konwicki. From today's perspective, *Pomarańcze*

[1] Jan Błoński, "Dwaj poeci" [two poets], *Twórczość*, No 3 (1950): 113-123.

na drutach would be seen as his debut as a novelist, although back in 1964 the memory of his works' socialist realist beginnings, for example, the novel *Na granicy* [On the border] (1954) or the short story collection *Stary tramwaj* [An old tram] (1955) must have been fresh. The former tells the story of female forced laborers sent to Germany and the of Szczecin, whereas the latter transforms and fictionalizes autobiographical experiences from Stalag, with a clear concession for the contemporary dominating tendencies.

However, the reception of *Pomarańcze na drutach* did not refer to his socialist realist attempts at prose; in the eyes of critics, it was a modern, experimental poetic work. Especially from the early 1960s volumes such as *Mały gatunek* [Little species] (1960), *Don Juan* (1960), *Komentarze do fotografii: The Family of Man* [Comments to a photograph] (1962) created the natural context for his latest novel. A summary of opinions regarding the reception of Wirpsza's poetry, regardless of whether they were positive or negative, would be as follows: intellectualism, learnedness and hermetism, which tell the story of transgressing the borders of comprehensiveness and experiment by the poet. His son, Leszek Staruga, when asked how his father reacted to the reception of his works, said, "When it comes to my father's novels, here indeed, he may have thought that he would have some typical reader," but "*Pomarańcze na drutach* is too difficult for an average reader."[2] The same opinion can be found in the first two reviews of the novel from 1965. Rafał Marszałek wrote that it was "probably the weirdest prose that has been recently published in Poland," "a novel with no action in the vernacular meaning of the word and which was written in an exceptionally difficult form – one would say: resistant against the material – it deserves to be called experimental."[3] Edward Balcerzan, by calling *Pomarańcze na drutach* "a literary phenomenon of European class" accepted it as "an innovative novel in every inch," "an invention," which "will be troublesome for readers," for they cannot rely on "any literary patterns."[4]

Where did those problems with comprehension originate? Rafał Marszałek saw "Wirpsza's failure in this respect" in "excessive formal complexity, predominantly based on detailed descriptions and contrived syntax," as evidenced by "eccentrically recorded dialogues," "long and complicated periods," and "synonymous repetitions," among other elements.[5] Balcerzan starts his review with an analysis of the syntax, using quotations to illustrate its various "peculiarities," such as: "unnaturally detailed descriptions, emotionless brevity, registering words and gestures regardless of their importance," and "sensitivity to pauses in genuine speech."[6] Based on the intentionality of those measures, Balcerzak drew a conclusion regarding Wirpsza's narrator, who is testing the cognitive value of the cybernetic myth, a narrator who pretends to be a machine. As a result, "Everything that the recipient could recognize as a stylistic peculiarity is actually a dramatic fight of a machine with language."[7] The analysis of the syntactical key to understanding the novel leads the reviewer to the discovery of parallels with poetry, which

[2] "Istnieje porządek nieodgadniony" [there is an inscrutable order]. Karol Samsel and Leszek Szaruga discuss Witold Wirpsza, *Elewator* No 23 (2018): 45.

[3] Rafał Marszałek, "Eksperyment Wirpszy" [Wirpsza's experiment], *Nowe Książki*, No 9 (1965): 402.

[4] Edward Balcerzan, "Człowiek Witolda Wirpszy" [Witold Wirpsza's man], *Nurt*, No 2 (1965): 48-49.

[5] Marszałek, "Eksperyment Wirpszy", 403.

[6] Balcerzan, "Człowiek Witolda Wirpszy", 48.

[7] Balcerzan, "Człowiek Witolda Wirpszy", 48.

he catalogues with great precision: dialogues which are cut "against the established rules of syntax" are seen by him as a solution analogous to the rules of a free verse, whereas elsewhere he finds "the laws of the accentual-syllabic verse" or "traces of hexameter."[8] According to Rafał Marszałek, the language of the novel "plays an independent role as the subject of grotesque transformations." These linguistic transformations, at the cost of other elements of the whole system, are "something especially important and attractive"[9] for the author. From such a thesis it is not far to the conclusion that "ultimately the most significant meaning of the titular experiment is the fact that it was a poet who wrote that hermetic prose, yet so rich in terms of meanings."[10] Arnold Słucki emphasizes the proximity (in terms of the publishing process) of Wirpsza's book of poems *Drugi opór* [Second resistance] (1965), which contains his poems written between 1960 and 1964, with "an experimental novel," which he sees as "a thing not insignificant in terms of forming the poetics of the author of *Drugi opór*."[11] According to Słucki, "The relationship between this prose and the mature form of Wirpsza's poems requires a separate analysis." He also pointed out the syntax of the novel, its "rhythmical element," and "the process of shattering the traditionally understood poetic picture, a disintegrational measure for which the poet later wants to find an explanation in contemporary quantum theory."[12] According to Tadeusz Nyczek, Wirpsza "writes poetry like prose, and prose like poetry."[13]

The early reception of *Pomarańcze na drutach* was dominated by the question of its form. The answer was to refer the readers to the poetic form as an indicator of value and guarantee of the sense of Wirpsza's whole prose project. It led Balcerzan to acknowledge the narration as subordinate to the rules of a cybernetic game, which ends in a failure: "the machine" precisely describes the world, but it could stop there. The plot, limited by the capabilities of the machine-narrator, cannot answer philosophical questions, which "lie beyond the competences of cybernetics."[14] Marszałek demonstrates how the prose of the poet, with the language as the dominating agent, operates within the category of grotesque, superordinate to the novel on two levels: of language and the represented world. By situating the plot in a POW camp, Wirpsza makes the existential category of freedom the subject of his grotesque novel, arranging a "mosaic" of problems: "It contains existential motifs together with complexes of the intelligentsia, the issue of Polishness presented in such varied contexts as the heritage of tradition and the psychology of action."[15] However, language treated as an independent subject of grotesque, not subordinate to the compositional function, makes the novel bizarre, overly complicated in its reception, and in a way forces us to read it in the way one would read poetry. Artur Strumiłowski calls it "complicationalism"; for him, Wirpsza writes "a variational novel in which he exhausts all of its huge inventiveness in stylistic-technical-compositional measures, whose aim is to make a work of literature closer to music, and does not have enough

[8] Balcerzan, "Człowiek Witolda Wirpszy", 48.
[9] Marszałek, "Eksperyment Wirpszy", 403.
[10] Marszałek, "Eksperyment Wirpszy", 403.
[11] Arnold Słucki, "Od *Sonaty* do *Drugiego oporu*", *Twórczość*, No 1 (1966): 118.
[12] A. Słucki, "Od *Sonaty* do *Drugiego oporu*", 118.
[13] Tadeusz Nyczek, "Śladem wzruszenia", *Poezja*, No 3 (1971): 24.
[14] Balcerzan, "Człowiek Witolda Wirpszy", 49.
[15] Marszałek, "Eksperyment Wirpszy", 403.

time to also take care of the plot."[16] Similar comments can also be found in later reviews. Piotr Kuncewicz, who claims that *Pomarańcze na drutach* was written in a "counterpoint-variational way," notices that "various formal ideas made that prose," whereas "everything drowns in digressions, making the plot a marginal aspect of the book."[17] Maciej Byliniak treats the novel as the most visible example of "antirealism" in Wirpsza: "Where some dialogues are 'apparent dialogues,' in which one statement was divided into arbitrary parts (from the perspective of formal composition) assigned to individual characters."[18] According to Zbigniew Chojnowski, the novel "is about expounding, analysis, artistic discourse, stretching, multiplying, defining, and devastating meanings, multiplying doubts, conceptualizing the topic in various ways, 'sailing' in the language and the narrative."[19] Interestingly, in one of the latest interpretations of the novel (which one scholar believes to be precursory and perfect), the question of the formal screen and linguistic derealization does not appear at all. In his 2018 draft, Maciej Libich observed "intriguing relationships, which connect *Pomarańcze na drutach* with *Discipline and Punish* by Foucault," as well as with "other works by post-structuralist and post-modernist philosophers, which tried to describe multidimensional relations of society, government, punishment, as well as control and penitentiary systems."[20] The scholar also proposes to read the novel using Krzysztof Pomian's time theory, according to which: "Time should be conceived as a network of hierarchical instances controlling the lives of societies."[21] Both *Discipline and Punish* and *Porządek czasu* [The order of time] by Pomian were written after *Pomarańcze na drutach*, hence Libich's thesis regarding the precursory character of Wirpsza's prose. Many years before that Stanisław Barańczak classified the novel as myth-exposing, a characteristic feature of Wirpsza's works. In the case of *Pomarańcze na drutach*, which considers the notions of freedom, coincidence and necessity, it is about "eternal existential myths."[22] A question emerges, especially against the background of the other documents of reception referred to before, whether such interpretative suggestions made somewhat from the side or above the linguistic and "poetic" tissue of the text are possible and justified. Or maybe the key to understanding the novel, "too difficult" even 50 years after it was first published, is hidden (like the first reviewers wanted it to be) in the formal methods, cybernetic game of the narrator, bizarre description technique, unnaturalness, and eventually, in the focus on the language, or even "picturing the language" typical for poetry, especially in its linguistic current?

A reader of *Pomarańcze na drutach*, even one who is interested in Wirpsza's poetic achievements among the most important tendencies in Polish poetry in the second half of the 20th century, probably could not accept attempts at controlling problems with understanding his novel beyond its "linguistic" context. The most far-reaching conclusions from that attitude

[16]Artur Strumiłowski, "Nowości prozy" [prose news], *Życie Literackie,* No 44 (1965): 11.

[17]Piotr Kuncewicz, "Wirpsza i pozostali" [Wirpsza and others], *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, No 7 (1986).

[18]Maciej Byliniak, "Krytyka obrazu w poezji i eseistyce Witolda Wirpszy" [picture criticism in Witold Wirpsza's poetry and essays], *Twórczość*, No 8 (2009): 75.

[19]Zbigniew Chojnowski, "`Zegar` i uwięzienie w powieści Witolda Wirpszy *Pomarańcze na drutach*" [clock and captivity in Wirpsza's novel], in: *"W rytmie zegara...". Wokół zagadnień chronozoficznych*, red. Zbigniew Chojnowski, Beata Kurządkowska, Anna Rzymska (Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo UWM, 2015), 231.

[20]Maciej Libich, "Epistolograficzny nośnik poezji. Osiem notatek o *Listach z oflagu* Witolda Wirpszy" [epistolographic means of poetry. Eight notes on *Listy z Oflagu* by Wirpsza], *Elewator* nr 23 (2018): 27.

[21]M. Libich, "Epistolograficzny nośnik poezji. Osiem notatek o *Listach z oflagu* Witolda Wirpszy", 27.

[22]Stanisław Barańczak, "Na 60-lecie Witolda Wirpszy", *Kultura*, No 1 (1979): 107.

were probably drawn by Edward Balcerzan. Meanwhile, in the opening *From the Author* section there is an intriguing clue regarding the novel's origins, which is also important for understanding the novel's very form:

> When, in the 1940s, not long after the liberation, I sat down to write prose that would somehow process my camp experiences, I did not know what final artistic form that prose would take; I understood only one thing immediately: it had to contain an element of grotesque. In the final phase of writing my inclination towards grotesque started to dominate, becoming almost an artistic principle.
>
> Several dozens of the first edition was done in the fall of 1946; it was still – formally – traditional, 19th-century style prose. However, I was missing two crucial elements: distance and philosophical concepts which could make it fun.
>
> [...]
>
> That grotesque discredit and self-discredit required a specific form. Prose in its traditional form stemmed from the veristic 19th-century practice seemed to me – after many attempts – inadequate; that made me look for some ways of combining words and meanings that would create an artistically effective linguistic network; such a network would be a consequent and systematic entanglement of various absurdities of the flagged raw material; absurdities that come from authenticity, its deformities and variants, thus elevated to the status of a concise system; such a system that would have a chance to become a generalization.[23]

Thanks to the materials from Wirpsza's archive from Książnica Pomorska in Szczecin we can verify this interpretative clue. There are 65 pages of typescript with the Polish text[24] of *Pomarańcze na drutach,* including 39 of the "first editing" from the fall of 1946. It is hard to say whether those are the pages Wirpsza writes about above. The remaining surviving pages made of different paper and typed on a different typewriter (as indicated by many peculiarities, such as the diacritic above "n" which is absent from the older pages) contain various fragments of the text in the same form as we know them from the PIW edition. The final page with the fragment marked as "3" in the book edition (pp. 23-33)[25] have a pencil-written date: "20/VI 60." In print the date was placed at the very end of the novel, in a more extended form: "Warsaw, November 1946 – June 1960." A comparison of the two typescripts in both material and textual dimensions excludes the suggestion from the author's note that he had worked on the text for over a dozen years. According to the author, in the fall of 1946 Wirpsza finished the first edition, only to write it again, as if from scratch, and definitely completely

[23]Witold Wirpsza, *Pomarańcze na drutach*, (Warszawa: PIW, 1964), 5-7.

[24]There are five additional pages of the typescript in German: three with the "From the Author" text, and two with an opinion of someone for the Hanser publishing house (unsigned), probably by Lutz Adler. See: Witold Wirpsza, Heinrich Kunstmann, *"Salut Henri! Don Witoldo!". Witold Wirpsza – Heinrich Kunstmann. Listy 1960-1983.* Introduction, edition and translation by Dorota Cygan, Marek Zybura, (Kraków: Universitas, 2015), 72.

[25]In the printed version, apart from *From the Author*, there are 21 thus numbered subchapters. In the 1946 version, apart from the *Foreword*, we can find both numbered and entitled chapters. Chapter I *Wieczór Trzech Króli* [the eve of three wisemen], Chapter II *Co się dzieje w baraku oficerskim* [what happens in the officers' barracks], Chapter III *Na spacerze* [on a walk], Chapter IV *Wyższa szkoła jazdy* [tricky business], Chapter V *Jak wyrastają pomarańcze* [how oranges grow], Chapter VI *Café intermezzo*.

differently. In the short biographical note enclosed by Wirpsza to his letter from Feb. 12, 1961 to Heinrich Kunstmann, the manuscript of *Pomarańcze na drutach* was referred to as his 1960 achievement.[26] Hence Arnold Słucki was right to point out the need to see the new, linguistic, experimental Wirpsza-poet from his 1960s books of poetry in connection with the formation of that poetics when he was working on the novel.

When writing to Kuntsmann, Wirpsza was convinced that his novel would be published in 1961. The author, taking advantage of the interest he believed Kuntsmann had in his novel, successfully tried to contact German publishers.[27] He revealed that only in January 1965. Before that, in his letter to Kuntsmann from Dec. 28, 1962 he wrote: "I would like to thank you for your efforts regarding *Pomarańcze na drutach*. I am completely aware, given the features of the text, that finding a publisher is not easy. Here in Poland I have been trying to publish the book for over two years (and it is not because of politics!), and it is only now that I can see the light at the end of the tunnel."[28] The latter information is especially crucial for understanding the new shape of the novel, for it points out the direct involvement of censorship in the formation of the final text. It is confirmed by the comparison of the surviving typescript of the new version of the novel with the book: there are no differences. The question regarding the role of self-censorship remains open. In the 1960 version there are no potentially politically incorrect language from 1946, such as: inconsequential usage of the word "Bolsheviks" or the mention of the 1920 "baptism of fire."

However, it is the question of form highlighted by the author in the 1964 foreword that constitutes the significant difference between the two versions. The surviving one-page foreword to the original version is devoted to the issues of artistic convention:

> I am writing those few words for those readers who had spent years in captivity. Perhaps some characters and situations will remind them of people they used to know or situations they experienced. Hence I would like to ask them: gentlemen, for the love of Zeus – do not identify yourselves! Just like I did not use any names, I do not want to point any fingers.
>
> Pomarańcze na drutach is a novel about Oflag – but it is a fantasy Oflag that has never existed. Besides, the novel does not try to be a faithful picture of experiences or observed facts, but their caricature, a caricature of the average state of affairs in POW camps in the Reich. When constructing my characters I was relying on the 'synthetic' method. I simply took some characteristics from

[26]Witold Wirpsza, Heinrich Kunstmann, *"Salut Henri! Don Witoldo!". Witold Wirpsza – Heinrich Kunstmann. Listy 1960-1983*, (Kraków: Universitas): 45.

[27]Understood not only as the publication of the novel in Maria Kurecka's translation: *Orangen im Stacheldraht* (Monachium: Hanser, 1967). Of course it was not a commercial success, but it may be speculated that the reception of the novel in Germany was the reason why Wirpsza was invited to give a speech at the opening of International Book Fairs in Frankfurt on 11 October 1967. See Peter Urban, "Die Stacheldrahtfrüchte. Ein Roman des Polen Witold Wirpsza", *Die Zeit* (4.08.1967); Valentin Polcuch, "Freiheit und Zeit. Witold Wirpsza. Orangen im Stacheldraht", *Die Welt der Literatur* (8.06.1967); German Werth, "Früchte, die zu hoch hängen", *Der Tagesspiegel* (5.11.1967). On the first German edition see: Daniel Pietrek, "*Pomarańcze na drutach* – Witold Wirpsza w monachijskim wydawnictwie Carla Hansera", in *Filologia trudnego sąsiedztwa. Tom studiów dedykowany Profesorowi Markowi Zyburze w 60-lecie urodzin*, edited by Krzysztofa Ruchniewicza with Piotrem Przybyła and Dariusz Wojtaszyn (Wrocław: Quaestio, 2017), 125-137. The second German edition was published after Wirpsza's death: Berlin: Westberliner Oberbaumverlag, 1987.

[28]Witold Wirpsza, Heinrich Kunstmann, *"Salut Henri! Don Witoldo!". Witold Wirpsza – Heinrich Kunstmann. Listy 1960-1983*, 70.

> a number of people I remembered and mixed them together, thus getting new, paper characters. Anyway, I am under an impression that after reading the whole book, everyone will agree that the caricature was not meant to be a lampoon.
>
> Here is the other side of the coin. Lampoon has its requirements. If in the general picture of a novel the judgment of some groups from the camp seems negative – there is no avoiding it. It is the right of a satirist to redirect the attack. It is also their right to exaggerate some facts, and I have no intention to relinquish those rights (...).

The author defined his work using the following terms: the story of Oflag, fantasy, caricature, satire and, indirectly, typicality and probability ("the synthetic method"). The elements, which are already connected by the grotesque category in the introduction, are mixed with a typically realistic attitude, which will be admitted years later in a self-commentary saying that it was "traditional, 19th-century style prose." Its character is best conveyed by the sentences that open the 1946 version: "The Polish commander of the third battalion was short, fat and bald. He was a bit scrawny, so the skin on his stomach was folding – but the stomach itself remained impressive, like in the good times." The 1964 version obviously lacks this sentence, just like it lacks any of the sentence forms found in the first version. The new opening is a string of transformations of the initial picture: "The right eye is awake, and the left eye is asleep,": "The right eye is awake, and the left eye is asleep. Who is asleep, and who is awake?", "Right (left) eye is awake, left (right) eye is asleep."[29] However, even with the stylistic differences between the two versions, they share the Oflag realism, as explained by Wirpsza in his first idea for the foreword. The represented world in both versions is constructed from the same, unmistakably identifiable elements: barracks, wooden cots, wires, roll-calls, guards and, naturally, prisoners, here referred to in German as "gefangenam." Both versions use the same motifs (planning a prison break, "focused" walking, illegal demolition of a huge latrine, cooking potatoes, bribing the German guards with cigarettes), and they describe the same places, although with extremely different language discipline.

For example, the description of the camp café in the original:

> The camp café was an oddity of a sort. No Warsaw café would be ashamed of the premises. Large windows, cut out in the barrack's wall over which there was an almost six months long fight with the German command of the camp, let in plenty of light and created an impression of luxury – especially compared to the dark, smoky rooms where most prisoners would spend most of their time. The stream of light highlighted the beautiful paper-mâche sculptures covering the walls and pillars supporting the ceiling. (...) The interior was decorated in an antique style, a skillful composition of Egyptian and Roman exuberances (...).

And the same café in the book version:

> (...) barracks with a brick floor, once upon a time some warehouse, tables, benches, a furnace with dixies full of boiling water, instant coffee served in mugs for five American cigarettes.[30]

[29]Witold Wirpsza, *Pomarańcze na drutach*, 8-9.
[30]Witold Wirpsza, *Pomarańcze na drutach*, s. 17.

Let us also compare the description of a scene in which the imprisoned officers are discussing war strategies over the map of France. In the original version:

> All the tables were pushed together and the map of France was laid on that new, huge table. It was handmade and at first sight it resembled a template map. A few people were leaning over it, while some short and skinny lieutenant colonel was holding a flag on a pin, painted like the US flag. The whole map was speckled with such flags – with the colors of the French, English, American, and German flags.

And in the book version:

> A certified major:
>
> According to the opinion of those who were assigned (wide, semicircular gesture over the table) to do that; here, gentlemen, we have a map of France; it is, of course, quite; the principles of the plan, quite (a smaller gesture) accurate; they have been sufficiently worked out; but it should for the general (a circle above the table), that is, with appropriate precision; of orientation (finger punching the map) it should suffice. The plan is, in principal; I believe that cartography-wise; unusually (flat, vertical cut by an open hand) simple; there shall be no doubts.[31]

Let us also trace what the same characters said in the "military staff conference" scene. First, the original version:

> 'Do you understand the significance of that decisive move, gentlemen?', he asked with emphasis. 'Do you realize that this maneuver is not only a factor that will allow us to conclude the fate of the war in its most important theater, France, in the west – but also, and first of all, it is the rebirth of the Polish strategic thought, the rules of attack for the armored banner against the strongest forces of the enemy. This maneuver repeats Kircholm and Vienna, a triumph of the Polish military school!'"

And the final version:

> 'Gentlemen, the proposed by us, so that (a semicircle over the map); plan of campaign is a variant; please look at; of the Kircholm battle; the major (flat cut with a hand) arrow. The Polish military doctrine assumes.'[32]

Ellipticity and the parastenographical attempts at recreating real speech which result in an expression typical for modern poetry make the final version of the novel difficult to follow and understand. The need to capture the meaning of an ambiguous picture from the title, believed by some to be surreal, is a similar matter.[33] In the final version the narrator develops that picture in part "13":

[31]Witold Wirpsza, *Pomarańcze na drutach*, 40.
[32]Witold Wirpsza, *Pomarańcze na drutach*, 40.
[33]Zbigniew Chojnowski, "`Zegar` i uwięzienie w powieści Witolda Wirpszy *Pomarańcze na drutach*", 230.

> (…) And meanwhile that greenhouse, an orangery surrounded by wires, and fruit ripens there in a strange way, in that peculiar orangery, protected and guarded (so that nothing bad happens, according to the wishes of the excellent contractors, who are trying to harm each other in any possible way), the fruit ripens, one should insist, the most unbelievable, and yet actual, real and palpable, so that one could believe that gold oranges grow on barbwire, chevals de frise and wires, and the barbwire, chevals de frise and wires were constructed so that the oranges could grow and the golden glow (what? shed? propagate? spread?).[34]

The description of the Oflag space, detached from reality, half-oneiric, half-fantastical, implicates the understanding of the title in terms of a symbol. One can suppose that the title tries to convey the contradictions in the life of a prisoner of war: captivity, with barbwire as its visible sign, versus the safety of the "orange existence" guaranteed by international agreements, which lead to the illusion of freedom. In the archived pre-text the titular motif appears in a more extended version in the chapter *Jak wyrastają pomarańcze* [How oranges grow]. It begins with the words of one of privates:

> But for such oranges to bloom, like they do here in your heads, gentlemen, it is impossible. For they are fighting Germans there, and you have to be on the ball to do that. And here? Give someone a CKM, and he will be so terrified that he won't know what to do. It is the end for them. They weren't worth much before the war, and the wires have completely finished them…

That view provoked a further exchange in the privates' barrack with one of the officers, who coincidentally heard everything.

> I think that most officers are 'crazy', because they have nothing to do. A man who is working has no time for such ideas as courses for voivodes, like the one some gentlemen organized – and they think that they will really become voivodes once they return to Poland!
>
> Zagórski smiled:
>
> This is not the first time I've heard about the course for voivodes. Indeed, it may offend someone who is doing something more serious. But notice that there are people in the camp who – due to their prewar situation – were on the best way to have a career. The war destroyed that. Moreover, they know that the international relations will change completely after the war, and especially so in Poland. And there are also wires – the 'barbwire sickness.' Each one of us – and officers to a far greater extent, exactly because they are not working – lives in an unreal world, in a fantasy world. And in that fantasy world, like in an orangery, oranges, as you call them, bloom. They are the final dreams of power.
>
> 'But it would mean, lieutenant, that these oranges bloom on wires, not in heads', said Kowalski the cobbler.
>
> 'Indeed,' said Lieutenant Zagórski, leaned forward even further, and smiled to himself.

The class motif is eliminated from the final version, hence it is difficult to incorporate the "dream of power" into the interpretation of the titular pictures. All the other meanings, so clearly stated

[34]Witold Wirpsza, *Pomarańcze na drutach*, 91.

in the pre-text, are useful in explaining the title of the novel: oranges symbolize the unreal world of dreams which stems from the greenhouse conditions of the Oflag existence. They are a fantastic element confronted with the real wires surrounding the camp, but are of a suspicious provenance which can be commonly defined in the idiomatic expressions naming any detachment from reality.

A review of origins documents allows us to add one more, perhaps key element, to the attempt at understanding the novel. The first, 1946 version makes us ask the question about "the beginning of the beginning," makes us try to find the "actually existing clue of the first trace," as Pierre-Marc De Biassi would put it.[35] It seems that this lead takes us to the letters sent by Wirpsza from the Gross Born Oflag to his future wife, Maria Kurecka. Original hand-written letters written on the stationary for prisoners of war survive in Księżnica Pomorska in Szczecin. The reader of *Pomarańcze na drutach* should pay attention to one fragment of a letter from Aug. 20, 1943:

> I am going to organize a bizarre mass; I am sending a basket of oranges, grapes and chocolate to Okolska street (after all, Marylka is 10), and I am looking through the keyhole at what is going on. The resolute girl is launching an attack, the tinfoil is scrunching, the chocolate bar is leaving a brown mark on her lips. I open the door, enter the room on tiptoes, turn off the light and cover Marylka's eyes. And she says: 'Leave me alone, or I'll run to Mrs Szulc-Rembowska!' I behave now, I turn on the light and I start eating an orange, which is big, full and round, like a huge moon. Then I move my magic wand, and the basket of dried fruit turns into a beautiful vase with red flowers and we – we are looking at each other, laughing, kindly and for a long time.[36]

The letter was sent to Okolska street in Warsaw, where the addressee was living at the time. However, it refers to the space and people from the time when the writer and his future wife were meeting in Gdynia and Gdańsk when they were children. The reminiscence is mixed with a prospective approach, in which the need to move outside the camp, the magic moment of teleportation and time travel all play a key role. In that dream the orange is just one of many equivalent elements. Its picture will return in one of the subsequent letters (undated, the post stamp is from April 25, 1944) as the dominating element, almost like an obsessive motif:

> (...) Until finally you; using your teeth, bite into the skin of a big red orange – and you lift your upper lip so that I can see your pink, delicate gums. I believe that now you know what I meant. We feel that the summer and the sun are coming, like a huge, orange clock showing a scorching afternoon.[37]

The sensuality of that vision is strenghtened in its next version in the same letter:

> And if it makes you angry and you feel like biting and scratching – do it; nothing would make me happier. I would be happy to turn into an orange, so that I could feel the touch of a pink, fresh, moist gum.[38]

[35]Pierre-Marc De Biasi, *Genetyka tekstów*, translated by Filip Kwiatek and Maria Prussak (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IBL, 2015), 202.

[36]Witold Wirpsza, *Listy z oflagu*, Edited by Dariusz Pawelec (Szczecin: Zaułek Wydawniczy Pomyłka, 2015), 56-57.

[37]Witold Wirpsza, *Listy z oflagu*, 84.

[38]Witold Wirpsza, *Listy z oflagu*, 85.

In the description of that dream the orange is the synonym of anything that is imaginable and inaccessible, but it is also the carrier of an unambiguously positive value. Eroticism mixed with exoticism expresses the longing for freedom, and the orange symbolizes transgressing the limitations of the real space. Its picture is also present in Wirpsza's poetry, which – importantly – was written in the camp. In the text opening the poem *Don Juan*, whose first version was written in the fall of 1942, there is a comparison of the sky to a "dark skinned orange,"an oxymoron.[39] The first letter to Maria Kurecka is dated Nov. 17, 1942 – that is the "dark area of origins"[40] of *Pomarańcze na drutach*. In the letters and poems written in a camp barrack, in a space surrounded by a double palisade of barbwire, the "mysterious picture" appears for the first time, containing "the seed of the novel."[41] Understanding it with an awareness of "what the beginning is made of"[42] can definitely make it more complete. When writing the novel Wirpsza entered the condensed picture, from which the first idea emerged, later developed in a traditional narrative, which can be traced in the surviving pre-text. He wrote a novel which is clear in its satirical intentions and comprehensive within the framework of the convention. After many years the artistic pendulum took him back to the poetic starting point. The first version of the narrative was cut and transformed, subjected to the "variation technique" according to which each part of the original returns as its reworked variants. The clear intention consistent with the clear convention is replaced with "formal overcomplexity" and linguistic "peculiarities." The traditional prose gave in to poetry, from which it originated.

translated by Paulina Zagórska

[39]Witold Wirpsza, *Don Juan* (Warszawa: PIW, 1960), 6.
[40]Pierre-Marc De Biasi, *Genetyka tekstów*, 202.
[41]Pierre-Marc De Biasi, *Genetyka tekstów*, 202.
[42]Pierre-Marc De Biasi, *Genetyka tekstów*, 202.

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KEYWORDS

pre-text

Witold Wirpsza

Listy z oflagu

Abstract:
The paper offers a new interpretation of Witold Wirpsza's novel *Pomarańcze na drutach* (1964) possible thanks to the microanalysis of pre-texts. Those are first of all materials from the author's archive preserved in Książnica Pomorska in Szczecin, including 39 pages of typescript with the Polish text of the first edition of the novel from the fall of 1946 and letters sent by Wirpsza from the Gross Born Oflag to his future wife, Maria Kurecka. The early reception of *Pomarańcze na drutach* was dominated by the question of its form, accepting the poetic form as a quality determinant and a guarantee of the sense of that prose enterprise. The analysis starts from the question of whether interpretative suggestions regarding the linguistic and "poetic" tissue of the text is justified given other documents of reception, whether it is justifiable to indicate a key to understanding the novel beyond its focus on the language itself and beyond properties typical for the linguistic trend in poetry associated with Wirpsza. Interpretation referring to traces left in "pre-texts" stems from understanding the title of the novel as a symbol, connected to the unreal, oneiric, half-fantastical description of the represented world of an Oflag. A review of the genesis documents allows us to incorporate Wirpsza's letters written in a direct relation to the novel's time and space, in order to better understand the novel and the title. According to that interpretative proposal, they answer the question regarding "the beginning of the beginning," for they contain the actual clues regarding the first trace (according to the terminology proposed by Pierre-Marc De Biasi).

Pomarańcze na drutach

grotesque

POETIC LANGUAGE

experimental novel

Note on the Author:
Dariusz Pawelec (ur. 1965), professor at the Institute of Literary Studies at University of Silesia in Karowice. He has published the following books: *Poezja Stanisława Barańczaka. Reguły i konteksty* [SB's poetry. Rules and contexts] (1992), *Lingwiści i inni. Przewodnik po interpretacjach wierszy współczesnych* [linguists and others. A guide to interpreting modern poetry] (1994), *Czytając Barańczaka* [reading B.] (1995), *Debiuty i powroty. Czytanie w czas przełomu* [debuts and returns. Reading at the time of a breakthrough] (1998), *Świat jako Ty. Poezja polska wobec adresata w drugiej połowie XX wieku* [the world as you. Polish poetry and its reader in the second half of the 20th century] (2003), *Od kołysanki do trenów. Z hermeneutyki form poetyckich* [from a lullaby to a lament. From the hermeneutics of poetic forms] (2006), *Wirpsza wielokrotnie* [W. multiple times] (2013). Editor of the following anthologies: *Powiedz prawdę. Antologia poezji pokolenia`68* [tell the truth. Anthology of poetry of '68 generation] (1990), *Martwe punkty. Antologia poezji „Na Dziko"* [dead points. Anthology of "wild" poetry] *(1994-2003)* (2004, including the Czech and Slovak editions), *Tropy "Na Dziko". Postantologia* ["wild" tropes. Post-anthology] (2019). Editor of Wirpsza's works: *Sonata i inne wiersze do roku 1956* [Sonata and other poems before 1956] (2014), *Listy z oflagu* [Oflag letters] (2015), *Varia. Eseje. Prozy* [varia. Essays. Prose] (2016), *Sama niewinność. Powieść* [pure innocence, a novel] (2017), *Apoteoza tańca* [apotheosis of dance] (2018), *Umieralnia i inne utwory dramatyczne* [a dying place and other plays] (2019). |

Czarny potok and the archive

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A writer's archive – an outline

The surviving artistic legacy of Leopold Buczkowski is incomplete. A significant portion of his works is missing – either lost during the German occupation, or in PRL [*Polska Republika Ludowa*, Polish People's Republic]. The aim of this paper is to generally characterize the heritage left behind by Buczkowski, especially focusing on areas which offer interpretative contexts for *Czarny potok* [black brook].

Out of the available biographical notes of the "recluse from Konstancin," the one from *Wspomnienia o Leopoldzie Buczkowskim*[1] [memories of Leopold Buczkowski] seems to be the most reliable. However, it has its shortcomings – first and foremost, it leaves out a lot of information concerning his artistic activity.

The beginnings of Buczkowski's creative works are somewhat mysterious. There are several versions of the story how he became an artist – not always contradictory, as some of them, often modified in many ways, "develop" and complete one another[2]. It is almost as if Buczkowski "toyed" with the moment in which he became an author. We see this fact as a process which is difficult to delineate, problematic for Buczkowski himself. Justyna Staroń discusses some of the doubts related to Buczkowski's "biographies"[3].

[1] *Wspomnienia o Leopoldzie Buczkowskim*, edited Jan Tomkowski (Ossa: Wydawnictwo Dom Na Wsi, 2005).

[2] I write more extensively on that topic in "Nie piszę przy biurku" [I don't write at a desk], *Regiony,* No 3 (2002).

[3] Justyna Staroń, *Biografie Buczkowskiego (w świetle zachowanych archiwaliów i wspomnień)* [Buczkowski's biographies (in the light of the surviving archival materials and memories)], in: *Warsztaty Młodych Edytorów* [young editors' workshops], *26–28.04.2013 Rabka*, Kraków [2014].

A critical, comprehensive biographical note (which we still do not have), first of all, should be a result of reliable fact checking, and secondly, a compilation of data found in many sources, so that a reasonably cohesive picture can be obtained. The aim should be not just to draw from the already existing monographs and sketches, but also to conduct a detailed query in the Museum of Literature, Archive of New Records, as well as in the archive of the Warsaw branch of the Association of Polish Writers (which houses some of the biographical documents).

Correspondence is a separate, large collection of texts. Some letters are outside the collection of the Museum of Literature – in private hands (closest family), with friends and admirers (such as Jerzy Pluta, who published some of them in his *Przecinek* [comma] magazine). The edition of this correspondence has an accidental character, and it is a result of several people's individual initiatives. Staroń's paper[4] offers the most comprehensive, the best editorial presentation of Buczkowski's correspondence.

Official correspondence constitutes an interesting collection of texts. Buczkowski breaks the rules of communication. His formal letters to various institutions are far from typically dry reporting and purely formal character. In those letters Buczkowski is ironic, deceitful, constantly balancing between seriousness and clowning[5].

It takes no expert to see that some passages from the letters, which were supposed to be utilitarian, could become documentary novels. There is no doubt that both Buczkowski's private and official correspondence offer an interesting complement and comment to his prose.

Most of the materials housed by the Museum of Literature are unfinished – they consist of drafts and ideas. Buczkowski wrote irregularly. He would typically sit down to write in winter. He did not write anything in the last decade of his life. In that period his individual artistic activity was replaced with three volumes of conversations with Zygmunt Trziszka [*Wszystko jest dialogiem, Żywe dialogi, Proza żywa*][6] (everything is a dialogue, living dialogues, living prose). They can be seen as an *ersatz* of a sort – a substitute for his own writing, which rescued him from the overwhelming feeling of lost time[7].

[4] Justyna Staroń, "Przejawy uczuć w zapisie doświadczeń. Między kartami listów męża do żony", [evidence of feelings in the record of experiences. Between the pages of letters from husband to wife], *Konteksty* [contexts], No 3 (2015).

[5] See "Leopold Buczkowski – korespondencja urzędowa" [formal correspondence], edited by Sławomir Buryła, *Kresy,* No 4 (1998); Leopold Buczkowski, *Dwanaście listów* [twelve letters] in: *Wspomnienia o Leopoldzie Buczkowskim* [memories of LB], 237–240.

[6] Leopold Buczkowski, *Wszystko jest dialogiem* (Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1984); Leopold Buczkowski, *Proza żywa* (Bydgoszcz, Wydawnictwo Pomorze 1986); Leopold Buczkowski, Zygmunt Trziszka *Żywe dialogi* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Pomorze, 1989).

[7] Out of the unpublished and unfinished works, which constitute a bigger whole, we should highlight the typescript of *Bagules* (his last novel) with the author's hand-written corrections. See Sławomir Buryła, "Edytorskie aspekty twórczości Leopolda Buczkowskiego. Rekonesans", [editorial aspects of LB's works] *Pamiętnik Literacki*, No 2 (2008). The only surviving play by Buczkowski, *Czaszka w sieni* [a skull in the entryway] has the same status. Are those eight numbered pages the whole text, or a piece of a bigger work? See Leopold Buczkowski, "Czaszka w sieni", edited by Sławomir Buryła, *Akcent,* No 2 (1999).We know that before the war Buczkowski wrote short dramatic forms. He put them on stage with his friends in the Towarzystwo Szkół Ludowych [society of folk schools] theater. In *Grząski sad* [boggy orchard] there is a mention of a 1935 play *Zabójstwo* [murder]. Perhaps then *Czaszka w sieni* belongs to a more numerous group of theatrical plays written for TSL. Buczkowski's archive also contains – hidden in the first Act – a typescript of the play *Etola* [tippet]. It is very likely that *Czaszka w sieni* and *Etola* did not go beyond the initial project phase.

Without a doubt, it would be extremely intriguing for both the editor and literature historian to have an opportunity to investigate Buczkowski's personal library. We know, as shown by works by Ryszard Nycz[8] or Tadeusz Błażejewski[9], that Buczkowski – especially in later texts – incorporated passages from other authors into his own work. We also know the role and significance played by *Sartor Resaurtus* by Thomas Carlyle in Buczkowski's novel. His personal library would hence offer a significant interpretative context and a source of information about his artistic inspirations. In his conversations with Trziszka, Buczkowski referred to Talmud, Zohar, as well as works by Dostoyevski, Iwan Bunin, Martin Buber, Miron Białoszewski, and Edward Stachura. We also know that he often referred to Leon Chwistek's concepts. Most likely he read these books purposefully – i.e. he thought about how to use them in his own idea of what art and artists are, as well as incorporating them into his worldview. It was predominantly observation, conversation and contact with another person that formed him. Buczkowski did not have a discursive, linear mind (we cannot exclude the possibility that the discursive parts of "living dialogues" are to some extent reactionary measures introduced by Trziszka). A multidimensional, non-linear way of thinking, based on associations and loose combinations of different ideas, is his element.

In 2005 the Museum of Literature received a collection of several dozens of Buczkowski's poems[10]. Although Buczkowski never planned to publish a book of poems, the surviving material (some part of it – it is difficult to estimate how much – was lost during the war[11]) consists of poems which are uniform in terms of mood and themes. Some poems were written during the time of the German occupation, as evidenced by the dates (****Zakwita barwinek*, ****W upalny dzień*)[12] [a periwinkle blooms on a hot day].

[8] Ryszard Nycz, *O kolażu tekstowym. Na materiale prozy Leopolda Buczkowskiego* [on textual collage on the example of LB's prose], in: *Pogranicza i korespondencja sztuk* [borderlands and correspondences of arts], edited by Teresa Cieślikowska, Janusz Sławiński (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Ossolineum, 1980).

[9] Tadeusz Błażejewski reveals in *Młodym poecie w zamku* [a young poet in a castle] intertextual games with the works by Thomas Carlyle and Marcel Schwob. See Tadeusz Błażejewski, *Przemoc świata. Pisarstwo Leopolda Buczkowskiego* [the violence of the world. LB's prose] (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 1991), 90–91, 96–97.

[10] Some have been edited for print by S. Buryła and R. Sioma. See Leopold Buczkowski: „Kopeć knota" [taper's soot], „***Może strzelisz z sinej tarniny" [maybe you will shoot from blue blackthorn], „***Zachybotało pokrzywą" [nettle has been swung], „***O ty, święty robotniku" [oh you holly workman], „***Liśćmi szeleścisz na starej topoli" [you are crackling with the leaves of an old poplar], *Przegląd Artystyczno-Literacki* [an artistic-literary review], No 10 (1998); „***Czy to waszą ojczyznę" [was it your motherland], „***Czołg ciebie wbił na kraty" [a tank has thrusted you on the bars], „***I ptak z drutem w sercu" [and a bird with a wire in its heart], „***Zakwita barwinek" [periwinkle is blooming], „***W upalny dzień" [on a scorching day], „Z notatnika, Siklawina: to nikogo nie obowiązuje" [from a notebook, Siklawina: this does not concern anyone], *Regiony* [regions], No 4 (1998); „***Cisza pachnie zgniecioną ćmą" [silence smells like a crushed moth], „***Wessałem w serce miąższ" [I sucked flesh into the heart], „Sierpień, Dym się pali" [August, the smoke is burning], „***Wzdęło się żyto pod niebo" [rye has been taken to heaven], „***Nie tobie skowronek" [not a nightingale for you], *Kresy,* No 4 (1998); Zapowiedź [announcement], ***Jedzie, jedzie, Nędza, [is coming, is coming, poverty] *Regiony,* No 2/4 (2000).

[11] According to the writer's son, who refers to Marian Kratochwil, Buczkowski had a "backpack full of poems".

[12] Files with poems have numbers 5531 and 5556. They contain 86 pages of different format (mostly A4), most of them written only on one side (made of parchment, indicating that they were torn from school notebooks). Buczkowski continued to write poetry also after the war. Among the unpublished poems there is *Mira Kuś* with the mention of Halina Poświatowska, hence the obvious conclusion that Buczkowski must have written poetry after the war, at least until late 1950s/early 1960s, when Poświatowska had her debut as a poet.

Many of those poems are "working" versions. They are not final, for print. Some of them were definitely supposed to be edited, as evidenced by marginal comments such as "do it," "work this out." Their edition would have to preserve their notebook character.

Buczkowski metaphorizes prose and mythologizes space. *Pierwsza świetność* [first magnificence] contains the story of Dido, daughter of king Pygmalion of Tyre and his sister, the founder of Carthage. Similarly to the title of one volume of short stories, *Młody poeta w zamku* [a young poet in a castle] – the poetic aura is created by the titles of the short stories: *Mówiła, że szatan ma czoło zabliźnione woskiem* [she said that Satan's forehead is scarred with wax], *Patrzcie! Ona płacze. – Nie płaczę – wykrztusiła ze łzami i wybiegła z piwnicy* [Look! She is crying. "I am not", she said with tears and ran from the basement].

This close relationship of poetry and prose (strong presence of the poetry element in the prose element) was indicated by Buczkowski's old friend, the painter Marian Krotochwil. He wrote about it in a letter to Maria Buczkowska[13]. Indeed, what really captivates the reader is the lyrical character of Buczkowski's prose: "There was no end to the road and the night," "It was dead all around and noble as if under a stone ceiling." These two sentences (the first one opens *Czarny potok*, and the other closes it) could be written only by a person with a deeply poetic nature. However, poetic does not mean sentimental. Buczkowski was far from affection and exuberance, as well as pretentiousness, which he often attributed to bourgeois novels. The third chapter of *Czarny potok* in its first edition ends with the following passage: " 'And what is a fairy tale?' asked the one in the darkness. Is it what appears between love and death?" In the first printing only the question is preserved: "And what is a fairy tale?"

Czarny potok has a uniform color scheme dominated by various shades of black and grey, with contrasting red. Despite having a poet's sensitivity, Buczkowski also had a painter's eye. We tend to forget his artwork. On several occasions it is reflected in his texts: "The dawn pressed a thin mist to the ground, freezing with the damp of thatches; wet, immersed in the morning dew, blooming apple trees stood over the delicate yarn of smoke". It is important that *Młody poeta w zamku* contains numerous Buczkowski's drawings[14]. Also *Dziennik wojenny* is illustrated with photographs and drawings[15].

In Buczkowski's prose the word "to illustrate" means far more than an "aesthetic addition" to the word. Paintings, photographs and drawings complete, comment on, interact with the text. An edition of *Czarny potok* with some surviving photographs of pre-war Kresy (Brody, Kamień Podolski and the surrounding areas) would bring additional meaning to the novel. Such an idea of publishing Buczkowski's *opus magnum* corresponds with the idea of document-novel, which was very close to him. Definitely this is how he saw the role of photography in *Powsta-*

[13] „List Mariana Kratochwila do Marii Buczkowskiej" [a letter from Marian Kratochwil to Maria Buczkowska], *Regiony*, No 3/4 (1992).

[14] Leopold Buczkowski, *Młody poeta w zamku. Opowiadania* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1978).

[15] Leopold Buczkowski, *Dziennik wojenny*, edited by Sławomir Buryła, Radosław Sioma (Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego, 2001). The magazine edition of *Grząski sad* has the same character, edited by Zbigniew Taranienko, *Ex libris*, No 57 (1994).

nie na Żoliborzu[16] [uprising in Żoliborz]. On several occasions we can read there about his literary devices: "I photographed gigantic fires. Hopefully something interesting will come out of it"[17]. We also know that Buczkowski documented the Warsaw Uprising in photographs[18].

The private collection of the Buczkowski family contains a photo of the funeral of priest Bańczycki taken by Buczkowski. Only several dozen out of around 3,500 photographs by Buczkowski have survived, mostly those which were given by him to Marian Kratochwil and Marian Ruth-Buczkowski.

Almost all of his surviving artwork entered the collection of the Museum of Art in Łódź in 2019. Since early 1990s these paintings were in his son's, Tadeusz Buczkowski's, apartment in Split. Buczkowski's paintings are a part of the permanent exhibition, entitled *Atlas nowoczesności. Kolekcja sztuki XX i XXI wieku* [the atlas of modernity, collection of art from the 20th and 21st centuries]. They were presented for the first time to the Polish audience in the thematic volume of "Konteksty" (2015, No 3). Currently they can also be admired on the Museum's website[19]. Justyna Staroń's (*Dialog sztuk*) [dialogue of arts] and Agnieszka Karpowicz's (*Archiwum. Technika Leopolda Buczkowskiego – „spisz"*)[20] [archive. LB's technique – "write it down"] sketches present Buczkowski's paintings.

According to Tadeusz's son some of the paintings went missing during preparations to an exhibition in Israel in 1966[21]. Some sketches, drawings, small paintings were given to Trziszka – Buczkowski's friend and the author of a monograph devoted to him. Many sculptures are now lost because of Buczkowski's neglectful attitude towards his own work. He gave away some of them to his friends, other were probably stolen. Some sculptures are still in Konstancin, kept by Buczkowski's friends[22].

On several occasions Buczkowski spoke about modern painting and sculpture, for example in "Życie Literackie" and "Magazyn Kulturalny"[23]. There is also a manuscript of a short sketch entitled *Na tropach sztuki* [on the trail of art]. These and other Buczkowski's comments on painting can be found in a file catalogued in the Museum of Literature as *Notatki* [notes] (inventory number 5537).

[16]See Sławomir Buryła, *Wstęp* [introduction] in: *Dziennik wojenny*, 6.

[17]Buryła, 81.

[18]It is known that Buczkowski, together with Bolesław Wierzbicki, made posters for the Uprising, which unfortunately have not survived.

[19]Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi. https://zasoby.msl.org.pl/martists/view/3197 [date of access: 22.03.2020].

[20]Justyna Staroń, *Dialog sztuk. O twórczości artystycznej Leopolda Buczkowskiego* in: *(Dy)fuzje. Związki literatury i sztuki w Polsce po 1945 roku*, edited by Magdalena Lachman, Paweł Polit, Łódź 2019. The relationship between visual arts and writing is discussed by A. Karpowicz. See Agnieszka Karpowicz, *Archiwum. Technika Leopolda Buczkowskiego – „spisz"* in: *Kolaż. Awangardowy gest kreacji.* [avant-garde gesture of creation] *Themerson, Buczkowski, Białoszewski* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Communicare 2007).

[21]File 4483 (*Dokumenty Leopolda Buczkowskiego* [LB's documents]) contains an invitation from Lechosława Amit-Chmielowska to come to Israel.

[22]Photos of some sculptures can be found in *Proza żywa* [living prose].

[23] Leopold Buczkowski, "Przerwany zaklęty krąg czynności – ceramika Krzysztofa Henisza" [broken enchanted circle of activities – KH's ceramics], *Życie Literackie*, No 10 (1960); Leopold Buczkowski, „Kwaszkiewicz", *Magazyn Kulturalny*, No 1 (1981).

We should also mention film projects. Buczkowski was skeptical about adapting his *opus magnum* to screen. Despite being critical of film and its capacity for artistic expression, Buszkowski still worked on scenarios for film novellas. We have two typescripts: *Ponad widzialną* [above the visible] and *Nad dolinami* [above valleys] (a sketch of a film novella about the botanist, Feliks Beradu). Finally, there are also two biographical documentaries about him: *Wieczysty wrot* [imperishable door] and *Wyrazić siebie*[24] [express oneself].

Let us also add that since 1950s Buczkowski worked as a designer of book covers and illustrator (for example, *The banner of Janek Gwizdała25* by Alex Wedding/Grete Weiskopf, *Wybór wierszy* [a selection of poems] by Edward Szymański, *Miasto na złotym szlaku* [city on the golden trail] by Lucyna Sieciechowiczowa, *Śladami poety* [following a poet's footsteps] by Wanda Grodzieńska, *Fryderyk* by Tadeusz Łopalewski). Illustrations for "Nasza Księgarnia" were made in the 1960s (*Ofka z Kamiennej Góry* [Ofka from Kamienna Góra] by Kornelia Dobkiewiczowa). Unfortunately, there is no summary of book cover designs and books on which Buczkowski worked.

Anna Glińska-Trziszka, Zygmsunt Trziszka's widow, keeps a collection of several dozen tapes with music and "live dialogues" in her Warsaw apartment. Only a part of that collection has been digitized by Trziszka's son, Filip. Most of them are decaying. The problem is not only about the poor quality of the tapes, but also how disorganized the collection is. It would require describing, cataloguing and classifying[26].

Most of these tapes are records of conversations with Buczkowski. Jadwiga Pachecka, his close friend, is skeptical about *Wszystko jest dialogiem, Żywe dialogi, Proza żywa* and the issue of the authenticity of these texts:

> I am [...] absolutely certain that the number of Buczkowski's short stories actually recorded or noted down by Trziszka is very small. Anyone who has ever heard Leopold's stories, or who has even been an attentive reader, can easily recognize his work. These are short, witty, and wise stories about the years spent in Podkamień, the people whom he'd met. They idealize the world which was completely annihilated and can only be resurrected through language. They are always a complete whole with a punchline.
>
> In *Wszystko jest dialogiem* they are presented in a separate chapter, which proves that Buczkowski still controlled the reality around him. Some of them (which would prove the thesis about the evanescence of Buczkowski's material) were repeated in *Proza żywa*. However, the line between them and the editor-author invention of Trziszka gets more and more blurred. We have predominantly

[24]*Wieczysty wrot*, script and directing by Ignacy Szczepański (1983) and *Wyrazić siebie*, script and directing I. Szczepański (1985). See *Panie Ignacy, nie zrobiliśmy gówna* [Mr Ignacy, we didn't do shit] in: Ignacy Szczepański, *Bohaterowie moich filmów – spotkania* [characters from my movies], Brzezia Łąka: Wydawnictwo Poligraf, 2012. Szczepański –fascinated with Buczkowski and his art. – wrote a script based on *Dorycki krużganek*. See Ignacy Szczepański, „*Dorycki krużganek* według Leopolda Buczkowskiego", *Miesięcznik Literacki*, No 6 (1989).

[25]Original title: Die Fahne des Pfeiferhänsleins [PZ]

[26]See Adam Wiedemann, „Miejsce i rola muzyki w twórczości Leopolda Buczkowskiego" [the place and role of music in LB's art.], *Teksty Drugie,* No 1/2 (1997).

> stories about Ukraine, passages from Talmudic texts and others, incorporated in such a way as to suggest that they are a record of what Buczkowski said. In *Żywe dialogi*, which were published after Leopoeld's death, there is no trace of his contribution. It is pretentious, pseudo-philosophical babbling, with confusing and disrespectful comments about authors whom Buczkowski hadn't known nor read[27].

Jerzy Kazimierski states: "The records of what Buczkowski supposedly said resemble a wardrobe, out of which Zygmunt Trziszka would take an appropriately composed outfit in which he presented his mentor"[28]. To test the degree to which the records have been tampered with, one would have to compare the book with the tapes. The process would not be easy, given the poor quality of the tapes, but it would not be impossible.

The doubt pointed out by Pachecka has a wider dimension. It is not just about the possible tampering with the text by Trziszka, but also about the disinvolture with which Buczkowski approached his stories, events and facts presented anew – and subject to subsequent transformations. The same story, the same anecdote could be modified by the author. Although it does help the story, which thus gains new meanings, it is misleading to researchers interested in the biographical facts. It is easy to be misled by a good story. It is enough to read Buczkowski's biography. We do not know what exactly his role was in the September Campaign (where and how long he served). In his passport application for England in 1960 we can read that he fought in communication troops as private, and in a self-defense group of Horowic[29] in Podole during the German Occupation. However, we cannot be certain about that issue.

The problem of origins

Wojciech Kruszewski concludes:

> Each literary work's origins can be worked out from its text. Even if we have a very scarce documentation of the creative process, if the reader is interested in this problem and insightful enough, they can uncover the information about how a given piece of work was created. [...] The more evidence of the creative process, the broader the scope of possible investigations[30].

The question about the origins of *Czarny potok* has to take into consideration two questions: the date and the circumstances of the Uprising and the account of *Wertepy* [bumpy road] and *Dziennik wojenny* [war journal] (especially the first part entitled *Grząski sad* [boggy orchard])[31].

[27] Jadwiga Pachecka, *Teatry Leopolda Buczkowskiego* [LB's theaters], in: *Wspomnienia o Leopoldzie Buczkowskim*, 52–53.

[28] Jerzy Kazimierski, *Recepcja twórczości Leopolda Buczkowskiego w latach 1966–1989* [the reception of LB's art from 1966 to 1989] (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2009), 131.

[29] *Dokumenty Leopolda Buczkowskiego*, file No 4483.

[30] Wojciech Kruszewski, *Rękopisy i formy. Badanie literatury jak sztuka odnajdywania pytań* [manuscripts and forms. A study into literaturę as an art of finding questions] (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2010), 60.

[31] Leopold Buczkowski, *Grząski sad* in: *Dziennik wojenny*.

These two texts share the same place of action and the similarity of geography. They even share some characters. However, the issue is complex: in *Czarny potok* authentic characters from *Dziennik wojenny* meet fictional characters from *Wertepy*. A similar situation happens with spatial categories – real places from *Dzienniki wojenne* are intertwined with fictional ones from *Czarny potok* (e.g. Szabasowa). However, the question of place names requires deeper reflection, as those which are not supposed to have their counterparts in reality turn out to be real after all[32].

The diary offers archetypes of the spy, snitch and court reporter. There are also mentions of names known from *Czarny potok*: Tykies, Szaja (also present in *Dorycki krużganek* [Doric cloistered])[33]. Interesting additional information about the protagonists of *Czarny potok* can also be found in the file *Wspomnienia i notatki literackie* [memories and literary notes] (No 5538). Some pictures are literally copied from the journal: "Stupid day, stupid beings, horrible boredom! Death is boring already, death sentences suck too – a death sentence for a horse, read out and performed in public, would be unbearable!"[34]. And in *Czarny potok*: "Death is boring [...]. And Death sentence... huh? A death sentence for a horse, for example, is a completely different matter. Read out and performed in public, it would be [...] unbearable [...]"[35]. In *Grząski sad* we read: "The war is dragging, and it is as boring to everyone as an unhappy marriage – it goes on, God knows where and what for!"[36] In *Czarny potok* one of the characters says: "The war is dragging and it is as boring as an unhappy marriage"[37].

In the 1940s Dolinowszczesna was annihilated. Towards the end of 1943 Buczkowski was forced to leave Podole. He was hiding in Warsaw until the Warsaw Uprising. He wrote about the Ukrainian slaughter and the tragedy of the capital in *Dziennik wojenny*. *Grząski sad* and *Powstanie na Żoliborzu* are an account of the process of the destruction of the language of storytelling, which in this sense is a bridge that leads to *Czarny potok*[38]. Between *Wertepy* and *Czarny potok* there is a radical passage from the world which can be told in a linear way to a form which requires a narrative of a different kind.

The horror of war forces the artist to seek a more capacious and open form than that known from *Wertepy*. In *Grząski sad* and *Powstanie na Żoliborzu* the poetics of trauma begins its work. The editors of *Dziennik wojenny* in the name of making its complicated structure more approachable resigned from its experimental character. Meanwhile the manuscript reveals a torn, traumatic language. It is distinguished by punctuation marks characteristic

[32]See Radosław Sioma, *„Pewien zakątek ziemi". Geografia „Czarnego potoku" – rekonesans* ["some corner of the earth". Geography of *Czarny potok* – a reconnaissance] in: *Od poetyki przestrzeni do geopoetyki* [from poetics to geopolitics], edited by Elżbieta Konończuk, Elżbieta Sidoruk (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2012).

[33]In *Czarny potok* te characters are named Aron Tykies, Chuny Szaja.

[34]Buczkowski, *Grząski sad,* 39.

[35]Buczkowski, *Czarny potok*, 14.

[36]Buczkowski, *Grząski sad,* 43.

[37]Buczkowski, *Czarny potok,* 138.

[38]See Sławomir Buryła, „Między *Wertepami* a *Czarnym potokiem*. Zagadnienia ewolucji prozy Leopold Buczkowskiego" [between *Wertepy* and *Czarny potok*. Questions regarding the evolution of LB's prose], in: *Teksty Drugie,* No 2, 2001.

for Buczkowski's diary (#, = #, =, –)[39]. The modern theory of trauma and trauma realism make us see a form which is rather special on the ground of the Polish literature which attempts at reflecting the uniqueness of a borderline experience[40]. *Grząski sad* and *Powstanie na Żoliborzu* are a testament of the decisive entry of the trauma element, whereas *Czarny potok* is a radical strengthening of tendencies already present in *Dziennik wojenny*. However, we should add that the first draft of *Czarny potok* already has occasional punctuation known from the diary (#, = #, =, –).

According to Buczkowski himself, he worked on *Czarny potok* from 1945 to 1946. The novel was written in Zakopane, where he was undergoing treatment for lung problems. "In 1946 I went to undergo treatment in Zakopane. It was then, while lying on a chaise longue, I started writing *Czarny potok*."[41] Triszka corroborates that dating[42]. It is known for a fact that after the war Buczkowski treated his tuberculosis. In the application to Zarząd Warszawskiego Związku Polskich Artystów Plastyków [administration of the Polish association of fine artists] we find two important pieces of information: "In the same year [1945] I went down with tuberculosis, following my war-time experiences, and for the following two years I lived in Zakopane, and then I settled down in Konstancin, near Warsaw [...]"[43] It is unknown when exactly Buczkowski left Zakopane. The same file (4483) contains a medical certificate dated Dec. 2, 1947 by Dr. Józef Hano (in the analyzed "sample of sputum *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* was not found").

It seems that even if Buczkowski had started working on *Czarny potok* in the winter of 1945, it would have had to be an early project or ideas which lasted until 1946; during that time he must have devoted all of his attention to *Wertepy* (first print in 1947).

File 5533 is helpful in the reflection on the origins of *Czarny potok*. It contains a typescript (86 pages) of the fourth edition of the novel, entitled: *Część pierwsza: Szabasowa* [part one: Szabasowa]. The initial page with the title *Czarny potok* has a hand-written date "1947-1948." We should also refer to the letter from Robotnicza Spółzielnia Wydawnicza "Prasa" [workman's printing cooperative "press"] from Aug. 8, 1948: "We are sorry to inform you that we will not print your novel *Czarny potok* [...]."[44] That short note shows that *Czarny potok* must have been finished in the first half of 1948 at the latest. Buczkowski himself wrote:

> I wrote *Czarny potok* in Zakopane, while undergoing treatment for my lungs. The text was ready in 1947, but I had to wait for ten years. It spent two years in "Czytelnik" [reader] when I took it from PIW, and a year in "Książka i wiedza" [book and knowledge], and eventually it spent another two years at my home[45].

[39]Leopold Buczkowski, *Dzienniki,* No 4226.

[40]See a doctoral dissertation by Dawid Skrabek *Traumatyczna tkanka prozy* [traumatic tissue of prose], advisor prof. A. Łebkowska (Kraków 2011, typescript available in UJ library).

[41]See Buczkowski, Trziszka, *Żywe dialogi*, 15. See Jan Tomkowski, *Krótkie kalendarium życia i twórczości Leopolda Buczkowskiego* [a short calendar of the life and art of LB]in: *Wspomnienia o Leopoldzie Buczkowskim*, 261.

[42]Buczkowski, *Wszystko jest dialogiem*, 67. That information is not confirmed by his son, Tadeusz.

[43]*Dokumenty Leopolda Buczkowskiego*, No 4483.

[44]*Listy wydawnictw do Leopolda Buczkowskiego* [letters from publishing houses to LB], No 4419.

[45]Leopold Buczkowski, *Koszmarna międzyepoka* [a nightmare between-epoque], Buczkowski, *Dziennik wojenny*, s. 160.

To provide a full picture it should be mentioned that Buczkowski prepared *Ruda bekiesza* [red coat] which was written to complement *Czarny potok* and *Dorycki krużganek*. The title of the trilogy was supposed to be *Brylant kahału* [kehilla's diamond], as stated by Buszkowski in an interview for "Słowo Powszechne" [common word][46]. *Ruda bekiesza* was supposed to be the last element of the cycle. It is hard to say exactly to what extent it was a feasible idea, and to what – a future project. It is a fact that the second part of *Czarny potok* is entitled *Ruda bekiesza* in the typescript (following the first, *Szabasowa*)[47].

Buczkowski rarely commented on his works. In *Żywe dialogi*, *Proza żywa* or *Wszystko jest dialogiem* rarely can we find any information about the origins of some novels, rather comments to the contents of his books or interviews in which he tries to reconstruct something we would call a private concept of what an artist and work of art are. However, Kazimierski advises to approach such declarations and judgments of the author regarding his own prose as well as that of authors that are close to him cautiously[48].

We can also learn something from individual, scattered opinions of the author. However, even they allow us to confront only some of the information and accept is as certain and undisputable.

The Museum of Literature houses five editions of *Czarny potok* in the form of a glossed typescript (files 4220,4371,4372,4373, 5533). A separate file (4219) contains the first draft of the novel in three A4 notebooks.

However, this does not mean that those six files contain complete material that later became the printed version. File No 4370 has fragments (each several pages long) entitled *Chuny Szaja*, *Dno* [bottom], *Ruda bekiesza*, and two without any title. All of them – some after a few editions – entered the first book edition. *Dno* (in a different edition) is in file 5538, where we can also find two texts entitled *Rafał Bajc* (k. 1–19 and k. 20–25) and *Notatnik Szeruckiego* [Szerucki's notebook] (k. 32–34)[49].

Here we should also mention one feature of Buczkowski's writing. *Czarny potok* is a special example – constantly going back to the same scenes, characters and dialogues. Importantly, Buczkowski does not modify the descriptions of nature, as if he had been certain from the start of what he wanted to achieve in that field. Typically the changes he introduces are not deep – mostly just individual words (or their sequence), rarely changing a whole sentence of paragraph.

Initial parts of the typescript of the first edition of *Czarny potok* (4220) and the second one (4371), which both open with the same passage – "slowly" – to a description of the end of summer, whose style is closer to *Wertepy* than *Czarny potok*. It is this painting-like style, typical for *Wertepy*, impressionistic in its tone that so often occurs in his first novel:

[46]„[Rozmowy z pisarzami]. Z Leopoldem Buczkowskim rozmawia Jerzy Hordyński" [interviews with writers. JH interviews LB], *Życie Literackie,* No 27 (1958). In that conversation LB believed that *Ruda bekiesza* would be printed in 1958.

[47]Leopold Buczkowski, *Czarny potok*, No 4373.

[48]See Kazimierski, *Recepcja twórczości Leopolda Buczkowskiego…,* 131–138.

[49]See *Notatki Leopolda Buczkowskiego*, No 5537.

> After August the grass becomes red and shiny. Piglets walk around the yard in search of leftovers. Throng exploded from a sparrow's nest on the bean patch and sat on it suddenly, like husk thrown against the wind. The sky became cloudy. In the morning scarce, cold dew came out.
>
> The summer cooled down, only the forest had brisk starlings, silently rambling through the underbush. Their rustling scared the people who had run away from Szabasowa. A quick evening was flatly falling down on the stubble into a red flame, closing in one color tree trunks covered with groats of overripe sage[50].

This passage appears on page 57 of the book edition (1994). When working on the final version of the text, Buczkowski decided to make *Czarny potok* more dynamic and he started with the sentence: "There was no end to the road and the night." The reader is immediately thrown into the story. This initial sentence perfectly reflects the mood of the novel. The "bumpy" character of this passage can also be explained by the fact that already after the war Buczkowski was working on his debut novel. As we remember, at the same time he was still perfecting, correcting, completing, and sometimes even adding new passages to *Wertepy*[51]. By resigning from the classical story (like *Wertepy*), in *Czarny potok* he takes on a different artistic strategy. To present the events from after the Disaster he introduces a shattered, thorn form.

In the typescript (file No 4220) Buczkowski considers opening *Czarny potok* in the following way:

> The autumn scarlet ~~red~~ is reddening behind the houses and ~~horse mills~~ old horse mills. Phloxes by girly paths. In sunny September a bee goes to phloxes. In sunny September the stream clacks, the nettle grows mouldy, the rooster ~~lover~~ chases ducks, hitting them on the head with a lover's enthusiasm. The ducks sit down, they like it[52].

The ending of *Czarny potok* was also changed, though not so much, also becoming more dynamic. In the typescript of the final version of the novel (4373) the final sentence reads: "It was dead all around and noble as if under a stone ceiling." In the first edition, this is actually the penultimate sentence. However, Buczkowski overcame the temptation of an impressive coda, and added a hand-written note: "Then we listened carefully, because three rifle shots were supposed to be the answer and confirmation that Czaczkies accepted the offer to look for Leit and Szerucki with us." This is how the book ends.

We know that Marian Ruth-Buczkowski also had an influence on the shape of *Czarny potok*. However, this influence is difficult to assess. Did these speculated suggestions make the story easier to follow, easier to read (through reducing all that was supposed to take the novel to the limits of intelligibility)? It would seem less likely that Marian would try to further complicate the text.

[50]Buczkowski, *Czarny potok I*, No 4220

[51]See Leopold Buczkowski, *„Wertepy"*, No 4355.

[52]Buczkowski, *Czarny potok. I*, No 4220.

If Ruth-Buczkowski indeed had contributed to the editorial work and if that contribution had been significant, then today – based on the available documents – it is impossible to reconstruct, or even to generally trace that process. We have neither direct nor indirect evidence which would help to indicate specific changes suggested by Marian.

We can suspect that the language of *Czarny potok* was also formed by editing. Similarly to the case of Marian Ruth-Buczkowski, it is hard to establish their character exactly (perhaps – what seems intuitive – it was about making the language and the narrative slightly more approachable). Did Buczkowski agree to that? We do not have the proofreading copy nor galley proof to confirm.

The question of possible mistakes and editorial error also remains open. Some of them can be eliminated. Unfortunately, in Buczkowski's prose it is hard to say whether a mistake concerning a given word, form or phrase was made by the proofreader or the author (or maybe they were conscious). In the case of *Czarny potok* the surviving editions with first drafts give a chance to eliminate some ambiguities and contaminations. For example, the following sentence can be found in the first print: "Cirla hugged the child and ran – she could still make out dahlias in the mud, red toads [ropuchy]."[53] In the first edition of *Czarny potok* (4220) the mistake "ropuchy" is corrected to "łopuchy" [burdock]. Another example: "Smoke can be the sound of a living city, but a silent city is smokeless, without the red glow, without the eternal flame of God's Saints [Świętych Pańskich], without the word...". In *edition princeps* we read "Świętych Pańskich" instead of "Świątyń Pańskich" [God's temples].

Reading four editions of *Czarny potok* and the first draft from *edition princeps* (1954) allows us to state that the number of characters in the novel evolved. For example, file 4220 we can find the character of priest Bańczycki, who becomes Klara Wasicińska in the first edition. Reading the subsequent editions carefully allows to gain additional information about each character. For example Hanczarka, who is a German spy in *Czarny potok,* turns out to be a German woman named Hedwig (4220).

The manuscript of *Czarny potok* – the basis of the first edition – has not survived. It is not archived in the "PAX" publishing house. As has been said, we do not even have the galley proof. In such a situation *edition princeps* should serve as the basis for a critical edition, which is also justified by the fact that we do not know whether Buczkowski worked on subsequent editions of the novel[54]. Hence, since we do not have any information confirming Buczkowski's involvement in the work on subsequent editions, and the observable differences typically concern spelling and punctuation according to the traditional rules of editing, we have to treat the first print as the basis.

[53]Leopold Buczkowski, *Czarny potok* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo PAX, 1954), 61.

[54]So far there have been eight editions of *Czarny potok*: *Czarny potok* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo PAX, 1954); *Czarny potok* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1959); *Czarny potok* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Czytelnik, 1964); *Czarny potok* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1971); *Czarny potok* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo PAX, 1974); *Czarny potok* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1979); *Czarny potok* (Warszawa: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1986); *Czarny potok* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1994).

The only competition for the first print is the 1994 edition from the series "Polish Twentieth Century Prose Collection" based on the "carefully prepared fourth edition of the novel" from 1974. However, there was another edition of *Czarny potok* by "PAX" from 1974. Probably what is meant there then is the 1971 fourth edition by PIW. There is nothing to indicate that the minor corrections were introduced or accepted by the author. Perhaps there is some confirmation waiting to be discovered in Buczkowski's private correspondence.

Having accepted the primacy of *edition principens* we cannot ignore the obvious mistakes that can be found in the first print. It is quite careless in its language, with a number of editorial errors. There are spelling errors, such as the spelling of the "by" particle (sometimes as "byłoby", sometimes as "było by" [it would be]). Prepositions and prepositional phrases are another numerous group. Some of them may have resulted from ignoring the 1936 spelling reform, others were probably missed by the PAX editor ("nie wesoło" instead of "niewesoło" [bleakly], "nie prawda" instead of "nieprawda" [not true], etc.). There are also mistakes in spelling "nie" [no] with participles ("nie ubrane" instead of "nieubrane" [not dressed]), etc.

Although the 1994 edition was quite carefully prepared (the spelling and punctuation mistakes were eliminated), it should nevertheless be treated with caution. The noun "ghetto" is spelled in its modern form as "getto," even though during the war and immediately after it, it was spelled as "ghetto." Since it is a testament of the time when the text was written, it should remain in its original form.

Late print

Czarny potok was written in one of the best periods of Polish literature of the second half of the 20th century (especially 1945-1949). Some were already published in the Stalinist times, such as *Pożegnanie z Marią* [farewell with Maria], *Kamienny świat* [stone world] by Tadeusz Borowski, *Niepokój* [anxiety] and *Czerwona rękawiczka* [red glove] by Tadeusz Różewicz, *Medaliony* [medallions] by Zofia Nałkowska, *Ocalenie* [salvation] by Czesław Miłosz. There were also others written in the first months following the war, blocked by the censorship, such as *Rojsty* [mires] by Tadeusz Konwicki, *Buty i inne opowiadania* [shoes and other stories] by Jan Józef Szczepański, *Szpital Przemienienia* [transfiguration hospital] by Stanisław Lem, as well as *Czarny potok*.

It took several hears before *Czarny potok* was printed[55]. PIW was the first publishing house to receive the typescript. According to Buczkowski, the text was rejected based on the negative opinion by Wilhelm Mach[56]. The problem ended in 1953:

[55]Buczkowski talked about problems with getting *Czarny potok* published in interviews. See "Czarny potok płynie przez Konstancin" [a black brook flows through Konstancin]. Z Leopoldem Buczkowskim rozmawia Monika Warneńska [Monika Wareńska interviews LB], *Trybuna Mazowiecka,* No 249 (1957) or "Jest jakaś skaza. Z Leopoldem Buczkowskim rozmawia Stanisław Zieliński" [there is some defect. Stanisław Zieliński interviews LB], *Polityka,* No 32 (1985).

[56]In the letter from 31 January 1952 PIW notifies LB that due to its character the book has to be sent to four reviewers and get their approval. *Listy wydawnictw do Leopolda Buczkowskiego*, No 4227.

> About three months after Stalin's death they came here, to Konstancin, in a PAX car – Hagmajer and Horodyński. And there I was, poor like a church mouse. That poverty made me take a job as a *metteur en pages* in *Przyjaciółka* [friend]; for four hundred złoty per month I cycled to Warsaw every day. Fortunately I had some experience from Koziańscy, and I further honed my skills in *Przekrój* [section].
>
> Until then I had had nothing to do with them, but they had various cultural tasks commissioned also by the secret police, and they could buy such "defective" typescripts which may or may not be published in the future. Anyway, there they are, saying that they know about my problems with getting published and offering to help me. Hagmajer says that PAX wants to publish *Czarny potok*, and if I say yes, they can offer me advance payment, thirty thousand. Mother of God, it was a fortune. I made four hundred for a family of four, and they offered me thirty thousand. They "bought" me with that money, took the typescript, and a year later *Czarny potok* was published[57].

In 1953, in *Dziś i jutro* [today and tomorrow] *Rozmowa w ciemności*[58][a conversation in the darkness] was published. It tells the story of a meeting at a presbytery and the confrontation between priest Bańczycki and Gail the Nazi. However, before that, in the years preceding the Stalinist times in Poland, a fragment entitled *W nocy*[59] [at night] was published in an issue of *Warszawa* [Warsaw]. The weekly *Dziś i jutro* wrote a comment:

> The fragment below belongs to a more extensive work, *Czarny potok*, which tells the story of the brave Jewish resistance movement against the beastly consequences of the Nazi racial discrimination. The author, who himself participated in the fights he writes about – shows a humanist, and at times a tragically rough and ruthless idea of brotherhood tested in a difficult but at the same time beautiful alliance of people who fight in defense of humanity[60].

There is a letter dated to 31 Dec 1952 from Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy [state publishing institute]:

> We inform you that due to its character, we would like to have the first volume of *Czarny potok* reviewed by several critics. We have processed the book for further reviews.
>
> We will announce our final decision to you at the beginning of this July. We kindly inquire whether you accept this date[61].

From the conversation between Buczkowski and Zbigniew Taranienka we learn that "*Czarny potok* was in several publishing houses while I was writing *Dorycki krużganek*. I was very sad that *Czarny potok* couldn't be published. I was writing *Dorycki krużganek* without any hope

[57]Buczkowski, *Koszmarna międzyepoka*, 160
[58]Leopold Buczkowski, „Rozmowa w ciemności", *Dziś i Jutro,* No 46 (1953), 6.
[59]Leopold Buczkowski, „W nocy", *Warszawa*, No 3 (1948).
[60]Buczkowski, „Rozmowa w ciemności", 6.
[61]*Listy wydawnictw do Leopolda Buczkowskiego,* No 4419.

it would be published. I was writing for myself. Hence I was leaving a lot out. This is not the complete version of the book."[62] What does this sentence mean? Is it about the internal self-censorship of the artist, who never compromised on aesthetic choices? Although it is difficult to conclude definitely, it would seem there is another possibility. In the conversations with Trziszka published in *Kresy* we can find the following passage: "I already had the typescript of *Czarny potok* with me then, written carefully. I felt crafty, as if I slipped in between the Scylla and Charybdis."[63] What does he mean? Perhaps communist censorship? It is very likely; after all, *Dorycki krużganek* was written in the middle of the Stalinist era, but also *Czarny potok* was written in the time of increasing restrictions on the world of art. Probably we will never know what *Czarny potok* would look like if Buczkowski had not expected censorship. We do not learn much from it about the crimes of Ukrainian nationalists in Brody, Podkamień and in the area. It is surprising if we remember how much attention they received in *Grząski sad*, which also includes specific place names[64]. It is also surprising because two of Buczkowski's brothers died in the massacres[65]. Neither was there any mention of the Soviet policy in the areas occupied by the Red Army following the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, whereas we know that forced displacements from Brody and Podkamień took place in the winter of 1940 – areas where the events of *Czarny potok* take place. And yet there is nothing about it in the novel[66].

It would be desirable to determine the kind and scale of censorship. However, it is not easy. Exactly on Nov. 15, 1952 the typescript of *Czarny potok* was delivered to PAX. Several months later (January 1953) a contract was signed and advance payment was paid, and on March 26, 1953 a publishing contract was signed. In 1953, having decided to publish the book, PAX waited for several months for the answer from GUKPPiW [censorship office]. In a letter from Oct. 6, 1953 the editorial office informed Buczkowski that they rejected the changes suggested by Kazimierz Truchanowski (who after all did not work for the censorship office)[67]. The imprint tells us that the novel was sent for typesetting and text makeup on July 26, 1954. This means that between October and July there was still time to introduce changes by the editorial office, including possible suggestions from the censorship office. I did not find a copy of any review forms or any other information about other censorship interventions in *Czarny potok*, be it in magazines (*Warszawa*, *Dziś i Jutro*) or in the book form. Probably we will never know what the corrections suggested by Truchanowski concerned nor whether they were actually introduced.

* * *

Artur Sandauer was not happy about publishing *Czarny potok*. In fact, he was quite hostile towards the book: "I have tried to read this book several times, but each time after having

[62] Zbigniew Taranienko, *Z dna „Tygla"* [from the bottom of a pot] in: *Wspomnienia o Leopoldzie Buczkowskim*, 134.

[63] Leopold Buczkowski, „Koszmarna międzyepoka", *Kresy,* nr 4 (1997), after: Buczkowski, *Dziennik wojenny*, 160.

[64] It can be explained by the poetics of the novel, but is it just that?

[65] Buczkowski's two younger brothers died in the Podkamień massacre in March 1944, Zygmunt (24) and Tadeusz (25Their name are on the list of victims' names by Zdzisław Jan Iłowski, Stanisław Stefan Iłowski, *Podkamień. Apokaliptyczne wzgórze* (Opole: Wydawnictwo s.n, 1994), 117.

[66] Iłowski, Iłowski, 76–77.

[67] *Listy wydawnictw do Leopolda Buczkowskiego*, nr inw. 4419.

read several pages I had to give up on it, feeling empty-headed"[68]. To Sandauer the chaotic storytelling was evidence of Buczkowski's incompetence. Apart from the fact that the genuine, radical breakdown of storytelling, the cause-and-effect narrative model, and traditional composition will only happen later (*Oficer na nieszporach* [an officer at vespers], *Kąpiele w Lucca* [bathing in Lucca], *Kamień w pieluszkach* [a stone in a nappy)[69], the surviving first draft of *Czarny potok* and several editions of the novel allow us to definitely state that the "chaos" is a completely intentional artistic strategy. Each of the four editions has the same composition as the book version – individual scenes function next to each other, loosely neighboring.

Sandauer's judgment directs our attention to one more thing. Without any doubt *Czarny potok* – as one of the most important novels of the 20th century – deserves an edition which would establish the canonic version of the text. In the case of such a hermetic text, which is so difficult to read, removing various mistakes (those made by the author as well as those by editors) is crucial for understanding it. Secondly, suggested interpretations would make reading the novel easier. Both clarifying meanings and eliminating linguistic errors are made easier by consulting the archive: the surviving editions and first drafts, transformations of the text, as well as the available bibliographic materials, notes, drafts (on different levels of completion).

translated by Paulina Zagórska

[68]Artur Sandauer, „Pod czy ponad?", *Nowa Kultura,* nr 8 (1960). After: *Stanowiska wobec…* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1963) 91.

[69]See Arkadiusz Kalin, *Problem spójności prozy Leopolda Buczkowskiego* [the problem of cohesion in LB's prose] in: *Zimą bywa się pisarzem. O Leopoldzie Buczkowskim* [in winter sometimes one becomes an author], edited by Sławomir Buryła, Agnieszka Karpowicz, Radosław Siomy (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Universitas, 2008).

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KEYWORDS

Holokaust

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Abstract:
The paper discusses the problem of the origins of *Czarny potok*, a novel by Leopold Buczkowski. By reconstructing the complicated story of the origins of the novel, the author consults the surviving genesis documents (both published and unpublished) housed in Buczkowski's archive. Their analysis allows to address some issues regarding the origins of the novel, as well as the complex compositional and story-related aspects of the book.

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GENERIC CRITICISM

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Sławomir Buryła – literary scholar at the Faculty of Polish Studies at UW. His research interest include moden literature (especially wartime), editing, popculture and literary criticism. Coauthor and editor of the monograph *Literatura polska wobec Zagłady (1939–1968)* [Polish literaturę in the face of Holocaust] (together with Dorota Krawczyńska and Jacek Leociak). Lately he published *Rozrachunki z wojną* [settlements with war] (Warsaw 2017) and *Wojna i okolice* [war and the surrounding areas]. He has published for "Pamiętnik Literacki", "Teksty Drugie", "Ruch Literacki", "Przegląd Humanistyczny", "Znak", „Nowe Książki". |