THE AUTHORIAL POETICS. ZYGMENT HAUPT (II): INSPIRATIONS and INTERPRETATIONS

Discovering of the secrets of life, the secrets of the writing technique, and the inconspicuous but important literary, humanistic, social, political, and cultural contexts which define Haupt’s writing.
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The authorial poetics.

Zygmunt Haupt (II): Inspirations and interpretations

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Editing and textology, text genetics, epistolography, literary biography, sociology of literature, psychoanalysis, geopoetics, entropy, Conradese inspirations, climbing and mountaineering as cultural practices – in short, this is our network of methodological reference points – tendencies characteristic of both the traditional and the new humanities. This network shows research perspectives adopted by the authors of the articles published in the second issue of Forum of Poetics devoted to Zygmunt Haupt’s authorial poetics. These ten articles in one way or another focus on one of three main issues, namely writing style, inspirations, and contexts. Indeed, Hauptologists
whose texts we publish in this issue set to discover the secrets of life, the secrets of the writing technique, and the inconspicuous but important literary, humanistic, social, political, and cultural contexts which define Haupt’s writing.

In the “Theories” section Rafał Szczerbakiewicz argues that the concept of entropy in Haupt’s work has semantically expanded. Discussed against the background of Haupt’s early American experiences, it allows us to draw parallels between Haupt’s and Faulkner’s writing. Both writers were intrigued by the imbalance between nature and civilization, which eventually led to catastrophe. As such, entropy seems to be a sign of hope – hope for the new – and with it a form of younger entropy. Michał Zając analyzes how Haupt constructs his literary characters, using psychoanalytical tools of Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan. He draws primarily on the concept of drive as an artistic montage developed by Lacan in order to analyze literary portraits of Haupt’s heroines. In Haupt’s prose, a montage of memories points to the very mechanism of imaginary representation set in motion by a drive spring. Przemysław Kaliszuk examines the themes of mountains and mountaineering in Haupt’s selected short stories. Kaliszuk reflects on how mountains and new cultural practices related to them (climbing and mountaineering) may inform Haupt’s reflection on the phenomena and processes that define modernity. Jerzy Borowczyk analyzes the process of creating the story Entropia [Entropy], with the help of French genetic criticism and John Bryant’s category of fluid text. He argues that Haupt’s manuscripts are an integral, living part of his oeuvre, in which the struggle to show values arising from the relationship between man and place never ends. Conradese inspirations are not, as Wiesław Ratajczak notes, often found in Haupt’s prose but they play an important role. By pointing to similarities and differences, the author defines his writing method. As a reader of Conrad, Haupt is interested in the poetics of concealment and disclosure, the relationship between memory and repression, the poetical and the symbolic, as well in Conrad’s dark childhood experiences and memories of his homeland. Thanks to this, Ratajczak argues, we see Haupt’s writerly succinctness and “density”, and the fact that he combines the familiar with the exotic, the lyrical with the tragic, the personal with the universal, the serious with the mournful, in new light.
The first three articles in the “Practices” section present the results of archival research, including not only the most extensive collection of Haupt’s literary legacy at Stanford University Libraries (USA) but also the Archives of the Literary Institute in Maisons-Laffitte. Aleksander Madyda, a monographer and editor of Haupt’s works, reconstructs the missing fragments of the story Zołota hramota [The Golden Writ]. He shows the reproductions of the burnt pages of the story and proves that “manuscripts don’t burn.” He carefully reconstructs the lost fragments thanks to his knowledge of Haupt’s entire oeuvre, characterized by a repeated use of certain motifs and corresponding linguistic expressions. Paweł Panas writes about Haupt’s correspondence with Maria and Józef Czapski (from 1950 to 1975), quoting Haupt’s meta-artistic confession, which is so out of character for the writer: “I believe in the type of creative work relying on symbols, ambiguity, as it invites the reader to co-create” (letter to Czapski dated December 15, 1972). Panas, as a researcher (and the editor of those letters), is interested not only in the long friendship between Haupt and Czapski but also in Polish emigrée life after 1945 as well as Haupt’s epistolary art. Barbara Krupa, who co-curated The Zygmunt Haupt Papers held in Special Collections at Stanford University Libraries, analyzes radio broadcasts prepared by Haupt for the Voice of America in the years 1951–1958. The transcripts are held at Stanford University Libraries, and they center on literary, cultural and scientific life in the USA. As such, they can be considered a valuable source of knowledge about Haupt’s America. Most of them are informative in nature, although some are also propagandistic. In the same section Jagoda Wierzejska reconstructs early important years of Haupt’s life and work, examining his first steps as a writer against the background of the intellectual and artistic life of Lviv in the 1930s. She primarily examines Haupt’s connections with the literary group Rybalci [Minstrels] and tries to explain to what extent Haupt’s early life in Lviv influenced his later literary career. Ukraine is also discussed in the next text. Tadeusz Sucharski writes about unique “pronominal” spatiality found in Haupt’s prose (expressed by means of such expressions as “u nas” [in our region] and the contrasting combinations of “tam” [there] and “tutaj” [here]). It turns out that Haupt, on the one hand, poetized the space of “his region,” and, on the other hand, defined it, often imprecisely, by referring to specific geographical locations. The “Letychiv” district metaphorically refers to “places of origin,” as defined by the artist’s imagination.
Indeed, the two issues of Forum of Poetics devoted to Haupt’s authorial poetics show just how multidimensional it is. We hope that the nearly twenty texts which center on it will be an inspiration for Polish studies scholars, literary scholars, and humanists in general interested in modern and late modern literature. Many hidden gems which require new readings and interpretations may be still found in it.

translated by Małgorzata Olsza
Haupt’s America.
Attempts at an entropic novel.
Luizjana, W barze Harry’ego, Zamierzchłe echa, Oak Alley nad Missisipi, Cyklon

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Our universe may end in two billion years. Don’t make any long-range plans. May your entropy be small.

Wołyń entropy and Duino entropy

At the beginning of Entropia [Entropy] (first published under the title Entropia wzrasta do zera [Entropy reaches zero] in “Nowa Polska” in 1944, and in London – at the time when Haupt married Edith Norris from New Orleans) Haupt casually discusses the titular notion together with the second law of thermodynamics:

If you are familiar with thermodynamics, you must have come across the pessimistic formula, according to which “entropy reaches zero”. Heat moves from hotter objects to colder objects. The same involution phenomenon takes place everywhere. Electric voltage wants to discharge, a mixture of colors is gray, we are witnessing the slow levelling of earth leading to mountains falling into valleys, and together with seas they will create huge shallows.

In Polish modernism, it was a rare moment when the speculation of modern scientism was aptly and consciously connected with modernist prose. This encounter of different paradigms was not a coincidence. A scientific explanation – physics – was used for interpreting the natural and social history of the world. The humanistic character of this example of proficiency in advanced physics is unique in contemporary Polish prose. The second law of thermodynamics is commonly understood as a physical axiom infected by a pessimistic perspective of subjective judgments.

From the existentialist perspective, it is the law of the evanescence of energy – of life, the human world, civilization.

Using a detail borrowed from science, Haupt later reduced the title of his short story to a single word, “entropy”, used also in its less scientific meaning as a synonym of chaos or a measure of chaos, disorder, disorganization. He thus makes a pessimistic diagnosis, which can be found also in works by other modernist authors: standardization of behaviors, objects and processes must lead to the loss of diversity and cognitive inquisitiveness, as well as reduce the aesthetic component of existence of individuals and societies.

Niewiadomski, who perceives entropy as a key notion in Haupt’s prose, points out to the loss of diversity and dynamicity of changes, and stagnation of matter. He proposes that breaking free from the universal omnipotence of deterministic laws of the universe towards a personalistic, particular perspective of a creative individual is a literary antidote to entropy. I believe that we should nuance and inspect the palpably subjective pessimism related to (what would seem) the scientifically objective notion of entropy. Does this result from the incompatibility of literature and the scientific paradigm? Is it a necessary aporia of a cognitive misunderstanding of the incompatibility of scientific and existential discourses?

This seems to be an oversimplification. Haupt’s prose is characterized by his respect for professionalism; he did not believe in the power of universal and complete knowledge, but he respected specialization. Perceiving himself as an amateur, he avoided the incompetence of the twentieth-century’s mass culture. However, he sought to anchor his considerations in the context of the age of scientism while looking at it from an artistic perspective. So where does this pessimism come from? Can the existential tone, characteristic for 1940s, be found in the history of science?

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4 Niewiadomski, Przeciw entropii, przeciw arkadii. O pisarstwie Zygmunta Haupta, 36.
6 Niewiadomski offers an excellent analysis of this phenomenon, Przeciw entropii, przeciw arkadii. O pisarstwie Zygmunta Haupta, 21–22.
It turns out that indeed, there was a context of reflection, vital and still up-to-date, clearly subjectivizing the objectivism of physics at the center of considerations regarding entropy. In no way does the tone of Haupt’s considerations contradict clearly existentialist ideas of modern physicists. In the rich scientific literature problematizing entropy, there is a lot of evidence suggesting that the laws of thermodynamics are worryingly difficult also for scientists. Moreover, the biographical context is of significance as well.

Ludwig Boltzmann’s biography, *Anxiety and the Equation. Understanding Boltzmann’s Entropy*, immediately offers this undertone determining the scientific and humanistic entropy discourse. The tellingly entitled book, which reads like a history of science, is about the traumatic origins of an extremely pessimistic understanding of a theory. Boltzmann, an old man suffering from growing neurasthenia and depression, went to a seaside resort in Duino, Italy, with his family, to restore his health – and ended up unexpectedly committing suicide. Biographical considerations and searching for possible origins of depression comprise most of the book. How was such a death received in the scientific community? How has it influenced us – rather random heirs to convictions about the expiration of all creative energy of space? Johnson does not use euphemisms, brutally illustrating a psychological problem with the often-idealized world of science.

 [...] But Boltzmann had already lived more days than he could bear. And though he had planned to return to Vienna the following day, he decided that he would rather kill himself instead. So, as his family went down to the sea to bathe, Boltzmann set about the task of committing suicide. [...] He was a kind man with a generous mind. This is his story, and the story of his second law.

Boltzmann’s biography contains the psychological and social symptoms of issues with his law. He committed a culturally “influential” suicide, reinforcing the ambivalent status of the anxious reception of the second law of thermodynamics. Even if such opinions became less common with time, the skeptical conclusions of Haupt’s short story unknowingly fitted in with the general trend. This was an unexpected turn away from scientistic optimism, an aberration containing symptoms of a crisis of affirmative modernity. Entropic anxiety and depression are an interesting examples of the “royal price” which the enlightened world started to pay for knowledge and truth. “Horror Metaphysics inevitably emerged, together with the specter of never-ending uncertainty.” The truth discourse did not set us free from anxiety; to the contrary – it took away the possibility of any consolation.

Boltzmann’s equation-based anxiety seems to be a significant element of Haupt’s storyworld, complicated and skeptical already in terms of the fragmentation and disintegration of continuity. In his patchwork narratives comprising elements of history, psychology, existentialism and social observation, science is a marginal inspiration. And yet the scientific title, *Entropia*, is a surprising choice for a nostalgic short story which focuses on the expiration of life energy

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7 “It was an inelegant death. Hanging there. He was a fat man. He might have made a convincing Santa Claus on a good day. But he past few years had brought him very few good days. Imagine a Santa Claus who, at the end of a long and successful career, finds himself unable to face the impending arrival of yet another December 25. So too must Ludwig Boltzmann have felt at the age of sixty-two in the summer of 1906.”, Eric Johnson, *Anxiety and the Equation*. Understanding Boltzmann’s Entropy (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2018), 1.

8 Johnson, 2.

of Wołyń’s litaka. A broader, less “nostalgic” understanding of pessimism related to this notion is clear. Already at the beginning of Entropia, in the context of extinguishing the lost, inherited world, it is not melancholy that interests Haupt, but the necessity of accepting the law which equalizes energy to zero. In this sense, Haupt refers a strictly physical law to a cultural context, thus resembling Boltzmann’s students, traumatized after losing their master.

In the sphere of human matters, such greying and shallows result from the slow process of uniformizing and standardizing, not only by the mechanized civilization, which – even with details from everyday life – becomes the same and tacky, but also the radio, press and cinema are slowly turning us into millions and billions of people equally fixed on die-cut ideas. Entropy reaches zero. When you travel the world, it seems that even the seasons of the year are losing their distinguishing features and melt into one, grey season, even if it is eternal Californian spring.

Cultural entropy – of interest to the humanist – is characterized via the homogenizing and unifying characteristic of mass culture, which is in line with Andrzej Niewiadomski’s observations. To me, the last sentence from the quote above is particularly curious. Immediately after it, Haupt returns to the world of Eastern borderlands, affected by the law of entropy. However, this last sentence seems personal, and it refers to entropic anxiety. It appears to be about the promise of a new beginning – a stereotypical image of the New World. Writing about the permanent spring in California (which he had not seen at the time, but he had already met a woman thanks to whom he considered American peregrinations), Haupt prefigures his fate, which is ambivalently described via oxymoronic imaging. Spring suggests hope for rebirth, but the “Californian eternal spring” strives towards zero – “one, grey season”, without any distinguishing features. Even before experiencing it, Haupt gets a paradoxical message from America: of hope and hopelessness.

Fragmentariness of Louisianian impressions

How does Haupt’s biography compare to his premonitions? Can his early reactions to America be interpreted in the context of Entropia? His surviving, American correspondence is incomplete, and it shows that Haupt’s America was an encounter with almost all aspects of exile. Paweł Panas offers the most complete discussion of this issue in his analysis of both Haupt’s prose and its epistolographic contexts. The New World does not deliver in terms of the classical “spring” promises. Haupt’s descriptions resemble later accounts by Jean Baudrillard and his reactions to America’s desolation, post-industrial, vandalized landscapes, and simulacracities, implying the subject’s alienation. In Haupt, the modernity anxiety is further reinforced by his fear for his son, who is a permanent context in his American narratives, both in correspondence and in contemporary literary sketches – always related to his biography. Both his letters and American prose share the sense of peculiar anxiousness.

12See Jean Baudrillard, America, translated into Polish by Renata Lis (Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Sic!, 1998).
13See especially Panas, 153–163.
I see anxiety – not abstract, cultural, but related to the anxious problem of entropy – as an underappreciated characteristic of Haupt’s cycle of fragmentary prose published in Grydzewski’s Wiadomości [News] in 1948. The narrative of “the world’s twilight” does not come out of nowhere. The world of Wołyń, slowly expiring in memory, in which the end of civilized history is simultaneously a measure of growing disorder, redirects us to the trope of treating America as a background for inherited memory. America’s images are abundant in short, sudden tensions which bring the new landscape closer to Eastern borderlands.

Houses, American provincial, wooden architecture (the American province is wooden and pioneering in terms of houses), telegraph poles as sad and cross-like as ours in Wołyń.

The contextual way of seeing America is obvious – Haupt is burdened with painful personal experiences, nostalgia, his mannerist taste. Why is this prose treated as attempts at journalism? Although admittedly they display some characteristics of a reportage, there is an obvious, broader, genetically silvan idea behind these texts. Curiously, most scholars who wrote about reportage in this context, generally notice his failure. Aleksander Madyda describes these fragments as a reportage about southern America from the perspective of Louisiana, where Haupt’s wife was from. According to Madyda, America turns out to be cognitively impossible for Haupt, untamable, too strange and exotic for a European. The failure of description can also be extremely stressed: Stanisław Zając writes about “not encountering” America in these texts. On the other hand, Panas, aware of the sensuality of Haupt’s descriptions, nuances Zając’s overinterpretation, positioning the character of American prose in terms of exile alienation, i.e. inevitable damages sustained by Haupt’s European memory to a potential reportage. This is because Haupt’s American prose is full of reflections regarding distance from his home world in terms of time and space, and the difficulty with work of memory.

And all this together actually moved away and elevated to some other, unreal dimension, as if our century did not border with that one, as if it was a woodcutter’s fantasy and a grandmother’s story rather than a recent reality.

In the context of the memory curse, indeed America creates a cognitive problem – however, it is “unrecognizable” rather than “uncognizable”. The subject, fixated on eastern Europe and its past, does not have any claims to closeness to the new world. To the contrary – he effectively uses the fact that it is far away and foreign. I agree with Panas that Haupt watches without making comments. Haupt’s Louisiana texts are not a record of his attitude to American reality. Instead, he tries to describe his sensual experiences and the world he sees, even if it is difficult to do for many reasons, or even utopian.
Indeed, the (in)describable America is describable in its sensual epiphany, but as an allotopy – a different world. Haupt’s imaging is highly effective. In fact, we are presented with too many images, but without an organizing comment. We are visitors on a strange planet. For the same reason, I would be careful regarding the “indescribability”. In the six surviving fragments, the level of immersiveness of descriptions of nature, multicultural communities, changeability of landscape, instability of climate is unusually inventive, unique compared to contemporary Polish prose about America. And the utopian project to describe America is Haupt’s necessary self-limitation, because in his descriptions he struggles with affirmation and rejection, the utopian desire for the new and ultimate dystopian effect of observation. Cognitive skepticism (America’s sensational, chaotic nature as the result) in relation to the sensuality of experiencing it. America is described to the extent in which it “presents” itself. This is an ontological problem, which Baudrillard (following Paul Virilio) calls “aesthetics of disappearance”\(^{19}\).

Fragmentary prose is thus the right reaction of a critical mind to an encounter with chaos and desertification of senses (“forms of extermination”\(^{20}\)). Should we not – contrary to diagnosing “not-encountering” America – accept that the fragmentary gestures of Haupt’s discourse are his way of encountering “another” America? This is related genre ambiguity, which Niewiadomski describes in his interpretation of Próby [Trials] through Haupt\(^{21}\).

Reading Haupt’s American prose as essays seems to be a better idea – they contain more references to the poetics of a travel essay. This brings us to the genre ambiguity of these miniatures – short stories, reportages, and essays – which were conceived as a cycle of a peculiar coincidentia oppositorum. In Haupt’s correspondence with Zdzisław Ruszkowski there is some supporting evidence:

(1.7.1948) I made a marginal note “Trip to Louisiana”, which Grydzewski publishes for me in fragments in “Wiadomości”.

(13.11.1948) […] I wrote a long story about my Louisianan impressions, which Grydzewski sporadically publishes in “Wiadomości”, and this my only one solid source of income\(^{22}\).

Both mentions indicate the potentiality of the project – “a long story about Louisianan impressions” and “Trip to Lousiana”. Niewiadomski writes about “a relative non-autonomy” of Haupt’s prose. Everything is separate until we notice subtle links ideologically connecting the whole project: “In this sense – and this is a paradox – as an author of short forms, Haupt demands that we interpret them as fragments of a non-existing, quasi-novel”\(^{23}\). I shall compare this unfinished project to William Faulkner’s narrative experiments from the late 1930s and early 1940s. Faulkner too appreciated such quasi-novels, which in his case took the form of

\(^{19}\)Baudrillard, 13.

\(^{20}\)Baudrillard.


\(^{22}\)Haupt’s correspondence with Zdzisław Ruszkowski, Zdzisław Ruszkowski papers, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Green Library, Stanford University, MISC. 0239. I owe my access to unpublished facsimiles of these American letters to Paweł Panas’s kindness and help.

\(^{23}\)Niewiadomski, Przeciw entropii, przeciw arkadii. O pisarstwie Zygmunta Haupta, 31.
cycles of short stories connected by the same idea and place of action. This is showcased by Go Down, Moses – prose which shares its form, as well as the geographical and cultural context of the Mississippi Delta, with Haupt’s project.

The Yazoo-Mississippi Delta

First, let us conceptualize the Delta phenomenon – a significant American allegory of the power of nature/universe over the world of human usurpations. The definitions of the region are heavily historical and cultural (from the anthropological, historical, and musicological perspective). The prolificacy of the Delta metaphor is already revealed in its borders – river deltas are naturally formless and changeable. The cultural and political markers on the Delta’s imagined map enter relations based on physical characteristics: geological and climatic. Ecoregions encounter industrial and post-industrial excess, transport routes cut through reservoirs of natural riches, and the ethnic history of music clashes with racism.

The Mississippi River Delta is the land built up by alluvium where the Mississippi River enters the Gulf of Mexico in Louisiana. This physiographic feature, however, is not the customary meaning of the Delta. The region more typically associated with the term is not actually a river delta but is the land that lies along the Mississippi River north of the river delta, which includes the Mississippi embayment, the sedimentary basin that is part of the larger alluvial plain created by the Mississippi River. Perhaps what most commonly springs to mind when the Delta is mentioned is the region specifically known as the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta, the subject of James Cobb’s The Most Southern Place on Earth. In geographic terms, the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta is the floodplain of the Mississippi and Yazoo Rivers; in cultural terms, it follows the oft-repeated adage of David L. Cohn as the region that “begins in the lobby of the Peabody Hotel in Memphis and ends on Catfish Row in Vicksburg.” [...] Since the terminology is not precise in physiographic terms—the river delta is one small portion of the region under discussion and the Mississippi-Yazoo Delta, the most commonly understood meaning of the Delta, is actually an alluvial floodplain of two rivers.

The Delta is the protagonist of Louisiana, the first short story in Haupt’s cycle. The story is (mostly) without any human characters, stressing the almost pantheist, above-human perspective of the river. “The river is red” – in terms of its actual color and metaphorical symptoms of human intrusion in its history. A human observer/narrator travels with their son from New York to Louisiana (and back to New York), experiencing the power of nature, which he interprets as a force which creates and destroys the Delta’s geography. Nature is observed after the decomposition in industrial civilizational processes. The Delta proves to be a destructive force to people. It vindictively terramorphizes postindustrial wastelands and landfill with floods, returning them to the state of formless wilderness. In American literature, geology is sometimes an analogue of some power superior to man’s pathetic attempts. In Haupt’s prose the Mississippi’s ecosystem and floods play such a metaphorical role. The river is almost a deity taking vengeance for man-made devastation.

And when we turn around – there is the river. Its surging breast is flowing, carrying tree trunks and roots washed away somewhere a thousand miles up, when the current reaches the banks, washing them and tearing away steep embankments, and openwork tree roots hanging like an octopus’s tentacles, the green crown swaying and falling into the watery abyss. Since La Salle’s Times the river has changed its route many times, biting at Illinois bank, flooding Tennessee valleys, cutting Arkansas loops, and there, where the swan breasts of canoe made of birch bark were hanging over peatbogs at the time when La Salle was paddling south, now you can walk all the way without getting your feet wet. It carries beech trunks and outstretched pine roots, dry branches of cotton trees, pathetically twisted towards the sky, are carried with wood stolen from stockpiles along the banks and crashed rafts, it swirls with timber from washed houses and raised river piers.

This short expository fragment contains various aspects of the Mississippi’s riches – in terms of natural and human history. Moreover, towards the end Haupt stresses the destructive force of alluvial pools. I am avoiding the word “entropy” for now, but this image highlights the decomposing civilizational diversity of the area’s industrial history. In Louisiana’s order it is only after this introduction that we discover the symbolic reasons behind the river’s destructive activity. The fact that these late-1940s considerations from America remain valid today – both from the scientific and artistic perspectives – is striking. “Polish” impressions from Louisiana overlap with the American perspective on perceiving the area and its problems in an interesting way.

Faulkner’s literary “menopause” in the Delta

There are numerous examples demonstrating the significance of the Delta in American culture, so I would like to focus on the similarities between Haupt’s experimental prose and Faulkner’s modernist experiments. The similarities between the two authors, both formal and in terms of their skepticism, or even pessimism, are particularly significant for me.

Faulkner set his cycle, in which violent aspects of American history accompany the anthropomorphized Mississippi metaphor, in the same area as Haupt did a few years later. In his 1942 Go Down, Moses (the Polish translation is literal, but it loses the musical context, i.e. a direct reference to the title of a Black Delta gospel), he considered the relationship between the people and nature of the area, stressing the degradation of its natural environment. In the key short story, Delta Autumn (again, the Polish translation is less complex than the original), the narrator famously complains about human activity in the Delta:

This Delta, he thought: This Delta. This land which man has deswamped and denuded and de-rivered in two generations so that white men can own plantations and commute every night to Memphis […] No wonder the ruined woods I used to know don’t cry for retribution! he thought: The people who have destroyed it will accomplish its revenge.

In American ecological literature, the Delta is a significant example of the degradation of America’s natural world, and *Delta Autumn* is an exceptionally illustrative and depressing example of America’s desertification due to the devastating exploitation of the past two centuries. The fragment above is often used as a motto in monographs – on Faulkner, as well as the Delta’s ecohistory and ecology. One of such works describes it as Faulkner’s key message:

[...] a collection of stories describing the problematic relationships between black and white Mississippians and their natural environment, the then relatively unknown William Faulkner displayed an acute awareness of an immense process that had irreversibly transformed the natural and cultural landscape of his home state.

How did the Delta become so significant for Faulkner? Apart from topographical obsessions, the autobiographical context is the key reason, co-creating the pessimistic and decadent atmosphere of *Delta Autumn*. In November 1940, Faulkner – frustrated, suffering from alcoholism – went hunting with his friends in the smaller delta of the Big Sunflower, one of the most important Yazoo’s tributaries. One morning, he did not get up. At first it was thought that he was hungover, but later he was taken to hospital in Oxford, Lafayette. As it turned out later, at the last moment – he had a massive hemorrhage from a perforated ulcer.

In “Delta Autumn”, the next story he wrote after his medical emergency, Faulkner appropriated the geography of the delta as a personal symbol for both his and the world’s fatigue. Throughout the following decade and a half, he drew periodically upon the imagery of rivers floods, and deltas to express gloom over his physical mortality, over the uncertain fate of his life’s work, and over the violent course of human history. “Delta Autumn” transformed the novel he was writing at the time [...]. It is a central document in his intermittent fictionalized autobiography: his premature portrait of the artist as an old man.

For Michael Grimwood the quasi-novel (in its fragments) is the most obvious sign of Faulkner’s artistic and existential exhaustion. Although he does not use the word “entropy”, he is close to a similar understanding of a crisis of the natural and social world: “the central subject of ‘Delta Autumn’ is not race relations or the failure of love, or the wilderness, but the gradual depletion of energy from the earth, from history, from men’s lives, from Faulkner’s career.”

Moreover, in his analysis of *Go Down, Moses*, he proposes to read it as a parabiographical story:

27In the penultimate segment of *Go Down, Moses*, “Delta Autumn,” which is also the bleakest portion of the novel, the darkness of the human story has its parallels in the depredations visited upon the landscape. Now the aged Ike sees himself and the wilderness “as coeals,” [...] connected in such fundamental ways that the decay of the wilderness mirrors his. He reflects sadly on how dramatically it has diminished, retreated, been beaten back by loggers, planters, developers, and automobiles until only a small portion of the splendid vastness remains. It has been “deswamped and denuded and derivered in two generations”, Judith Bryant Wittenberg, “Go Down, Moses and the Discourse of Environmentalism”, in: *New Essays on Go Down, Moses*, ed. Linda Wagner-Marti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 68.


about “the ultimate depletion” of Faulkner’s energy, which providently hides personal motifs. Faulkner’s personal correspondence reveals that the following decade of his life was filled with complaints about old age, loss of memory and writing skills. Grimwood believes that the hunting incident was the ultimate source of that crisis, claiming that it led to Faulkner’s “spiritual menopause”, together with his alcoholism. Although Faulkner was only forty-three at the time, according to Grimwood “he was beginning to think like a man whose time was running out”, deeply scarred by the traumatic event.

Entropy from the ecological perspective

To the contrary, Zygmunt Haupt does not avoid autobiographical motifs following his move to America. His perspective on the devastation of the New World clearly correlates with pessimistic considerations of a survivor of the Central European disaster. The world of inherited, locational identity had expired, which affected his perception of America. Therefore, it is not surprising that Haupt pays attention to those elements of American landscape which indicate disintegration, degradation, atrophy and expiration of the human world in a continent which promised a civilizational rebirth.

Closer to us there is a fallow land littered with wire, rusty metal sheets and tins, and decaying rubber, and rotten rags. Outside of cities, America is in fact one huge desert or dump littered with chewed-up, rusty, decaying leftovers from automated production.

This predilection for litter, dumps, rust and decay was not unique in the USA. In the Louisiana cycle, this description precedes settling with social injustice and racial violence. Violent relationships between nature and man, and conflicts between communities are symmetrical. Such a perspective is another element which Haupt and Faulkner have in common.

Some years after the publication of Go Down, Moses [i.e. exactly when Haupt was staying in the same area – R.Sz.], Faulkner spoke on several occasions about the European colonizers’ effect on the American landscape over the centuries, sometimes doing so in a general way, sometimes making particular reference to that portion of wilderness exemplified in the Mississippi Delta region often referred to as “The Big Bottom.” During a question and answer period at the University of Virginia, Faulkner described the tragedy inherent in the moment of origin when land ownership in the United States essentially began, when it was first taken by white settlers from the indigenous inhabitants, […] There is a “ghost of ravishment that lingers in the land,” said Faulkner, “the land is inimical to the white man because of the unjust way in which it was taken from [the Indians].”

This brings us to the core of the Delta’s problem from the ecological perspective, which seems obvious when reading Haupt’s and Faulkner’s comments on the Delta. In the light of

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31 Grimwood, Heart in Conflict: Faulkner’s Struggles with Vocation, 267.
32 Grimwood, Heart in Conflict: Faulkner’s Struggles with Vocation, 88.
34 Wittenberg, 50.
natural history, the short social history of American deltas is a clear example of a broader phenomenon of Western expansion and interference with both the natural and the pre-Columbian world.

European expansion, or the global dispersion of humans and other organisms of Eurasian origin within the past five hundred years, has resulted in immense environmental change [...]. Among the most dramatic examples of this phenomenon is the socioecological change in North America [...]. For example, it has been estimated that between the arrival of the first European colonists in the early seventeenth century and the adaptation of sustained-yield forestry in the first decades of the twentieth century, the original forest cover of the coterminous United States was reduced by more than 80 percent. The Yazoo-Mississippi Delta [...], the Delta region is thought to have been transformed between 1865 and the early 1930s from a virgin hardwood forest into an agricultural landscape; the floodplain covered by impenetrable low-land forests had been remade into a [...] cotton kingdom where by 1934 only 2 percent of the area could be classified as old-growth forest.

Haupt and Faulkner are concerned with the worrying imbalance between nature and civilization, which leads to a crisis of nature and human societies. In Haupt's cycle, American nature comprises Wołyń afterimages, abandoned houses, poles, trackways – elements of a world that is gone. Memory overlaps with local devastations, which Haupt refers also to history. The Delta's devastation leads to the Mississippi flooding alluvial farming lands, unprotected by the virgin forest, a natural barrier. Scientifically, such phenomena are described as examples of the entropic crisis of American nature. What is entropy from the ecological perspective? The monograph *The Entropy Crisis* by Guy Deutscher, about the necessary awareness of Earth's degradation, offers an answer; Deutscher explains that the ecological contact between people and nature is an underappreciated face of entropy. A breakdown of our world's biosphere. Sudden, uncontrollable, and harmful changes taking place in the biosphere are typically caused by human activity. Anxiety expressed in literary descriptions of exhausting Earth's energy can be referred to writers' ecological awareness, ever-growing in critical modernity.

A cyclone in the eye of nature and history

At the beginning of the Louisiana cycle, the Red River is a revenge figure, whereas in the last published fragment, the most discursive and metatextual one, it is a cyclone. Haupt describes the divine violence of the element, symbolized in meteorological announcements, newspaper articles and radio auditions. Southerners no longer pay attention to warnings about extreme weather conditions, they are used to them. Haupt is wondering whether the „credibility“ of the cyclone is a sign of relations between the devastation of the natural world and a crisis in

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35Saikku, 1–2.

36"Do these fears have a scientific basis, or are they grossly exaggerated? For instance, is climate change a real threat? And what is more harmful to the biosphere, to burn more fossil fuels, or to build and operate more nuclear reactors? Today these issues are in the public domain and, in the end, it will be the people who will decide what should or should not be done. This is why I believe it is important for everybody to understand the nature of the issues at hand", Guy Deutscher, The Entropy Crisis (New Jersey: World Scientific Publishing, 2008), 1.
a multicultural community. Signals of another similarity are scattered across Haupt’s short stories – Faulkner’s tragedy of racism and segregation – as an analogy to natural devastations. A cyclone appears in the context of America’s social history.

I would like to mention that aristocrats and feudal lords of the past South took mistresses – they provided for them, they threw famous “quadroon balls” in New Orleans – only Black women, they never picked “white trash”.

This is the world that lies in the eye of the storm...37

Since the element appears in the context of the history of social injustice, it should be stressed that it obviously acts neutrally and indifferently. In no way is it a deliberate reaction to a wrong in the ethical order of human matters. If anything, it is a cosmic necessity to apply a balance of measures of order and disorder also in terms of closed social orders, which are doomed to decomposition, sooner or later – just like nature.

In simple terms, entropy is a measure of order and disorder, [...]. If left alone, these aging systems go spontaneously from low entropy and order, to high entropy and disorder38.

The deep awareness of the fact that the laws of entropy can be referred not only to the natural world is surprising in Haupt’s short stories. The universe’s revenge is not a driving force, but rather an ontologically justified one, a rationally understood reaction to natural and social devastation. Societies are ageing. The decadence of the world described by Haupt, the world of “whites”, Creoles, and “Blacks”, is a picture of a social sclerosis. Perhaps Grimwood’s “creative menopause” can also refer to the “late” awareness of radical critics of modernity. Haupt’s attitude resembles understanding the inevitability of high entropy as a consequence of old age – of an organism, biology, but also societies.

[...] the aging of so-called inanimate systems such as cities, corporations and civilizations. We connect these aging systems to the entropy concept: why they age, the dynamics of the change process, and order and disorder. [...] These so-called inanimate systems seemingly evince the same characteristics as living, aging systems39.

It is not a coincidence that in Faulkner, the moral downfall of our world in the context of nature’s degradation is watched by an old man. Analogically, Haupt characterizes violent relationships between Southerners following the description of a river deity’s violence. At first, he does it quite innocently. In W barze Harry’ego [At Harry’s bar] he watches a cross-section of a racial society with a satirical tone. “People of color”, Creoles, Mexicans, “white”, “Black” Afro-Americans, white trash, i.e. hillbillies. This diversity is not an “enrichment”, because it cannot be organized into any pattern. Haupt watches chaotic and inconsistent images.

39Hershey, 10.
Various faces, all different from one another, a huge head with a tiny face, bushy eyebrows and folds of fat, and prominent cheekbones, and furrows, and wrinkles of older people, and smooth, plain faces of young ones, short hair, crew crop, or matted hair, or bald heads, some people with loose, hanging skin, other – swarthy and blue from shaving, the most fantastic gathering and motley crew, lost races, and suddenly the most characteristic Hispanic feature pops up, or Mexican, Slavic, but mixed racial characteristics, disordered and scattered, tower over all this and give this gathering the most varied and specific features.

Social comments are overloaded with enumerative information which does not construct a general picture. It does not aspire to organizing knowledge about the world observed by the narrator. (Not) describing America is about describing it in a crisis. An effective flow of information about society is impossible; each fragment is an example of growing chaos and disorder, especially in terms of racism. This is a clear similarity to Go Down, Moses – many of those descriptions show a brutal perspective focalizing readers to “white” prejudice.

There is a Black house: the porch propped up with poles, the arcade tipping, a nauseating dump nearby. Under the arcade the children are playing with a baseball – boys wearing patched pants – and there is a little Black boy hiding behind a bent pole, the whites of his eyes going blue in the little brown face, watching us with scared, curious and deep eyes.

In Zamierzchłe echa [Dim and distant echoes] this racial ethnos of Louisiana, an evident ethnus of injustice and the Delta’s tragic past are described in a provocatively brutal way.

[…] the house is always full of Black faces […] Viola comes sporadically (Viola is a unique specimen of monstrous obesity even compared to a standard, fat Black woman), a real mountain of fat […]. Black faces and heads show up and disappear like in an amusement park, they smile with their big lips and flash their white teeth.

These (self)accusatory images are overlapped with the perspective of inherited identity and cultural memory, creating a deliberate dissonance. The incompatibility of the remembered image, and the one experienced in real time in the American south, reveals the abject aspect of racial presence.

I have seen Othello on some small provincial stage, and Othello was wearing blackface, with well-painted lips, black gloves on his hands as he was strangling Desdemona under Venetian curtains. Well, then! And here, when I saw Black people for the first time, the first thing I noticed about them are their pink hands, the white – like ours – soles and heels of their bare feet, where pigment does not reach. And it is very weird and unexpected, and, I would say, even a bit disgusting for me.
Xenology meets xenotopography. Being in a completely new place, Haupt has no intention of pretending, denying his involuntary reaction to a race that is alien from his European perspective. Too many social stimuli make the narrator note the chaos of numerous differences, divisions, and conflicts rather than reject what he sees. Systems which become so chaotic indicate a society’s entropic old age. And in the flashes of Haupt’s descriptions, the stories of “white”, “Black” and Creole families seem alarmingly sclerotic. When Faulkner writes about the Delta’s entropic degradation from the perspective of an old man in his short story about hunting, his considerations indicating ideological mechanisms become clear.

The brutality internal to the project of enlightenment - the violence inherent in abstraction and equivalence-making - makes southern racist ideology, like an otherwise so different European fascism, a conceptual product of Western idealism. It is no wonder that in “Delta Autumn” the last strained determination to flee to the woods must negotiate a prefatory confrontation with the subject of Hitler, fascism, and demagoguery.

Is it not the same as Haupt looking at Louisiana from the perspective of the late 1940s European disaster? First, he notices the degradation of nature, later – the river’s revenge, and then he smoothly proceeds to characterizing the chaotic community entangled in numerous ideological discourses of modernity, devastating the social tissue.

A promise of smaller entropy

I insist that in this cycle, just as in Entropy, the laws of thermodynamics are the key. Haupt’s considerations begin with the formula “entropy reaches zero”. Everything strives from difference towards buzz and equalization, from order and agency to chaos and formlessness. There are two fragments in the cycle in which Haupt clearly signals that he is thinking about Boltzmann’s entropy in the American south. In the first one, there is a one-sentence comment referring to the river’s image, which used to be the measure of natural order in its delta: “In the past, the continent’s virgin equilibrium was not disturbed nor affected by man.”

Significantly, Haupt does not explain this notion as “balance”, instead using a word which is immediately associated with the language of Boltzmann’s physics. He uses this notion in a paradoxical way, separating nature’s equilibrium from its destabilization resulting from human activity. This is explained in the second fragment, where the same word reappears. This time it accompanies nostalgic reflections which derive the current state of the American community from historical sources of social chaos.

… it has been bellowing and dragging since the war which resulted in a million deaths on both sides – a million is a lot even today – the Union almost starved the South with the blockade, and as professor Toynbee says, if Sherman had not ordered Southerners with their horses to go back to

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44A reference to Bernhard Waldenfels’s phenomenological proposition, A Topography of the Other, translated into Polish by Janusz Sidorek (Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa, 2002).
their farms immediately after the fights ceased, so that they could cultivate the land that same season, this seemingly unimportant fact would not have allowed to shake the continent’s economic equilibrium, which may have affected what is happening in the world also today\(^\text{47}\).

This image treats history as a laboratory of entropic processes. The symmetrism of natural and social equilibrium in the theory of entropy has already been partially explained here. We are left with one more issue: if in both cases (continent and economy equilibria) the stagnation of equilibrium is described as a time of stabilization, does it mean that entropy can be described in positive terms? What is this „equilibrium” quoted from Boltzmann’s book? What is balance if we do not want to see it only as zero, a state of maximum entropy? The word has positive associations. We appreciate balance.

Our personal lives are complicated in ways that these simpler systems are obviously not. Equilibrium in a gas is something easily achieved. It happens spontaneously. [...] If we know that something occurs spontaneously, we know what to expect. More specifically, we know what to expect in the future. If a gas, in its present state, is not at equilibrium, it will be at equilibrium in the future, and we’ll know that the gas is at equilibrium because its entropy will have stopped increasing. The increase in entropy therefore serves a critical role in establishing an unambiguous arrow of time—a clear distinction between the past, present, and future\(^\text{48}\).

And so there is some type of pessimistic optimism or considerations about the point of the passing of time in entropy. The ambivalence in treating entropic presentiments regarding the human world manifests itself at the end of Cyklon [Cyclone]. On the one hand, there is an image of a child and his darkness, and on the other – the allegorical darkness of the “Black” in the South.

First, let us consider the child, implicitly Haupt’s son. The first hint can be found in the motto of the Louisiana cycle: in Le voyage difficile [A difficult journey] from the poem Le forçat innocent by Jules Supervielle, the poet warns against forgetting about children when traveling. From the beginning of the quasi-journalist observation, from the image of the river, Haupt’s alter ego’s narrative is burdened by his son’s silent presence. The narrator remembers him: they watch the river together, and they are at Harry’s bar together as well. We sense not this presence, but the father’s emotions, thinking about the world’s uncertain future and his son being lost in it. The contexts of this disturbing image have been subtly considered by Paweł Panas from the existential perspective: “[...] the experience of future death, impossible to verbalize, an unclear sense of an ending are lurking in the momentary loneliness of the loving subject, they are hiding in the most vital elements of the world”\(^\text{49}\). This vitalism can occasionally be the world’s advantage – as well as its uncertain card. In this sense, a child symbolizes both darkness and hope. The disturbing ending of Cyklon represents a more “optimistic” understanding of entropy.

\(^{47}\)Haupt, ”Zamierzchle echa”, 706.
\(^{48}\)Johnson, 129–130.
\(^{49}\)Panas, 154–155.
And in the evening, after bathing ceremonies etc. our little boy is tucked in his baby cot. He is still standing, holding the rungs, looking at us, and in the strange candle lights his eyes, looking at us from the shadows of the room, are reflecting the light like cat’s eyes, and as we are standing, holding hands, he is so precious to us, even though his eyes are watching us carefully, strange like a basilisk’s eyes.

Petrified, we are looking straight into the future’s eyes – but these are not necessarily eyes of a storm. We simply do not know what the future will be, just like the inscrutable, “dark” eyes of America’s Black communities seem to be symmetrical to the image of uncertain future and a child’s knowledge, hidden from us. In the end, the human world reacts to the catastrophe, but in this “post-cyclone” image an energetic representative of a socially impaired race turns out to be a hope for a post-apocalyptic renovation.

A Black man jumps off a truck loaded with rescue material. He is tall and muscular, smiling with his white teeth, moving with resilience and nonchalance of a young body. He is trying to do some work on an abandoned tram, slamming huge hickory wedges under its wheels. It is very uplifting to see such fresh human strength against the wildness of the element.

This bitter-sweet lesson from a civilizational disaster and losing nature indicates that not everything is a way into darkness, that darkness is only a sign of our ignorance, and that a calming order is worse than the hope of a growing disorder, which may be announcing a new, blooming system, and with it – somewhat younger entropy. Accepting entropy’s fundamental character is the essence of consolation. Boltzmann, enraged because everyone misunderstands entropy as our dark fate, cautions:

My overall objective in writing this book is to help you answer two questions that are associated with the Second Law. One is: What is entropy? The second is: Why does it change in only one direction — in apparent defiance of the time-symmetry of other laws of physics?

The second question is the more important one. It is the heart and core of the mystery associated with the Second Law. I hope to convince you that:

1. The Second Law is basically a law of probability.
2. The laws of probability are basically the laws of common sense.
3. It follows from (1) and (2) that the Second Law is basically a law of common sense — nothing more.

The second law of thermodynamics is nothing but a cautious, skeptical constatation that common sense prevails. If we accept that the journey “towards zero” is necessary, if we stop resisting it – we will always choose common sense, any chance to delay entropy of the ageing world, in our existence and that of our descendants. Card players are always the best at the theory of probability; as Haupt reminds us, one needs to know how to play solitaire. Regardless of whether it works out or not, it will be something to remember, and it will offer the thrill of new possibilities of young entropy.

50Haupt, “Cyklon”, 723.
51Haupt, “Cyklon”, 723.
52Arieh Ben-Naim, Entropy demystified. The second law reduced to plain common sense (New Jersey: World Scientific Publishing, 2007), XVIII.
When I look at spaced-out, scattered cards [...] I can turn things around. I could compare this to a film played in reverse. The cards are flying around chaotically, and they lie down, and here we are with the previous order: once again, the three of spades is on the four of spades, and Queens on Jacks.

We play solitaire from chaos, and it works out or it does not, but this order comes down for us, some card metabolism intertwines with a thrill of satisfaction, and it approaches the ideal, but then it all falls apart and returns to chaos. But we are left with the satisfaction of looking back, and the thrill of a new game unraveling in front of us\textsuperscript{53}.

translated by Paulina Zagórska

\textsuperscript{53}Zygmunt Haupt, "Oak Alley nad Missisipi" [Oak Alley upon Mississippi], in: Baskijski diabeł. Opowiadania i reportaże, zebral, oprac. i notą edytorską opatrzył Aleksander Madyda (Wołowiec: Wydawnictwo Czarne, 2016), 711.

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**Abstract:**
In works by Zygmunt Haupt, the motif of entropy was a unique moment associating the speculative character of modern scientism with modernist prose. The scientific explanation – physics – is used to interpret the world’s natural and social history. Haupt extends the connotations of the second law of thermodynamics, typically conceptualized in terms of humanities as a pessimistic perspective on the passing of energetic livelihood of life, the human world, civilization. At the beginning of his experience of America, it provided him with both hope and hopelessness. The paper analyzes similarities between Haupt’s and Faulkner’s prose, as well as formal similarities between their worldviews. Writing about the Delta, both authors are interested in the imbalance between nature and civilization, which leads to a crisis of both nature and human society. Entropy turns out to be a paradoxical trace of hope in the growing disorder which may be heralding a new system, and with it – a form of younger entropy.
THEORIES | Rafał Szczerbikiewicz, Haupt’s America

equilibrium

DELTA MISSISIPI

William Faulkner

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On method

In her study devoted to the literary works of Zygmunt Haupt, Ewa Wiegandt draws attention to their sophisticated narrative structures, made of fragments and quotations, reminiscent of collages and silvae rerum. According to Wiegandt, this prose is “not only written, but it also writes itself,” insofar as there is a constant tension between narration, that is what one can see on the surface, and structure and composition. Haupt’s prose draws on the modernist theory and aesthetics of fragmentation, but in its genealogy and genology it also refers to Romanticism. According to Wiegandt, the fragmentary nature of Haupt’s stories is further reinforced by a unique writing method, described by her as “a montage of memories” or “a metaphorical montage and metonymic enumerative description.” This essay aims to discuss those features of Haupt’s memoir-based prose that are connected with the method thus described, especially in relation to the construction of literary characters.

2 Wiegandt, 206.
3 Wiegandt, 208.
In the introduction to the essay *Mój Lwów* [My Lviv], Józef Wittlin writes that recollection is an illusory bliss, because it unexpectedly brings to the surface of consciousness monsters, ghostly figures, ghastly memories, voices, and the laughter of shadows.⁴ Zygmunt Haupt’s prose is highly symptomatic and monstrous in this respect, because it is inhabited by monsters, which is clearly visible in ghostly characters such as Stefcia, a woman who drowned, or Anusia, a “tattooed monster.”⁵ This form of recollection, that is a montage of memories which revives individual characters and at the same time marks them with death is reminiscent of a drive, as discussed by Jacques Lacan in the context of montage (as I further explain below).

Constructing the represented world, Haupt places both himself and his literary characters on a stage, and makes everyone act in a scene. Such an artistic practice finds its additional justification in psychoanalytic theory: Sigmund Freud also used the metaphor of the scene to describe the workings of psychic apparatus animated by drives and desires (using terms such as *der Szene, der Auftritt, der Bühne* or *der Schauplatz*). Laying the foundations of his own theory of representation, the father of psychoanalysis used, among other things, the notion of representation, *die Vorstellung*, to describe how the psychic apparatus and drives’ investments work. This word however refers also to a spectacle, a performance, or a show, as Freud notes, “ideas [*Vorstellungen*] are investments [*Besetzungen*, “cathexes” or “occupations”].”⁶ The German word *die Besetzung* means also a cast, like a cast in a film or a theatrical performance, for example. In what is re-presented (vor-stellen) there is a difference that expresses the subject’s alienation in relation to the represented object, and at the same time points out the distance and separation which make irony possible. A scene thus constructed becomes a space of mediation. On such stage, as Freud self-reflectively notes, “our hypotheses are but pictorial representations.”⁷ Indeed, this statement brings to mind one of Haupt’s narrators who makes similar comments pertaining to the mechanism of his own thinking in the story “Kiedy będę dorosły” [“When I’ll grow up”]. By placing himself in a scene, he initiates a literary play, when in the opening of the story, he mentions his own journey and return by train to Z.⁸ This whole literary scene is, like a train which represents drive, in motion, and “drganie i stukot kół na złączach szyn wprawia mieszkańców w stan hipnozy” [the vibration and clatter of the wheels on rail joints hypnotize] (BD 38). In this hypnotic state memories can cross the censorship of consciousness. Thoughts themselves, as the writer notes, do not appear in any fixed order. Haupt further admits that “pewnie jest wzrokowcem i myśli prawdopodobnie obrazami” [he is probably a visual person, and he most likely thinks in pictures] (BD 38). Bringing together hypnotic reminiscences, associations, and memories, as well as free-appearing images, the

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⁵ Zygmunt Haupt, “Madrygał dla Anusi” [Madrigal for Anusia], in: Baskijski diabeł. Opowiadania i reportaże [The Basque Devil: Stories and Reportages], 2nd ed., collected, edited and with an editorial note by Aleksander Madyda (Wołowiec: Wydawnictwo Czarne, 2016), 354. Further quotations from this collection of short stories are marked with the letters BD and the page number.
⁸ Ewa Wiegandt is right when she writes that “the authorial narrator of Haupt’s prose,” as the writer, observes the rhetorical requirements of writing and then “transforms into writing, into literature”. See: Wiegandt, 204. Identity and non-identity (of the author, the narrator, the protagonist) thus determine the stakes of Zygmunt Haupt’s literary game. Haupt is here an author, as defined by Foucault: he is a function of the text, or texts, signed with the same name. See: Michel Foucault, “Who is an author?”, in: Aesthetics, Method, And Epistemology, trans. Robert Hurley and others (New York: The New York Press, 1998), 205-222.
mechanism of thinking described in this way resembles the mechanism of free association and remembering developed in psychoanalysis. In addition, as Jacques Lacan notes, “hypnotic remembering is, no doubt, a reproduction of the past, but it is above all a spoken representation and, as such, implies all sorts of presences.” In speech, this form of representation combines image and word, the imagined and the symbolic; and it combines Zygmunt Haupt’s writing method and the psychoanalytic theory of Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan.

On montage

Formulating his own theory of representation in reference to the Freudian category of the ideational-representative, die Vorstellungsrepräsentanz, Jacques Lacan points to its impulsive nature, inherently connected with absence and separation (resulting from the absence of the object). For him, a drive is a forward-looking project or montage, which can be compared to a surrealist collage. This paradoxical representation combines animate and inanimate elements in such a way that they produce (seductive) beauty:

The montage of the drive is a montage which, first, is presented as having neither head nor tail – in the sense in which one speaks of montage in a surrealist collage. If we bring together the paradoxes [...] I think that the resulting image would show the working of a dynamo connected up to a gas-tap, a peacock’s feather emerges, and tickles the belly of a pretty woman, who is just lying there looking beautiful.10

The French psychoanalyst compares this drive montage to a dynamic image, thus showing how a particular mechanism of drive-representation works. The combination of the image and the drive mechanism based on representation will be important for understanding Zygmunt Haupt’s prose. Also, considering the fact that, as Lacan further writes, “the drive is precisely that montage by which sexuality participates in the psychical life,” The aforementioned mechanism causes the image, a certain representation, to undergo a significant shift, as a result of which it is placed in the drive-sphere of the sexual. When Lacan writes that the montage of the drive “is presented as having neither head nor tail” and refers to montage in a surrealist collage, it brings to mind Haupt’s prose. Indeed, when Haupt reflects on his own work, he uses a similar metaphor; he also refers to surrealism. Analyzing his relationship with Panna [Lady], to whom he devoted a whole series of stories, he writes in Wyjazd o świcie [Departure at dawn]: “nie ma w tej historii ani początku ani końca, nie zdarza się w nim nic, co by zakrawało na «zawiązanie się węzła dramatycznego» w artystycznym tego słowa znaczeniu, nie jest ono pisane według żadnej tak zwanej recepty, nawet surrealistycznej Bretona” [there is no beginning or end to this story, nothing happens in it that could be considered a “dramatization” in the artistic sense of the word, it is not written according to any so-called method,  

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even Breton’s surrealist method] (BD 83). The French psychoanalyst, speaking of a drive as a montage, evokes a mental image of a beautiful woman and describes how a peacock’s feather tickles her belly. Similarly in the short story Kulig [Sleigh ride] Haupt writes:

Myślałem o Pannie. Była tuż obok, za ścianą. Myśleć o niej to przywoływać sobie przed oczy rysy jej twarzy, coś bez cienia, pasma włosów przez uszy spadające na kark, ręce o niewyraźnym widzimiu. To, co myślałem wówczas, nie da się ująć w okresy, składnia więzi mię, nawet surrealistyczna recepta Bretona wydaje mi się czymś uporządkowanym.

[I was thinking about the Lady. She was right next to me, behind the wall. To think of her is to conjure before my eyes the features of her face, without any shadows, strands of hair falling over her ears, her indescribably graceful hands. What I thought at the time cannot be put into periods, I find syntax too limiting, even Breton’s surreal method is too systematic] (BD 73)

Thus, Haupt places the representation of Lady in the drive-sphere marked by lack and absence. It is beauty that is at stake in the scene placed in a field of a drive. Expressed in a literary space, subject to the economy of lack and complementation, this scene also raises the question of truth in representation. For the above does not reflect it, precisely because representation results from and refers to this essentially alienating displacement, substitution, absence and non-identity that constitute the dialectic of the subject in relation to himself and to the object of his desire. In a different fragment, but in a similar context, Haupt reflects on the mechanism of writing and the mechanism of thinking behind it. When not only beauty but also love is at stake, the writer struggles with this mechanism. Writing about love arouses disgust, aversion and “nienawiść przeciw samemu sobie” [self-hatred] because, as Haupt writes in the short story Jeździec bez głowy [Headless Horseman], “niesamowitej fizjologii miłości nie da się wymienić, przetłumaczyć na słowa” [the amazing physiology of love cannot be exchanged or translated into words] (BD 345). Even if these are the most sophisticated and accurate words, it will not change anything, which the writer expresses with a rhetorical question: “bo jak tu oddać coś, co odwija się w człowieku jak spirala sprięźyna albo co jest jak oddech zahamowany nagłym przypomnieniem albo bólem doznanym, […] albo brzmi jak odległe kroki, zaleci zapachem zapomnianym kwiatów, głosem ptaków, zamułane jak przedmioty widziane we mgle?” [because how can you express something that unwinds in a person like a spiral spring or what is like a breath stopped by a sudden memory or experienced pain […] or sounds like distant footsteps, smells of forgotten flowers, the voice of birds, blurred like objects seen in the mist?] (BD 345; emphasis mine – M.Z.). It is this spiral spring mentioned by Zygmunt Haupt that makes writing possible and resists it at the same time. It is also behind the drive mechanism on which writing and this metaphorical montage of memories are based.

On intimacy

Inspired by psychoanalysis, W.J.T. Mitchell in his book What Do Pictures Want? recounts Pliny the Elder’s ancient legend, according to which love was supposed to give rise to drawing. According to him a girl outlined the shadow of her lover on a wall, and that was the beginning of
pictorial representation. The shadow, or rather its outline, was both a metonymy and a metaphor of the lover, ultimately concretized by the father of the girl in the form of a carved relief. Image is born of desire, it is its outline, symptom, spectral trace of life – despite the absence of the object. Thus, by combining images with desire and love, the artist places it in a dialectic relationship in-between life and death, presence and absence. However, what is important for Mitchell is the reciprocal relationship between desire and image. In the inverted perspective, desire may turn out to be an effect (and not a cause) of images. Desire and image are inseparable “as if the two concepts were caught in a mutually generative circuit, desire generating images and images generating desire.” For images not only express human desires, but also make desires human precisely by relying on representation. “Pictures,” however, “do not want to be reduced to the terms of systematic linguistics based in a unitary Cartesian subject.”

They rely on the difference expressed by the position of the one who watches and the one who is watched. In this context, pictures are “feminine;” however, as Mitchell emphasizes, he does not focus on “images of women, but images as women.” Such a metonymic shift allows him to ask both “what do images want?” and “what do women want?” because “the power of pictures and of women is modeled on one another. [...] The power they want is manifested as lack, not as possession.” Images therefore have the power to seduce and stimulate desire even when they express “desire not to show desire,” that is, when they emphasize their own autonomy, independence, and aesthetic beauty. This combination of image and femininity will be significant in the case of Haupt, who writes extensively about women he loved in his youth.

Inspired by Jacques Lacan, Mitchell’s theory of visual representation allows us to capture an important aspect of literary representation in Zygmunt Haupt’s prose. We can see that clearly in the short story Madrygalo dla Anusi [Madrigal for Anusia], dedicated to the title character, to whom Haupt – in the plot plan – used to be very close. In the opening of the story, he writes about the girl in a way that evokes associations with a living painting or statue:

A Anusia, Anusieczka, Anusienieczka, to była dopiero, to zachwycenie! Sam tego sobie nie chciałem powiedzieć, sam się bałem. Bywało, że podpatrzę ją, jak się ruszy do okna i spódnica jej rozciągnie się w kroku jak flaga, jak falda chitonu Niki samotrackiej, i nogę postawi na ziemi tak solidnie, jakby była z marmuru. Bywało, zsunie się jej włos na skroni i rzęsy położą się na policzkach, a oderwie oczy od czegoś, nad czym zajęta, i zatoczy w tył, to tak, jakby nagiął gałąź agrestu. A ręce po łokcie to miała takie niewinne, jak u dziecka. W tych rękach co wzięła, to nabierało osobnego szczęścia, żeby tam nie wiem miało to być jak trywialne. Do czego przyłożyła ręce, to było już drogie. Ręce to były jakby osobne.

[And Anusia, Anusieczka, Anusienieczka, she was delightful! I didn’t want to admit it myself; I was afraid. Sometimes I would watch her go to the window and her skirt would stretch like a flag, like a fold of Nika of Samothrace’s chiton, as she took a step and put her foot on the ground as solidly]

13Mitchell, 58.
14Mitchell, 47.
15Mitchell, 35.
16Mitchell, 36.
17Mitchell, 44.
as if it were made of marble. There were times when the hair on her temples would slide off and her eyelashes would cast a long shadow on her cheeks, and she’d take her eyes off whatever she was doing and lean back, as if you’d bend a gooseberry branch. And her arms, up to the elbows, were as innocent as a child’s. Whatever she took in her hands, it was endowed with a quality of happiness, no matter how trivial it was. Whatever she touched was dear. Her hands were as if independent] (BD 263)

The dynamics with which the writer draws Anusia’s portrait emphasizes both her character traits and the energy that animates her. Haupt points to his own admiration and fear. And this description refers to looking; the narrator admits that he is watching the girl. The movement of writing in this case repeats the process of looking, and a literary portrait corresponds to a dynamic sketch. Anusia herself resembles a statue, especially when Haupt writes that her legs are “made of marble”. Anusia thus becomes what Mitchell calls a “figure that stands for desire.”18 And writing, like drawing, is an act of desire; it is alluring because “desire just is, quite literally, drawing, or a drawing – pulling, or attracting force, and the trace of this force in a picture.”19 Both writing and drawing, however, face a lack that limits every representation, which will forever remain insatiable and incomplete. This is related to the aforementioned ambivalence of the drawing, painting, or writing subject. The image cannot match the original. Perfect reproduction, whether by means of words or images, is impossible. Image, re-presentation, thus creates an alienating space between the I and the other. Haupt uses metonymy to emphasize this unattainable intimacy:

Obrzeż ją sobie, wyfiligranuj, utocz jej obrazek w dłoniach jak glinę, a nie ma pełnego obrazu. To pewnie dlatego, to pewnie ja, a nie ma pełnego obrazu. To pewnie dlatego, to pewnie ja, a wydaje mi się, że to ona. Czasami miałbym ochotę przymknąć oczy, którym nie dowierzam, i, jak ślepi, wodzić po jej twarzy dłońmi, ażeby naprawdę wiedzieć, ażeby naprawdę nauczyć się jej; wydaje mi się, że dotykiem sprawdzona byłaby prawdziwsza, „namacalna”, wiedziałbym, że jest. Czasami, zamiast słuchać jej głosu, chciałbym położyć rękę na jej krtani, jak to robią niemi, ażeby wyczuć drganie jej gardła i chwycić w dłoń jej głos, i trzymać jak spłoszoną gołębicę...

[Draw her outline, make a filigree out of her, mold an image of her in your hands like you would mold a piece of clay, and there is no complete picture. That’s probably why, it’s probably me, and I think it’s her. Sometimes I would like to close my eyes, and I do not trust my eyes, and, like a blind man run my fingers over her face, to really know, to really understand her; it seems to me that she would be more real, more “tangible” when traced with my fingers; I would know that she is there. Sometimes, instead of listening to her voice, I would like to put my hand on her larynx, as deaf people do, to feel her throat vibrate and to catch her voice in my hand and hold it like a startled dove...]. (BD 268)

But not only is it impossible to hold one’s voice in one’s hands, it is also impossible to satiate the eyes and ears when it comes to drive or desires that remain unsatisfied.20 Thus, writing

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18 Mitchell, 59.
19 Mitchell, 59 (emphasis original).
20 Jacques Lacan points out that “[e]ven when you stuff the mouth— the mouth that opens in the register of the drive—it is not the food that satisfies it, it is, as one says, the pleasure of the mouth.” Lacan, The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis, 167.
and drawing become figures of respectively metaphor and metonymy. They point to absence and lack, difference and mystery, the absent center around which desire revolves. Jacques Lacan called this point *objet petit a*. Desire revolves around it, description and outline concentrate around it, interpretation also focuses on it.

Despite the alienating dimension of representation, or perhaps because of it, Haupt employs the aesthetics of empathy to play with literary representation. It is a game of intimacy. According to Mitchell, “intimacy [...] implies collectivity, a circle of acknowledgment and recognition. If the game of intimacy is played by two, it requires the third as witness or participant – sometimes even an unwitting witness [...]”\(^{21}\). Representation of intimacy in art endows its scene with an additional dimension, because “we come to this scene as the third party. We interrupt the empathic monologue-dialogue and transform it into a scene of intimacy. The dialectic, the dialogism of alienation and empathy, is transformed into a ‘trialogue,’ a three-way encounter – perhaps even a missed encounter.”\(^{22}\) The Other, to whom Haupt directs his (rhetorical) questions, plays such a role here. And it is the reader that is usually placed or founds himself in this position.

On the scenic

Such writing based on empathy and intimacy may be a strategy of engagement. *Madrygał dla Anusi* is a testimony to both beauty of the title character and something that Haupt calls “demon rozdźwięku” [the demon of dissonance] (BD 74). Haupt is the protagonist of the short story and Anusia comes to visit him. He was not at home but in an apartment upstairs. He watched as the girl knocked on the door, waited, and then began to walk away; he watched her “bezwstydnie i lubieżnie jak Zuzannę w kąpieli” [shamelessly and lustfully like Susanna in her bath] (BD 272) until she could no longer hear or see him. And then something struck him:


[I wanted to call her, it was about time, despite the traffic she could hear me perfectly. It was enough to shout: “Anuuusiaaaa!” and she would turn around, reclaimed and beloved. But I couldn’t. Lying on the windowsill, I watched her go. [...] But I watch her as if I was looking at my own back, going on my aimless quest. Quick! There’s still time! You can say that, but they’re just words. What does ‘quick’ mean? What does ‘there’s still time’ mean? I walked away from the window, I walk around a stupid, strange, indifferent apartment and I wonder. I ask myself: what is it? [...] what has changed? Was I kidding myself – what was that? What was that?]. (BD 272–273)

\(^{21}\)Mitchell, 230.

\(^{22}\)Mitchell, 230.
By postponing the meeting the I confirms and perpetuates his own desire. By asking the above questions, the writer turns to the Other, thus defining the space and field occupied by the reader. The reader is a witness to a scene in which, as it might seem, everything has been said and made visible, and yet something remains incomprehensible and invisible. The reader becomes the third party in this scene; the literary/artistic form evokes him as a mute recipient and spectator, thus giving rise to the three-way meeting described by Mitchell, which in fact turns out to be a missed encounter. The reader’s presence, as Mitchell points out, is meant to confirm the “intimacy” of this essentially modern scene. The viewer/ the reader also turns into a voyeur, a participant in a missed encounter. Looking and not seeing may in this case be associated with an inability to see, with inattentiveness or clumsiness characteristic of someone who faces the incomprehensible – who therefore does not understand, and thus asks himself what actually happened. Especially in the scene described above, when life itself (sustained by desire) is embodied in Anusia, when what the subject is trying to see in the above scene is not only the passage of time but also himself, his life passing by. “Za dobrą chwilę zleciałem po schodach, zabijając się po drodze” [In quite a while I run down the stairs, killing myself on the way], we read further, “ulica była pusta, jeszcze pobiegłem do rogu i nic” [the street was empty, I ran to the corner and did not see anything] (BD 273).

Logical time creeps into the gap between the place where life takes place and the position and sphere of the subject; thus, the subject always appears to be late. This time is required for recognition, as a result of which the subject faces loss or death (after all, Haupt says that he killed himself by falling down the stairs). By shifting and postponing, it confronts the subject with emptiness and nothingness. It is the time of mourning, uncertainty, and waiting. The subject is thus alienated, as a result of which he both is and is not at home (with himself), which the story hints at the beginning of the described scene.

On spring

The scenic also determines how Anusia, the main character of the story, is represented. However, this scene is almost ob-scene, at the same time delightful and repulsive, and to some extent also caricatural. Her description reads like a drive montage:

Moja Anusia jest jak lunapark. Kręci się z nią wszystko i zanosi śmiechem, wszystko jest w flagach, chorągwkach i falbankach. Wszędzie jest interesująco, ale już stąd ciągnie gdzie indziej, bo załopocze afszem na parkanie, zatańczą żarówki sznurkiem jak paciorki, zatupocze jak na deskach sceny albo załopocze na afiszach, gdzie wróżą z ręki, z kryształowej kuli i z fusów kawy. […] Moja Anusieczka to jest i błaźnica, i woltyżerka w trykocie, i ballada wybrząkana sentymentalnie na gitarze w cieniu kasztana. Moja Anusieńczka to także panoptikum osobliwości, jak się ma odwagę w nią zająć: kobieta z brodą, gorylica, anakonda, dwieście kilo żywej wagi (bo mi strasznie leży na duszy, wisi u szyi młyńskim kamieniem), monstrum tatuowane, unikat, Madame Viola i poskramiaczka zwierzat

[My Anusia is like an amusement park. Everything spins and laughs with her, everything is covered with flags, buntings, and frills. Everything is interesting, but we keep moving from one attraction
to the next, because a poster flutters on a fence, light bulbs on a string dance like beads, stage boards stamp and wings of a tent envelop us like a shadow; fortune tellers read your hand, look into a crystal ball, and examine coffee grounds. [...] My Anusieczka is both a clown and an equestrian vaulter in a leotard, and a sentimental ballad played on a guitar in the shade of a chestnut tree. My Anusieńeczka is also a panopticum, a collection of curiosities, if you dare to look inside: a bearded lady, a gorilla, an anaconda, weighing two hundred kilos (because she’s so heavy, she burdens my soul, she is an albatross around my neck), a tattooed monster, a rarity, Madame Viola, and an animal tamer. (BD 268–269).

The dynamism and amorphous nature of representation emphasize and indirectly indicate the driving force driving it. If drive is related to death, in the case of Anusia it was expressed by comparing her to an amusement park. The exaggeration and excess of an amusement park, as well as its artificiality, stand in contrast to the calm and ordinary surroundings. Still, even in a space defined by the euphoric and the carnivalesque, there are echoes of sadness and silence, which operate by way of contrast and opposition. The drive-like nature of representation refers to an amusement park, filled with a cacophony of “szaleństwo, muzyka, dzwon, werbel, piszczalki, lutnie, śpiew, kołatki, kogutki piejące, syreny rozwyte” [madness, music, bells, snare drums, pipes, lutes, singing, knockers, crowing roosters, sirens] (BD 269). It is also coded in the very structure of an amusement park: its rides and attractions brought to life by engineering and electricity. This is as true of the amusement park to which Haupt compares Anusia as of Anusia herself. Haupt further writes that:

Zamyśliła się, zmarszczyła czoło i nagle uderzyło mię: O CZYM ONA MOŻE MYŚLEĆ? [...] Toż tę Anusię – cud, spektakl zadzierżysty i wspaniały – sprowadzam tą obojętnością do roli, do schematu maszynki, że niby w porządku, nie przejmować się, taka już jest: wszystko w niej udaje, inteligencja tak sprawną, jak w maszynie do liczenia, reakcje tak poprawne i dźwięczne, jak w automacie, gdzie dobrze ponaoliwiane sprężyny, tak jak ona cała.

[She pondered, frowned, and suddenly it hit me: WHAT IS SHE THINKING ABOUT? [...] With my indifference I reduce Anusia – this miracle, this feisty and wonderful spectacle – to a role, to a structure, to a machine, it should be okay, it should work, that’s how she is: she is perfect, she is as intelligent and efficient as a counting machine, her reactions are as proper and melodic as those of an automaton, with well-oiled springs; that’s what she is](BD 266–267; emphasis mine – M.Z.).

The heroine – placed in this drive-montage – turns out to be a doll or an automaton propelled by a spring. This mechanism, which animates Anusia and keeps the amusement park going, corresponds to a certain extent to the mechanism of remembering and writing, and both are inseparably connected in Haupt’s works. In the short story Jak wiosna przyjechała [How Spring Arrived], the writer notes: “odwraca się we mnie i odkłada wspomnienie” [memories twist and turn in me, they are registered in me] (BD 315). There is something moving in this memory – “coś, co odwija się w człowieku jak spiralna sprężyna” [something that unwinds

23This comparison brings to mind Metropolis, dir. Fritz Lang. Its female lead turns out to be an automaton, a machine which – by way of substitution – is not only the object of the main character’s desires, but also represents workers whose whole life is subordinated to machines that keep the city functioning and safe.
inside you like a spiral spring] (BD 345). This spring becomes a meaningful metaphor for Haupt: it sets the scene of remembering and writing in motion, as well as the very scene of the subject constructed in and through writing. The spring not only sets the scene in motion, but it also animates thinking. “Z myślami to jest tak jak ze spirałą” [Thoughts are as if set in motion by a spiral], Haupt writes (BD 297). And the spiral spring both sets the mechanism in motion and opposes it; therefore, thinking and writing are not without ambivalence, which, according to Sigmund Freud, is “deeply rooted in human feelings.”24 According to Freud, when it comes to both mourning and melancholia, and thus remembering and writing, ambivalence is the “drive-spring of conflict.”

The spring metaphor recurs in Freud’s writings. Freud uses it, among other things, to describe the mechanism of creating a dream scene when “the suppressed material becomes the mainspring of the dream,”26 or “die Triebfeder des Traums.”27 Freud explains that a dream can replace, without activating consciousness, the most complicated mental processes. He further says that human pursuit to benefit or “the attainment of pleasure” are “the mainspring of all human activities.”28 It is in this context that Jacques Lacan uses the very term when he talks about the “mainspring of people,”29 or “le resort des hommes,”30 which is a certain fundamental structure that can be discovered in the phenomenon of the human psyche. Lacan writes about a “structuring force” that is reproduced in structurally defined mental phenomena, and the “spring of structure” [fr. resort de la structure].31 The French psychoanalyst directly relates it to the structure of the drive, as well as to the Oedipus complex. The relationship between drive and what is translated as the drive-spring was also significant for Freud. After all, he writes that the driving force in the process of creating innocent jokes is the desire to “display oneself” [Ger. darzustellen], and that drive corresponds to exhibitionism in the sexual sphere.32 Freud uses two terms: die Triebfeder and ein Trieb, indicating that the mechanism discussed by him is actually nothing more than a drive-spring. This spring triggers the mechanism of creating jokes, representations, but it also stands behind the subjective structure based on a drive.

26Sigmund Freud, The Interpretation of Dreams, trans. A.A. Brill (London: Wordsworth, 1997), 426. Earlier, however, on p. 76, Freud writes: “The psychic energy accumulated during the day through inhibition or suppression becomes the main-spring of the dream at night.” [die Triebfeder des Traums].
32In German this sentence reads: » Die Triebfeder der Produktion harmloser Witze ist nicht selten der ehrgeizige Drang, seinen Geist zu zeigen, sich darzustellen, ein der Exhibition auf sexuellem Gebiete gleichzusetzender Trieb”. See: Sigmund Freud, « Der Witz und seine Beziehung zum Unbewussten », in: Gesammelte Werke, vol. 6, ed. Anna Freud (London: Imago, 1940), 159. “The motive force for the production of innocent jokes is not infrequently an ambitious urge to show one’s cleverness, to display oneself – an instinct that may be equated with exhibitionism in the sexual field.” See: Sigmund Freud, Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious, trans. James Strachey (London: Norton, 2010), 120.
On dolls

Haupt uses a similar mechanism, a drive-spring, when he creates and describes characters of his stories. In the short story Dziewczynka z nóżkami na księżycach [Girl with Her Feet on the Moons], he describes his visit to a military camp in Rennes, specifically one of the rooms. He pays special attention to a certain lieutenant and the toys he collected:

Na jednym ze stołów było rozrzuconych kilka zabawek bardzo nawet zabawnych i precyzyjnych, i sprytnych. Był mały samochód nakręczany sprężyną, który, puszczyony w ruch, zataczał zden-erwowane koła po asfaltowej posadzce i terczał wesoło i śpiesznie, póki nakręcona sprężyna nie rozkręciła się i wtedy stawał nagle i smutnie, prawdziwa zepsuta zabawka. Był mały kran, który był malutką miniaturą prawdziwego krana czerpaka, jaki widuje się na robotach ulicznych, kiedy ląka rozwartym gardłem tony gruzu i z zawrotną szybkością zatacza swoją szyją w półkole, i kiwa mu się ta przeciążona żuchwa. Był żółw, który mozolnie wiosłował koszlawymi łapami-grabami i wahadłowo przenosił swą głowę z prawa na lewo. Były jeszcze inne przemyślane kolorowe, łatwe i koszlawe zabawki. Ten jeden porucznik to cierpliwie je nakręcał i puszczał w ruch, a inni w swych ciężkich zielonych, khaki płaszczach stali [...]

[Some very funny and precise and clever toys were scattered on one of the tables. There was a little spring-wound toy car that, when set in motion, made nervous circles on the asphalt floor and rattled merrily and hurriedly until the spring wound up and then suddenly and sady stopped, a real broken toy. There was a small bucket that was a tiny miniature copy of a real bucket, the kind you see during roadworks when it gulps down tons of rubble and swings its arm in a semicircle at breakneck speed, and his heavy “jaw” is wagging. There was a turtle that laboriously rowed its rake-flippers and pendulously moved its head from right to left. There were other ingenious colorful, easy and crooked toys. This one lieutenant would patiently wind them up and set them in motion, and the others in their heavy green khaki coats would stand [...] and watch, coldly and indifferently.]

This story becomes a pretext for Haupt to comment on his own work. In this story, he describes the relationship between one of the lieutenants and a girl who served them meals in a canteen. Haupt noticed something intimate in the lieutenant’s ambiguous and defiant attitude towards the girl, while other witnesses noticed something embarrassing and shameful. Reflecting on this relationship, the writer referred to a comparison between toys and the mechanisms that wind them up. When he was about to leave the camp, he came across the girl who was teased by the said lieutenant. The writer then saw her sad and idle: “ta jej bezczynność była jak przeprowadzenie. Siedziała doskonale bezczynnie, z rękoma bezwładnie w podołku i patrzyła martwo w te swoje ręce – odmienna, inna, bezwładna, niedzielnie, niedzielnie-popołudniowo bezczynna, z włosami, które nieporządnie opadały, wymykały się z jej węzła na karku, w sukience tak...
szarej i pepitowej, i bezpłciowej, sukienczynie, i z jej zgarbieniem wąskich pleców. Siedziała zapatrzona w swe ręce, niewidząca, odległa” [Her idleness was like a disguise. She sat perfectly idle, her hands lifeless in her lap, and stared blankly at those hands of hers – other, different, limp, idle on a Sunday, idle on a Sunday afternoon, her hair fell, slipping out of a knot at the nape of her neck. She sat there in a gray and black printed houndstooth dress, so sexless, and with her hunched narrow back. She sat staring at her hands, blind, distant] (BD 372). The girl resembles a doll whose mechanism does not work. The contrast between Anusia and this strange girl results from a desire and drive-force that animated one, and is absent in the other. The girl was sad, we can presume, because the military unit for which she worked in the local canteen was leaving. And the annoying lieutenant with whom, as the writer believed, she had a relationship was leaving too. These ambiguous relations between the girl and one of the soldiers, and especially his role in the story, made Haupt think that:

W sekrecie to ja sam zabawiam się takimi mechanicznymi zabawkami. Układam sobie sytuacje, nakręcam je, potem patrzę w ślad tego, jak rozkręcona sprężyna porusza nimi i jak wymyślony mechanizm nimi pokieruje

[I secretly play with such mechanical toys myself. I arrange situations for myself, wind them up, and then I watch how the spring propels them and how the mechanism guides them]. (BD 371)

A similar scene may be found in the short story O Stefci, o Chaimie Immerglücku i o scytyjskich bransoletkach [About Stefcia, Chaim Immerglück and Scythian bracelets]. It talks about a relationship between young Haupt and the title character, Stefcia. At the same time, the story is a kind of literary game of imagination in which the writer tries to imagine “jak by to było, gdyby było” [what it would be like if it happened] (BD 235). The writer draws an image of a girl from the depths of thoughts, memories, and dreams – she is “topielicy o spuchłych wargach i oczach wyjedzonych przez żwir rzeczny, o rękach poczętkowych trądem wodnym” [a woman who drowned; a woman with swollen lips and eyes eaten away by river gravel, her hands marked with water leprosy] (BD 236). Haupt then imagines her as a bride whom, having taken her hand, he leads down the aisle. The whole scene becomes phantasmagoric:

Weźże tę topielicę za rękę i odprowadź do ołtarza […]. Powiedz ją poprzez próg kościelnego, aż niech ugną się resory fiakra, którego chabety przystrojone są w weselne wstążki. Zagub za sobą ostatnie piszczaly i dudy organowego „Veni Creator”! Poprowadź ją naprzód poprzez froterowane firmamenty posadzek, fornirowane floresy mebli, fioritury faszerowań kuchennych, fioritura fryzur modnych, fatamorgany firanek sypialniaków... Oto następnego dnia, rana małżeńskiego, jest popsuta jak zabawka, jak lalka, w której coś się pokręciło, i już nie mówi więcej: „mama”, a jak ją położyć, to raz na zawsze zamknęła oczy i nie może ich otworzyć

[Take this drowned woman by the hand and lead her down the aisle […]. Lead her through the threshold of the church; the springs of the carriage drawn by horses decorated with wedding ribbons should squeak. Leave the sounds of springs and pipe organ playing Veni Creator behind you! Lead her inside through the polished firmaments of floors, the veneered zigzags of furniture, fried food in the kitchen, fashionable and frenzy coiffures, the mirages of bedroom curtains... The next day, on the marital morning, she is broken like a toy, like a doll that has been mishandled, and she
The toy mechanism described above, the spring that moves and propels toys, corresponds to the mechanism and dynamics of drive, the Freudian drive-spring, which stimulates and propels humans and makes them achieve their goals. This mechanism both drives the characters in the scene and sets the scene in motion, especially when it concerns specific elements of the plot. It is also a writing mechanism, something Haupt has elsewhere referred to as “mechaniczny schemat składni” [a mechanical syntax structure] (BD 443). This structure limits and disciplines the mind, as the inanimate apparatus of writing and syntax limits and disciplines the disordered and incomprehensible life. In this way, thanks to a spring, toys play the role of lifeless mannequins, brought back to life for a moment in and through memories and representation. They also reveal the mechanism which propels characters; they are moved by writing and drive. This is also the case with Anusia, who “śmieje się i śmiech jej jest jak nakręcona katarynka. Śmieje się mechanicznie, bo coś w niej łaskocze się i przewraca...” [laughs, and her laughter is like a wind-up barrel organ. She laughs mechanically because something inside her tickles and turns...] (BD 265).

On surrealism

This type of memory both animates and petrifies the characters, turning them into puppets, locking them in the mechanism of (literary, theater or film) representation. It deprives them of agency. Animated by this mechanism of representation, they turn into figures, actors, who imitate life. They are animated by a drive mechanism that inseparably links the living with the dead; within this space the imagined other turns into an object: an object of fear and desire. At the same time, as Katarzyna Fazan notes in her commentary on Tadeusz Kantor’s works, materialized on the literary or theatrical stage, the puppet becomes a “surrealist object.” Haupt, like Kantor, places himself on the (literary) stage, blurring the line between the real and the fictional. One such scene is the one mentioned at the beginning of this essay, found in “Kiedy będę dorosły”. Haupt is on a train, and he sees and describes himself as he goes to meet Panna. A similar scene may be found in Jak wiosna przyjechała, when Haupt, as he writes, picks up his girlfriend at a train station and then they go home in a carriage. Everything is in bloom. It is spring. The arrival of spring and the arrival of the girl make the writer resort to a metaphorical or rather a metonymic shift: the girl becomes the personification, the incarnation of, spring, and even spring itself. The joy of seeing the girl and the joy of spring make the journey a celebration. The carriage ride turns surreal:

To właśnie z nią, z wiosną, jechaliśmy, trzęśliśmy się wiosną dorożką, fiakrem, ze stacji kolejowej.
Proszę uważać: wiosną, w wiosenny dzień biały jechaliśmy z dworca kolejowego [...] słońce nie-

Katarzyna Fazan, Kantor. Nie/obecność [Cantor. Presence/Absence] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2019), 320. In the chapter “Martwe/zywe. Od marionety do symulakrum” [Dead/Alive. From puppets to simulacrum], Fazan discusses the role of mannequins and puppets in contemporary art, also in reference to the works of Tadeusz Kantor. She writes about “modernist ghostly mannequins” (p. 324). Haupt seems to draw on this tradition.
This solemn scene, complete with mechanical horse mannequins, is like a surreal puppet theater performance. The horses’ pace, shiny lanterns, and a coffin-like carriage box bring to mind a funeral procession and render the journey surreal. The mechanical clatter of the horses’ having on the cobblestones, just like a hypnotic clatter of wheels on rail joints or the clatter of a typewriter, the “ustawiczne skandowanie czasu” [constant chant of time] (BD 582), which Haupt described in various contexts, represent the mechanism which tells the tempo, makes the time present, and points to the end of life, as well as to death, awaiting us at the end of life (hidden behind this paradoxical mechanism of representation which animates the inanimate).

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In Manifestoes of Surrealism André Breton wrote that “Fear, the attraction of the unusual, chance, the taste for the extravagant, are devices [Fr. ressorts] which we will never summon in vain.” These devices are the springs that both Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan referred to. Breton also writes about the wonderful, marvelous, which characterizes and define each epoch. According to him, in modernity the marvelous takes the form of a dummy. As a writer, Zygmunt Haupt – like Tadeusz Kantor – fits well into the tradition and epoch thus defined. His literary portraits and representations bear the features of drive-montages. Employed in the process of representation, they are placed in a literary scene on stage whose mechanism resembles that of an amusement park, fair, or circus, all of which are powered by

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electricity, where different characters resemble “potwory, maszkary, klowny, pierroty, motyle, stwory, niedźwiedzie, małpy, ptaki, owady, żyrafy, co tylko teratologia ma w zapasie, jakieś fantazje jak z obrazów Breugla lub kuszenia świętego Antoniego, harpie, ludzie-żołądki i ludzie-lichtarze, węże, lamparty i zupełne fantazje do niczego niepodobne, i ten tłum strzyg i dziwolągów krążył obłądaną karuzelą, merry-go-round, wirem, malstromem absurdu pod kaskadami światła…” [monsters, devils, clowns, Pierrots, butterflies, creatures, bears, monkeys, birds, insects, giraffes, whatever teratology has in store, fantasies found in Bruegel’s paintings or the temptation of Saint Anthony, harpies, stomach-people and candlestick-people, snakes and leopards and utter fantasies unlike anything else, and so many witches and freaks in a mad carousel, a merry-go-round, a whirlpool, a maelstrom of absurdity under cascades of light...] (BD 145). The metonymic enumerative description mentioned in the introduction to this essay turns out to be a metaphorical montage. And Haupt turns out to be a writer-engineer who constructs a literary scene and sets it in motion, and then observes where the springs take his characters.

translated by Małgorzata Olsza
References


KEYWORDS

DOLL

MONTAGE

REPRESENTATION

SURREALISM

ABSTRACT:
With the tools borrowed from the psychoanalytical theory of Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan, this article discusses the topic of the represented world, and especially literary characters, in the prose of Zygmunt Haupt. The concept of the drive presented as an artistic montage – as developed by Lacan – turns out to be particularly useful in the analysis of literary portraits depicted by Haupt. Constructed as a montage of memories, this prose points to the very mechanism of imaginary representation driven by what is described by Freud as “drive-spring”. It constructs a stage on which individual characters are presented; it drives them as characters. It is also a metaphor describing the mechanisms of remembering and writing. Propelled by the “drive-spring” those literary characters resemble dolls or mannequins; they also point to the surrealist tradition within which these literary representations can be located.
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“White bellies of fish:”
Zygmunt Haupt and modernity’s fascination with mountaineering

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Traces of mountains

Zygmunt Haupt was apparently interested in mountaineering, mountains, mountain tourism, and climbing, as revealed in three of his texts: a review of the annual magazine “Wierchy” [Mountain Peaks], Sprawa Wilsona. Biuletyn z gór [Wilson’s Case. Mountain Bulletin] and Wyspy Galapagos i wyprawa na Mount Everest [The Galapagos Islands and the expedition to Mount Everest]. Mountains and mountaineering were not the most important theme in Haupt’s works, neither do they define his writing. This notwithstanding, mountains, as critics point out, feature prominently in Haupt’s literary worlds. I believe that focusing on the questions of mountaineering allows one not only to see Haupt against the background of the era and its dynamic changes but also notice how such specialist narratives and discourses

were, quite ingeniously, absorbed by the writer. In other words, I think that we can notice in some of Haupt’s works a complex strategy which involved adopting and adapting specialist mountaineering and climbing information into a broader image or conceptualization of the world. Moreover, in those texts, the writer also exposed the mechanisms of perceiving mountains in the times of modernity, and modernity defined them in various ways, e.g., as part of ideological narratives related to progress, rationality, and colonial imperialism. The three texts in question demonstrate that Haupt found mountains and the extremes of mountaineering fascinating, but the list of Haupt’s works that refer to mountains, especially the highest mountains, should be expanded, of course thoughtfully, bearing in mind the scale of the problem.

For the purposes of this article, I would like to propose a working division of Haupt’s “mountaineering” works into (1) “mountain” narratives and (2) “alpine” narratives. On the one hand, the theme of mountains appears quite frequently and usually fits into the broader theme of a given story; on the other hand, alpine motifs and themes are incidental and rather marginal in the context of the writer’s entire oeuvre. However, I believe that the themes related to mountains, including the highest mountains, help us identify in Haupt’s writing critical observations about the era’s fascinations with these relatively new activities (climbing, mountaineering, alpine skiing, etc.) as particularly innovative practices of the modern world.²

What is the relationship between “mountain” and “alpine” themes in Haupt’s writing? I propose to look at “alpine” stories, such as Sprawa Wilsona… and Wyspy Galapagos..., as a kind of unpretentious guide to the writer’s possible inspirations that also influenced his “mountain” narratives. In such a perspective, an important role is played by a journalistic text, a seemingly marginal review of the annual magazine “Wierchy,”³ which demonstrates that Haupt read specialist mountaineering publications. Subtle traces of the issues that the writer came across while preparing the review of “Wierchy,” I suppose, can be traced in his “mountain” stories. In this sense, the review can also be treated as a reservoir of potential ideas, but also as a kind of invitation to speculate. Haupt’s reviews of individual articles published in the magazine consist of a couple of sentences, short paragraphs. The descriptions are general but give the impression that the writer studied the entire volume quite carefully. How, then, would such a hypothetical trajectory of influences and inspirations between Haupt’s “mountain” and “alpine” narratives look like?

Apart from Sprawa Wilsona... and Wyspy Galapagos... Haupt takes us on a journey to different mountainous regions in several other texts. Poker w Gorganach [Poker in the Gorgany],

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Marsylianka [La Marseillaise], and Balon [The Balloon], his most important “mountain” narratives, are particularly interesting in this respect. The stories told by the quasi-autobiographical protagonist-narrator combine reflections on the mountain landscape and man’s relationship with mountains with complex questions of the formation of the I and the perception of reality. Although these stories were written and published at different times, they share a common core. The protagonist talks about his adventures in different mountainous regions. The I in each of these stories comes face to face with a strange duplicity, indefiniteness, or ambiguity through a direct, physical contact with the vertical space. The mountainous landscape serves as a kind of catalyst for such properties of the represented world. Haupt’s narrative strategy also seems interesting, because first-person narrative which imitates the workings of memory (this is one of its most important characteristics) is also employed in (mountaineering) travel writing. This affinity is interesting because it can be interpreted in two ways: it might be dismissed as accidental (after all, first-person narrative also serves other purposes) or considered crucial, insofar as it is a device Haupt used to convey his mountaineering experiences in fiction. The prime example of Haupt’s “alpine” story, Sprawa Wilsona. Biuletyn z gór, does not employ first-person narrative. This is, of course, easy to explain. Haupt based Sprawa Wilsona... on the model genre of the official expedition report, modifying it as needed. On the other hand, the narrative structures of Haupt’s “mountain” stories are similar to those told by alpinists – alpinists use such structures to establish an autobiographical pact with the reader, and Haupt, to put it briefly, plays with the autobiographical. Poker w Gorganach is a recreation of a teenage hiking adventure. Marsylianka tells the story of a skiing trip to the Alps during WW2, in the early 1940s. Balon tells the story of a stay in Zakopane and a failed attempt to go on a hiking trip in the High Tatras in search of memories of beloved Nietota.

Haupt shows different meanings that mountains might hold and thus reveals the relationship between the modern man and mountainous regions. Indeed, the stories in question show how mountains combine physical activity with reflection. The I is constantly in motion; even his thoughts are exceptionally dynamic. The experiences described by the protagonist-narrator of these stories, even though they do not refer to mountain climbing per se (except for Sprawa Wilsona...), are either extremely direct or take a substitute form of theoretical and historical reflections on Alpine or Himalayan climbing (Wyspy Galapagos...).

Mont Blanc or Mount Everest?

In the story Marsylianka, the reality of war collides with an Alpine resort, where, despite the circumstances, it is “business as usual.” Haupt draws attention to mountains as a unique space, and trying to explain this unique aspect is difficult for both the reader and the author.

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5 Małgorzata Okupnik, Autobiografie polskich sportowców samotników [Autobiographies of Polish Solo Sportsmen] (Gniezno: Gnieźnieńska Oficyna Wydawnicza Tum, 2005), 9–31.
The strange and the uncanny, so characteristic for Haupt’s writing, defined as ambiguous cognitive and aesthetic categories embedded in the tensions and contradictions of modernity, creep in.\(^7\) The protagonist comes face to face with the view of the Alps and reacts reflexively, that is, he tries to remodel what he sees into what he knows. Of course, this takes place within the realm of the strange and the uncanny which connects distant, incompatible, planes, which perhaps may one day be connected. The narrator says:

A wychodzimy na wolne powietrze i głowę trzeba zadzierać wysoko. Słońce dopiero co wyszło spoza Mont Blanc de Courmayeur i zaginają się jego promienie, i leżą wzdłuż doliny Chamonix. Góry dokola jak brzuchy ryb ogłuszonych ręcznym granatem. Biale brzuchy ryb.

[And we go out into the open air, and you have lifted your head up high. The sun has just come out from behind Mont Blanc de Courmayeur and its rays bend and lie along the Chamonix valley. The surrounding mountains are like the bellies of fish stunned by a hand grenade. White bellies of fish.\(^8\)]

One of the peaks of the Mont Blanc massif initially appears in the conventional form of a painterly description – the focus on light is characteristic in this respect. Soon, however, this painterly aesthetics is challenged. Why do the snow-capped peaks remind the narrator of the bellies of dead fish, fish which were brutally killed by man? Of course, war with its atrocities and weapons haunts the image of the majestic but potentially dangerous and inhuman mountains. This socio-political context cannot be ignored in the case of the soldier-narrator who has taken a short leave. This answer, however, is as obvious as it is insufficient.

Later in the story, Haupt’s hero and his companions drive to the cable car station, which will take them to the ski slope. This account sheds more light on how Haupt views Mont Blanc and high mountains in general. We also learn more about the uncanny fish-mountains:

Jedziemy doliną Chamonix. Po prawej masyw Brevént: złowrogie stożki i ściany zaśnieżone i pociągnięte krepą mgły. Po prawej masyw Mont Blanc na skalę tak ogromną, że nie ma się już właściwego „stosunku”, zredukowany jest do znaku, do konwencjonalnej idejki o górach, do samej myśli o Mont Blanc. Naprawdę – patrzę na zaśnieżony garb wyzłocony słońcem i goły ponad siwą chmurą i wierzę, że jest to Mont Blanc, bo ktoś mi dał na to słowo honoru, a poza tym nie mam innego dowodu, i już

[We drive through the Chamonix valley. On the right, the Brevént massif: ominous cones and walls covered with snow and the veil of mist. On the right, the Mont Blanc massif, on a scale so huge that one no longer has a proper “relationship” with it; it is reduced to a sign, to the conventional idea of mountains, to the mere thought of Mont Blanc. Indeed, I look at the snowy hump which is gilded


\(^8\) Zygmunt Haupt, *Baskijski diabel. Opowiadania i reportaże [The Basque Devil: Stories and Reportages]*, collected, edited and with an editorial note by Aleksander Madyda (Wołowiec: Wydawnictwo Czarne, 2016), 354. Further quotations from this collection of short stories are marked with the letters BD and the page number.
Looking at the mountain leads to a reflection on the “ambiguity” of the highest peak in Europe – while the narrator is clearly fascinated by it, this fascination is embarrassing for him. The narrator implies that the mountain’s staggering size is problematic; it is so unique that it may not be reproduced in/through descriptions or impressions, even impressions inspired by other expeditions. Haupt thus stages an encounter between the protagonist and an object which is both a topographical feature and a cultural phenomenon (or artifact); it is thus subjected to discursive operations and may be discussed in terms of the known and the understood. The narrator has to deal with the sensual presence of Mont Blanc, because the mountain has so far functioned for him as a narrative and linguistic concept; it is not enough in the face of the mountain’s real physical presence. At the same time, the narrator feels that he lacks appropriate tools to verify whether what appears to be Mont Blanc really is Mont Blanc. The tension between language and imagination (that is part of language) and the sheer physical presence of the referent makes the narrator question whether Mont Blanc really is Mont Blanc. Indeed, the narrator is surprised to discover that, paradoxically, the physical presence of Mont Blanc does not efface the extensive discursive sphere of meanings which has enveloped the mountain over the years. On the contrary, the discursive renders Mont Blanc less real; the mountain is relegated into the sphere of myths and mediations that evoke, but also instrumentalize, its image and topography.

Haupt, of course, raises here the question of the relationship between language and reality, but also examines mountains as a theme in Western culture. The Alps and the Mont Blanc massif manifest themselves as unreal, as mythologized areas, that only exist in imaginative, linguistic, narrative, or painterly visions. Reaching Mont Blanc’s summit for the first time was one of the founding myths of the modern world; its new incarnation in the next phase of modernity was reaching the summit of Mount Everest, which Haupt discussed in Sprawa Wilsona... It is not a coincidence that the initial difficulties with coming to terms with the physicality of the Chamonix and Mont Blanc valleys (this strange association of mountains with the bellies of fish) are transformed in the final parts of the story – the narrator openly states that he finds the Alps unreal. The Alps have been overgrown with a thick layer of discourse which questions the real. Verbalizing one’s experience is thus extremely difficult. Paradoxically, the civilized Alps (and the narrator takes advantage of this aspect of the Alps after all – he is there to ski) become part of a story about an exotic and almost inaccessible mythical space, only open for the chosen few (people who live in Chamonix, mountaineers, rich tourists). They thus become as “unreal” as an artificial diorama.


The dynamics of how Haupt constructs the experience of mountains is defined by the scale and the intensity of the relationship between the object and the surrounding space; the relationship that the I enters into with the Mont Blanc massif is based on physical presence and visual perception.\(^1\) Such immediacy inspires and intensifies self-reflection, revealing the dialectics of the subject, language/discourse and topography. Let me make a brief summary at this point. The adventure with the Alps begins with a description of a strange first encounter – surprised by the proximity of the mountains, the I uses an equally surprising simile. The narrator then proceeds to problematize a yet another encounter with the mountain. He once again acknowledges his problematic position, which results from his misplaced trust in linguistic and discursive representations – the verbal only evokes dissonance in the face of the mountain. It would be safer to use only linguistic and discursive representations, but Mont Blanc exists beyond them and forces the I to look for alternatives, whatever they might be. While the I accepts the visual immediacy of the mountain as a fact/truth, he still feels uncomfortable with the unverifiable status of Mont Blanc. The trip ends in an almost confessional manner with an ambiguous expression of delight or, we should say, with a kind of affective shock caused by an unreal and yet real physical presence of the mountain; the massif is both in physical proximity of the I and at the same time it is located in the sphere of narration and discourse. The names of mountain peaks in the Mont Blanc massif that the I lists belong to the history of Western mountaineering; Aiguilles du Midi (a mistake made by Haupt or the publisher; the correct name reads Aiguille de Chamonix – Aiguille du Midi), Mont Blanc du Tacul, Mont Blanc de Courmayeur, and Le Dôme du Goûter) were all reached for the first time between 1784 and 1865.\(^2\) They all have a double status, because they refer to referents mediated in and through stories told by tourists, historians and mountaineers. So, when the I sees them in reality, he begins to question the real. The I is slowly approaching the massif and in the process he begins to repeat and reject different discursive associations. Ultimately, the narrator realizes that he will not be able to free himself from the cultural baggage that arrests

\(^1\)I use the term “immediacy” but attention is also a valid concept. See: Tomasz Mizerkiewicz, „Proza Zygmunta Haupta – problem uwagi” [Zygmunt Haupt’s prose – the problem of attention], in: Jestem bardzo niefortunnym wyborem: studia i szkice o twórczości Zygmunta Haupta, red. Andrzej Niewiadomski, Paweł Panas (Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2018), 13–22.

the Alps in the net of various conceptualizations. Thus, the Alps maintain their “ambiguous” status; they continue to exist between the real and the abstract, the physical and the imagined. In this context, the vision of the mountains as “white bellies of fish” is a metaphorical illustration of this lasting uncanny ambiguity of the Alps, insofar as modernity has and will continue to transform them discursively and culturally.13

In the short story Wyspy Galapagos i wyprawa na Mount Everest Mount Everest becomes the object of a similar fascination, which the narrator admits with pride but also with some embarrassment. He talks about his dream of reaching the top, which dates back to his childhood years. We can clearly see how Mount Everest is conceived of in terms of the majestic and the sublime, which renders reaching the top “unreal.”

Widziałem na tle czarnego nieba trójścian góry biały z uczepionym u szczytu sztandarem zwiewnego śniegu. Myślałem, marzyłem o takim absurdzie, jak zdobycie tego szczytu. […] Stworzyłem sobie z najwyższej góry na ziemi taki miniaturowy ogród marzeń

[Against the background of the black sky, I saw a white trihedron of the mountain with a banner of ethereal snow at the top. I thought, I dreamed, of something as absurd as reaching this peak. […] I turned the highest mountain on earth into my private miniature dream garden] (BD 127).

The key element of this absurd dream – practicing mountaineering (which the narrator could not do) – turned into a model of a different undefined but equally specific substitute action: “postanowiłem bardzo nieodpowiednio […] dokonać równoważnego czynu, skoncentrowanego w czasie i przestrzeni za pomocą jednego rush up” [I decided very irresponsibly […] to perform an equivalent action, fixed in time and space, with a single rush up] (BD 127).

The narrator goes on to explain that he wishes to intensify his own interest. He talks about his fascination with Mount Everest – he wished to learn all about it. He even quotes from a lecture he attended and talks about devouring all available books and magazines devoted to the Himalayas. The I almost nonchalantly lists names of English mountaineers and travellers, which gives an impression of “amateur professionalism” (the narrator listed the peaks of the Mont Blanc massif in the same nonchalant manner). This theorizing was supposed to be a substitute for climbing (which is so physical and so “real”). Diving deep into mountaineering discourses about Mount Everest – as expressed in the animated call rush up – was supposed to be a counterweight to artistic failures, as well as a remedy for various ailments (“chwile prostracji, zawodu lub przesywu” [submissive prostration, disappointment, or excess] (BD 129)). The protagonist is, on the one hand, intrigued by the scale of the undertaking, the repeated attempts to reach the summit, the intellectual justifications behind climbing, including modernist philosophies, and at the same time he remains skeptical about interpreting the fight to

13A dead fish resembles an alpine peak covered with snow, as regards the color and the shape at least. Perhaps the metaphysical might also play a role in legitimizing such surreal associations – the mountain evokes the feeling of the sublime, of the transcendent, both secular and religious, and this in turn is expressed in the allusion to the Christian ichtis which functions in the reality of modernity, where the mountains were stripped of their metaphysical dimension and gradually became destinations of “post-secular” pilgrimages.
climb Mount Everest in the wider context of the narrative of progress (he criticizes Ceglarski’s lecture on Mount Everest).

The short story *Sprawa Wilsona. Biuletyn z gór* could be read as a literary equivalent of the impossible desire described in *Wyspy Galapagos*. Both stories describe the idea of a condensed, dynamic action, as expressed by the slogan of English climbers – *rush up*. *Sprawa Wilsona*... takes place on the slopes of Mount Everest. A group of English climbers, Doctor George, Kearney, and Sowpith, and their hired porters/Sherpas try to achieve the impossible – climb the highest mountain in the world. In the first part of the short story, Haupt allows us to get to know the characters, vividly painting their character traits. The key part is a conversation held by the climbers in which they discuss differences between their perceptions of reality, as determined by Western rationality, and the views of local communities (represented by the Sherpas and a Buddhist lama met in Rongbuk), who believe that the metaphysical is an extension of the physical. This philosophical conversation (Sowpith studies philosophy and specializes in Husserl’s phenomenology) quickly turns to mountaineering when it turns out that Doctor George was repeatedly asking the lama about Maurice Wilson, although, much like other climbers, he held local culture in low regard. The second part of the story describes the failed attempt to reach the summit. The last to die is George, the one who wanted to know more about Wilson. Moments before his death he reflects on the fact that dismissing Wilson’s achievements somehow contributed to the failure of their expedition. George finally realizes that “nie użył tej malej śmierci jako atutu przeciw potędze, patosowi słowa” [he did not use this small death as a trump card against the power, the pathos of the word] (ZR 48). He did not question the pompous slogan of their expedition, “rush up!,” which expressed, as it turned out, a naïve certainty and belief in their own pragmatism and rationality. Kearney said in the camp that they used “calculation and reason” and that Wilson’s solitary expedition was “fantazja i nie ma porównania z nami o pobudkach odległych od tych, jakie nim kierowały” [a fantasy, and there is no comparison with us; his motives are so much different from ours] (ZR 46). Still, when Sowpith dies during the climb, the rational and reasonable Kearney exaltedly shouts out “Rush up!.” Disregarding the surroundings and ignoring his own limitations, he climbs up – he will die in an avalanche in a few hours.

Haupt shows that a rational plan to climb Mount Everest by a well-prepared and experienced team is not that different from the naive dream of a lonely and inexperienced “madman.” In this almost parabolic clash of opposites, the contradictions of mountaineering as a modernist cultural practice, which in the early 20th century found mutually exclusive justifications, become clearly visible. This affinity becomes understandable when it is too late - English climbers died having ignored a potential warning. After all, the llama told the doctor how Wilson’s story ends but his sense of cultural superiority was stronger than the fears associated with the very assumptions and motives behind the expedition. Only defeat and physical exhaustion open the rationalist and the empiricist to a different, even mystical, perspective, which allowed him to notice the aforementioned convergence of rationality and madness. Indeed,  

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14Haupt, Z Roksolanii, 44–48. Further quotations from this collection of short stories are marked with the letters ZR and the page number.
Haupt manages to show in this story not only the contradictions of climbing, the source of which was modern (imperial) expansion. He also captured the state of physical exhaustion associated with the experience of climbing, which, in the high mountains, turns into a kind of corporeal-spatial sublime.

In these three texts, one can notice an interesting mechanism of retrieving knowledge related to mountains and mountaineering, which is based on combining encyclopedic facts with a description of both direct and culturally mediated experiences. In *Sprawa Wilsona...* the characters talk about Hugh Ruttledge, the leader of two English expeditions to Mount Everest, respectively in 1934 and 1936, and General Charles G. Bruce, the leader of the second English expedition to Mount Everest in 1922. We also have the titular Maurice Wilson, man who wanted to climb Mount Everest alone and unprepared in 1934. The characters recall the "tragic German expeditions to Nanga Parbat," that is Willy Merkl's disastrous 1932 expedition. In *Wyspy Galapagos...*, the narrator talks about the lectures given by Rajmund Ceglarski (this character was based on Edmund Libański, an engineer and scientist from Lviv; the title of his book about expeditions to Mount Everest is mentioned in the story), reading books by Francis Younghusband, Robert L.G. Irving, Francis S. Smythe, and looking at the photographs of George Mallory's expedition. The English function as travellers, explorers, mountaineers, but above all as tellers of Himalayan narratives fuelled by the ideology of conquest and expansion, further intertwined with the post-romantic sublime. It thus comes as no surprise that the characters in *Sprawa Wilsona...* are English; Irving, Smythe, and Mallory also successfully climbed the Alps, including the Mont Blanc massif, which would suggest that they also inspired the mythology of Mont Blanc found in the short story *Marsylianka.*

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19 In the case of Maurice Wilson, Haupt goes beyond the reports found in the press. He describes him as American, though he was English. Speculations about Wilson going down to the monastery in Rongbuk in the face of failure – this is what Haupt shows in the story to endow it with greater depth – turned out to be false; it was an interesting hypothesis though. Another expedition found Wilson's body high above in the mountains. See: Maurice Isserman and Stewart Angas Weaver, *Fallen Giants: A History of Himalayan Mountaineering from the Age of Empire to the Age of Extremes* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2010), 234–236; Geoff Powter, *Strange and dangerous dreams: the fine line between adventure and madness*, 1st ed (Seattle: Mountaineers Books, 2006), 175–197.
21 Smythe’s book was published in Poland the same year Sprawa Wilsona... was published: Francis S. Smythe, *Obóz szósty. Dzieje wyprawy na Mount Everest w roku 1933* [Camp Six: The 1936 Everest Expedition], trans. Aleksander Dobrot (Warsaw: Rój, 1938).
Haupt used different sources related to mountaineering expeditions in the Alps, in the Himalayas, in the Andes, and in the Tatras. He was probably interested in various ideological justifications for climbing. Perhaps he also followed stylistic and poetical changes in travel and mountaineering writing, which quite early, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, began to be published in professional magazines. An issue of “Wierchy” from 1937, reviewed by Haupt, offers a number of interpretative traits in this regard. Zdzisław Dąbrowski’s article Nanga Parbat – najtragiczniejsza góra Himalajów [Nanga Parbat – the most tragic mountain in the Himalayas] published in this issue describes different expeditions to Nanga Parbat, including Merkl’s expedition. This article could have inspired Haupt to embed his own fictional narrative in the mountaineering circles of the 1930s. Jan Alfred Szczepański’s report on the second Polish expedition to the Andes in 1935 and 1936 was also published in this issue of “Wierchy”. Szczepański’s text is important due to the narrative solutions adopted: in the first part (subtitled Próba opisu wrażeń [Attempt at describing impressions]) Szczepański decides not to describe the expedition objectively and instead opts for “experimental” fragmentation. He moves way from gradual exposition and instead throws the reader into the midst of things, which, in addition, he describes from a personal, subjective perspective. Only the second part, the proper description of the expedition, is written in a transparent, almost impersonal, journalistic style. Szczepański's account is an interesting example of the evolution of mountaineering writing; the genre had struggled with expressiveness and authenticity basically from the very beginning. Although the subtitle of Haupt's short story reads Biuletyn z gór [Mountain Bulletin], it is neither an impersonal narrative nor an official report (the second part of Szczepański's report was very formal). Haupt challenges the schematic in favor of presenting the climbers’ emotions and their interest in the sublime. Szczepański’s report is one of many Polish narratives of exotic mountaineering expeditions in the interwar period which Haupt could have read.

Together Rajmund Ceglarski’s (Edmund Libański’s) 1924 book Walka o szczyt świata [The battle for the highest peak in the world] and Dąbrowski’s article from “Wierchy” constitute source materials that Haupt used in Sprawa Wilsona... We could also name other potential sources, referring only to the issues of “Wierchy” from earlier years. In 1925 and 1926, “Wierchy” published two texts devoted to George Mallory, Bronisław Romaniszyn, and Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski, which described the British climbing school in more detail, and also raised the issue of the ideologization of mountaineering; in 1929, “Taternik” [Mountaineer] published Roman Kordys’s essay devoted to the prospects of mountaineering in the Tatra Mountains.

27 Edmund Libański, Walka o szczyt świata [The battle for the highest peak in the world] (Lviv–Warsaw–Kraków: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1924); Edmund Libański, Na szczyt świata! Wyprawy na Everest [To the top of the world! Everest expeditions] (Warsaw: Rój, 1926) and the 2nd ed. from 1936.
29 Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski, “Współczesne prądy w alpinizmie niemieckim” [Contemporary trends in German mountaineering], Wierchy 4 (1926), 145–151.
30 Roman Kordys, “Taternictwo wczoraj, dziś i jutro” [Climbing yesterday, today and tomorrow], Taternik 13, 3 (1929): 50–59.
which also mentioned the British climbers who took part in Himalayan expeditions. The narrator of Wyspy Galapagos... points out this connection\(^{31}\) when he talks about leafing through the old issues of “Taternik” and other mountaineering magazines. Anyway, this list should be extended so that it also includes reviews of books written by climbers and reviews of their essays published in specialist Polish magazines at that time.

Hiking in the Tatra Mountains – Adventure in the Gorgany

The other two “mountain” stories stand out, especially considering Haupt’s meticulous use of alpine mountaineering allusions. This notwithstanding, just like the other analyzed stories they reveal a fascination with mountains and might have been inspired by “Wierchy.”

Poker w Gorganach is a “trapper” adventure story about a teenager who went on a solo hike in the mountains. The Łomnica Valley functions as an “adventurous” area (the protagonist practices shooting skills with his friend, wanders around the area, and then sets off to more remote areas on his own), where the protagonist can “return to nature.” The Łomnica Valley is also, as it turns out later, a cognitively and even ontologically ambiguous space, even though it is partially civilized (wood industry is booming, there are villages and railway stations in the valleys). The subject’s bourgeois I is reflected in this space and it can be confronted with the I’s everyday comfortable and civilized life.

The issue of “Wierchy” from 1937 once again opens up intertextual speculations. A potential inspiration for this story could have been Władysław Krygowski’s article O zapachu gór i wojny [The Smell of Mountains and War] about an expedition to the Eastern Carpathians (Czarnohora, Eastern Bieszczady, Gorgany).\(^{32}\) In his review, Haupt quotes Krygowski who says that the local mountains “pachnie Far Western” [smells of Far West] (ZR 161). Alas, what Krygowski has in mind is the smell of adventure he knows from books, which haunts him in the exotic Carpathians: “Patrzysz przez zamokłe ganki domostwa i myślisz: żywica pachnie Kanadą” [You look at the wet porches and you think: the resin smells of Canada]\(^{33}\) Krygowski begins with praising “adventure” and tries to explain why we find mountains fascinating and why we wish to explore them:

Przygoda, tajemnicze słowo Conrada i Londona jest żaglem, który ustawiamy na wiatr, skierowujący nas w jakiekolwiek byle nieznane kraje, w egzotyczną ziemię niecodziennych kwiatów, gór i obłoków. Dalekie niekończące się widnokręgi budzą w nas nieugaszoną tęsknotę za wędrowaniem bez kresu, aż się wysili w nas ciało, z którym boryka się duch niezaspokojonych pragnień.

Tych uczuć nie odda najlepsza fotografia. Będzie krążyć dookoła nich, nie dojrzawszy wnętrza, przesłizgnie się po wierzchu wzrokiem, za którym nie zdążyła pójść dusza

[Adventure, a mysterious word used by Conrad and London, is the sail that we set to the wind, which will take us to any foreign country, to the exotic land of strange flowers, mountains, and

\(^{31}\)Cf. Rambowicz, 798.

\(^{32}\)Władysław Krygowski, ”O zapachu gór i wojny” [The Smell of Mountains and War], Wierchy 15 (1937): 87–104.

\(^{33}\)Krygowski, 93.
clouds. Far, endless horizons awaken in us an intense longing for wandering, until the body, animated by the spirit of unsatisfied desires, becomes too tired to go on. These feelings cannot be captured even by the best photograph. We will come close, but we will never see the truth; the truth will glide over the surface and the soul will not even have time to follow.

_Poker w Gorganach_, with its “trapper” themes, brings adventurous desires to life, but it also tries to answer the question why mountains “awaken in us an intense longing for wandering.” Interestingly, Haupt’s story also refers to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police – when the narrator and Wacek Rogowski create fantastic adventure scenarios while shooting a Mauser in the forest.

The ending of the story is similar in tone to Krygowski’s observations; smell is also mentioned:

Wystarczy […] przetrząść się parę godziny w nocy […] wagonem, a potem zadać sobie trud, […] ażeby znaleźć się w warunkach, które do codziennego, poprzedniego biegu życia mają się tak, jak nieskończoność do momentu, jak miejsce do wszechświata. Ani mię poratuje zapach tamtego świata, który ze sobą przyniosłem

[You only have to […] go on a very bumpy overnight train ride […], and then make some effort […] to find yourself in a situation which refers to your everyday, normal life as infinity to a moment, as a place to the universe. I cannot be saved by the smell of that world that I brought with me]. (BD 255–256).

The protagonist enters a territory that has been exploited by man, as evidenced by, for example, a railway which takes lumberjacks and workers deep into the woods. The Gorgany are not dangerous – they are not as majestic as the Alps or even the lower Tatra Mountains – and human presence renders them less special (“tutaj nikt się z tym nie liczy” [nobody cares about it here], BD 241). The subject is very much aware of the difference between the valley and the mountains which he himself experiences intensively and which no one else notices: “jest tu bardzo górsko i dziwnie, i nie tak, jak jest w dolinach […] tutaj jest surowo i kamień, i łom wyłazi spod cienkiej przykrywy jak spod zdartej skóry i ukazuje surowo wnętrze, i nagłe przeskoki w różnicy poziomów działają brutalnie i ostro. Nie jest sennie jak w dolinach; ale każe nam wszystko być napiętym i przygotowanym na najbardziej nieoczekiwane” [it is very mountainous and strange here, and not like in the valleys […] it is raw, and you can make out rocks and crowbars from under a thin cover as if from under torn skin; you can see the raw interior, and sudden differences in height are brutal and sharp. It’s not drowsy like in the valleys; everything around you makes you all tense and prepared for the most unexpected] (BD 241). The I emphasizes the strangeness, rawness, brutality, sharpness, and unpredictability of the mountains, and, it should be pointed out, these features are physical and sensual, and even abstract and metaphysical. It should be emphasized that this reflection came later – the narrator simultaneously writes about his life “now” and in the past.

34Krygowski, 87.

35I do not comment on the status of memory in Haupt’s works, and instead refer the reader to relevant sources, e.g.: Jagoda Wierzejska, Retoryczna interpretacja autobiograficzna na przykładzie pisarstwa Andrzeja Bobkowskiego, Zygmunta Haupta i Leo Lipskiego [Rhetorical autobiographical interpretation in the works of Andrzej Bobkowski, Zygmunt Haupt and Leo Lipski], Collected Papers of the Department of Polish Twentieth-Century Literature at the Institute of Polish Literature at the University of Warsaw (Warsaw: Dom Wydawniczy ELIPSA, 2012).
The narrator describes some discomfort associated with the proximity of the mountains, which are perceived as extraordinary:

Dlatego zawsze, jak zaczynam w górach, to jest dziwnie i niezwykłym i trudno mi przywyknąć. Jak by to wytłumaczyć? Po prostu nawet o rzeczach, które znamy, mamy wyobrony sąd własny i uparty i jak powrócimy do nich, to nie ma na to rady, że jest to odkakujące od naszego wewnętrznego pojęcia i obrazu.
Tak mi się to wydaje z górami...

[That's why at the beginning it's strange and unusual and hard for me to get used to the mountains. How can I explain it? It's just that we hold certain judgments about the things we know, we are used to certain things, and when we return to them, we cannot help but perceive them as different from our inner concepts and images.
It's like that for me with mountains] (BD 241–242)

The boundary between the subject who is experiencing the mountains and this vertical reality seems blurred. The contrast between the valley and the mountains allows us to formulate similar conclusions as in the case of Mont Blanc. When abstract imagination clashes with concrete space experienced in close proximity, a double, “uncanny” dimension of the mountains is revealed; it is seemingly tamed by language and its rules and at the same time it is unusual and surprising. It requires individual recognitions and individual conceptualizations, determined by the dispositions of the subject.

In two seemingly different short stories from *Pierścień z papieru* [The Paper Ring], two models of communing with mountains collide, namely the recreational and the “touristy” one, albeit with some hints of mountaineering (the Alps in *Marsylianka*), and the industrial and the economic one (the Gorgany in *Poker w Gorganach*), with some hints of the adventurous.
The I distances himself from both, trying to establish his own space and, consequently, his own formula for seeing the mountains, which will be based on a direct sensory and spatial experience – in the first case it would be a combination of sport and contemplation, in the second, an adventurous journey. In both cases, the contact with mountains, as the narrator argues, has an ambivalent, idiosyncratic character, because the I cannot reconcile cultural and linguistic patterns with individual experiences.

In *Balon*, Haupt returns to the “uncanny” mountain resort theme and once again makes his character face the ambivalent nature of mountains. *Balon* takes place in Zakopane. The protagonist arrives in the Tatra Mountains driven by the desire to find traces of his lost lover Nietota. Indeed, he emphasizes that he must “see the shape of the mountains” and experience their direct physical presence:

Pchało mnie w te góry, by je zobaczyć z bliska, bo kiedy ją tam przedtem odwiedzałem, to na krótko, zawsze z opóźnieniem. A teraz chciałbym zobaczyć kształt tych gór, których sylwetka na zawsze odbiały się w jej oczach. Może by sprawdzić, że nie były one takim jak ona marzyłem, że nie zabrała ich ze sobą, że nie były tylko przywiedzeniem, i już, że jak tam przyjadę, to nie będzie pusto i nijako jakby zrolowano jakieś dekoracje teatralne i wywieziono z całym cyrkowym bagażem, larami i penatami...
[I was driven to these mountains, I had to see them up close, because when I visited her there before, it was only for a short time, always for a few days. And now I wanted to see the shape of those mountains whose silhouette was forever reflected in her eyes. Maybe to check that they weren’t a delusion, like she was, that she didn’t take them with her, that they weren’t just a dream, and that when I get there, I will not see an empty and dull space, as if some theater stage design had been dismantled and taken away with all the different bits and pieces] (BD 547).

Before the narrator sets off to the mountains, “jej [Nietoty] śladem przez Zawrat i klamry do Morskiego Oka” [following her [Nietota] through the Zawrat valley and to Morskie Oko] (BD 551), he pays some attention to the bourgeois tourist and spa culture and how the town has changed since the end of the 19th century. Anyway, having rented a room in a boarding house right after his arrival, he feels alienated among other tourists. The changes that affected Zakopane were related to the cultural image of the Tatra Mountains and Podhale constructed by early modernism: “Tatry […] były dla Młodej Polski rezerwatem natchnień, uniesień, ekstaz, odkryć, ale przeważnie to przesiadywali oni jednak po knajpach zakopiańskich albo po willach dorobkiewiczów, gdzie sobie inteligenca znachodziła wakacyjne siedziby” [The Tatra Mountains […] were a reservoir of inspirations, elation, ecstasy, and discoveries for Young Poland, but poets and writers mostly hung out in pubs in Zakopane or in the villas of the wealthy, where the intelligentsia would spend their summer holidays] (BD 547). The narrator further shares his observations on the scale of the modernist forgery, pointing out that Morskie Oko [The Eye of the Sea] “to nazwa wymyślona przez tych tam młodopolskich poetów – nazywało się przecież naprawdę Rybie Jezioro. Te cepy to wszystko poprzekręcali […] zrobili z tych z Podhała jakieś plemię Mohikanów” [is a name invented by those Young Poland poets – the lake was really called Rybie Jezioro [Fish Lake]. They changed it all […] they transformed those people from Podhale into a tribe of Mohicans] (BD 551). The metaphor of the reservation clearly indicates that the forgery involves the creation of an artificial primal space, presented as natural and uncivilized. At the same time, this focus on the natural became a commonly reproduced convention, which to some extent legitimized passive contemplation of the mountains and discouraged a direct, physical experience, that is hiking or climbing. It could also be seen in how patients were treated in sanatoriums – they enjoyed the benefits of local climate just by being there. They could not or did not have to be physically active, and instead focused on socializing, as Nietota, who was herself being treated for tuberculosis, told the narrator.

The connections with Haupt’s review of “Wierchy” are once again fascinating. A potential catalyst for the questions discussed in Balon are texts about Zakopane published in the magazine, which describe the Tatra Mountains and Morskie Oko, the history of Zakopane until the beginning of the 20th century, and the development of spa culture.36 Referring to these historical facts, Haupt expresses in his review the optimistic rhetoric of modernization:

To już prawdziwa egzotyka dla nas, znających to Zakopane teraz, kiedy lukstorpeda wyrzuca u stóp Giewontu tysiące turystów, kiedy autostrada łączy kraj z Morskim Okiem, a na grań Kasprzowegowlecze się lina wyciągu

It’s really exotic for us, who look at Zakopane now, when the fast train spills out thousands of tourists at the foot of Giewont, when the motorway connects the rest of the country with Morskie Oko, and a cable railway car goes all the way to the top of Kasprowy Wierch) (ZR 160).

This enthusiasm is missing in Balon, although the story takes place in the 1930s. It is replaced by a critique of the civilizational processes that changed Zakopane. The protagonist, who is very much skeptical of conventionalized impressions reproduced using the modernist formulas of Young Poland, sets off on a journey to find out what Nietota loved about the Tatra Mountains. As such, he intends to physically commune with the mountains. His expedition fails and he has to give up due to strong wind. Interestingly, a mountain shepherd whom he meets along the way, who does not resemble a “stereotypical” native (“wyglądał już całkiem miastowo: na głowie miał cyklistówkę, a na nogach narcarskie buty” [he already looked quite urban: he was wearing a cap on his head and ski boots on his feet], BD 552), warns him about the strong wind and advises him to turn back. The protagonist ignores the advice, moves on and, to cheer himself up, recites a passage from Calderón’s *Life is a dream* in his head. The weather gets the better of him, however, and the protagonist “dostało [się] za tę pretensjonalną egzaltację” [is punished for his pretentious exaltation] (BD 552). The danger is always real, but it seems to disappear when literature creeps into the very physical experience of hiking and makes the I distance himself from sensual experiences. While the narrator criticized Young Poland, he also fell for the sublime, ignoring direct experience. The hike is a failure because the narrator not only fails to follow in Nietota’s footsteps, but he also fails to commune with the mountains without ignoring cultural codes.

Mountains as a mirror of contradictions

The mountains in Haupt’s selected short stories are spaces where the characters fulfill their desires to directly experience what they have only read about. Fictional English climbers from *Sprawa Wilsona*… want to reach the top of Mount Everest at all costs; they are driven by the dream of human expansion but fail to realize that they are defined by an ideological narrative that instills in them a false sense of security in their own strength. The narrator of *Wyspy Galapagos*… reveals towards the end of the story a similar fascination with Mount Everest, but unlike English climbers, he seems to be aware of the danger, and only engages in theorizing and fantasizing. *Maryslianka* lies somewhere in between *Sprawa Wilsona*… and *Wyspy Galapagos*… It shows the magnetic duality of Mont Blanc – the I realizes that the mountain and the symbol of human triumph over it disappear in the discourses that surround it.

Haupt, I believe, shared modernity’s ambivalent fascination with mountaineering as the ultimate manifestation of man’s ability to rule the world. The drive to conquer the Earth generated a new type of sensitivity and constantly demanded new justifications and explanations (which climbers and explorers who wrote memoirs, reports, essays, etc., understood). It also created a new poetics and discourse, as if outside dominating cultural trends. They defined themselves both in opposition to and in unison with them. By employing mountain and alpine themes and motifs in his texts, Haupt captured the unique, “uncanny,” as Haupt might call it, status of the genre. Mountaineering was, especially in the early decades of the twentieth
century, and continues to be an eccentric cultural practice. It is difficult to explain rationally, but nevertheless strongly influences how we perceive the mountains. Seen for the first time in the daylight, the mountains surrounding the Chamonix valley were surprising for the protagonist of *Marsylianka*. They troubled him and evoked irrational associations which could not be processed by the imagination which had been shaped by literature, including mountaineering narratives of British conquerors. The giant Alps, like white bellies of fish, are part of the modern era whose paradoxes and contradictions Haupt explores.

The short stories *Balon* and *Poker w Gorganach* seem to complement these reflections. Describing other forms of exploring the mountains (not the Alps or the Himalayas) on a smaller scale and focusing on the Tatra Mountains and the Gorgany in a fictitious though relatively plausible story, just like in *Sprawa Wilsona*... allowed Haupt to problematize the relationship between climbing and other mountain activities. The writer seems to imply that they are inspired by the modernist obsessions with progress, modernization, and rationality, and at the same time irrationality, naturalness, and spirituality. Haupt’s stories show that mountains were used and abused semantically, which ultimately forces his characters to seek direct experiences. Narrativizing and fictionalizing mountaineering travel experiences produced concepts that defined and shaped climbing the highest peaks, which the general public could often not understand, as well as hiking, practiced by tourists, sanatorium patients, or Polish “trappers.” These inspirations, the hypothetical sources of which I have tried to outline above, allow us to perceive Haupt’s eclectic writing as a conscious reaction to the complexities of high modernity.

translated by Małgorzata Olsza


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ABSTRACT:
This article discusses the motifs of mountains and mountaineering in Zygmunt Haupt’s selected texts. The author analyzes how mountain spaces and experiences related to mountains are described, and also reflects on the scale of mountaineering fascinations. He examines whether inspirations suggested by Haupt may be used to reconstruct his hypothetical influences, thus proving that Haupt had a very good knowledge of professional articles and books on mountaineering. The article further demonstrates how Haupt combines the theme of mountains and the related new cultural practices, primarily climbing and mountaineering, with reflection on the processes which constitute modernity.
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Wyczerpywanie i odnowa. „Nowa” polska proza lat siedemdziesiątych i osiemdziesiątych wobec późnej nowoczesności [Exhaustion and Renewal. The “new” Polish prose of the 1970s and the 1980s and late modernity].
A ring in the archive. Genetics and fluidity of Zygmunt Haupt’s short stories (the author’s legacy in Stanford Libraries)

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In February 2019 Paweł Parnas and I spent two weeks on library research on the Zygmunt Haupt Papers, held at the Department of Special Collections of Stanford University, California. We owed this opportunity to Barbara Krupa, who spent years working in Stanford libraries, including as curator of the Haupt collection, in which capacity she took part in organising and cataloguing the writer’s manuscripts and typescripts, which arrived in California in three stages in the 1990s¹. The first researcher to explore the Stanford archive with Krupa’s assistance was Aleksander Madyda². His findings (which he brought back in the form of xerox cop-

² There are multiple effects of his library searches. First, two monographs:
Secondly, the scholar is an editor of Haupt’s prose and journalistic writing. Two of his most recent, complete and editorially best books are:
– Zygmunt Haupt, Baskijski diabeł [The Basque devil], collected and edited by Aleksander Madyda (Wołowiec: Wydawnictwo Czarne, 2016), 422–426. All quotations from this edition are indicated with „BD”.
ies) were later consulted by Andrzej Niewiadomski and Paweł Panas. The latter also conducted a fruitful Haupt-focused query in the archives of Parisian “Kultura” (“Culture”) and the Literary Institute in Maisons Laffitte. Madyda and Panas also discovered large collections of letters by the author of *Lutnia* [*The lute*], still in possession of their addressees or their heirs.

A ring from the archive.
The *brouillons* of an extremely self-conscious writer

Before I point to those elements which I find particularly interesting in the archive of *Pierścień z papieru* [*The paper ring*]’s author, and prior to characterizing these by means of a method taken over from an American and a French philologist, I would like to mention some basic and highly inspiring findings, made by the two above-mentioned scholars from Lublin and Toruń. It is worth beginning from a seemingly obvious observation by Panas:

One of the notable features of the *brouillons* [...] is how often they look like a final-draft, with only few handwritten authorial interventions. One may be surprised by the small number of the author’s comments, additions, corrections or cross-outs on subsequent versions of typescripts, which is a feature of all stages of his creation. Consecutive (surprisingly numerous) versions visually seem like almost finished forms and their *brouillon* character often can only be ascertained after a more in-depth comparison with subsequent versions [...].

The key term here is “visually”, as it suggests that a more careful consideration of Haupt’s papers brings about even more surprises; an issue discussed by Panas in the latter part of the above-quoted final chapter of his monograph on the extant *brouillons* for one of Haupt’s later short stories, entitled *Balon* [*The balloon*]. It turns out that the archive material, which is visually unattractive (from the point of view of a researcher interested in Haupt’s style or in his process of creation), on closer scrutiny and with proper attention paid to all the pages potentially related to the process of creating a given work, tends to invoke a whole range of premises and inspirations. In Panas’ view, what is at stake in this painstaking archival research on Haupt’s prose is a chance to uncover new

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3 Two relevant monographs and an important study, published in a multiauthored monograph are:
– Andrzej Niewiadomski, „Jeden jest zawsze ostrzem”. Inna nowoczesność Zygmunta Haupta (“One is always the blade”. A different modernity of Zygmunt Haupt] (Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2015).


5 Its effects can be considered in the publication Jerzy Giedroyc, Zygmunt Haupt, Listy 1947–1975 [Letters 1947-75], edited by, with introduction and notes by Paweł Panas (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Wieś, 2022). Here one can also find collections of Haupt’s correspondence with Maria and Józef Czapski, Jerzy Stampowski, Zofia and Zygmunt Hertz.

6 Panas, 213. A bit further on (Panas, 215–216), the scholar recalls the memory of Haupt’s son Artur, how Haupt would spend long time in his study without doing any writing related activities. Once the sound of him hitting the typewriter keys could be heard, they soon turned into *brouillons*, whose main characteristics is provided in the main text.
readings of his works. The word “chance” is used here in its most profound meaning, indicative of both unpredictability and the inevitable changeability of what is already known and settled. Panas’ remarks on the extant broi̇llons of Balon entirely support this notion, to which I will return later.

The remarks by the author of Zagubiony wśród obcych [Lost amongst strangers] concerning the archival background of the short story Balon and Haupt’s authorial legacy were first announced in 2016, at a conference in Crakow, devoted to archives and broi̇llons of writers, and were published in a post-conference edited volume of essays. They were thus a result of studies by and findings of the other two scholars, who drew generously from Stanford’s special collections – Madyda and Niewiadomski. The former (apart from his above-mentioned, well-known editorial initiatives related to Haupt’s works) can be credited with organising Haupt’s papers in Stanford collections and with undertaking analytical-interpretative work focusing on the process of creating selected works of the author of Lutnia. While working on the reconstruction of the creative process involved in the writing of short stories devoted to Electra, he pointed to “partial disorder” in Stanford collection, which is evidence “either of the author’s artistic dilemmas or of the carelessness of later curators of Haupt’s legacy”. Niewiadomski, in turn, in a chapter of his monograph devoted to “how one should publish (and read) Zygmunt Haupt’s prose”, mentions the “mess in the archives”. Both observations are by no means a criticism of the state in which they found Haupt’s papers at Stanford. Quite the contrary, both scholars mention high quality of this collection on multiple occasions and praise the professionalism of Krupa and other guardians of the Stanford papers. The scholar’s declarations concerning the disorderliness, as it were, of Haupt’s archive can be interpreted as extremely important statements, not so much on the fates and the shape of the legacy itself, as on the fact that they reflect significant features of the writer’s craft and his worldview.

Niewiadomski draws our attention to the process of “blooming”, characteristic of Haupt’s creative process. This is a moment in which Haupt’s short stories emerge from his earlier achievements, which can only be discerned from a more careful analysis of his archive. If that is the case, says the author, then it should be our goal to show to the readers and researchers those pages in the Stanford collection, which contain bigger or smaller fragments of hitherto unpublished works (especially from two most recent editions, which are the most mature and comprehensive ones, i.e., Baskijski diabeł [The Basque Devil] of 2016 and the collection Z Roksolanii [From Roxolania] of 2018, as well as “all important variants of the text” of the “canonical” works. His justification for this is the following:

> Otherwise we will not understand the artistic development of the writer and his writing craft, for whom the principle of textual variance is important but not to a degree which would prevent – one must be emphatic – the treatment of all his works as autonomous. The said variance obscures the borders of individual short stories only to a limited extent because there are clear boundaries between consecu-

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8 See https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf4q2mb0sh/entire_text/?query=Madyda#hitNum4, accessed 31.08.2023.

9 Madyda, Haupt. Monografia, [Haupt. A monograph].

10 Niewiadomski, „Jeden jest zawsze ostrzem” [One is always the blade] or Przeciw entropii. Przeciw arkadii, [Against entropy. Against Arcadia] 172.

11 Niewiadomski, „Jeden jest zawsze ostrzem” or Przeciw entropii. Przeciw arkadii, 173, 175.
tive versions of the initial sketch or a finished work and a new work(s), which only contain some fragments, motifs or characters appearing in earlier works. One might add this is similar to the status of archival free electrons, i.e., small, usually untitled prose fragments, not included by the writer in his bigger, finished works. Both demand our attention not only because of their textual specificity but mainly by virtue of their role in helping the reader understand Haupt’s writing style and the goals he wanted to achieve through them. This means that a look into the author’s brouillons may lead to a more profound insight into the dynamics of the evolution of these works, not at all fossilized in its separateness and “oddity”, but constantly reaching not so much for new conventions and choices of style or genre as looking for a “different” understanding of the same, nagging issues.

Niewiadomski’s postulates on reading and publishing, Panas’ conclusions and Madyda’s observations (more of the latter will ensue) convince me that the contents and shape of Haupt’s literary archive not only allow for reconstructing the documentary-editorial background, which shines the light on the circumstances and manner in which individual works were written, but they also help to see in a new, more comprehensive perspective the sources of the author’s poetics and his vision of the world. For example, they help better to understand the role of some elements of Haupt’s artistic stance, especially his view on the issue of genre studies. When I read in Niewiadomski about the “value of makeshift-ness” and “a peculiar attitude of nonchalance which gets lost in the detail”, characteristic of Haupt’s works or – following Jerzy Święch – about the search for “an exit route from a set of conventional literary moves", it seems to me that one of the important sources of these phenomena was the fact of the author’s incessant struggle, first with hundreds, then thousands of pages of an abandoned project for a novel, individual short stories, their variant versions or loose fragments.

This might mean that the brouillons currently comprising the Stanford collection participate in creating a trace of Haupt’s extreme authorial self-awareness, in which he “practices his own concept of poetics somewhere on the side, and whose manner is so enticing for researchers”.

12Niewiadomski, „Jeden jest zawsze ostrzem” czy Przeciw entropii. Przeciw arkadii, 173. Expanded text (originally, bold type) by the monograph author.
13Niewiadomski, „Jeden jest zawsze ostrzem” czy Przeciw entropii. Przeciw arkadii, 175.
14Niewiadomski, „Ja, Zygmunt z Roksolanii” [„I, Zygmunt of Roxolania”], 82, 85, 99.
texts, as it reveals traces of authorial work. This will afford us a slightly different glimpse into the finished forms.” I find the suggestion to go beyond the ready-made extremely important, because it aligns not only with the postulates of genetic criticism, close both to Panas and the present writer’s ideas, but it also encourages one to be mindful of all kinds of Haupt’s aesthetic and mental constructs, which appear to be perfect and finished. Well, they are not, because underneath them always bubbles the uneasy awareness. Meetings with brouillon attempts at bigger or smaller writing endeavours helps maintain in the researchers and readers a state of suspicion and tenacity in search for the meaning and aesthetics of this creation.

I believe (and in what follows I will try to demonstrate) that in the archival files, especially the ones which contain the brouillons for subsequent stages of the writer’s work on a novel, later turned into a project of the first collection of short stories, there are also numerous examples of Haupt’s attempts at a greater whole, which he never gave up on. Niewiadomski is positive that the author never stopped striving for that whole, as evidenced by “clear signals of coherence, a structural perfection”, which can be seen “in the functional context both of individual, envisaged prose books, and in the entirety of the work”. At the same time, it is worth remembering that in his striving for wholeness the writer would turn towards the essay genre in its original, Montaignesque version. Thus, he rejected “both traditional compositional techniques and those which face inexpressibility and evoke the unusual, which is on offer in modern literature”, by turning to “musings on the purpose of writing”. This corresponds with the attempts by the author of Próby [Rehearsals] to “discover himself, undefined by the rigours of style, or at least approaching these rigours with a distinct nonchalance.”

Remembering about the above-mentioned parameters of Haupt’s work, in my studies on his brouillons I reach for the methodology of the French textual genetics and genetic criticism (as Panas has done before) and to John Bryant’s concept of the fluid text.

The 16 boxes of the writer’s legacy preserved in the Special Collections Department of Stanford University comprise four sections. Out of these I choose the literary one, which is the largest. Having to narrow down my search further, I focus on Haupt’s prose brouillons. Still, this category features as many as eight boxes, which contain 62 files in total (ranging from a few to over a hundred pages each). Earlier archival collaboration with Panas, as well as my own perusal of the literary folders containing Haupt’s brouillons allowed me to investigate these documents with the above-mentioned methodologies in mind. As already pointed out by the Haupt scholars quoted above, the dominant format amongst thousands of pages of the writer’s legacy is the A4 typescripts. A few hundred more are handwritten. The majority of typescripts and a good part of manuscripts seem to be fair copies, as they feature no signs of deletions, addenda or even traces of handwritten corrections. A peculiar feature of this collection are doublets, i.e., recurring (and usually final drafts of) copies of various works. As a result, the researcher

16Panas, 222.
17Niewiadomski, „Ja, Zygmunt z Roksolanii”, 82. A bit further on the author focuses on ideas concerning Haupt’s compositional-coherence-oriented attempts, striving for „the effort of authorial composition in the form of cycles, which become ever more refined quasi-wholes, whilst it is not the structure itself that plays the crucial part, but the incessant navigation of the unnamed and inexpressible something that could become the key reference point for the actions of the creator”, Niewiadomski, „Ja, Zygmunt z Roksolanii”, 89.
18Niewiadomski, „Ja, Zygmunt z Roksolanii”, 98, 101.
in Haupt’s archive is doomed to spend hours on end looking through those same pages, only to conclude that they are merely copies, bearing no trace of modifications to a given text.

The best experts on this extensive dossier are the above-mentioned Krupa and Madyda. The author of a two-volume monograph on Haupt made repeated attempts at retrieving from the literary section of the archive such materials, which would help with reconstructing the process of creating both individual short stories and bigger works. Moreover, his research and analyses resulted in new editions of Haupt’s artistic prose, essays and journalistic pieces, in which he also published different versions of variants of individual works as well as fragments which never became part of a bigger composition. From the perspective of the present research Madyda’s most important findings on Haupt’s work can be found in a long chapter Historia o Elektrze-Nietocie [A story about Electra-Nietota], which is the biggest link in the 2012 monograph. It is clear what great a challenge it is to try and impose order on Haupt’s brouillons, now in a state of peculiar disorderliness. At the same time, it is possible to see that persistent work on a selected fragment of Haupt’s heritage brings meaningful effects. The scholar studies the fates of subsequent editions of a short story/stories concerning one of the more important topics of Haupt’s prose: incessuous love. Multiple readings of a painstaking textual analysis bring about crucial information on Haupt’s writing customs and techniques. Of particular importance are Madyda’s remarks on the author’s reworkings of texts already printed, their blooming (in Niewiadomski’s words), his management of onomastics (particularly the names of his protagonists), deletions of some fragments, as well as inclusions of elements from other brouillons into a continuously written text.

I find two remarks of the scholar from Toruń to be the most important here. The first one concerns Haupt’s method, or perhaps even a mannerism, manifesting itself as multiple comebacks to his brouillons (i.e., the typescripts) of works, including those already published. In consequence, a phrase, a word, or a motif begin travelling in between individual works, sometimes in those same or slightly modified versions. This suggests a very important feature of Haupt’s literary craft – his permanent self-analytical work, artistic self-observation. Another consequence of his incessant returns to his brouillons is that:

[...] the writer was first working on individual fragments, and only later, after committing them to paper, did he come up with bigger compositions; in the archive of the Pierścień z papieru’s author there are many fragments like this, sometimes of high literary quality, which never became part of a bigger whole20.

The quotation above, as well as other analyses by Madyda, concerning the process of shaping the story of “Elektra-Nietota” are evidence that working on Haupt’s brouillons is an incredibly demanding and complicated task. The effort, however, is well worth undertaking, as it affords access to the deepest reservoirs of the material which builds a prose so fine that it has fascinated ever increasing numbers of scholars over the last few decades. It turns out that in

19It was emphasised by both Panas (225-226) and Niewiadomski (“Jeden zawsze jest ostrzem”, 191), who mentioned Haupt’s characteristic “great skill of absorbing writers’ details and variants”.

20Madyda, Haupt. Monografia or Zygmunt Haupt. Życie i twórczość literacka, 157. An example of such creative method was for the author the history of the short story Czuwanie i stypa [Vigil and wake], which consisted of initially autonomous links, which then evolved into the work Stypa [The wake], familiar from Pierścień z papieru [The paper ring].
the archival audits one can find the ore from which the paper ring was created – probably the most beautiful and profound of Haupt’s self-conscious metaphors, which became the title of both a short story and the only collection of his works published during the author’s lifetime.

How *Entropia* [*Entropy*] was created (on the ruins of a novel)

For some time now I have been dealing with *brouillons* from the literary section of Haupt’s archive, which were meant to become the basis for the so-called first volume of short stories. It was a near-finished text in 1946, but ultimately, the author never published it in his lifetime. Some of the materials meant for this cycle were modified and used in *Pierścień z papieru*, published in 1963. Haupt’s post-war collection was reconstructed and published by Madyda in two editions of Haupt’s short stories, the latter of which is compositionally optimal (*Baskijski diabel. Opowiadania i reportaże. [The Basque devil. Short stories and reports]*) , 2016. This was also achieved through incorporating Niewiadomski’s suggestions on how to read and publish Haupt, incorporated in his above-mentioned monograph. My object of interest is those Stanford papers which document Haupt’s work on a few short stories envisaged for the first collection: *Entropia*, *Ogród Jezuicki* [*The Jesuit Garden*], *Cyrk* [*Circus*], *Polonez na pożegnanie ojczyzny (Opowiadanie ułana Czuchnowskiego)* [*A polonaise on farewell to the fatherland (A story of Uhlan Czuchnowski)*], *Sur le pont d’Avignon* and *Ułan Czuchnowski (Opowiadanie dydaktyczne)* [*Uhlan Czuchnowski (A didactic story)*]. The current phase of my research allows me to comment on the text-creating process of the work opening the cycle, i.e., *Entropia*. I was able to trace at least a few dozen pages (including doublets) in Stanford collections, featuring various phases of works on this story:

- ZHP, Box 4, Folder 9 (here: a single handwritten page with two paragraphs from the middle of the text, i.e., the fifth separate link of the short story in the version first published in “Nowa Polska” [*New Poland*] in 1944, and then in the 2007 and 2016 editions of *Baskijski diabel*; this part begins from “In the evenings we would sit in the room downstairs…” , BD 26)

- ZHP Box 5, Folder 2 (two pages of typescript, a fair copy comprising nearly four paragraphs from the fourth link, starting with “It is a hot summer …”, BD 22)

- ZHP, Box 5, Folder 3 (two pages with different versions of the work’s title: “Think – entropy approaches zero” and “Entropy increases to zero”, with the former written in capital letters on a separate page, which seems to suggest that perhaps this was intended as the title for the entire collection of short stories. There are also a few dozen papers with fair copies or slightly redacted versions of almost the entire short story);

- ZHP, Box 5, Folder 4 (a fair copy of most of the story’s text)

- ZHP, Box 6, Folder 2 (a clean typescript of the third paragraph, which is the second link of the story, starting with “My country – from the valley of one river…”, BD 21; as well as a fair copy of two paragraphs from the sixth link, beginning from “When the first sunrays of spring… | , BD 28);

- ZHP, Box 6, Folder 3 (a page from the fair copy of the final paragraph of *Entropia*, as well as lightly corrected pages with fragments of the third link of the short story).
There are two reasons for providing such a detailed outline. First, it demonstrates the convoluted character of Haupt’s papers; in this particular case – a short story, which Haupt selected to be the initial one quite early on, and the one which was meant to be an important part in his envisaged novel. Secondly, I take it to be the most important part of the dossier on *Entropia*’s genesis, following the clues in the methodology of French genetic criticism. Its founders and practitioners, especially Jean Bellemin-Noël and Pierre-Marc de Biasi, were in favour of treating archival legacies of writers as sources for reconstructing the text-creation process of literary works. The basic rule was to assign autonomous status to individual preserved *brouillons* containing subsequent redactions of particular works. It is these (along with other documents, e.g., letters, diary entries, loose notes) that comprise a documentation of the genesis. The task of the researcher is then to provide structure and commentary, i.e., to establish the *avant-texte* of a given work. Equally important for the work on the creation of a given piece are publications, subjected to changes, whose effects were to be found in subsequent editions. In those cases, it is possible to talk about the genesis of prints. In the case of *Entropia* the scholar is also in possession of this element of the text-creation process, that is - the above-mentioned first print on the pages of London’s “Nowa Polska” (1994, issue 3, pp. 218-225), entitled *Entropia wzrasta do zera*.

I am thus in possession of a considerable set of *brouillon* versions as well as the first print of *Entropia*. At face value this seems to be an elusive wealth, because the majority of the pages containing the short story I am interested in (the pages dispersed over a few folders) contains fair copies or versions of the text hardly differing from the first print, and, following from this (with some useful editorial changes) from the 2016 edition. The reality, however, is different. This is because of three paragraphs: the first, the third and the twenty-second (the beginning of the already mentioned fifth link of the short story “‘In the evenings we would sit in the room downstairs...’, BD 26), whose *brouillons* and one more print shed light on very interesting phenomena. Their meaning, not just for Haupt’s work on this specific short story, but also because of the features of his entire “poetics and ethics” (to paraphrase a well-known title of Stanisław Barańczak’s essays), reconstructed in the first part of the article (mostly based on Niewiadomski’s proposal) is not insignificant. That is why I reach for genetic criticism, which assigns significance to all, even the smallest variants, by validating them and by individualizing the meaning and aesthetic shape of every attempt at writing a text.

Moreover, I reach for John Bryant’s theoretical proposal, i.e., the category of the fluid text, which focuses on the loci and importance of all changes to and interventions in even the smallest parts of the literary text. When I read the words of this American scholar of textuality and
literature (“fluid texts […] from the moment of their inception right to the moment of print are an incessant postponement of the literary work”\(^{25}\)), I cannot fail to think about Haupt, who made this postponement an inherent feature of his literary craft and of his literary vision in general. Of course, external circumstances played a part too (e.g., the status of an émigré writer and the need to focus on writing as a source of income), but it does not change the fact that the author of *Entropia* would not deem a work ready to be released out to the world, if it had not been subjected to a long process of refinement. Yet another of Bryant’s primary assumptions is relevant to Haupt’s writing: “a fluid text is any literary work that exists in more than one version”, whereas its fluidity is a consequence of the very act of writing, i.e., something “fundamentally an arbitrary hence unstable hence variable approximation of thought”\(^{26}\). Thus, when looking through tens of pages featuring subsequent variants of *Entropia*, copied almost with no modifications whatsoever, then one is hypersensitive to any, even the smallest change, and when one combines them all, it is possible to see meaning in Bryant’s postulated scholarly activity, which he calls “revision narratives”\(^{27}\), and the value in seemingly insignificant modifications by Haupt himself.

I now move to the analysis of two places of significant change occurring in subsequent revisions of the initial part of the short story *Entropia*. One must begin with the first paragraph. Figure 1. reproduces a page from the *brouillon* with the first words of the short story, whereas

\[^{25}\text{Bryant, 38.}\]
\[^{26}\text{Bryant, 23.}\]
\[^{27}\text{Bryant, 46.}\]
fig. 2 below contains its transliteration, in which the red ink and italics indicate handwritten modifications of an earlier typescript.

While analysing the above-reproduced page I ask myself: what if the initial paragraph of the short story, which was meant to open the first collection of Haupt’s prose and which was one of the first press releases\(^\text{28}\), representative of the output of a mature artist and proof of the emergence of a multiaspectual style; what, I ask, would happen if at the beginning of the work we now know as *Entropia* the writer had left the following paragraph?

I quote here again deleted words or entire phrases and suggestions of changes (indicated in italics), and I keep wondering what the effect of such modified prologue to *Entropia* would be.

– entropy increases to zero – entropy *aims* for zero
– various temperatures strive to balance – *various warmths* strive to balance *their temperatures*
– the phenomenon of involusion occurs everywhere – the phenomenon occurs everywhere *in nature*
– voltages want to load off – *electric potentials* strive for balance
– mixed colours come out as grey – mixed colours of the *prism* result in white
– they create a great shoal – they *create a uniform convex surface*
– In the area of human issues such greying and shoals will result in a slow process of unification and standardisation – In the area of human issues such greying and shoals *are the result of a slow process of unification and normalization*
– they slowly turn us slowly into millions and billions of people identically in awe of identical ideas – they slowly turn us into *people*, who in their millions and billions are identically in awe of *normalized ideas*

The pencil which introduced these changes was likely not held by Haupt’s hand. The shapes of letters are different, as is the manner of signalling new versions – it differs from what we see in the manuscripts or typescripts which are known to have been prepared by the author himself. Given that ensign Haupt was working on *Entropia* when he was in the British Isles and that Antoni Słonimski accepted his work for publication in the third issue of the monthly “Nowa Polska” in 1944, as well as given that we must take the version of the work in this published form to be the final one (except for the title which kept undergoing transformations), one might put forward a hypothesis that maybe the writer asked some compatriot who was gifted or educated in sciences to make revisions to a paragraph which was so important for him. The interventions of a hypothetical editor let us see how powerful, how unique stamp of Haupt’s stylistic machinery is, how infallible and precise his nearly poetic shape of sentences is. So, if the first story of Haupt’s envisaged bigger whole just like the pencil-holding advocate of precision had wanted everything would be, to quote from the author of revisions – “normalized”. It is no accident that this word was twice suggested as a possible variant. That would have left the paragraph without this particular rhythm, regulated by Haupt with inversions and generous enumerations, which abound in specialist terminology, here – stemming from physics, geography and sociology, which remain somehow organically embedded in his artistic prose. One might perhaps risk the statement that the author’s work on this fragment of *Entropia* was an attempt to resist “the slow process of unification and standardization”, to abandon the sphere of “matrix ideas”, whose arrival seems inevitable in the world surrounding the writer and his narrator. What is at stake here is a life and creation free from a matrix, a template of other people’s ideas and from everyday life, more and more dominated by war and technology.

Based on extant materials such as the *dossier for Entropia* it is impossible to determine whether the author really started with the paragraph considered above. That is probably the reason why one needs to suspend forever the hypothesis that the idea for *Entropia* came earlier, at the very beginning of the 20th c., when Haupt wrote a short article entitled „Bateria śmierci” 1-go Pułku Artylerii Motorowej. W święto pulku [„Battery of death” of the First Regiment of Motor Artillery. On the day of the Regiment] (ZR 201–203) and published it in “Polska Walcząca” [“Fighting Poland”] in 1941 (issue 40, p. 5). Madyda wrote that it

 [...] is reminiscent of historical events, whose anniversary was made into a regiment holiday – this event was the battle of Dytiatyn in the Podolia region, fought against the Red Army on September 16th, 1920. The location of this event gave Haupt free rein to release his authorial proclivities, because of which he did not impose on his work a strictly informative/battle-like character, but he also included in it a paean to the scenery of his native Podolia region, which is so much more characteristic that this praise of the region was placed at the very beginning of the
text. Even more significant is the fact that the fragment was repeated in the short story *Entropy increases to zero* (1944).  

First, one needs to add that this Podolia paragraph from “Bateria śmierci…” made it to the first print of *Entropia* in a modified version (the same one can be found in *Baskijski diabel*, 2016). The modification is minimal, but its meaning is fundamental. Suffice it to consider the illustrations below. The one featuring as Fig. 3 one can see the earlier version, identical to the one in “Polska Walcząca”. The one from Fig. 4, in turn, contains the final version of the text.

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At face value, the changes are insignificant. In the 1944 version instead of Podolia one reads “my country”, with added fragments concerning a tax clerk, a smith, a ropemaker, a farm manager, a girl in the field, a poacher and a Jewish driver.

My country – from one river valley to another, from one ravine to another, from Miodobory and Pantalicha to the ragged sierra of the Carpathia – my country in the juicy summer, when the greenness of tree domes competes with the greenness of the meadows, and the silver of the waves of rye fields reflects the sky, in the red autumn, when in All Saints’ Eve cemeteries along the horizon are alight like fire alarms, in matt-white winter nights, when the blizzard picks up from snowdrifts the standard of snowstorm, a roaring triumph over human helplessness, and the naked tree beams hit across the profane sky, in the days of early spring, when the most mystical, intoxicating scent drifts above mud pools, my country of plants beneficial for people and resting at their feet and extending over their heads like a priceless background, the country of naïve and simple people, from an 11-th category tax collector, a smith, a town ropemaker, an asthmatic farm manager, a police-
man, hunched on his horse-drawn vehicle, a girl with fair strands of hair on her back, when she leans over while digging out potatoes, a poacher encountered in the forest clearing, an unshaven Jewish bus driver – my country is a country of the four seasons (BD 21-22).

I think these modifications are extremely important. The first one, replacing the Podolia with “my country”, is an example of a constant tendency in Haupt’s literary work. It is proven by genetic analysis of paragraphs of the short story Balon, where Panas discerns the author’s intention to move towards “narrative universalization”30. This change has far-reaching consequences, because – as one which opens the short story designed as the first link in the entire collection – it delineates the boundaries of a world which will be a point of reference for the ensuing texts. Many of these stories will take place beyond the boundaries of Poland, but their relation to the literary representation of the central place will always be a measure of their geopoetic potential. Perhaps this is the reason why Haupt needed the characters of inhabitants, absent from an earlier version of the work. Their constellation defines the irreducible values of “my country”, in which the main parts are played by plants, animals, and simple citizens, attached to the land, and yet absolutely free and fulfilled. Moreover, in his creation of the portraits of “naïve and simple” ones he almost postures them like a painter would, which, combined with the finesse and precision in the description of colour and the light of the landscape of “my country” directs the reader’s attention to the artist, portrait and landscape painter, hidden behind all that. The writer.

The question returns: was this fragment already present in the Podolia version and the entropy fragment was added later, or did Haupt write the bit on entropy independently of the 1941 fragment and only then decided to pick up the paragraph from “Bateria śmierci...” and, having done that, he reworked it with the entire passage on entropy on hand. I think both are equally possible, and the archival material does not help decide which order was the original one. What matters is that only in Entropia was he able to look at his homeland from a distance, which allowed him to transform the experience of his foundational place, as it were, into artistic material. In the early 1940s Haupt-the writer we know from his best short stories was born. These stories cannot be imagined without a strong topographic element, which is both a token of representation and a prism through which all the writer’s beliefs have to pass.

This modest contribution to (I hope) future works on Haupt’s text-creative process I would like to point to a fundamental challenge. I believe that considerations on the genetics and fluidity of texts written by the author of Jeździec bez głowy [The headless rider] must always navigate the micro and macro scales. That is, one must trace all changes implemented to even the smallest elements of the works, whose genetic process is being scrutinized. One should look at the role of these modifications in the context of an individual text. At the same time, it will also be necessary to consider all individual transformations from the perspective of a larger whole.

30Panas, 218.
Endless writing

The counterintuitive transition between the first and subsequent two paragraphs of Entropia, especially between the initial and third paragraphs, can be explained and reaffirmed by Niewiadomski’s and Panas’ observations. The former, in his article about the generic non-transparency of Haupt’s prose, emphasizes that the writer constantly applies “the ‘testing’ mode by creating essay-like sketches, initial stages of short stories which almost always become stories about the adventures of his own emotions and mind”31. Panas in turn, as an aside to the analysis of the process of creation of the short story Balon, writes about “hidden or non-obvious relationships between different texts” and he presents Haupt as a “montage artist, operating textual fragments as if they were ready or almost-ready elements”32. Between 1941 and 1946, when Haupt was working on Entropia and other fragments, initially intended for a novel, he had a number of these fragments published in press. They were meant to be included in a volume of short stories. One can notice two contrasting images of the writer. The first one is a disorderly artist, almost crushed underneath the weight of his own brouillons, amongst which he tries to meander without so much as a plan, without following any predetermined route. But right by his side there is the artist focused on the object of his reminiscences and studies, perfectly aware of what he is looking for and every now and then encountering in his paper ore, an element, a precious stone, as it were, with which he likes to adorn his paper ring.

One may thus interpret Haupt’s archive as a living space and assign it agency in the process of the writer’s artistic development. It is evidence of a writing which does not solve anything33, but one which is endless.

translated by Justyna Rogos-Hebda

31Niewiadomski, „Ja, Zygmunt z Roksolanii…”, 102.
32Panas, 228. Let me add here also Madyda’s postulate, from his study of Electra-Nietota: „Before setting down to writing the author had in his head an almost finished text of the work, the only artistic problem was composition”, Madyda, Haupt. Monografia, 156.
33Niewiadomski, „Ja, Zygmunt z Roksolanii…”, 111.
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KEYWORDS

LITERARY ARCHIVE

Zygmunt Haupt

textual genetics

ABSTRACT:
The article is an attempt to analyse the process of textual creation in Zygmunt Haupt’s short story Entropia. To that end, brouillons in the archives of Stanford University special collections, containing consecutive versions of the work have been consulted. The analytical background applied here relies on observations of scholars who emphasise the complexity of literary techniques applied by the author of Lutnia, whose focus was to try and demonstrate the complicated status of the lyrical I in the modern world. The present author tries to demonstrate that Haupt’s brouillons are an integral, living part of his writing, in which the fight for demonstrating newly discovered values emerging from the relationship between man and place is never complete.
Note on the Author:
In his letter to Jerzy Stempowski, who wrote a well-known essay on young Konrad Korzeniowski’s baggage\(^1\) from the fatherland, Zygmunt Haupt discusses a particularly interesting feature he noticed in the works of the author of *Lord Jim*:

I would like to return to the issue you mentioned, namely the importance of the writer’s fatherland, especially when it is also a country of their youth. I find it peculiar that this hardly features in Conrad-Korzeniowski; how few (if any at all) traces of his (first 17 years of) life in Ukraine or Cracow one can discern in his works. What has always interested me in Conrad-Korzeniowski is

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\(^1\) Paweł Hostowiec (actually, Jerzy Stempowski), *Bagaż z Kalinówki* [Baggage from Kalinówka], in: Conrad żywy [The living Conrad], ed. by Wit Tarnawski (Londyn: B. Świderski, 1957), 87–91. See also Paweł Dzianisz, *Ukraina Conrada* [Conrad’s Ukraine] (Pelplin: Bernardinum, 1999).
the consistency with which he distanced himself from his former life, which he achieved not only by resorting to the language of a different nation, but also by turning to the themes of sea and ships, with all of the accompanying exoticity and remoteness of this way of life, including shipping techniques, issues of navigation or the folklore of life on deck. Polish translators, especially Aniela Zagórska, must have struggled with the technicalities of sea-related terminology, resulting in Polish bukszpryty (for ‘bowsprits’), bezanmaszty (for ‘mizzenmasts’), foki (for ‘foresails’), logi (for ‘logbooks’), etc., all of which exoticise his novels even further. Contrariwise, one will not find in his works any mention of horse-drawn vehicles, whips or britzkas, in which he had been driven around in his childhood in Ukraine, and during his later exile with his family, or later still in Cracow. None of that remained. (Incidentally, I was amused by Gombrowicz’s description of his travel by boat, in which this native of Sandomierz compared the rudder to britzka wheels and the masts – to drawbars!).

When I think about Conrad’s writing, I am struck by one more paradox. In an anecdote brought up by his biographers the young Conrad points to blank spots on the then map of Africa and decides that one day he will visit these places. Nowadays those same spots from “the heart of darkness” in Africa are covered by tarmac and feature cinemas and TEXACO petrol stations. Paradoxically, we find blank spots in places where Conrad-Korzeniowski was born.

It is not hard to see that Haupt indirectly characterizes his own writing method, its crucial element being a deliberate excess of “traces of life” from his native Ukraine. A reader of Joseph Conrad, Haupt tests the tightness of his own “distancing from his former life” in his works; he observes the poetics of concealment and revelation as well as the relationship between the “blank spot” and the “heart of darkness”, present in his prose – the relationship between memory and denial.

The shadows

References to Conrad in Haupt’s works are rarely explicit or obvious. One can only get a glimpse of these in a 1937 short story, Admiral Gaspar Hojeda [Admiral Gaspar Hojeda], which concerns the death of the rebel Vivan, sailing to the Caribbean on a Portuguese ship. The nature and purpose of his rebellion are never revealed, but the more important aspect of the story is the relationship between martyrdom on the one hand and faithfulness and courage on the other, whereas the persecutors’ cruelty, despite being lethal, does not affect spiritually the one who is persecuted. Even after his death he is permanently present in the captain’s consciousness and still participates in the ship’s mission. This motif is reminiscent of the presentation featured in numerous elegiac texts published after Conrad’s death, especially starting with the well-known issue 33 of “Wiadomości Literackie” journal [“Literary News”] in 1924. Stanisław Młodożeniec, Antoni Słonimski, Marian Piechal, Roman Koloniecki are


3 Haupt’s short story might be an original example of anniversary literature, but it is probably a mere coincidence that the eightieth anniversary of Conrad’s death occurred in 1937.
4 See also W imię Conrada. Joseph Conrad w poezji polskiej [In the name of Conrad. Joseph Conrad in Polish poetry], edited by Tadeusz Skutnik (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1977).
only a few authors whose poems in the interwar period mentioned the posthumous presence of the shadow of captain Korzeniowski onboard ships.

In the Polish reception the author of *Lord Jim* was strongly linked to the legend of freedom and rebellion. It was in this spirit that Stefan Żeromski explained young Conrad’s decision to leave his country:

> As a seventeen-year-old boy he ran away from his fatherland, from a city most deeply buried in the past, routine and fear of public thought. He threw himself onto foreign ships and all on his own went to foreign seas, he became a sailor, a deckhand, an officer and finally – the captain of a ship.

What Żeromski characterizes as a jump into foreignness can be linked to “distancing oneself from one’s former life”, mentioned by Haupt.

Initially, the death of a rebel in *Admirał Gaspar Hojeda* does not seem to impact the course of the cruise: “Nothing changed in the fleet. The waves kept spitting upon ship decks, mast tops still covered the sky with a convoluted text, blocks kept creaking and watches were still ringing the time in a deadpan manner”. 6 However, the titular character is alarmed by the continuous presence of the man whose death he is guilty of. The fragmentary plot devised by Haupt is reminiscent of Conrad’s *Shadow-Line*. In Conrad’s short story the ghost of the former commander of the ship seems to be in a constant fight with his young successor, arresting his will, immobilizing the ship, and running the crew towards death. Both writers depict this misery of the captains and the active presence of the dead amongst the living against the backdrop of the solidarity of the crew, who comprise a community of people of the sea. Haupt writes:

> The ship is family; the dispersed fleet is a house. Gunsmiths, riggers, carpenters, arcabuceros, and those to whom the horizon from the top of the stars on the mast top was entrusted, and coppersmiths, watchkeepers and officers with their seniority over regular sailors, and chaplains and monks saying their prayers, they all secretly repeated to themselves that at night Vivan boards the ship from the sea, followed by streams of water and seaweeds, and moves towards admiral’s quarters. Watchkeepers huddle the shrouds and the sentry, guarding the admiral’s cabin, covers his face with a halberd.

Vivan puts his seawater swollen hands on maps, cut across with compass roses, beautifully decorated with dolphins and griffins and grins at the admiral, obscuring the west from him...

In order to reach his destination, Admiral Hojeda, not unlike the young captain in *The Shadow-line*, must release himself from the overwhelming influence of the dead, who takes vengeance for his suffering. Just like in Conrad’s story, Haupt’s sailors must overcome the silence

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of the sea because there is no riding it out. One more difficult experience of the community of sailors, mentioned by both authors, is infectious disease. The tough orders of the commanders in both stories help the crews overcome the curse and get moving. Of course, Haupt is not as direct as Conrad. If, contrary to the author’s recommendations, one classifies *The Shadow-line* as a ghost story, then the ghost of the suicidal captain represents all the dark, destructive forces which threaten both the community and individuals. The young captain, who combines elements of the author’s biography, stands on the side of life, solidarity, responsibility, and faithfulness to professional and human obligations. In *Admirał Gaspar Hojeda*, however, the division of roles is not that clear: the ghost of the murdered rebel proves to be the antagonist of the crew who want to reach the ship’s destination, whilst the determination and stringency of the cruel captain might well (the plot is interrupted before the end of the journey) take the fleet to its final port. If we take *The Shadow-line* to be the prototype of Haupt’s short story, then the author creates a shorthand, a condensation and complication of the plot.

The cyclone and the typhoon

Haupt’s short story-reportage (probably the best term for this 1948 literary hybrid) *Cyklon* [*The cyclone*] begins as a criticism of modernity, shockingly confident in its scientifically supported opinions, which create a semblance of mastery of the always complicated, chaotic matter of the world:

This modernity is drunk on the suddenly achieved ability of the human brain to arrange, systematize the observed phenomena, and striking the coin of words, which acquire unshaken and enchanting meanings, at the cost of reality. Along with the old art of generalization and abstraction and with the logic of deduction, we have created a separate world within the world, a fool’s paradise, as the English say (Bd 714) 8.

Such fool’s paradise seems to be what Conrad’s captain MacWhirr from the “Nan-Shan” steamship sees in a book on seamanship, with its learned chapter on storms. He is overwhelmed by his opposition to generalisations and certainty of the uselessness of theories the minute he wants to translate his readings into specific situations he and his ship experienced: “All these rules for dodging breezes and circumventing the winds of heaven, Mr. Jukes, seem to me the maddest thing, when you come to look at it sensibly” 9.

On discovering this, shall we say, irrationality of rationality, the captain would rather rely on the detail, remember the small things, without necessarily combining them by means of generalisations. Haupt, in turn, notices in his *Cyklon*:

7 “I believe that if I attempted to put the strain of the Supernatural on it it would fail deplorably and exhibit an unlovely gap.” (Joseph Conrad, Author’s note, in: *The Shadow-Line*, 1917). It is worth remembering, however, that Conrad is often purposely misleading in his notes. [Translator’s note: all quotations from Conrad’s works are from Project Gutenberg website, available at www.gutenberg.org]


We are impoverished by deduction. Deduction - a logical thread which determines our future and reduces it to boredom. We are the functions of various data, enclosing our lives from the first moment of awareness till the hour of agony. We have turned life into a machine for concluding; a nomographic circus; we are like a cipher on a slide rule (Bd 714).

Unwilling to accept the usefulness of such a method, the impatient MacWhirr interrupts his reading because – as Herling-Grudziński added in his 1945 imaginary interview with the protagonist of the Typhoon – “after all, my friend, there are things about which the wisest books have nothing to say”\textsuperscript{10}.

Jokingly, Haupt questions the belief that relying on scientific data, theories and predictions “will help us survive” (Bd 714). Conrad writes about the same thing (also making fun of his protagonist) in the Typhoon. After all, the “Nan-Shan” survived the storm despite (or maybe because of?) renouncing theory.

By questioning the power of abstract concepts, without which it is supposedly impossible to describe the world, Haupt illustrates the phenomenon of “the bankruptcy of the most ingrained notions” (Bd 714) with the example of our treatment of time. He points out that there are peoples who do not have words to denote “something that «was» or something that «will be»”. Thus, unexpectedly, the author notices, this “simultaneity”, which is irrational and primitive, is discovered in the Western world by Bergson and Freud. This primary focus on the here and now is combined in Conrad’s captain MacWhirr with his reticence, dislike of metaphors and generalisations:

> With a temperament neither loquacious nor taciturn he found very little occasion to talk. There were matters of duty, of course—directions, orders, and so on; but the past being to his mind done with, and the future not there yet, the more general actualities of the day required no comment—because facts can speak for themselves with overwhelming precision\textsuperscript{11}.

According to Haupt, the imminent danger, whose name (“used for metaphors and parabolas”, Bd 715) and progress are known, still surprises us with its scale and extraordinariness. Conrad adds that even one’s life experience may prove futile:

> Observing the steady fall of the barometer, Captain MacWhirr thought, “There’s some dirty weather knocking about.” This is precisely what he thought. He had had an experience of moderately dirty weather—the term dirty as applied to the weather implying only moderate discomfort to the seaman. Had he been informed by an indisputable authority that the end of the world was to be finally accomplished by a catastrophic disturbance of the atmosphere, he would have assimilated


\textsuperscript{11}Conrad, Typhoon.
the information under the simple idea of dirty weather, and no other, because he had no experience of cataclysms, and belief does not necessarily imply comprehension12.

Both authors preface these reservations with descriptions of a catastrophe, which disrupts the orderly, bookish, “statistical, demographic, mapped, bulletined” (Bd 718) world. Any sense of security, as they both emphasise, is always false and dangerous. Haupt writes about “damn security”, characterizing it metonymically:

[...] a sense of security, a scheme, a drill, a small-town warmth or, if you will, urban bohemia, we have seen it all, we have yawned up to the cracking sound in our ears over the things we desired; we are already spent and polished, like a change penny, like a well-trodden step of stairs, like a disease-riddled mirror. The sky will not smile back at us anymore, the hot blood of shame or anger or happiness will not rise to our faces, the lark of surprise will not sing in our throats, we are in no danger of choking on the world, which we put in our mouth by mistake and by defiance (Bd 719).

The titular cyclone is a time of confrontation between a falsely lulling knowledge with the forever unexpected specificity of life. The floor of the house where the author of the reportage (or the narrator in the short story) and his son shelter (or, rather, where they put themselves in danger), becomes “the captain’s bridge” and – like in Conrad’s Typhoon - a place of confrontation between the contents of “books about elements, storms, ships, tempests. Let it come true for once and show us what it really is like” (Bd 721). Clearly, Haupt is piling up the senses: the literariness of the Typhoon, a story of the illusion of “storm theories”, also needs to be verified against an element. The more imminent the element is, the clearer allusions to Conrad’s works become:

[...] we remember that we owe to ourselves faithfulness and trust that when we are here, when we have rested our foot on the shaky floor, excuse me! board of the ship, the sweetness of “virtue” and the balsamic taste of victory over itself (Bd 721).

This phrase evokes faithfulness as a key issue in the Polish reception of Conrad, and the vision of the communal fate of the ship’s crew, whereas the word “victory”, may recall one of Conrad’s novels. Of course, Haupt does not present Conrad as a master of fighting against all odds. The above quoted remark is followed by the following conclusion: “We’re only fantasizing here” (Bd 721). But this fantasizing, as the writer implies, is preferable to trusting scientific theories because, even though it is just as fallible, it is definitely more beautiful.

The house

Haupt begins his 1959 short story Z kroniki o latającym domu [Chronicle concerning a flying house] from the relationship between exoticism and familiarity, which was the topic of his letter to Stempowski. In that letter he was emphasising the radical nature of the choice made by Korzeniowski in his youth, now he is reducing the distance between the two concepts: “So

12Conrad, Typhoon.
this is exoticism? So that’s what it is? Seems like something far away and yet not too much, unsurprisingly” (Bd 415). When this formula of exoticism is applied to Conrad’s works, its landscapes, typically distant and different from the European ones, will prove to be a scenery which does not scream difference or uniqueness; rather, one which is close and humane in its basic dimension. In Haupt’s short story it is the seaside, considered from the perspective of the banal details: the sand, a shell, a stick, an old sneaker, which surprises with its ordinariness. “So that’s what it is? Water, sand, trash on the sand, the sky. It’s here already? It’s so unsurprising, after all” (Bd 415) – the narrator concludes. One is tempted to add that Conrad’s faraway places on different continents are not surprising either and they are not the locus of the reader’s attention; rather they constitute background for human tragedies. Perhaps one of the aspects of “a single-minded attempt to render the highest kind of justice to the visible universe” by Conrad is to present the exotic landscapes in such a manner that they do not captivate the reader with their novelty, otherness, but showcase some rudimentary elements, similar in every part of the world, yet capable of establishing new structures. Against this background, both new and domesticated, Haupt describes a house, which is “uprooted from its foundations by a hurricane, desolate” (Bd 415). The edifice is hardly reminiscent of its former glory, there is nothing durable or robust about it; it is deformed and looks as if it were viewed through a fun-house mirror: “The frames of the entire edifice are twisted and skewed to one side” (Bd 415). The novella then turns to a detailed description of the “life” and death of the house, a triumph of nature over man’s work, his aspirations, dreams, in a sense – over human life. The living, changeable shapes of plants gradually become victorious: they stifle the shape envisaged by and for the man. Observing the effects of this process leads the narrator to acknowledge the irony inherent in the process of building a house; an act traditionally perceived as the central, elemental ingredient of culture:

This ruin at the seaside amongst the shadows of trees seems to be taunting human disappointment. As if the house was supposed to be a shelter, it was supposed to focus the thoughts and dreams of those who were far away, its so-called noble walls were supposed to host a sense of ultimate security, one’s thought was supposed to return to it as a matter of course. And now? It is gritting its teeth and gums in a mockery of human trust. Where do we go now, what do we trust, when our own house, roof, hood, shadow, warmth and protection turn against ourselves.” (Bd 416)

The ruin is not a memory of a life lived in the past, but a manifestation of death and a mockery of human strife for stability and security. Thus, this view does not trigger sentimental memories or dreams, but helps find an expression for and measure of one’s own failures: “finally, I fixed my mobile, restless misery to its white walls” (Bd 416).

This reading of the literary image evokes connotations with a house, which is the protagonist of Conrad’s first novel: *Almayer’s Folly*. A dilapidated structure made its builder and only inhabitant experience with the greatest intensity the crash of his ambitions, investments, plans and dreams. The house, designed as incontrovertible proof of its owner’s financial and
personal luck, had become an abandoned ruin before anybody managed to really live in it. The old house, in turn (from which Almayer intended to move to the “Folly”) is the place of misery for its only tenant, because it is full of traces of Nina – the beloved daughter who abandoned her father, making him realise the futility of all the actions he undertook with her in mind:

All those things had cost a lot of money at the time. The desk, the paper, the torn books, and the broken shelves, all under a thick coat of dust. The very dust and bones of a dead and gone business. He looked at all these things, all that was left after so many years of work, of strife, of weariness, of discouragement, conquered so many times.

Poetic ruin from Haupt’s short story, monstrous and depressing as it is, in a sense connects the ideas inscribed in images and histories of houses from Conrad’s novel. Both writers conclude their stories with the house’s destruction. In Almayer’s Folly after his daughter’s escape, the old father sets fire to the house in order to destroy “every vestige of Nina’s existence”, hoping it will help him forget. After this attempt at destroying the past he moves to a new house; in other words – he attempts to destroy the past, at the same time moving into a ruin of the future:

He took possession of the new ruin, and in the undying folly of his heart set himself to wait in anxiety and pain for that forgetfulness which was so slow to come. [...] He wanted to live only long enough to be able to forget, and the tenacity of his memory filled him with dread and horror of death; for should it come before he could accomplish the purpose of his life he would have to remember for ever!

The issue of memory is usually related to the image of a house but in Conrad and Haupt this relationship is characterized by a particular kind of pessimism. For Haupt the private is linked to the common because the dilapidated house evokes memories of the ravaged fatherland and images of a brutally interrupted, cheerful childhood. Conrad’s novel, of course lacks the context of personal and common tragedy caused by wartime historic processes. This view, however, can be challenged by a reading of Z kroniki o latającym domu. It is probably more certain that the writer “separating himself from his former life” concealed in the motif of folly his own memory of the house/ fatherland, a problematic and denied remembrance.

The conclusion of Haupt’s story is extremely dramatic. The author’s answer to the question of what to do with a ruin of a house (as well as with private memory and awareness of the fates of a community destroyed by history), is, first, the image of saving the crumbling structure, working on turning the house into “protection from the elements” again, as well as on “righting the wrongs, dismissing evil, defeating the accompanying abandonment and homelessness” (Bd 421). And if that is not accomplished, then the other solution is the annihilation of the house, a brutal destruction of everything “so as to leave no trace behind” (Bd 421). Both

15Joseph Conrad, Almayer’s Folly, 1895.
16Conrad, Almayer’s Folly.
17Conrad, Almayer’s Folly.
Conrad, in the epic format, and Haupt, through his poetics of a fragment, present the same desperate (and ineffective?) gesture of rejecting memories.

On layers of memory and Sienkiewicz

The essay Dzisiaj, przedwczoraj, wczoraj, jutro [Today, the day before yesterday, yesterday, tomorrow], published in in 1975 in the “Kultura” journal is a brief series of images of suffering and cruelty. The point of departure for the first, one-page long, fragment, is a short press note, which combines the pain of an animal, the ruthlessness inherent in the custom of disposing of unproductive creatures, the absurdity of formal regulations, an allusion - literary (to a fragment from Crime and punishment) and biographical (to the Turin episode from Nietzsche’s life, followed by the final bout of his illness). The geographic-historic detail seems equally important for what follows in the story: the car accident, reported on in a paper, happened in the “Podbeskidzie portion of the Wild Fields”, where “thirty years before abandoned weapons could be found everywhere, so that anybody was able to pick them up and with no problem whatsoever plant a bullet, no, not in a horse! a man!” (ZR 132). A banal column in a local newspaper invokes musings on a place whose history features a particular accumulation of evil, initiated “the day before the day before yesterday”, i.e., in 1648. It is that moment in time which features in the other text, mentioned by the author - a book by “Natan Hannover, son of Moses Hannover Ashkenazy of Niemirów” (ZR 132). Its depictions of cruelty from the Khmelnytsky Uprising period are combined by Haupt with the recently concluded Thirty Years’ War. Then he reminds the reader about the first instalment of Sienkiewicz’s historic cycle, and then a string of associations leads him to Conrad. The latter is not mentioned by name, but the reader who knows the author’s canon will have little trouble identifying him:

One wonders about the episode which seems to have been wholly transferred from Ukraine to the novel by the writer of Ukrainian origins, who went out into the world, fascinated by the pyramids of sails, distant mirages of islands, the mirrors of seas and oceans, and in his adulthood adopted foreign speech so as to engage in writing stories about that other world, clad in fogs, swung by typhoons and stopped dead in the immobility of sea silences; all that in order to show others the universal virtues of honour and faithfulness. But how did he manage, surprisingly, to bring to life in his Nostromo, the character of some Jewish martyr? It was señor Hirsch, a dealer in hides from Sulaco, suffering at the hands of the universal prototype of inhumanity. Is it possible that the author internalized memories and legends from his distant fatherland, which he had heard in cottages, fourplexes, at fairs, entrances to Orthodox churches, or stories told by a nanny? (ZR 133)

It is worth noticing that by emphasizing the universality of “virtues of honour and faithfulness”, present in Conrad’s works, Haupt joins the most important movement in Polish reception of Conrad. Out of an impressive novelistic historical panorama, in which the English writer represented the turbulent history of a fictitious republic, the author of the essay chose an episode doubly exotic, in a manner of speaking, because the presence of a Jewish trader in the landscape of South America is nothing if not surprising, as he would be more fitting in Haupt’s and Sienkiewicz’s Podolia. One might repeat the formula “It seems far away, but not too much, surprisingly”. Haupt took from *Nostromo* a scene of Hisrch’s torture, partly reminiscent of the times of the Khmelnytzky Uprising. He achieved two effects thanks to this. First of all, he added plausibility to the issue raised on numerous occasions by Conrad specialists – the inspiring influence of *Ogniem i mieczem* [With fire and sword] on this novel, taking place in a distant reality. Secondly, following Haupt’s poetics of the fragment, even taken out of the context of the entirety of the work, the recalled episode of *Nostromo* is extremely impactful. This is true regardless of the reader’s familiarity with the background of the multilayered plot. Conrad does not shy away from any detail of torture, he does not curtail descriptions to spare the readers – he is making them accompany Hirsch in every minute of his suffering, also when “He screamed with uplifted eyebrows and a wide-open mouth—incredibly wide, black, enormous, full of teeth – comical”. In this suffering Haupt links the distant and fictitious Costaguana to a specific detail in Ukraine’s history.

Darkness and likeness

The connection between the essay *Z Roksolanii* [From Roxolania] (also published in 1975) and *Heart of Darkness* is remarkable. Haupt reviews a book by Colin M. Turnbull *The Mountain People*, focusing on those same processes, which Conrad introduced earlier in his most famous short story: degradation, hopelessness of life, the dying out of peoples suddenly removed from the traditional rules of life. Social life, subservient to a change this unstoppable and destructive, makes it easy to impose order of the kind enforced by Kurtz, where – to use a quote from Haupt’s essay – “cruelty replaced love…” (ZR 139). Both writers accept the possibility that examples of African peoples are equally upsetting and fascinating not so much because they are different from the “civilized” world, but – on the contrary – because they are so similar to it. Conrad’s Marlow sees it clearly, whereas Haupt encourages the reader to accept the assumption that ...

we have internalized some old, outdated views, inhibitions, superstitions, memories. So why not deceive ourselves and also say of others that one can ascribe meaning even to their apathy and silence. Then, listening to the quietness of the dying Ik people we would hear in their silence a message from their own psalmist: “If I forget you … if I do not consider my highest joy…” (ZR 140)

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This exercise, quite safe and, in a way, abstract, as one concerning a geographically and mentally distant people, is instantly changed by Haupt into a difficult, acute experience, because it now concerns the most proximate tradition. The writer wonders about the fate of the Ukrainian equivalent of “the Ik people”. From underneath a layer of written, official history and literary myth of this part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth one can infer the details of the lives of generations of simple Ruthenians, forcibly enrolled in the army and engaged in “forced labor on other people’s lands” (ZR 142). Instead of idyllic, fairy-tale images (like the one’s from Zimorowic’s Roksolanki) Haupt provides scenes illustrating crassness, brutality and cruelty. Sometimes, in order to read the past and its relationship to modernity, instead of a soft light one needs to let the darkness in – as Haupt seems to be indicating.

* Haupt helps the reader of Conrad see more clearly the poetics and symbolism of Lord Jim’s author’s prose, as well as find out about its deeply personal character, related to the “baggage of Kalinówka”, about which Stempowski wrote. As it turns out, that baggage could also contain dark and difficult imagery. When one describes the ways in which Haupt utilises Conrad’s plots and ideas, it is easier to understand the method of shorthand used by the author of Pierścień z papieru [The paper ring], his concentration of meanings, combining the personal with the universal and the deadly serious with the pathetically ridiculous.

translated by Justyna Rogos-Hebda
References


Keywords | Abstract | Note on the Author
KEYWORDS

Zygmunt Haupt

ruin

memory

Joseph Conrad

ABSTRACT:
Although Conrad-inspired motifs are not frequent in Zygmunt Haupt’s prose, they do play and important role. Thanks to discovering similarities and differences they serve the author of _Pierścień z papieru_ to describe his own writing method. As a reader of Conrad he is interested in the poetics of concealment and revelation as well as the relationship between memory and denial. He discovers the poeticism and symbolism of this creation and its personal character, related to the experiences of childhood and dark memories of the fatherland. By recognizing the ways in which Haupt utilizes Conrad’s plots and ideas, it is possible to understand better his principle of shorthand, concentration of meanings, combining the usual with the exotic, the lyrical with the tragic, the personal with the universal, the serious with the pathetic.
Note on the Author:

destruction

intertextuality

HOUSE

elements
“Manuscripts don’t burn:”
The reconstruction of the text of Zygmunt Haupt’s short story
Zołota hramota

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Zołota hramota [The Golden Writ] was written in 1972. Jerzy Giedroyc received his copy later that year in November, but unlike many other Zygmunt Haupt’s short stories, including Trzy [Three], written in 1970, and Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Wełnowskiego [Report on Wełnowski’s absence], written in 1971, Zołota hramota was not rated highly by the editor and ended up in the archive of “Kultura.”¹ I mention these texts because, prolific as Haupt was in the early 1970s, they turned out to be very helpful in the reconstruction of the text of Zołota hramota (especially Meldunek... proved useful).

¹ In a letter dated November 19, 1972, Giedroyc wrote: “You sent me Złota Hramota. I’m a great enthusiast of your writing, but the “middle” part of the story somehow doesn’t suit me. And the scene when the manifesto is read to these people... Maybe you could leave it out or change this part? Please be prompt with your reply.” Haupt replied with due reverence on December 10, 1972: “In the same letter I read about your objections to my short story Złota Hramota sent to you earlier in the summer. (If this were ever to be published, I would like to change the title to the Ukrainian Z o ł o t a Hramota, in order to distinguish it from the similar title of one of Łobodowski’s books). I respect your judgment, reservations, and powers, being as you are an extraordinary literary expert and editor, and I am fully aware of my shortcomings. But I always work through elimination; I have eliminated something from all of my stories. Therefore, I would like us to rethink whether the said fragment, as you suggest, should be left out.” And that was the end of the discussion about the short story – Jerzy Giedroyc, Zygmunt Haupt, Listy 1947–1975 [Letters 1947-1975], edited, with an introduction and footnotes by Paweł Panas (Warsaw: Instytut Dokumentacji i Studiów nad Literaturą Polską, Oddział Muzeum Literatury im. Adama Mickiewicza, Association Institut Littéraire Kultura, Biblioteka Więzi, 2022), 153–154.
Giedroyc loved whiskey and menthol cigarettes, which, as he claimed, helped him in his editorial work. He openly said that: “He enjoys whiskey in limited quantities. [And – A.M.] the harmfulness of nicotine is demonized.” It was an open secret at the Literary Institute in Paris that the editor, tired by the reading of the submitted contributions, would often fall asleep at his desk with a lit cigarette in his hand, which often fell from his fingers onto the paper, starting a small fire. This was also the case with Zolota hramota. Three out of sixteen pages caught on fire – page two, page three, and page four. Pages three and four were severely damaged. Normally, this would not be a huge editorial problem – most of Haupt’s works were printed or archived in multiple different formats, including typed manuscripts, magazine publications, or even earlier drafts. However, only one, partially destroyed, copy of Zolota hramota has survived to this day. I conducted research at Stanford University Library and Archive, where the Zygmunt Haupt Papers are kept, in 2006 and did not find another copy of the short story. Neither did Paweł Panas in 2019 (who – it must be emphasized – was much more thorough and patient than I was). In addition, we know that Haupt did not give manuscripts of his works to his friends as gifts, so we must accept that the partially destroyed copy from the Literary Institute in Paris is the only existing one. Anyway, the writer was lucky that he did not send his story to “Wiadomości,” because Mieczysław Grydzewski would have thrown it away, which is what he did with the works he did not like, and thus we would have lost it forever. Admittedly, Zolota hramota is unusual for Haupt, insofar as it employs fictitious parabolic narration. The story must be read as an allegory (and it seems that the writer struggled with this convention), but apart from the artistic value of the story, it is obvious that Zolota hramota gives an insight into the otherwise unknown aspects of Haupt’s work. Indeed, in no other literary text did Haupt discuss so extensively – although indirectly and thus enigmatically – the question of Polish-Ukrainian relations.

Zolota hramota had been quietly stored in the Paris archives until the end of the 1980s, when it was brought to light by Renata Gorczyńska, who was the first to attempt a partial reconstruction of the damaged fragments. She intended the story to be published in a volume of Haupt’s collected prose writings titled Szpica. Opowiadania, warianty, szkice [Vanguard: Stories, variants, essays], which she edited. Szpica was published by the Literary Institute in 1989. The manuscript reflects her hard work. She added typewritten addenda and handwritten notes, both on separate pages. We know it was her because her handwriting is different from Jerzy Giedroyc’s or Zofia Hertz’s handwriting. Gorczyńska’s footnote on page 247 is very telling: “The author’s manuscript is damaged. Only some missing words have been reconstructed in this part of the story.” I praise Gorczyńska for her editorial work, as a more ambitious attempt to fill in the textual gaps would only be possible if she had been familiar with Haupt’s entire oeuvre. This was simply not possible at the time. Respectively, Gorczyńska simply did not have time to study Haupt’s writing habits, style, and language in depth. She did what she could at the time, and for that all contemporary readers should be grateful.

3 See: Andrzej Niewiadomski, Przeciw entropii, przeciw arkadii. O pisarstwie Zygmunta Haupta [Against entropy, against arcadia. The writings of Zygmunt Haupt] (Kraków: Instytut Literatury, 2021), 44.
4 Niewiadomski, 44.
Of course, a professional Hauptologist should be more ambitious, and so I tried to find out more. Unfortunately, the query in the archives of the Literary Institute, requested by me over the phone to Jacek Krawczyk (in 2005), did not prove successful. I also did not find out anything new from Gorczyńska (we exchanged letters at the turn of 2007 and 2008), because almost twenty years had passed since the publication of Szpica, and the editor no longer remembered how she managed to discover the typescript in the Parisian archive. Only a query conducted in Paris by Paweł Panas in 2017 proved successful. The scholar did not rest until he found something, and in addition he immediately (in 2018) shared his findings with me. I had always dreamed of working with Haupt’s manuscript – and this one was the last one left in the archives – and this dream came true. As a result of my work, numerous emendations were added to the version published in Szpica, but I do not want to talk about them, because they are not that important. Indeed, a true textologist challenge was filling in the gaps, which today is not as difficult as it might seem at first glance. We probably already know everything about Haupt’s works, both fiction and non-fiction; moreover, we can combine his oeuvre into one document and conduct searches in the file word by word thanks to modern technology. Of course, nothing can replace a true knowledge of Haupt’s works, his style, and all his trademark characteristics. Combining all of the above, we can try to accomplish something that was simply impossible when Szpica was published. Still, I did not want to study the text alone – this task did not seem realistic to me – so I asked my 1 M.A. students for help. We worked on the text together during my Polish studies seminar entitled “Contemporary editions of literary works” in the summer semester of the academic year 2018/19. Fourteen seminarists contributed a lot to the final findings I present below, and I wish to acknowledge their contribution.

The theory of editing and textology does not address reconstruction in much detail, and it is hardly surprising. After all, it is impossible to create detailed rules for textual reconstruction that could be applied more or less universally. What is more, Polish textologists and editors usually refer to poetry in their studies, and narrative prose is often overlooked. However, some voices do prove useful. Konrad Górski writes about “very real circumstances which make conjectural emendations necessary. This need may arise in two cases. Firstly, when we realize during reading that something is not right – the text was probably distorted by typesetting errors. Secondly, when the printed pages have been mechanically damaged.” Jerzy Starnawski even postulates that we need a new profession, an editor-detective. He is “especially needed when the text is clearly damaged, when – by introducing, for example, a single conjecture or emendation – we render it understandable. And rendering the text understandable is one of the most important tasks of the modern publisher.” The above remarks, though very general,
undeniably validate our quest in search of lost words. Respectively, the Italian researcher Alfredo Stussi emphasizes that: "Not everything can be corrected: very large gaps can prove to be insurmountable difficulties, unless you are dealing with texts characterized by strong logical connections, based on repetitive syntags." As we can see, Stussi actually points to a methodology that works perfectly in the case of *Zołota hramota*. Haupt’s prose is characterized by repetitions, which are noticeable both at the level of the represented world (characters and motifs) and language (formulations, sentences, and even quite extensive parts of the narrative); “and one element is often repeated in two, and sometimes three, works.”

And this is the case in *Zołota hramota* – in some parts it resembles two earlier short stories by Haupt: the motif the mares of Diomedes appears in *Trzy* [Three] (written in 1970) and the motifs of the town of Koden and a picture album appear both in *Trzy* and in *Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Wełnowskiego* (written in 1971). We should thus focus on the stylistic and linguistic layer of the aforementioned stories, and the repetitions found in them; indeed, the similarities between *Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Wełnowskiego* and *Zołota hramota* are particularly important, because they concern those parts of *Zołota hramota* that were damaged in the fire. Four sentences from *Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Wełnowskiego* are particularly important:

1. “Tak jak odtwarzała mi się, gdy przeglądałem stary sztambuch Salomei Wiśniowieckiej, w którym jakaś inna ręka na odwrocie welinowych kart porobiła także jakieś notatki tyczące się koni, ich ras, rodów, maści i odmastków” [Just as it appeared to me when I was going through the old album of Salomea Wiśniowiecka, in which some other hand, on the back of the vellum pages, also made some notes about horses, their breeds, lines, coat colors and hues] (BD 611);
2. “Było tam wiele innych notatek tyczących się spraw końskich: […]” [There were many other notes relating to horses: [...] (BD 611);
3. “O rzędach, siodłach, uprzężach, cuglach, wodzach, uzdach, tręzlach, czepcach...” [About horse tracks, saddles, harnesses, reins, harnesses, snaffle bits, bridles, headstalls...] (BD 612);
4. “Skąd mi to się znalazło w zapiskach?” [Why is this in my records?] (BD 612).

These sentences can be used to reconstruct the destroyed fragments. They will also help us calculate the number of typed characters in successive lines, and these calculations, in turn, will help us select words from the writer’s dictionary that can fit within the limits thus defined. Of course, we cannot calculate the exact number, because the fire destroyed the right side of the pages, and, as we know, when you write on a typewriter (unlike on a computer) you cannot justify the right margin. Haupt never cared for that. So, let us take a look at the damaged pages:

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10Madyda, 138.
11*Zygmunt Haupt, Baskijski diabel. Opowiadania i reportaże* [The Basque devil. Stories and reportages], collected, edited and with an editorial note by Aleksander Madyda, preface by Andrzej Stasiuk, 2nd supplemented and amended edition (Wołowiec: Wydawnictwo Czarne, 2016); hereinafter referred to as BD and marked with the page number.
Był za pan brat z huzarami, kwaterującymi tu oficerami sztabu remonty dywizji, pułków sumskiego, jelizawtgradzkiego, mariupolskiego, izjumskiego, huzarów grodzieńskich, achtyrskich, pawło-gradzkich, litewskich i pułku księcia obrańskiego, remonty zaku-pującej młode konie na jarmarkach w Berdyczowie. I oto z całej zawartości "sabretache", tak nieakuratnego w moderunku porucznika, okazało się, był tylko panieński sztambuch.

Pan rotmistrz, Niemiec z pochodzenia, był sentymentalny, czuły na romantyczne sprawy dziające się na stronach weli,

karteń oprawionego w wytłaczane/zięte liście tomiku, ale

(dariskim swym okiem doszukał się zaraz w albumie czą

Oto na odwrótnych stronach kart porobione były jak widoczny, że jeżeli nie posiadać to demowy

konieczności, w braku innego papieru poślud

celów wcale praktycznych. Bo notatki te tylko

dzo kośskich.

Było tam o maściach i odmastkach, farb

koni przeglądanych przez komisje remontowe.

jako się rzekło sentymentalny, czuły na roman,

koniarzem to on nie był. Nie nie mówiły mu dals

zące się rządów, forgoczów, trenzli, cugli, wo,

rzemieni. Konie, uprzęże, skóra mu śmiędziała.

Co innego mówił mu cuch, zapach smoły czy liny k

Jego przeznaczeniem za młodu miało być morze. Miał zost

wekkiem. Jako chłopak zaczynał nawet we flocie bałtyckiej, w K

ze notatką
“Był za pan brat z huzarami – kwaterującymi tu oficerami sztabu remonty dywizji, pułków: sumskiego, jelizawietgradzkiego, mariupolskiego, izjumskiego, huzarów grodzieńskich, achtyrskich, pawłogradzkich, litewskich i pułku księcia Oranńskiego, remonty zakupującej młode konie na jarmarkach w Berdyczowie. I oto z całej zawartości «sabretache», tak nieakuratny w moderunku porucznika, okazało się, był tylko paniński sztambuch.

Pan rotmistrz, Niemiec z pochodzenia, był sentymentalny, czuły na romantyczne sprawy dziające się na stronach wełnowych [...] kartek oprawionego w wytłaczane w safianie złote liście tomiku, ale [...]darmskim swym okiem doszukał się zaraz w albumie czego[...]. Oto na odwrotnych stronach kart porobione były jakieś [...]. Widoczny było, że jeżeli nie posiadacz, to depozytor [...] z konieczności, w braku innego papieru posłużył [...] celów wcale praktycznych. Bo notatki te tyczyły [...]dzo końskich.

Było tam o maściach i odmastkach, farbach [...] koni przeglądanych przez komisje remontowe. P[...] jako się rzekło, sentymentalny, czuły na roman[...] koniarzem to on nie był. Nic nie mówiły mu dals[...]czące się rzędów, forgoczy, trzęśli, cogli, wo [...] rzemieni. Konie, uprzęże, skóra mu śmierdziała.

Co innego mówił mu cuch, zapach smony czy liny k[...]. Jego przeznaczeniem za młodu miało być morze. Miał zostać [...]kiem. Jako chłopak zaczynał nawet we flocie bałtyckiej w Kr”

[He knew the hussars well – Army Remount Service officers were stationed here; they oversaw the regiments from Sumy, Elizavetgrad, Mariupol, Izium, Grodno, Okhtyrka, Pavlohrad, as well as Lithuanian hussars and the regiment of the Prince of Orange; they would remount young horses at fairs in Berdychiv. And it turned out that the picture album, from all the things carried in the «sabretache», was such an unhandy thing among the lieutenant’s equipment.

The Rittmeister, a German by origin, was sentimental, sensitive to romantic matters found on the pages of the vell[...] pages of the album bound in Morocco leather decorated with golden leaves, but with his [...]ier’s eye he immediately found something [...] in the album. On the back of the pages, there were some [...] . It was evident that, if not the owner, then the holder [...] out of necessity, with only these pages at his disposal, used [...] for his quite practical purposes. Because those notes were [...]ch related to horses.

There were notes about horses reviewed by remount committees, their [...] breeds, coat colors and hues, and markings. T[...], as it has been said, was sentimental, sensitive to roman[...] he was not a horseman. Other [...] horse tacks, tethers, bridles, reins, harn[...] leather straps told him nothing. To him horses, harnesses, leather stank.

The smell, the aroma of tar or h[...] rope was different. As a young man, he was destined to go to the sea. He was going to be a [...]man. As a boy, he even joined the Baltic Fleet in Kr.] (p. 3).

In my opinion, using the previously mentioned methodology, i.e., by confronting Zołota hramota with Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Welnowskiego and calculating the number of letters in a line, we can relatively easily fill in the empty spaces. I present my version below (I have marked Renata Gorczyńska’s conjectures with which I agree with the letters “R.G.”, and I have put my alternatives in bold):
Był za pan brat z huzarami – kwaterującymi tu oficerami sztabu remonty dywizji, pułków: sumskiego, jelizawetgradzkiego, mariupolskiego, iziumskiego, huzarów grodzieńskich, achtyskich, pawlogradzkich, litewskich i pułku księcia Orańskiego, remonty zakupującej młode konie na jar-markach w Berdyczowie. I oto z całej zawartości «sabretache», tak nieakuratny w moderunku porucznika, okazało się, był tylko paniński sztambuch.


[He knew the hussars well – Army Remount Service officers were stationed here; they oversaw the regiments from Sumy, Elisabethgrad, Mariupol, Izium, Grodno, Okhtyrka, Pawlohrad, as well as Lithuanian hussars and the regiment of the Prince of Orange; they would remount young horses at fairs in Berdychiv. And it turned out that the picture album, from all the things carried in the «sabretache», was such an unhandy thing among the lieutenant’s equipment.

12Conjectural emendation made on the basis of the number of typed letters.
13See the first sentence of Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Welnowskiego.
14Omission not marked in Szpica. Conjectural emendation made on the basis of the previous sentence in the story.
15Conjectural emendation made on the basis of the third sentence of the next paragraph of the story and the second sentence of Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Welnowskiego.
16An omission was marked in Szpica. Conjectural emendation was made on the basis of the number of typed letters; the word used to fill in the gap may be found in the stories Wyspy Galapagos i wyprawa na Mount Everest [The Galapagos Islands and the expedition to Mount Everest], Poker w Gorganach [Poker in the Gorgany] and Perekotypołe [Tumbleweed] (twice) and in the essay Dzisiaj, przedwczoraj, wczoraj, jutro [Today, the day before yesterday, yesterday, tomorrow].
17I do not think that Renata Gorczyńska’s “romanse” [romances] is a good alternative; the narrator essentially repeats the previous paragraph.
18Renata Gorczyńska’s version: “notatki” [notes]. A conjectural emendation made for stylistic reasons (the word “notes” appears twice already) and the word “zapiski” [records] is based on the fourth sentence of Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Welnowskiego.
19Renata Gorczyńska’s version: “wodzów” [harnesses]. Conjectural emendation made on the basis of the number of typed letters and the third sentence of Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Welnowskiego.
20Renata Gorczyńska’s version: “podróżnikiem” [adventure man]. Conjectural emendation made on the basis of the number of typed letters; the word used to fill in the gap may be found in the story El Pelele and the essay Ptaki albo „Zanim zaczną schodzić się goście, przetańczymy jeszcze raz menuetą...” [Birds or “Before the guests start to arrive, let’s dance the minuet one more time...”].
sztadzie. Naprzód jako "junga", potem "nicznänge"). Ale dla jakichś
względów ta morska kariera uważał się u samego wstępu. Może zakup
oficerskiego stopnia we flotie był poza finansowymi możliwościami
rodziny, może wcześnie poznano się na pedantycznych zdolnościach
Niemca z pochodzenia. Został żandarmem.

Ale w uszach na zawsze pozostał mu ryk i szum falı "pri-
bojęć") skrzyp bloków, 4wist wiatru w linach, a w ustach smak
słonej wody. W marzeniach (każdy z nas ma swe marzenia o dalekim
i nieosiągniętym, nie) widział się na przyczynionym w
beędwindzie pokładzie korwety, zapatrzonym w fosforyzujący po-
nocy szlak kilwateru. Za młodu, w Kronstadtzie, był świad-
kiedy to z ukazu imperatora Aleksandra Pawłowicza admira-
hausen wyrusza do Antarktydy, z zazdrością patrzył na mć
we mgłę żagle jego fregaty "Wostok" i barki "Nirnyjö" płynę-
w nieznane. Chciał, jak ten inny nawigator, hrabia Yu-
de Kergułen-Trémarec, w którego sprawozdaniach się
odkrywać nowe wyspy, nadawać im imiona.

Okręt marzyciela miał nazwać się "Pałada":
edy miażdy rysować na nieboskłonie Terra Australia
lacja i gwiazdozbiory. "Je szkoły, jeszcze w car
niśdz nieżą znajomość mitologii. Stąd mięno ję
korwety. Stąd pomysł, iżby niglądanej dotąd, nie
niedokrytej jeszcze konstelacji oowych karłowych li-
sem ludojadów, Klaczy Diomedesa...

Uwagę rozmarnonego rotmistrza przyciągnął znagła wi
The Rittmeister, a German by origin, was sentimental, sensitive to romantic matters found on the pages of the vell[um – R.G.] pages of the album bound in Morocco leather decorated with golden leaves, but with his [sold]ier’s eye he immediately found something [strange] in the album. On the back of the pages, there were some [notes – R.G.]. It was evident that, if not the owner, then the holder [of the album] out of necessity, with only these pages at his disposal, used [the album – R.G.] for his quite practical purposes. Because those notes were [about matters which very mu – R.G.]ch related to horses.

There were notes about horses reviewed by remount committees, their [many different] breeds, coat colors and hues, and markings. T[he Rittmeister – R.G.], as it has been said, was sentimental, sensitive to roman[tic matters] but he was not a horseman. Other [records about] horse tacks, tethers, bridles, reins, harn[esses, snaffle bits and] leather straps told him nothing. To him horses, harnesses, leather stank.

The smell, the aroma of tar or h[emp – R.G.] rope was different. As a young man, he was destined to go to the sea. He was going to be a [boy sea]man. As a boy, he even joined the Baltic Fleet in Kr[on]

And the final page:


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21Renata Gorczyńska’s version: “płynące” [sailed]. Conjectural emendation made on the basis of the number of typed letters and in consideration of the grammatical structure of this sentence.
22Conjectural emendation made on the basis of the number of typed letters.
23An omission was marked in Szpica.
24An omission was marked in Szpica.
25An omission was marked in Szpica.
26An omission was marked in Szpica.

Uwagę rozmarzonego rotmistrza przyciągnął z nagła wy[padły – R.G.]" [stadt. First as “a cabin boy,” then as “a midshipman.” But for some reason his naval career was cut short at the very beginning. Maybe his family could not afford to buy him an officer’s rank in the fleet, maybe the pedantic skills of a German by birth were recognized early. He became a gendarme.

But he always remembered the roar and the sound of “priboj”, the creaking of the blocks, the whistle of the wind in the ropes, and the taste of salt water in his mouth. In his dreams (we all have dreams of the distant and the unachieved, right?) he saw himself on the deck of a corvette sailboat tilted by the wind, staring at the wave pattern generated by the boat, which was almost phosphorescent at night. As a child in Kronstadt, he wit[nessed – R.G.] Admiral [Bellings – R.G.] hausern set off for Antarctica, acting on the order of Emperor Alexander Pavlovich; he looked with envy as the sails of his frigate the «Vostok» and his barge the «Mirnyj» dis[appeared – R.G.] in the mist, sail[ing] into the unknown. He wanted, like that other navigator, Count Yves[Joseph] de Kerguelén-Trémarec, whose reports [he read passionately – R.G.], to discover new islands, to name them.

The dreamer’s ship was to be called the «Pałłada». [The sails of the «Pałłada» were supposed to draw in the sky of Terra Australis [Incognita constel – R.G.]ations and star systems. Back at school, still in the tsar’s capital, he acquir[ed a good knowledge of mythology. Hence the name of hi[s dream] corvette. Hence the idea for the name of the hitherto unseen, un[known], undiscover[ered] constellation of these ma[n-eating – R.G.] cannibals, the Mares of Diomedes.

The attention of the daydreaming Rittmeister was drawn by the unexpected fa[lling – R.G.]] (p. 4).

The penultimate paragraph on this page proved the most problematic, both for Renata Gorczyńska and me. In five cases, Gorczyńska decided not to make any conjectural emenda[tions, but I did. In the first case, I was inspired to do so by Haupt’s pre-war short story Admiral Gaspar Hojeda [Admiral Gaspar Hojeda], in which there is the following sentence: “Fale dalej opluwały pokłady, szczyty masztów zapisywały niebo zawiłym tekstem, skrzypiały bloki i wachty monotonnie dzwoniły czas” [The waves continued to spit at the decks, the sails wrote intricate inscriptions in the sky, the blocks creaked and the watches monotonously kept the time] (ZR 28 23, emphasis mine – A.M.). In the second case, one of my M.A. students, Tomasz Warczykowski, entered the phrase “Terra Australis” into a computer search engine – I must admit that I would never have come up with such a brilliant solution myself. In the third case, it was enough to know that the Naval Academy was relocated to Saint-Petersburg in 1715. 29

27 An omission was marked in Szpica.
29 Ludwik Bażyłow, Historia Rosji [The History of Russia], 4th corrected and supplemented edition. The section covering the years 1917–1991 was written by Paweł Wieczorkiewicz (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo, 2005), 151.
The answer to the fourth omission was found in the text of *Zołota hramota* on the very same page, on page four; in the previous paragraph, the narrator talks about the gendarme’s naval “dreams.” The answer to the final omission was found in the final sentence of the penultimate paragraph – we find there a series of synonymous adjectival participles related to the act of looking and knowing; in the Polish text this word starts with the, now almost invisible, letter “w,” and thus we automatically think of “widzianej.” This is how I propose to recreate the destroyed parts of Zygmunt Haupt’s short story.

Of course, I do not consider the solutions presented above to be definite. Konrad Górski used to tell the following story about the renowned Polish literary scholar Juliusz Kleiner and it is a cautionary tale that every textologist should know:

“Słowacki’s album poem *To E. hr. K.* […] was printed in the “Kronika Rodzinna” [Family Chronicle] magazine; the text was copied from a manuscript which was not made available to anyone. The first stanza of the poem read:

Chciałbym, ażeby tu wpisane słowo,
Jeśli na wieki ma słowem pozostać,
Aby słów miało niesmiertelnych postać
Albo posągów piękność marmurową.

[I would like the word written here
If it is to remain a word forever,
To have an immortal form of words
Or the beauty of marble statues.]

Juliusz Kleiner, who was an expert in Słowacki’s poetry, could not accept the wording of the third line. He could not believe that Słowacki had committed so many stylistic mistakes at once, namely: 1) repetition of the same word three times in close proximity (słowo, słowem, słów); 2) repetition of very similar syntactic structures (ażeby… aby…); 3) a metaphor devoid of any plasticity (postać słów niesmiertelnych). So, he proposed that the line should read "Aniołów miało niesmiertelnych postać" [To have an immortal form of angels]. He explained that the typesetter could have misread Słowacki’s handwriting, and used the words Ani słów instead of Aniołów, and the proofreader later corrected Ani to Aby. This explanation sounds convincing. It was so credible: at the level of interpretation, at the level of proposed corrections, and, finally, at the level of the origin of the error. And yet the whole elaborate philological argument collapsed when the manuscript was found, and it turned out that the text published in “Kronika Rodzinna” was correct.”

translated by Małgorzata Olsza

Górski, 74–75.
References


KEYWORDS

Zygmunt Haupt

editing

reconstruction

Abstract:
The article is devoted to the reconstruction of the missing fragments of Zygmunt Haupt’s short story Zołota hramota. Expert knowledge of Haupt’s entire oeuvre and style, characterized by recurring motifs and corresponding expressions, was the basis for the reconstruction. The context of the reconstructed gap as well as grammatical and stylistic considerations were also taken into account in the reconstruction process.
Polish narrative prose of the 20th century

short story

textology

Note on the Author:
„[…] We have lost our hearts to you”. Some initial remarks on the correspondence between Zygmunt Haupt and Maria and Józef Czapski

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The correspondence between Zygmunt Haupt and Maria and Józef Czapski dates to 1950-1975. All surviving letters are stored in Haupt’s archive at Stanford University Library, and in Józef and Maria Czapski’s Archive at the National Museum in Cracow. The whole collection comprises sixty-one letters and postcards (including one letter sent to Haupt’s widow following his sudden death).

Thirty-one of those letters were written by Haupt (thirty are handwritten, one is typed), nine were addressed to Józef Czapski, and twenty-four to Maria Czapska. Some contain information addressed to both siblings, especially letters to Maria at the time she was suffering

1 All quotes from Haupt’s correspondence with Maria and Józef Czapski are from Jerzy Giedroyc, Zygmunt Haupt, Listy 1947–1975, edited by Paweł Panas (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Więź, 2022); all quotes are followed by a reference to the page number in the source text. The titular line comes from Czapski’s letter to Haupt from 9 April 1964 r. (p. 197).
from severe vision problems (resulting in two surgeries), and so her brother would read her letters to her (knowing this, Haupt would address a substantial part of his letters directly to him). Haupt’s letters are well-preserved and legible. For some time they were stored in the Przewłocki family’s private collection, and later they were sold to the National Museum. Notably, Haupt’s Stanford archive does not hold any copies or drafts of his letters.

Maria and Józef Czapski jointly sent thirty letters and postcards to Haupt (twenty-eight are handwritten, two are typed), which are all stored in Haupt’s personal archive. Their letters are much harder to read due to their somewhat illegible handwriting. Moreover, some letters are poorly preserved because of improper storage and extensive damage from flooding. As a result, some fragments are rendered completely illegible – fortunately, not many, and thanks to modern methods of working with archival materials it is possible to read most of those letters, as well as to recreate the original shape of the correspondence. Additionally, there are some issues related to uncertain or incorrect dating of some of the letters, which creates additional difficulties with establishing the chronology and logics of the reconstructed correspondence.

The earliest surviving letter (most likely indeed the first one in that correspondence) was written by Józef Czapski at the time he was travelling in the USA, raising funds for Instytut Literacki [Literary Institute] and his magazine “Kultura” [Culture]. In that letter, dated to 28 January 1950, Czapski declines Haupt’s invitation to New Orleans:

Thank you very much for your kind letter and invitation. I would love to accept your proposal to come to New Orleans, but it seems completely impossible for the time being.

I will be trying to postpone my planned return to France by a few weeks, because I have received so many invitations to give lectures, and I am so busy that I am unable to attend even to my most urgent matters. And New Orleans is so terribly far away.

I need to prepare three lectures for Harvard University, Georgetown University in Washington, and in the meantime, I am going to give many speeches for the Polish diaspora, and since my English is not very good, I am taking lessons every day and studying a lot.

Once again, many thanks for your kindness, and if by any chance my plans change, and I am able to visit you, I will let you know at once and accept your invitation (p. 191).

2 Part of Haupt’s personal archive was flooded while still in his possession in New Orleans, see Aleksander Madyda, Zygmunt Haupt. Życie i twórczość literacka [Zygmunt Haupt. Life and literary work] (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 1998), 12.

3 The present paper was delivered at a conference in Poznań (Zygmunt Haupt. Warsztat pisarski – inspiracje – kontekst [Zygmunt Haupt. Writing – inspirations – contexts, Poznań 20–21 September 2021), and it is part of a bigger project: publication of Haupt’s correspondence with Giedroyc and “Kultura” environment, including – of course – Maria and Józef Czapski. The edited correspondence between Haupt and Giedroyc (referenced in the first footnote), including an appendix containing, among others, letters to Maria and Józef Czapski. Janusz S. Nowak assisted with transcribing letters by Maria and Józef Czapski with such skillfulness that only short parts of individual letters could not be transcribed (each such case is scrupulously marked in the text).

Fragment listu Marii i Józefa Czapskich do Zygmunta Haupta z 17 sierpnia 1973 r.; oryginat w Bibliotece Uniwersytetu Stanforda
The final letter was sent by Maria Czapska to Haupt in May 1975, soon after his death (Czapska was unaware of it at the time). She opens the letter with an apology:

It has taken me ages to answer your letter from 1 April – whole 2 months! It so happens that I have had other things than letters on my mind. I am replying now, or rather completing the message from my last letter (p. 257).

Today we know that Haupt died in the two months of delay mentioned by Czapska. Czapska clearly felt guilty about her delayed response, as she returned to that question also in the 1975 condolences letter sent to Edith Norris, Haupt’s widow. In that letter she writes:

Mister Zygmunt’s death has deeply saddened us – in the prime of life, so suddenly, a dear friend, excellent author, so admired by us and wide circles of readers! This is such a great loss for us, his friends, as well as to Polish literature, not to mention you!

[...]

In the meantime, you received a letter I sent after he had passed. Had I not delayed my response, he would have received it!

Now, at an old age – I am 81 years old – I feel every day go by like a drop of blood of my life running out. Once again, many thanks for your letter, and goodbye to you, with deepest respect (p. 258).

The whole correspondence is characterized by an exceptionally personal attitude, sometimes bordering on tender. This is a unique case in known Haupt’s epistolography, as he tended to write reservedly, which resulted in equally reserved responses. Even in letters sent to his family members, e.g. his sister from Warsaw, we will not find the tender tone and numerous emotionally positive phrases like those in the analyzed corpus of letters. Here are four characteristic examples:

Thank you for your kind letter from the bottom of my heart, to which I am replying so late, even though we reminisce and think about you so often.

We have not found you many new followers, but those few we have recruited are avid fans of your work, including my younger sister, Platerowa from Cracow.

The longer I have lived with your book, the more precious it is becoming to me. Please believe me, these are not just empty words. I am very offended that in Paris, you treated me like a teacher who forces his students to run from one exhibition to another.

[...]

I am shaking your hand most kindly. Please do come back to Paris before we all die. And you should really hurry, we have lost our hearts to you (p. 196–197).

The time of life flies so quickly at my old age, that what I thought was maturity and a source of new strength, that there is so much that I know, see, want in my thoughts and imagination, to write to someone dear to me, but as a result of the number of those wishes? visions?

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5 Haupt died on 10 May 1975, and Maria Czapska’s letter is dated 30 May 1975.

6 Józef Czapski to Zygmunt Haupt, 9 April 1964.
illusions of visions? – this is senile impotence. I no longer can. I have read Nietota. For so many years I have been thinking about you, reminiscing about you – because of your Pierścień [Ring] in a way you are always with me, and now Nietota has moved me again. It was Jerzy Stempowski who once wrote that if someone discovers, experiences one musical "platitude" in some unknown composer's work, they have all of them. This composer can write 40 more operas – or not – it no longer matters!

I have this feeling for you and for Nietota – to me, this is complete emotionality from Pierścień z papieru, although you have hurt Nietota – you returned to your notes about Nietota too late. You have not saved enough, and maybe this is why this short story is so moving, because it is so untold, and suddenly that last money – just like Mutter ich trage die Fahne. Why am I writing this to you? Because I would like you to know that, together with my sister, we love you, that what you have given us always lives inside us, always equally important and close (p. 199–200)\(^7\).

Our joy about seeing you is "subdued" because you write: "it seems that I will go", and Jerzy tells us that "it has seemed..." so for two years!

[...]

A heartfelt plea from my Sister and myself: please do send us a card with the exact day of your arrival a few days before you come to Paris – otherwise we will learn about it at the moment of your arrival at "Kultura" or later, and in this "breathless" period in life, this "essoufflement", we would like to schedule our time with you, for you know that we love you (p. 203)\(^8\).

We are in Brittany. We have visited Finis Terre and ruins of German bunkers, the ocean stretching under our feet, just as it had under yours some time before, so we thought of you most kindly and longingly!

[...]

We would like to thank you for all the beautiful things you wrote to us, and we are waiting for more, and we are embracing you.

[A handwritten note by Józef Czapski:] We love you very much, we are very lucky to have known a few people in life, a few people – like you (p. 213)\(^9\).

There are numerous examples of frequently articulated admiration for Haupt's work in those letters, e.g. enthusiastically rereading Pierścień z papieru\(^10\). "You have enriched us, you reached the depths of experience, and now this book shall travel the world on its own, quiet paths" (p. 195) – writes Czapska in a letter from 31 August 1963. This is overlapped with unconditional acceptance for Haupt's writing idiom and stressing the high artistic level of his prose. This,

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\(^7\) Józef Czapski to Zygmunt Haupt, 9 January 1969.

\(^8\) Józef Czapski to Zygmunt Haupt, 27 September 1969.

\(^9\) Maria Czapska to Zygmunt Haupt, 15 August 1971.

\(^10\) In a letter to Haupt from 8 October 1963, Jerzy Giedroyc writes: "It is not just Hostowiec that has taken to your book. You have another avid admirer, Józio Czapski" (Giedroyc, Haupt, 100). Many years later, in a letter from 26 August 1974, Haupt writes to Giedroyc: "When I visited Marynia Czapska and Józef Czapski, the siblings whose affinity and friendship I do not deserve, I have come across the greatest compliment an author can experience. They were in possession of my book (Biblioteka „Kultury” Tom LXXXVI), literally worn down from reading, i.e. it looked like a book one rereads many times, rather than a book that sits forgotten on a shelf" (Giedroyc, Haupt, 178).
combined with the fact Haupt struggled with creative and existential isolation, and with his peculiar imposter syndrome, contributed to the personal bond between the correspondents – already strong – growing even stronger. The siblings decisively take the role of Haupt’s closest, most faithful readers, able to fully appreciate his true value. In the same letter from 31 August 1963, Czapska writes:

Thank you for your letter to me and another one, to Józio. You know, we had similar reactions to those letters, we were miffed, maybe even a bit offended by you, and we would like to bring this matter to you, as we are taking offence at you – as if you do not appreciate yourself, as if you did not know your worth!

I know that your modesty is honest, but it is really out of place! – your wife is American, perhaps she is your nearest and dearest, but she is unable to evaluate, nor appreciate, nor I think truly understand what you have written – and how! Unable to reassure you, nor to be the first one to praise! – Perhaps this is why you doubt yourself so much.

Meanwhile, we are running a promotional campaign for you, saying that every Pole should read your work etc.!

(p. 194–195)

The whole correspondence indicates that the siblings, especially Maria, sensed Haupt’s need for acceptance and appreciation of his efforts, additionally reinforced by his reclusive lifestyle and numerous wants resulting from the specific nature of writing in exile (conditioned by Haupt’s personality and external circumstances)\(^\text{11}\). On the other hand, Haupt did not really try to conceal his anxiety, typically thinly veiled with self-irony, and various modest, rhetorical phrases. For example, in a letter from 29 January 1969 he wrote:

I was overjoyed by your letter, but also saddened by it. Not only by the news of Miss Marynia’s accident, who you are writing is in a clinic (I hope she can go home soon), but also by some melancholy. Perhaps this is because you have always been doing so much for others, and so you cannot come to terms with thinking about yourself. And even in your letter you are constantly thinking about others, for example about me, or my writing. What you wrote is both flattering and needed, necessary for an author, and if I know that I write for the two of you, and my work is met with such understanding, this is satisfying and rewarding for me (p. 201).

The level of intimacy and personal bond between the correspondents also manifest themselves on Haupt’s side, normally rather reserved in his letters. A letter from 4 March 1974 is a good example: Haupt addresses memorable words to Czapski. Their highly personal tone (for Haupt) is thought-provoking. Introducing a religious reference, even the most discreet or negative, is a rarity in his epistolography. A short phrase incorporated in a concise narrative highlights its personal tone, breaking Haupt’s typical restraint, at the same time showing his great trust for Maria and Józef Czapski.

Thank you for your long letter, news and comments, which I greatly appreciate. But first and foremost, I would like to thank you for the exhaustive bulletin on Miss Marynia’s health and doings. I am confident that her second surgery will go as well as the first one. If I could pray, I would love to pray for this to be over soon. I am looking forward to this beautiful day when your letter arrives informing me that the surgery went well, and that Gwiazda Dawida\textsuperscript{12} [David’s star] is in print, followed by the next installment of Europa w rodzinie [Europe in family] (p. 249).

In the discussed correspondence, there are also interesting mentions of issues and topics which were important to Haupt. The intimacy allows him to incorporate personal testaments and declarations in his letters, inaccessible to scholars interested in his life and work. For example, in a letter to Maria Czapska from 15 December 1972 about Gwiazda Dawida, which she was preparing for print, Haupt confessed:

\begin{quote}
I am very curious about your project on a Jewish family. The issue of Polish Jews is of great interest to me, as I grew up in a small town in Podole, I have childhood memories of local town Jews; I am unable to separate Polish matters from theirs, fellow human beings, even though they were so different from us (they were such Galician Hasidic Jews!). And they are no more, which I perceive as a great loss in my life, just like the fact that I no longer live among fellow speakers of Polish, among Polish trees, waters, fields, rains, winds, and snow. I am looking forward to reading your book (p. 228).
\end{quote}

There are more such examples. I believe that they constitute a valuable contribution to Haupt’s persona, meticulously reconstructed by scholars, as well as to his artistic image. In this context, Haupt’s considerations regarding the nature of creative work – not only literary, but also painting – more or less elaborate, seem to be especially significant. For example, in a letter to Józef Czapski from 4 March 1974, in answer to comments regarding Zasypie wszystko, zawieje [It will snow over everything] by Włodzimierz Odojewski\textsuperscript{13} Haupt added:

\begin{quote}
Jerzy Giedroyc wrote to me about Odojewski’s book, and he promised to send me a copy, because I have only read an excerpt published in “Kultura” last year. Based on that excerpt, and on what you are writing, I am very curious of the whole book. And I may even venture into writing about it for “Kultura”, as even though I am not a reviewer, but rather a resonancer of what I read (“resonancer” refers to “resonance”, i.e. what consonance a text inspires in me, not to the verb “resonate”), this will be an opportunity to reflect upon this book (p. 249).
\end{quote}

As can be seen, Haupt did not limit his considerations to Odojewski’s book, as he was planning to write a review for “Kultura”\textsuperscript{14}. A reference to this novel is his opportunity to define his

\textsuperscript{12}Maria Czapska, Gwiazda Dawida. Dzieje jednej rodziny [David’s star. A story of one family] (Londyn: Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy, 1975).

\textsuperscript{13}Włodzimierz Odojewski, Zasypie wszystko, zawieje… (Paryż: Instytut Literacki, 1973).

\textsuperscript{14}Haupt’s text was published in the first double issue of “Kultura” in 1975: Zygmunt Haupt, “Dziś, przedwczoraj, wczoraj, jutro...” [Today, the day before yesterday, yesterday, tomorrow...], Kultura 1-2 (1975): 204–210. This was the last text by Haupt published in “Kultura” while he was still alive.
own way of reading books sent to him by Giedroyc\textsuperscript{35}. Reading – we should note – typical for Haupt in general, which deserves a separate discussion. It is interesting that Haupt does not stop there, instead extending the field of his considerations, moving on to the presence and role of representations of cruelty in art:

\begin{quote}
Your letter, Dear Sir, about literature, writing, this subject still moves me, has encouraged these reflections. When you write about Żeromski’s “sadism”, it is the sort we know from Goya’s paintings. It seems to me that in both cases this is under the influence of baroque, but in baroque art using shocking elements of cruelty, shocking with horror contrasted with graceful, flowing lines was a deliberate choice, in cold blood. You must be familiar with the incredible etchings, in which Jacques Callot showed us the monstrosities of the war of his times (the world of religious fights of the Thirty Years’ War). The scenes of torture, executions, rapes shown through the artist’s eye, insensitive like a camera lens (p. 250).
\end{quote}

This is a good example of Haupt’s narrative technique, i.e. conscious, gradual extension of the field of reflection. Some historical detail, anecdote, or text can be the starting point. At first, his attention turns to a detail, a single fact, to eventually move on to describing a larger slice of reality. Significantly, in such cases the subjective perspective of the narrator is highlighted (“this subject still moves me”, ”It seems to me that in both cases this is under the influence of baroque”), and additionally it is not always possible to find relationships directly connecting subsequent parts of the narrative. The clearly outlined persona of the author (who engages in a peculiar dialogue with his correspondent) is the most important binder in such situations, as it constitutes the basic modal framework and guarantees cohesion (“Your letter, Dear Sir, about literature, writing, this subject still moves me, has encouraged these reflections”).

In the analyzed correspondence, there are also examples of Haupt’s self-reflection regarding his own work, in which the element of auto-thematic considerations proves more important than his declared aversion to talking about himself and his work. Such examples are not numerous, but they seem to be significant from the perspective of studying Haupt’s work. Here is a fragment containing unobvious comments from a letter to Czapski from 15 December 1972 regarding the essence of creative work:

\begin{quote}
Dear Mister Józef! I am reading your “provocations”, a complement to my reading of “Ziemia” [Earth]. Your book is gripping, perhaps a bit too cryptic, although I did not find the code of initials too challenging. I believe in the type of creative work relying on symbols, ambiguity, as it invites the reader to co-create. Besides, any work of art is what its authors wants it to be, and what the recipient interprets (sometimes such interpretations are things which the author did not intend to include!), (p. 228).
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{35}In a letter from 13 February 1974 r. Giedroyc writes to Haupt: “I have a great favor to ask you. Recently I sent you Odojewski’s book, Zasypie wszystko, zawieje… published by us, and I would like you to review it. I believe this book – in my opinion, outstanding – will be of particular interest to you, not only because of its topic, but also due to its language. I hope that you will agree, but – I hope that this is understood – only if you are actually interested in this book. Please do not think of my request as some social commission” (p. 172).
Finally, the analyzed correspondence offers excellent material for reconstructing Haupt’s multifaceted persona, flesh and blood – no worse than the correspondence with Józef Witzlin, Aleksander Janta-Połczyński and Zdzisław Ruszkowski16 does. Obviously, in each case the circumstances and general tone will differ, and so will the style of Haupt’s letters. To put it metaphorically: various Haupt’s personality traits manifest themselves in different situations and in reference to different recipients. Even though he was generally reserved in his correspondence, he was able to model the tone of his voice perfectly.

A living, breathing man emerges from those letters – with a specific personality, way of being, advantages and disadvantages, part and parcel of specific times, space, and culture. In the case of such a mysterious figure, all information is important, as it helps construct a complete picture. Different elements comprise the special dimension of the correspondence between Haupt and Maria and Józef Czapski, including – obviously – auto-thematic considerations. Some letters contain previously unknown anecdotes from Haupt’s life, whose significance goes beyond the immediate context, and sometimes gain even a symbolic dimension, such as this anecdote from a letter to Maria Czapska from 6 February 1973, in which Haupt describes how he recited Mickiewicz’s poetry:

Whenever I think how to repay you, there is one certain way: I praise Mickiewicz, as you are his avid, talented fan. Whenever I read or reread His poetry, I am itching to share my new impressions with you. Recently, as I was driving with my son, already a grown-up man, who is, well, completely Americanized, I wanted to test him and so I recited Alpuhara to him. I had not forgotten a single word from my prehistoric school days, when I had learned it by heart, and Artur was ravished by it.

Those remarks are a very preliminary analysis of an unusually interesting archival collection of correspondence between Haupt and Maria and Józef Czapski, as well as an outline of its key directions. Even such initial work demonstrates the significance of this collection, not only for scholars interested in the life and work of Haupt, but also to any historian studying the history and culture of Polish emigration post 1945.

translated by Paulina Zagórska

References


KEYWORDS

Maria Czapska

Józef Czapski

Abstract:
The paper discusses the results of a primary analysis of the correspondence between Zygmunt Haupt and Maria and Józef Czapski. The letters are dated 1950-1975, offering an interesting picture of a friendship spanning over decades. They provide an insight into Haupt’s creative persona, an outcast and outsider, and they are also an excellent source of information on the life of Polish emigration post 1945.
Zygmunt Haupt

CORRESPONDENCE

emigration

Note on the Author:
Zygmunt Haupt’s radio shows in the Voice of America: American literature, art, science and social life

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Zygmunt Haupt’s radio shows for the Voice of America portray the USA as a democratic state, relying on tradition and Christian values. This image, concurrent with the information policy of the radio at that time, was part of propaganda efforts to introduce listeners to American men of state, discuss anniversaries of historic events and highlight events which showed the Soviet Union and its satellite states, especially the communist Poland, in a negative light. Among the numerous examples of this type of broadcast, one can point to the essay *The anniversary of the birth of Tadeusz Kościuszko and Abraham Lincoln*, from December 2nd 1956, which presents the two characters as fighters for freedom and justice. Another show, *American pilots over Warsaw – the seventh anniversary of the event*, dated September 18th, 1951, is a Polish translation of an interview with Major Huber from Chester, Pennsylvania, who

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1 Department of Special Collections and University Archives Stanford University Libraries, catalog number M0356, Zygmunt Haupt Papers 2021 (henceforth: ZHP), box 15, folder 4.
2 ZHP, box 11, folder 5.
took part in a flight over Warsaw during the 1944 uprising. His plane dropped ammunition, weapons and food, thus bringing hope to the participants of the uprising. The 1953 show (no specific date available), *The protest of Polish Americans against the persecution of the Church in Poland*⁴, reports on a March 22nd 1953 protest of Chicago Poles, who opposed the decree on filling clerical positions in Poland.⁴ The show’s transcript introduces the protesters: members of a variety of Polonia organisations, including Lieutenant General Kazimierz Sosnkowski, former Commander-in-Chief of Polish Armed Forces in Exile, and Aniela Łagodzińska, the chairperson of the Association of Polish Women. The author quotes some speeches and summarises others, in an attempt to break the monotony of the report’s monologue.

A similar organizing principle was behind the cycle *Frontiers of Knowledge*, from which only two shows have survived⁵; one is an interview with the American philosopher Sidney Hook (1902-1989), a representative of the school of pragmatists and influential in the philosophy of history and education, as well as theories of politics and ethics. A follower of communism in his youth, he was later an outspoken critic of totalitarianism. The interview is illustrative of the black-and-white propagandist pattern of the broadcast, which would stress the advantage of the USA over communist states. Towards the end of the show the author announces an interview with the American media mogul Henry Luce (1898-1967) („Life”, „Time”, „Fortune”, „Sport Illustrated”), who was named the most influential private citizen of America in his time. His press changed journalism and the reading customs of millions of Americans. Unfortunately, this show has not been preserved in the archives.

In his other shows Haupt depicts the US as a cultural, literary, well-read, and particularly musical America. Reports and essays demonstrate individual and institutional scientific achievements and a number of shows focusing on everyday life. The former is the topic of a few series of the shows, some of which have a specific title and were broadcast on specific days of the week. Others are more random.

Tuesday’s series *What America Is Reading* is usually presented as a review or an overview of new publications, narrated by the author. The cycle features discussions of fiction, poetry, biographies, essays, travelogues, popular science and scientific books, as well as individual literary genres or works of individual authors. In one of his shows Haupt recommends holiday readings.⁶ The titles he considers are usually culled from „The New York Times Book Review”, a supplement to the daily „New York Times” featuring a weekly overview of new publications. Sometimes Haupt consults other sources, e.g., information on American publishers’ awards, which he covers in the show *What America Is Reading – The National Book Awards* (illegible date).⁸

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³ ZHP, box 11, folder 5.
⁴ February 9th, 1953 decree, revoked in 1957.
⁵ ZHP, box 15, folder 8.
⁷ ZHP, box 16, folder 6.
⁸ National Book Awards is an annual event, which takes place in November. The prize is awarded by the National Book Foundation, which also gives out two awards for lifetime achievements. National Book Awards were founded in 1936 by the American Booksellers Association. On hiatus during World War 2, they were reinstated by three publishing organisations in 1950.
Some of the books he reviews have never been translated into Polish, nor can their English-language versions be found in Polish libraries. Through talking about them in his shows, Haupt introduced them to Polish listeners, who had limited knowledge about American or Western publications at that time. This is exemplified in the June 11th, 1957 show, entitled *What America Is Reading – A Guide To Summer Reading*. The show is one part essay (devoted to cultural phenomena and their creators), one part review (it both introduces and reviews a few new publications). The author stresses the impressive publication statistics, i.e. the release of five thousand new titles over the six month period under discussion. Meeting the requirements of a review, he summarises books of American and other authors recommended by critics. Among these are novels (e.g. by William Faulkner, John Steinbeck, Daphne du Maurier, Albert Camus); a biography entitled *The Sea Dreamer: a definitive biography of Joseph Conrad* by Georges Jean-Aubry, who was a friend of Joseph Conrad; a journalistic publication *The Bridge at Andau* by the American writer James Michener, describing the Hungarian uprising of 1956; a diary of an American Army Private, Martin Russ, who describes his experiences from the Korean War: *The Last parallel: a Marine’s War Journal*, and, finally, there is Richard Wright’s report on his journey to Spain: *Pagan Spain*. Michener’s book can only be found in the repositories of the University of Szczecin, whereas his other works, in their original language version, are in the possession of only a few other Polish libraries. The same applies to books by Russ. The other titles listed above remain inaccessible in Polish libraries today.

In his July 16th, 1957 show Haupt reviews the pocket edition of an anthology of American poetry, edited by Selden Rodman. The anthology includes masterpieces of lyrics, epics and ballads, covering the period from colonial times to modernity, and is preceded by an “insightful critical introduction”. The extensive poetic repertoire of the USA had not been included in either of the two earlier anthologies of English poetry, the 1861 one, edited by Francis Turner Palgrave, or the 1900 one, i.e. Oxford University Press’ *The Oxford Book of English Verse, 1250–1900*, edited by Arthur Quiller-Couch, in which only 14 out of 883 poems were written by American authors. The book under review includes works by the 16th- and 17th-c. American authors, representative of New England poetry: Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Henry David Thoreau, Edgar Allan Poe, William Ellery Channing, Louise May Alcott, Herman Melville, Walt Whitman, Emily Dickinson, as well as by authors contemporary to Haupt: Edvin Arlington, Carl Sandburg, Robert Frost and others. In Polish libraries one can find only three English-language copies of Rodman’s book. It has never been translated into Polish, and neither has Palgrave’s anthology. Only the 1935 edition can be found in the library of the Catholic University of Lublin.

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10 http://katalog.nukat.edu.pl/search/query?match_1=MUST&field_1&term_1=james+michener&facet_date=0.195&sort=relevance&theme=nukat.
11 http://katalog.nukat.edu.pl/search/query?match_1=MUST&field_1&term_1=martin+russ&sort=relevance&pageNumber=2&theme=nukat.
12 ZHP, box 16, folder 6: What America Is Reading – Selden Rodman’s 100 American Poems.
There are nineteen transcripts of this broadcast genre in Haupt’s archive, typically written over two to three typescript pages. They usually end with a request to the listeners for questions concerning American literature, followed by the address to which these questions should be posted. This suggests that the editorial office was open to suggestions from the listeners.

Only four shows have been preserved from yet another cycle, entitled *American Panorama*. There is no date on any of the transcripts; two titles cannot be deciphered; parts of the text are hardly or not at all legible due to damage by water. One of the shows is incomplete, with only two pages of text featuring in the archive. Two others comprise four pages, while another one is three, and the longest is six. One of the shows is a report from Kitty Hawk, where the Wright brothers made the first airplane flight in history – an achievement commemorated by a granite obelisk, funded by the American government in 1932. Haupt also talks about the history of research and experiments that led to the construction of an engine-powered airplane.

Two other broadcasts are essayistic in character. The first one is a report from the American South, especially North Carolina. Haupt covers economic, cultural, and social changes which occurred in that region after World War 2. The show also features fragments of one of the series of books: *A Treasury of American Folklore*, edited by Benjamin Albert Botkin (1901–1975), an American folklorist and scholar. The book is a collection of stories, legends and songs from the South, including those about Buffalo Bill or Jesse James. Two other shows in this series focus on the blues, which gives Haupt the opportunity to point to the rich heritage of folk culture as the foundation for the development of specific musical genres. He presents the history of the genre and musical motifs. These shows feature different voices: the Announcer, the Narrator, Voices I-III. Unfortunately, the transcripts for both shows are incomplete and almost entirely illegible.

Haupt was also interested in jazz and its history. One of the most interesting shows in *Panorama is Jazz Was Born in New Orleans – American Panorama*. The show is both a radio play (including the voices of the Announcer, the Narrator, and Voices I-VI) and an essay. The author, relying on his painting skills, sketches a vivid image of New Orleans: located in Louisiana, Mississippi, amongst swamps, “where the stars of the South are mirrored in the waters of Lake Pontchartain”. He stresses the uniqueness of the place where French, Spanish and American cultures intertwine, and where ballads, the blues and folk songs mix. Haupt describes jazz through a dialogue between a few voices, focusing on the spontaneity and improvisation in this genre. He discusses the mutual influences of different musical styles, their evolution and the creation of new ones, such as the blues, ragtime, stomps, swing, boogie-

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15 The archive had been kept in a garage, which was subsequently flooded. It was in this state that the documents made their way to Stanford. A more detailed reading of the text would only be possible with the help of digitization.
16 ZHP, box 15, folder 9.
17 ZHP, box 15, folder 9.
18 ZHP, box 15, folder 9.
19 ZHP, box 15, folder 9.
woogie, be-bop; he also focuses on the instrumental make-up of street and bar bands. He lists such precursors of jazz as „Papa Jack” Laine, King Oliver, Jimmy Yancey, or the more contemporary George Gershwin and Louis Armstrong. The show is dynamic, featuring musical numbers from Farewell Blues – a piece played by the Dixieland Band and The Man I Love by George Gershwin, played by Louis Armstrong. This is an example of a highly informative, interestingly structured show.

The series on music and songs of America, entitled Music In America, carries on with the issue of folklore. Haupt discusses the landscape, history, and musical standards of a few regions: Hawaii, the Mississippi region and the South in general. One of the shows in this cycle is devoted to Stephen Collins Foster (1826–1864), the father of American music, most famous for representing the music of the South in his musical shows and composing songs for the minstrels, popular amongst the pioneers and gold diggers. Celebrated as “the most famous lyricist of the 19th c.”, he composed more than 200 songs, which are still popular today, including Oh! Susanna. Most of his musical sheets are now lost, but his works were published in numerous collections during his lifetime. The show also features two songs in Polish translation (illegible titles).²⁰ In other shows of this cycle Haupt discusses specific musical genres, including the American musical.²¹

Two more series devoted to American music focus on specific composers and Broadway musicals. The first series is American Composers, in which Haupt introduces key characters of the American music scene: Aaron Copland (1900–1990), Gian-Carlo Menotti (1911–2007), Charles Ives (1874–1954), Rolfers Sessions (1896–1985), Virgil Thompson (1896–1989) and Leonard Bernstein (1918–1990). Six of the shows are three to five pages long and adopt the form of an essay. The author manipulates the show’s format by introducing different voices, which breaks the monotony of the broadcast. He discusses the biographies of composers and their most important works. In the show celebrating Copland’s 57th birthday (probably aired on 14th November 1957)²², (date and text are partly illegible), he quotes fragments of Copland’s interviews or books, without providing any references. This method makes the listener feel the composer’s presence, which intensifies the message and creates an effect of authenticity.

The other series, entitled Musicals From Broadway²³, features nine 3-page-long shows (including two additional double copies). Each review is devoted to one musical and outlines its subject matter, plotlines and contains musical fragments. Haupt uses this opportunity to provide a broader overview of composers’ work and introduce other creators of musical comedies. Haupt not only discusses the well-known musicals of the 40’s and 50’s, such as My Fair Lady or The King and I, but also those which were less familiar in Poland, such as Annie Get Your Gun or The Pijama, which depicts a successfully resolved conflict between employees.

²⁰ZHP, box 15, folder 9.
²¹ZHP, box 15, folder 9, May 22nd, 1956: Music In America – American Musical.
²²ZHP, box 16, folder 7.
²³ZHP, box 16, folder 3.
and employer – a musical showcasing the conditions of life in America\textsuperscript{24}. These shows are partly illegible.

Broadway is the focus of an essay from July 8\textsuperscript{th}, 1957, entitled \textit{Broadway at the End of the Theatrical Season}. Based on a “New York Times” article, the show reviews the just-closed Broadway season, which attracted 10 million viewers who came to see 158 plays on Broadway itself and 72 more in other New York districts. Haupt stresses the high quality of the plays (Eugene O’Neill, Elia Kazan or Tennessee Williams) and their actors (10 thousand actors affiliated with acting schools). He also discusses the history of the place, which had huge success in the 20’s and 30’s that was followed by a decline in popularity of the musical genre, brought about by the introduction of the sound film and television.\textsuperscript{25}

The \textit{Cultural Life In America} cycle focuses on culture, science, and everyday life of the Americans. The shows bring into focus scientists, Nobel Prize winners, institutions of cultural and academic life, as well as issues of everyday life, e.g. readership. They adopt the format of interviews, reports, essays and reviews. This cycle includes a feature on Peabody Essex Museum (PEM) in Salem, Massachusetts, the successor of East India Marine Society, established in 1799. Haupt discusses the history of the institution and the building of its collection, which includes travel documents, ship logs and information on the art of navigation. The show also provides detailed information about a few sections of the museum, e.g., the one featuring ship models (tradership, fisher boat, whaleboat – with a reference to \textit{Moby Dick}, as the museum also holds whaling equipment). Haupt also mentions the portrait room and the library with marine publications, which date back to the 16th c.\textsuperscript{26}

Another example of the series is the April 4\textsuperscript{th}, 1956 essay, entitled \textit{Nobel Prose Winner – American Born T.S. Eliot} about the winner of the Nobel Prize in literature and longtime editor of the literary journal “\textit{Criterion}”, the author of \textit{Wasteland} and \textit{The Four Quartets}. Haupt emphasizes similarities between Eliot’s works and elements of Polish legends and stories: the drama \textit{Murder in the Cathedral}, depicting the martyrdom of Thomas Beckett, the archbishop of Canterbury, is juxtaposed with the legend of King Bolesław the Bold and St. Stanislaus of Szczepanów. The drama \textit{Mannequins} is prefaced by a motto quoting Conrad-Korzeniowski, whose works Eliot admired. Eliot’s dramatic works, staged in English and American theatres, were popular because they introduced profound philosophical topics to everyday contexts (\textit{Cocktail Party}). Only one of Eliot’s works which had been published prior to Haupt’s broadcasts was available in Polish libraries in the 1950’s. Another one was published in an anthology.\textsuperscript{27}

A few shows introduce the listeners to American customs and traditions. For example, the show on November 22\textsuperscript{nd}, 1956, centers on Thanksgiving, celebrated in the States on the fourth Thursday of November, to commemorate the first harvest by the inhabitants of Plymouth

\textsuperscript{24}ZHP, box 16, folder 3, „Musicals From Broadway” – The Pijama (n.d.)
\textsuperscript{25}ZHP, box 16, folder 3, July 8\textsuperscript{th}, 1957: Broadway At The End Of the Theatrical Season.
\textsuperscript{26}ZHP, box 15, folder 5, September 15\textsuperscript{th}, 1956: Massachussets – Peabody Museum Of Salem.
\textsuperscript{27}http://katalog.nukat.edu.pl/search/query?match_1=MUST&field_1&term_1=thomas+stearns+eliot&facet_lang=pol&facet_date=0.195&sort=relevance&theme=nukat.
There is also a radio play based on *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow*, broadcast on October 30th, 1956. The author demonstrates parallels between Halloween and Polish All Saints’ Day, only to bring up one of the early examples of American literature - a short story by Washington Irving, a contemporary of Adam Mickiewicz.

The final series is *American Literature*, which features a discussion of individual genres and literary movements, the works of specific writers or publishing chronicles. The archive preserves twenty-five shows of this cycle of broadcasts. Some of them take the essay format, others are interviews or reviews. They were broadcast every Wednesday. One of the shows in this cycle centers around one of the issues of the American literary yearbook "New Directions", edited by James Laughlin since 1936. Haupt also introduces journals which publish pioneering literary works, both prose and poetry. One of these is “Poetry”, founded in 1912 in Chicago by Harriet Monroe, the American editor, literary critic, poet and patron of the arts, who played an important role in the development of modern poetry by supporting authors like Wallace Stevens, Ezra Pound, Thomas Stearns Eliot, William Carlos Williams, Carl Sandburg, Max Michelson and others. The show features a brief biography of Laughlin, who founded the publishing house and journal of the same name, which published the classical works of European and American literature: Gustave Flaubert, Henry James, Joseph Conrad and the works of pioneering writers, such as James Joyce, Franz Kafka, Arthur Rimbaud, Tennessee Williams. Laughlin participated in the so-called cultural cold war against the Soviet Union. Thanks to funds from the Ford Foundation and the help of poet-editor Hayden Carruth, Laughlin started the non-profit organisation Intercultural Publications, which issued „Perspectives USA” in Europe: a quarterly devoted to American art and literature. A total of sixteen issues were published. Apart from American writers and poets, the “New Directions” yearly also featured works of European, South American, and Asian authors. Laughlin also published Haupt’s works, and their correspondence can be found in the archive. Another essay from this cycle, broadcast in 1956 (no information on the day) was partly based on Jan Lechoń’s essay. Probably the reason why he discusses the works of American authors is the familiarity of names such as Walt Whitman and Henry James, about whom Lechoń wrote and whose talents he appreciated.

The majority of shows focus on individual authors of prose, poetry, drama and history of literature or on specific literary trends. Among these authors are Edgar Allan Poe, Mark Twain, Edwin O’Connor, Emily Dickinson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Erskine Caldwell, Scott Fitzgerald, Stephen Crane, Fran Norris, Jack London, Theodore Dreiser, Wallace Stevens, Thornton Wilder, Tennessee Williams and Van Vyck Brooks. Two essays entirely devoted to the works of Poe, and a few others which mention that author, have been preserved in

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28ZHP, box 11, folder 6, October 30th, 1951.
29For more on 20th-c. literary journals in America, see American literary magazines: the twentieth century, ed. by Edward E. Chielens (New York: Greenwood, 1992).
30ZHP, box 1, folder 7: Correspondence, 1949–1963: with editors of „New Directions”: James Laughlin, et al.
31Precise date is illegible, the show must have been broadcast after June 8th, 1956, because the summary contains the sentence „Lechoń, recently decesaed”. The text is illegible, flooded.
32ZHP, box 15, folder 10.
the archive. In the first of them, dated to May 23rd, 1956, Haupt discusses Poe’s detective stories, emphasizing the author’s innovativeness and talent. He reminds the listeners that it was Poe, rather than Arthur Conan Doyle, who was the father of the detective story. He argues that the genre is undeservedly deemed to be trivial, and points to the fact that it was appreciated even by communists, who admitted during the 1956 thaw that this type of literature (as authored by A. C. Doyle, Agatha Christie, or Fyodor Dostoyevsky) is a worthy form of entertainment, developing the reader’s sense of logic and powers of deduction. Haupt then discusses a few short stories: *The Golden Beetle*, *The Purloined letter*, *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*, and *The Mystery of Marie Roget*, reminding the listeners that Detective Dupin from Poe’s stories is the prototype of all future detective stories’ protagonists. He emphasizes what an erudite, ingenious and honest poet Poe was. In the 1950’s only four translations of Poe’s stories were available in Poland, whereas in the pre-war period there had been seven.

An example of a show devoted to literary trends is the essay of August 29th 1956, devoted to 19th c. transcendentalists – the New England writers, centered around Harvard and Yale. The group relied on the philosophy of Kant and Confucius, stressing the values of individualism and making calls for a rejection of classical English literature. It was represented by Henry David Thoreau and Margaret Fuller, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Walt Whitman. Thoreau is best known for two works: his book *Walden*, in which he tells the story of the place where he lived and built his cabin – a reflection on simple living in the natural environment, and the essay *On Civil Disobedience*, a case for disobedience towards an unjust state.

Haupt also dealt with current affairs in that same cycle of broadcasts. One of these was the conference on ideas and practices of orderly freedom in the 20th c., “Essentials of Freedom”, which took place at the elite Kenyon College, Ohio on April 11th, 1957. Among 13 speakers representing the world of science, art and politics were Peter Vereck, the poet and college professor, and the British economist Barbara Ward. The author briefly discusses the history of the college and the conference. The text is barely legible. Yet another broadcast is an interview with Ludwik Krzyżanowski, a professor at Columbia University. The conversation focuses on the differences in teaching English and American literature at specific colleges, with a focus on Columbia University, where English literature is the main focus, and the University of Pennsylvania, which specializes in American literature. Krzyżanowski points out that different universities specialize in different research topics, e.g., the University of Buffalo prioritises James Joyce (it holds a collection of his works). Haupt’s guest indicates that specific universities build collections devoted to particular authors. He also mentions

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34ZHP, box 15, folder 10.
35ZHP, box 15, folder 10.
36ZHP, box 15, folder 10. The date is illegible but information on the conference can be accessed at https://digital.kenyon.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3102&context=collegian.
37Ludwik Krzyżanowski, graduate of English studies at Jagiellonian University; from 1938 he was in the USA as cultural and educational attaché in Polish diplomatic stations in Chicago and New York. During World War 2 he was employed by the Polish Information Center. After the war he was a lecturer of literature and Polish language at Columbia University in New York and of social sciences at New York University. Member of Polish Institute of Sciences in New York. From 1956 to 1986 editor of „The Polish Review” quarterly.
some university-based publishing activities such as workshops for writers. Teachers of literature are not only literary critics but also writers and poets, e.g., Robert Penn Waren (Southwestern College, Rhodes College) of Memphis, Tennessee. The interview is highly informative.38

Shows devoted to literary, cultural and scientific life in the USA are a treasure trove of knowledge about Haupt’s contemporary America. Even though there is a veneer of propaganda traceable in some of them, we have to remember there was no avoiding that. Most of the shows are particularly informative and popularising in nature. In some the author tried to outline the historic processes and social conditioning which led to a particular, present situation. A perfect example of that are shows devoted to the issue of readership. Particularly illuminating are shows concerning specific works as well as literary and music genres, authors, and composers.

translated by Justyna Rogos-Hebda

38ZHP, box 16, folder 5.
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KEYWORDS

VOICE OF AMERICA

Zygmunt Haupt

radio shows

ABSTRACT:
The article focuses on Zygmunt Haupt’s shows for the Voice of America in the period 1951-1958. Broadcast transcripts are part of the writer’s archive, which is hosted by the Special Collections of C.H. Green Library at Stanford University in California. The shows devoted to the literary, cultural and scientific life in the USA are a treasure trove of knowledge about Haupt’s contemporary America. Most of them are informative and popularizing in nature, although there are also more propagandist ones. Particularly illuminating are the shows concerning specific works, genres and trends in literature and music. Others focus on specific authors and composers. Still others concern culture, science, customs and daily lives of Americans. The article has analysed a few series: American Literature, What America Is Reading, American Panorama, Music In America, Musicals From Broadway and Cultural Life In America.
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Barbara Krupa (1966) - has worked at Stanford University since 2000, currently as Project Manager for Newspaper Digitization, and previously as Curator of Slavic and East European Collections. She holds two master’s degrees in library and information science. She studied at the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn and at San Jose State University in San Jose, California, USA. She is a member of the Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies and the Committee on Libraries and Information Resources - Subcommittee on Copyright Issues, the Polish American Historical Association, the Polish Studies Association, and a member of the editorial board of Slavic and East Hungarian Information Resources. He is preparing a dissertation entitled *Zygmunt Haupt’s Publicism on the Voice of America in 1951-60 [Publicystyka Zygmunta Haupta na antenie Głosu Ameryki w latach 1951–60]*.

She is interested in issues related to Polish publishers in exile in the USA, especially the activities of Roy Publishers in New York.

Zygmunt Haupt in Lviv: An excerpt from the intellectual and artistic macro- and micro-history*

In the interwar period, Lviv was a city with a very complicated political, social, and thus also cultural history. On the one hand, it was a vibrant multicultural urban center. On the other hand, it was marked by deep national divisions which were, as it turned out, impossible to overcome. After the former eastern Galicia became part of the Polish state, the capital of the former Habsburg province experienced stagnation in the fields of art, literature, and the humanities. In the first half of the 1930s, however, the artistic and intellectual life of the city began to change, gaining in attractiveness. This article discusses Zygmunt Haupt’s life in Lviv against the background of these changes. It presents the historical context of the writer’s early career, especially as concerns artistic trends and ideas, and his links with a small but quite progressive literary group of Rybalci [Minstrels]. The article also attempts to answer the following questions: to what extent was Haupt’s stay in Lviv formative in his literary career? What was the social and artistic significance of Rybalci for Haupt? Especially considering that he was not a leading figure of the group?

Lviv – a post-war city

After 1918, Lviv was a city which, in relation to the public sphere, could be described as a post-war city. This was noticeable not only in the infrastructure, whose reconstruction after World
War One and the Polish-Ukrainian clashes still continued in 1929; it also manifested itself in the relations between the national groups living in Lviv. According to the first Polish census of 1921, 219,388 people lived in the city: 62.4% were Poles, 27.6% Jews, 9.2% Ruthenians, and 0.8% Germans. Ukrainian population was certainly underestimated as Ukrainian parties called on their people to boycott the census which indeed took place. The post-war character of Lviv, which was visible in ethnic relations, meant that there were tensions between the three largest national groups in the city; these tensions led to the outbreak of violence in November 1918, i.e. fights between Poles and Ukrainians and the pogrom of Lviv Jews (November 22–24, 1918). Peace was not restored at the end of the battle for the city or even at the end of the Polish-Ukrainian War. On the contrary, these tensions persisted long after, actually until the end of the interwar period, and were additionally intensified by other factors.

The first new factor concerned differences in the collective memory of Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews. Poles won the war for eastern Galicia and thus the Polish discourse became the dominant discourse about Lviv. State authorities, the leaders of almost all Polish political movements, the Polish press, and Polish writers, regardless of their political sympathies, almost unanimously emphasized that thanks to the “defense” of Lviv and the sacrifice of its “defenders,” Eastern Małopolska was finally and forever a part of Poland, and Poles ruled these lands. The “defense” of Lviv became a symbol of the unity of the Polish nation and the Polish territory; it also quickly became one of the basic founding myths of the reborn Polish state. Such a discourse about Lviv, for obvious reasons, alienated Ukrainians, as well as a large part of the Jewish population of the city, especially the non-assimilationists. For Ukrainians the battle of Lviv was a “national uprising,” while the Jewish population saw it primarily in terms of the pogrom initiated by the “defenders” and civilians after Ukrainians had fled the city. The ideologization of the discourse surrounding the “defense” of Lviv united Poles, but it also divided the multinational population of the city and the multinational population of the entire Second Polish Republic. It sustained fears of national conflicts in the borderlands held by many Poles and also perpetuated the stereotype of the Ukrainian and the Jew as a common internal enemy against whom Poles should consolidate.

Apart from the fundamentally different versions of the events of November 1918 in Lviv which divided Poles, Ukrainians and Jews, the anti-Ukrainian and anti-Semitic policy of the Polish

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2 The term “Ukrainians” was not used in the census.
5 I use terms related to a cultural, historical, and national axiological system, such as “defense,” “invasion,” “uprising,” and “occupation,” as evaluative ones, and put them in quotation marks.
6 The term “Eastern Małopolska” was used in the official nomenclature since the early 1920s, mainly after 1923. According to Katarzyna Hibel, it was supposed to legitimize the new territorial division of the province after the administrative reform of 1920 (into the following voivodships: Lviv, Stanislawiv and Tarnopol), “and above all to emphasize the exclusively «Polish» character of this territory”, cf. Katarzyna Hibel, ‘Wojna na mapy’, ‘wojna na słowa’: Onomastyczne i międzykulturowe aspekty polityki językowej II Rzeczpospolitej w stosunku do mniejszości ukraińskiej w Galicji Wschodniej w okresie międzywojennym [‘War of maps’, ‘war of words’: Onomastic and intercultural aspects of the language policy of the Second Polish Republic in relation to the Ukrainian minority in Eastern Galicia in the interwar period] (Wien–Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2014), 254.
central and local authorities further complicated ethnic relations in the city. It had its sources, firstly, in the fact that many Poles feared that the borders could be revised and Lviv could be lost and, secondly, in the reserved and hostile attitude toward Poles expressed by (respectively) a certain part of the local Jewish community and a large part of the local Ukrainian community. Regardless of these sources, the policy in question fueled, not suppressed, animosities between the three main national groups in Lviv. The tensions between Poles and Ukrainians as well as Poles and Jews were dynamic; they faded away and then intensified, at times manifesting themselves in the form of violent riots. For the reasons discussed above, November proved to be the most difficult time; for example, the tenth anniversary of the “defense” of Lviv resulted in riots, casualties, and extensive arrests.7 Alas, clashes between Poles and Ukrainians, as well as Poles and Jews, took place at other times as well. For example, Polish students, advocates of the right-wing Narodowa Demokracja [National Democracy] movement, attacked Jewish students at Lviv universities as a result of which three people, Samuel Proweller, Karol Zellermayer and Markus Landesberg, died (the first two in November 1938, the latter in May 1939).8

These conflicts were the most visible (although not the only) symptoms of the post-war character of Lviv, defined as a long-term effect of the Polish-Ukrainian and Polish-Jewish conflicts, which culminated in November 1918. The war for eastern Galicia was over, but the militant atmosphere in the city’s public space and discourses persisted. Grzegorz Mazur seems to be right when he claims that interwar Lviv was a metropolis with the greatest national and political animosities in the Second Polish Republic,9 because acute conflicts definitely prevailed there over any attempts at reconciliation.

Lviv – cultural province and cultural center

The cultural life of Lviv in the interwar period, especially in the memories of the city’s former residents, was much less vibrant than before World War One. In the 1920s and the 1930s, Lviv was not a “cultural desert”10 but neither did it deserve the name “Athens of the Polish Republic,”11 as Julian Maślanka put it in the introduction to Marian Tyrowicz’s memoirs. Tyrowicz wrote with some degree of sadness that “the city’s wonderful cultural past under Austrian rule which influenced the furthest parts of the country” suffered a blow in the interwar period. Tyrowicz believed that the national and political conflicts, which I have

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9 Mazur, 434.


described above, contributed to this. Poles actively cultivated the memory and the myth of the “defense” of Lviv. As a result, “people of letters on the Poltva” who, let me add, identified with the dominant Polish discourse, “faithfully praised the battle for Lviv’s independence, the heroism of the Polish child soldiers, the Eaglets, and the historical role of the city on the frontier, as if ignoring European literary trends.” In addition, apart from writers who had links to democratic and left-wing circles, they ignored even the most interesting artistic and intellectual proposals of their Ukrainian and Jewish colleagues.

Tyrowicz also pointed to an even more important source of the city’s “post-war cultural inferiority,” identified by many critics, namely the exodus of the local creative intelligentsia to the capital of the reborn Polish state. Both the people of Lviv and outsiders noticed that the city – having found itself within the borders of the Second Polish Republic – lost its status as the capital of a large and important province of the Habsburg Empire and became merely the capital of a voivodeship. As a result, the income of the inhabitants decreased, the possibilities for growth were reduced, and the feeling of provinciality (in the literal, not administrative, meaning of the word, as in the Habsburg Empire) and alienation from the (cultural) capital Warsaw intensified. In a letter to Kazimiera Żuławska, Józef Wittlin wrote: “this beautiful city was transformed into a small-minded provincial town in such a short time.” Stanisław Wasylewski, in a book devoted to Lviv from the “Cuda Polski” [Miracles of Poland] series, lamented that “[what was once] a small big city, a capital of a country, is a big small town today. [Lviv] is no longer the capital of literature, Warsaw is; the theatre and the press are not doing great either.” Hanna Mortkowicz, on the other hand, described her impressions of the south-east of Poland as follows: “Today Lviv is a quiet and impoverished borderland town removed from the centralized affairs of the state.” Many believed that to be true in the interwar period; some people were even more critical (especially after many years had passed). Such opinions were neither biased nor hostile because they were formulated by people who loved Lviv – those people truly regretted the fact that the most creative minds had moved to Warsaw.

We can add still other reasons for the city’s cultural decline, such as the low earnings of the intelligentsia, the low earnings and hardships of journalists, and the poor condition of the printing industry in Lviv. All of these factors, although in different respects, meant that after 1918, artistic and intellectual stagnation reigned in Lviv. Local young artists and students were not inspired by new artistic trends, which proved so influential elsewhere. According to Tyrowicz, the “first attack of expressionism” in Lviv began in the late 1910s and the early 1920s, and, at the time, expressionism was slowly being replaced by newer trends in Poznań and Kraków. According to another resident of interwar Lviv, Lew Kaltenbergh, young Lviv writers became interested in new trends, such as expressionism, and tried to incorporate these into their work, which had previously been more traditional in nature. According to Jagoda Wierzejska, Zygmunt Haupt in Lviv was a central figure in the development of this movement, and his work was highly influential in shaping the artistic and cultural landscape of the city.
in the “avant-garde” only as late as in 1929. And futurism, Peiper, and his followers associated with the avant-garde magazine Zwrotnica [The Switch] were not even on their radar. “We heard some echoes of Young Poland, experienced faint reverberations of expressionist thrills, apparently taken straight from the avant-garde magazine Zdrój [Spring] published in Poznań, and witnessed some timid and not very helpful attempts at something original, modeled on the group Skamander,” Kaltenbergh recalls. What’s more, there was stagnation in the field of literary studies in Lviv. In Warsaw, Vilnius, and Poznań, the still fluid academic hierarchies and mobility of the academic staff which hailed from different academic centers meant that subversive collectives were formed relatively quickly and easily. Young literary scholars called this trend an “academic revolution;” it laid the foundations for modern Polish literary studies. Meanwhile, at Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv, the 19th-century tradition of schools and masters was still cultivated. As evidenced by student works written under the direction of Juliusz Kleiner and preserved in his archives, university circles focused on run-of-the-mill seminar work. The Lviv Polish Studies Circle was all the weaker because its board, unlike in Warsaw, Vilnius, and Poznań, was dominated by the extreme right-wing Młodzież Wszechpolska [All-Polish Youth], which often focused solely on material and organizational issues. The conditions for artistic and intellectual growth were thus unfavorable in Lviv, at least until the mid 1930s.

Despite this stagnation, in the first half of the 1930s, the city’s cultural life began to change – it was significantly revived by several events. The Lviv Polish Studies Circle organized a meeting devoted the issue of Wiadomości Literackie [Literary News] from October 1933 devoted to Soviet culture, which attracted participants also from outside the academia. In 1934, Marian Naszkowski (chairman of the Young Intelligentsia Club in Lviv) delivered a lecture entitled ‘Kordian’ i ‘cham’ na tle współczesnej choromańszczyzny [Kordian and a boor against the backdrop of the contemporary obsession with the degenerate], which “again sparked a fierce discussion.” Since 1931, Lviv’s theater scene began to change from mediocre to outstanding, mainly thanks to Wilam Horzyca, who became the director of the Municipal Theatres. Together with Leon Schiller and Edmund Wierciński, he invited eminent set designers (Andrzej Pronaszka and Władysław Daszewski) to Lviv and produced plays (such as Kordian, Krzyczycie, Chiny [Shout out, China] or Sprawa Dantona [The Danton Case]) which triggered fierce discussions in the press and among university students. Intellectual and social groups were formed which were on the same level as the groups formed by young writers and literary scholars from Warsaw or Vilnius. Writers, actors, democratic political activists, and progressive university professors would meet in private homes, for example at Stanisław Loevenstein’s house, as well as at Jan Kazimierz University (for example, to listen to Leon Chwistek’s lectures on contemporary aesthetics, which often ended with walks along the Lviv Corso, that is Akademicka Street)). Roman Ingarden’s seminars held at Lviv University in the years 1934–1937 also played a very important role in this process. They were attended both by Lviv intellectual elite (Władysław

21Kaltenbergh, 117.
Witwicki, Ostap Ortwin, Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz, Juliusz Kleiner) and the few avant-garde artists who lived in the city (Ludwik Lille, the co-founder of the Artes group established at the turn of 1929 and 1930, and the creators associated with the magazine Sygnały [Signals]). Even the director of the Eastern Fairs, Henryk Grosman, attended Ingarden’s classes. Traditional philosophy practiced at Lviv University thus transformed into a modern, semiotic-oriented anthropology of culture.\textsuperscript{22} The establishment of Sygnały in 1933, an anti-fascist and anti-nationalist magazine edited by Karol Kuryluk, which after 1936 had a clearly left-wing profile was of particular importance to young Lviv writers. New literary groups, Zespół Przedmieście [The Suburbs] with Halina Górska, Jan Brzoza, Anna and Jerzy Kowalski, and a small but thriving club of Rybałci, which will be discussed in more detail below, also proved important.

All these initiatives animated Lviv’s artistic and intellectual life. Given the cultural stagnation which had dominated the city, this change was sensational and revolutionary at the same time. When these initiatives were undertaken, Zygmunt Haupt was already living in Lviv. As we know, the writer moved to Lviv after he completed his military service in 1933, although he had lived in the city for at least three years in the 1910s and the 1920s – he was a student at Nicolaus Copernicus State Realschule and, later, a student at Lviv Polytechnic.\textsuperscript{23} Notwithstanding his stays in the estate of Zygmunt and Amelia Łączyński in Zabór, Haupt lived in Lviv until the outbreak of World War Two. Lviv was neither the biggest nor – arguably – the most fascinating city he had ever lived in. After all, in the early 1930s Haupt lived in Paris. But it was Lviv’s genius loci that shaped him, especially at the time when the city began to transform from a cultural periphery into a cultural center, and he began to grow as a painter and a writer.

Rybałci and Haupt

In Haupt’s early years in Lviv, described in detail by Aleksander Madyda,\textsuperscript{24} a particularly important, perhaps the most important, role was played by Rybałci and people associated with this group. They introduced Haupt to the world of literature.

Artistic and literary circles, and not, strictly speaking, an organized group, at least at the beginning, which later consolidated under the name Rybałci, began to form in the early 1930s. Zbigniew Troczewski was their first mentor. This teacher and Polish philologist managed the dormitory at Mochnackiego 32 and organized literary soirées there, attended by young artists, members of Lviv Polish Studies Circle and Kleiner’s students.\textsuperscript{25} The second important figure was Emil Tennenbaum, an amateur Polish-Jewish writer\textsuperscript{26} and a pharmacist by profession.


\textsuperscript{24}Aleksander Madyda, Zygmunt Haupt. Życie i twórczość literacka [Zygmunt Haupt. Life and works] (Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1998), especially 17–28; Madyda, Haupt. Monografia, 49–81.

\textsuperscript{25}Madyda, Zygmunt Haupt. Życie i twórczość literacka, 18.

\textsuperscript{26}Cf. Eugenia Prokop-Janiec, Międzywojenna literatura polsko-żydowska jako zjawisko kulturowe i artystyczne [Interwar Polish-Jewish literature as a cultural and artistic phenomenon] (Kraków: Universitas, 1992), 319.
who ran the “Pod Węgierską Koroną” [Under the Hungarian Crown] pharmacy on St. Benedict Square. It was he who gave the artists who gathered mainly at Troczewski’s place the name of Rybałci and, importantly, he allowed them to use a small room behind the pharmacy as an alternative meeting place. Kaltenbergh recalled that these meetings, which were more often social than academic, were attended by Tadeusz Hollender, Stanisław Rogowski, Aleksander Baumgardten, Zdzisław Kunstmann, Maciej Freudman, Tadeusz Banaś, and Wilhelm Wind (known under the pseudonym Jerzy Korabiowski). There were also others: Teodor Parnicki, Karol Kuryłuk, Maksymilian Geppert, Jerzy Turowicz, Przemysław Zwoliński, Olgierd Reiss… and Haupt. In 1975, Stefan Legeżyński wrote in his memoirs, referring briefly to Lviv artistic circles and the recently deceased Haupt, that the writer “was everywhere, he attended literary soirées, student meetings, especially of Polish studies students, he met with filmmakers.”

Both Legeżyński and Kaltenbergh thus confirm that Haupt attended the meetings of Rybałci.

The first public poetry soirée of Rybałci took place on December 1, 1933 in the hall of the Society of the Folk School at Czarniecki Street. It was attended by Rogowski, Baumgardten, Kunstmann, Freudman, Kaltenbergh, Wind, as well as Beata Obertyńska, Włodzimiera Paszkowska, Maruta Stobiecka and Jan W. Fedyk. The next soirée, which took place on June 3, 1934, was even bigger. It was advertised in the press as “The Second Literary Recital under the name ‘Gospoda Rybałtów’ [Rybałci’s inn].” It took place at the Variété Theatre, and Ortwin, then president of the Lviv branch of the Polish Writers’ Union, was invited to open the meeting. Works by Hollender, Rogowski, Baumgardten, Kunstmann, Freudman, Wind, Paszkowska, Stobiecka, Fedyk, and Józef Radzimirski were read. Moreover, in the mid 1930s, Rybałci took part in numerous meetings organized by other groups, most importantly “Young Lviv.” For example, Henryk Zbierzchowski delivered a short opening lecture at a poetry soirée at Jagiellonian University’s Collegium Maximum on October 20, 1934.

We can also list two other poetry meetings at the Variété Theatre on September 14, 1935 and on March 15, 1936 respectively (the latter meeting was called “Recital of Poetry, Prose and Satire”). If we do not see Haupt’s name among the names of active participants, it is certainly not because he was not present. The explanation is simple: Haupt was at that time known as a painter and not as a man of letters. Indeed, Kaltenbergh described him as a “joyful graphic artist.” This is also how he was described in the first issue of Kolumna Rybałtów [Rybałci’s Column], that is a literary supplement which young artists established at the end of 1936.

Rybałci did not have their own magazine in which they could publish their works; so, they published – literally – wherever they could. Hollender tried to create a forum for them in Wczoraj – Dziś – Jutro [Yesterday – Today – Tomorrow], which he edited, but the magazine was soon taken over by Tadeusz Zaderecki, a representative of the extreme national and

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27Kaltenbergh, 128–143.
29Biedrzycka, 693.
30[Author not given], “Gospoda Rybałtów” [Rybałci’s inn], Chwila 5458 (1934): 17.
31Biedrzycka, 714.
32Biedrzycka, 726.
33Biedrzycka, 759–760.
34Biedrzycka, 783.
35Kaltenbergh, 141.
anti-Semitic right. Some Rybalki published in Sygnały. Hollender is listed in the first five issues as editor-in-chief; starting from the sixth issue, he and Kuryluk co-edited the magazine, and beginning with the tenth Kuryluk took over. However, Hollender remained on the editorial board. Baumgardten and Banaś also appeared in the first series of the magazine and also Rogowski was in the first issue. The list of texts published in both series of Sygnały (1933–1934, 1936–1939) prepared by Jadwiga Czachowska allows us to conclude that the authors which were associated with Rybalki had been publishing there for quite a long time; some, including Baumgardten and Rogowski, until 1936; some, having broken with Rybalki, especially Hollender and Banaś, almost until the magazine was discontinued in 1939. There is no doubt, however, that artists who remained in the Rybalki group or those who joined it at some later stage moved away from Sygnały and joined Dziennik Polski [Polish Daily] in the last quarter of 1936.

Dziennik Polski was a magazine established and run by a group similar to Związek Młodych Narodowców [Union of Young Nationalists]. They held right-wing views and sympathized with Narodowa Demokracja but distanced themselves from Stronnictwo Narodowe [The National Party], as they manifested pro-government sympathies. The editor-in-chief of Dziennik Polski was Klaudiusz Hrabyk; Zdzisław Stahl, Stanisław Starzewski and Mieczysław Piszczkowski (as head of the literary department) were also on the editorial board. Hrabyk writes in his memoirs that in October 1936 he was approached by a group of young artists who offered him their services. Some of them had previously collaborated with Sygnały, others had not, but all of them were against the radical left-wing sympathies that the magazine began to promote, especially since 1936. The group was encouraged to approach Hrabyk because they had briefly worked with him before – in 1934, Hrabyk published their works in one issue of Akcja Narodowa [National Action] without any interreference on his side; even Kuryluk could publish there. Rybalki were finally convinced when, during a meeting in October, the editor promised them self-reliance and independence, although – as he admitted years later – he had to fight for them with Stahl and Piszczkowski. Young artists were given two pages (second and third) of Kultura i Życie [Culture and Life], a Sunday supplement to Dziennik Polski; together they formed Kolumna Rybaltów, where the group could publish their works. On November 8, 1936, Hrabyk’s magazine announced the creation of Kolumna Rybaltów and ... the group itself, although in the case of the latter we should rather talk about reconstruction. On November 15, the first Kolumna Rybaltów was published, with poems by Rogowski (Wyjazd Persifala [Parsifal’s Departure]), Władysław Jan Turzański (Ziemia obiecana [Promised Land]), Mirosław Żuławski (Droga do Emmaus [Road to Emmaus]), Baumgardten (Wtedy [Then]), and

36After the publication of the first issue, Rogowski resigned as editor. Cf. the editorial, “[Stanisław Rogowski, at his own request, is no longer on the editorial board ...],” Sygnały 2 (1933): 8.
Freudman (*Elegia na śmierć Wganowskiego* [Elegy on the death of Wganowski]), and short stories by Baumgardten and Freudman (respectively, *Sprawa niczyja* [No Man’s Affair] and *Najazd ptaków śpiewających* [Invasion of Singing Birds]). In addition, a graphic logo/header with the name and ornaments surrounding it was published in *Kolumna*... The caption read: “The title vignette of *Kolumna Rybałtów* was made by the artist Zygmunt Haupt.” Thus, Haupt, as a “joyful graphic artist,” was de facto presented as the sixth member of Rybalci.

Hrabyk’s memoirs shed more light on Rybalci’s break-up with *Sygnały*, revealing that ideological issues played an important role. This is a convincing explanation, because writers and artists associated with Rybalci never formed a united front in terms of socio-political views. On the contrary, Hollander or Banaś, who leaned towards the left, differed from Freudman, who openly expressed his National Democratic and anti-Semitic sympathies (and carefully concealed his Jewish origin) among the circles of “Young Lwów.” However, this does not explain everything, or more precisely it does not prove that the break-up in question was only motivated by the group’s wish to move to a more right-wing magazine in which young people could be given their own column. After all, this move led to the disintegration of the group in its original form, as established in the early 1930s. Two other events, which Hrabyk either failed to mention or described in a biased way, contributed to this.

The first event was related to the review of Antoni Gronowicz’s poetry soirée, published in mid-December 1936 in *Dziennik Polski*. It was written by Freudman who signed it with his initials only (“mf”). The review was critical; it mocked the young left-wing poet, accusing him of subversiveness and communism. The reviewer asked “state authorities” to stop the poet’s “pseudo poetical screams.” Hollander and Banaś, who used to be Freudman’s friends, responded, not only in writing. Banaś condemned the review for its (undoubtedly) anti-Semitic and denunciatory undertones, suggesting that the case be referred to the tribunal of the Polish Writers’ Trade Union (which actually happened). The conflict was further incited by a secession in the Syndicate of Lviv Journalists; the Syndicate issued a statement in which it accused *Dziennik Polski* of supporting the restrictions imposed on the freedom of the press and of being viciously anti-communist (to the point of reporting writers to state authorities).

Interestingly, Gronowicz occasionally published in *Dziennik Polski* (which Hrabyk, who did not comment on this incident at the time, proudly mentioned in his memoirs published after World War Two).
The second event was related to a literary soirée scheduled for January 8, 1937 as a “great poetry recital,” to which Hollender, Józef Nacht, Bruno Schulz and those Rybałci who published in Dziennik Polski were all invited. A jury was to give an award for the best writer funded by the City Council. On January 7, 1937, Henryk Balk accused the organizers of misleading the invited literary critics, as a result of which Ortwin and Eugeniusz Kucharski stepped down as members of the jury. To make matters worse, Rogowski and Freudman (who were joined by several other poets) refused to attend the soirée because they did not want to perform alongside Nacht, and Baumgardten did not want to perform alongside Nacht and Hollender, “since he did not consider Mr. Nacht […] to be a good poet (yet), and he no longer considered Mr. Hollender to be a good man.” As a result, two soirées were organized. One, with Rogowski, Freudman, Baumgardten, Turzański, Źuławski, and Obertyńska, was organized on January 7. It was advertised in Dziennik Polski. A “great poetry recital,” with a limited number of participants, alas with Schulz, took place on January 8. It was Schulz’s first public appearance in Lviv, which is why Gazeta Lwowska [Lviv Gazette] wrote that it was shameful that it took place in such an unpleasant atmosphere. However, the unpleasantries did not end there, at least for local writers. The incident eventually led to Hollender’s falling out with young writers who did not attend the soirée on January 8. Hollender even managed to publish an open letter in Chwila [Moment] on January 8 eloquently titled Do byłych kolegów i byłych poetów! [To Former Colleagues and Former Poets!]. He accused Rybalscy of hypocrisy, and he further accused Freudman of anti-Semitism and insulting Nacht, a writer of Jewish descent. Hollender also pointed out that Freudman, who criticized Nacht’s poems, was himself criticized by “Young Lviv.” Some jokingly said that Freudman’s poetry collection was given for free when somebody purchased Rogowski’s or Hollender’s books. Others joked that the difference between Freud and Freudman was like the difference between a genie and a genius. Hollender’s open letter effectively ended his relations with his former colleagues.

The described events help understand the complexities of cultural life in Lviv and further explain why a group of young artists moved to Dziennik Polski. A group which had originally been formed in Troczewski’s dormitory and in the back room of Tennenbaum’s pharmacy became deeply divided. Shortly after Hrabyk’s magazine announced the creation of Kolumna Rybałtów and the group itself, two former Rybałci, Banaś and Hollender, distanced themselves from their former colleagues, and Hollender also called them outdated, “has-been” poets. This was not true in January 1937, but the statement proved almost prophetic because the reconstructed group was only active for a year. The paradox of Haupt’s career was that just when Rybałci, unknowingly, were slowly leaving Lviv’s literary Parnassus, Haupt reinvented himself as a writer; he was no longer a “satellite” nor a painter (the author of the vignette) but also, and perhaps above all, a man of letters.

48[Author not given], "Wielki recital poezji" [Great poetry recital], Chwila 6395 (1937): 10.
50K., “«Wieczór literacki» w Teatrze żołnierza” [‘Literary soirée’ at the Soldier’s Theatre], Gazeta Lwowska 7 (1937): 3.
52Kaltenbergh, 143.
Haupt as a writer, Haupt as a member of Rybałci

In the mid-1930s, Haupt lived in the attic of a tenement house at Zimorowicza 15. The editorial office of Słowo Polskie [Polish Word] had been located there for many years (it was closed in 1934). Then, the editorial office of Gazeta Lwowska was housed in the building (briefly), and since December 1935 it was the seat of Dziennik Polski. Thus, when Hrabyk moved into the former office of Stanisław Grabski, in which the editors of Słowo Polskie Roman Kordyś, Wacław Mejbaum and Wojciech Baranowski had worked, Haupt became his “upstairs neighbor.” Legeżyński recalled that Haupt “was short of money,” which is why he made illustrations on the side. His works were published in Kuryer Literacko-Naukowy [Literary and Scientific Courier] and As [Ace], supplements to Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny [Illustrated Daily Courier], a very popular daily newspaper published in Kraków which paid contributors well. On May 12, 1935, Haupt published his first literary text in As: it was a short story entitled Cel [Goal], written together with Turzański. In 1935 and 1936, he published five other texts there, and on February 7, 1937, he made his debut as a writer in Dziennik Polski: he published a full-page reportage, Aspekt Śląska [Aspect of Silesia], in Kolumna Rybałtów. At the time, a large group of both up-and-coming and established writers was associated with Kolumna Rybałtów. In addition to the five “core” members of Rybałci and Haupt (who reinvented himself as a writer), Kazimierz Bronczyk, Józef Czechowicz, Władysław Floryan, Stefan Grabowski, Bolesław Wodzimirz Lewicki, Józef Słotwinski, Stanisław Teisseyre, Maria Wrześniewska, Tadeusz Żakiej, Zdzisław Żygulski, as well as Parnicki, Obertyńska and Horzyca also published in Kolumna Rybałtów. Hrabyk, who did not have a high opinion of Krytyka i Życie [Critique and Life] prior to the publication of Kolumna Rybałtów, was very proud of this success. Encouraged by the success of the column, he began to consider publishing an independent literary magazine at Dziennik Polski. Of course, plans to create an independent magazine shared by the editor-in-chief with young artists during confidential meetings were met with great enthusiasm. The editor-in-chief and Rybałci formed a true connection. Hrabyk wrote that as a result of such discussions some members of Rybałci – Rogowski, Freudman, Turzański and ... Haupt (as an “upstairs neighbor”) – “became very fond of him.” A separate magazine was never established but Kolumna Rybałtów flourished, and Haupt, a friend of the editor-in-chief, published in it more and more often. In total, in the years 1937–1938, he published sixteen texts in Dziennik Polski: short stories, reportages, essays, and reviews (including three two-part texts). Aleksander Madyda estimated that this was a “one-of-a-kind achievement” in Haupt’s career. As regards the sheer number of published texts, he was certainly right. As for their quality, it is fair to say that Haupt’s early literary works were not on a par with his later masterpieces. Some, such as Moi przyjaciele [My Friends], however, proved that Haupt was a talented writer – they

53Madyda, Haupt. Monografia, 77.  
54Legeżyński, 4.  
56Zygmunt Haupt, “Aspekt Śląska” [Aspect of Silesia], Kultura i Życie 6, supplement to Dziennik Polski 38 (1937): 17.  
57Hrabyk, 517.  
58Cf. Madyda, Zygmunt Haupt. Życie i twórczość literacka, 26; Madyda, Haupt. Monografia, 307–308.  
were indicators of his future, more mature, style and skills. These texts, together with texts published in *As*, were also enough for Haupt to be accepted as a member of the Polish Writers’ Trade Union in the late 1930s.

When Haupt was publishing in *Dziennik Polski*, he and his colleagues also appeared as guests on *Studio Młodych* [Young Studio] broadcasted by the Polish Radio. The first broadcast took place on July 12, the second one exactly a month later. The reviewer who discussed these auditions in Hrabyk’s magazine considered them “a kind of experiment, and a successful one, especially when it comes to talking about the most important literary matters, such as technique.” The audition broadcasted on July 12 was praised for its effortlessness. The audition broadcasted on August 12 was more hermetic, but such a way of talking about literature could “be considered interesting by the listener.” The reviews of both broadcasts indicate that they enjoyed some degree of success and were positively assessed by listeners. The reviewer also, almost incidentally, reveals that Haupt was now regarded a member of Rybałci not only by his colleagues from *Kolumna Rybałtów* and the editor-in-chief of *Dziennik Polski* but also the general public. The reviewer names Haupt as one of the members of Rybałci next to Baumgardten, Rogowski, Freudman and Żuławski. Despite the success of the first two broadcasts, the third, scheduled for September 12, to the regret of a different reviewer, did not take place. No other broadcasts were made. It was a sign that the group of young artists associated with *Dziennik Polski* began to drift apart. The group ceased to exist in the fall, and its members left Hrabyk’s magazine. On October 10, 1937, the last issue of *Kultura i Życie* and the last *Kolumna Rybałtów* were published; however, the authors who started the column did not publish their texts in the final installment. When *Kolumna Rybałtów* was discontinued, Hrabyk began to publish *Dział Literacki* [Literary Supplement] instead; this supplement was published in the Monday edition of the newspaper, and former members of Rybałci began to publish their texts in other magazines, both in Lviv and outside of Lviv.

My friends

In February 1937, in issues 45 and 52 of *Dziennik Polski*, Haupt published two parts of *Moi przyjaciele* [My Friends], an autobiographical short story à clef. He described his friends and

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60All quotes are from Bordan [sic!], “Biesiady «Rybałtów» przed mikrofonem P.R.” [Rybalci in the Polish radio], *Dziennik Polski* 225 (1937): 7.
61Cf. a different interpretation of these broadcasts in: Madyda, Haupt. Monografia, 80–81.
62Cf.: “«Studio młodych» […] provided a platform for the literary group Rybalci; two broadcasts were met with interest. Listeners looked forward to the next episode which was to be broadcasted later this month on September 12. Unfortunately, the general public who is quite interested in the concerns and creative problems of the young generation of writers instead could listen to a radio essay about Asnyk delivered by a young Polish philologist-student at local university. Either the radio has had enough of Rybalci or Rybalci this time... screwed up. The latter is more likely. We’ll see, or rather hear, next month.” Mart. [sic!], “Na lwowskiej antenie” [On Lviv Radio], *Dziennik Polski* 257 (1937): 7.
63In the final Kolumna Rybałtów, *Krytyka i Życie* 41, supplement to *Dziennik Polski* 279 (1937) Włodzimierz Podwyszyński and Wrześniewska’s prose texts were published as well as a fragment of Ovid’s Metamorphoses entitled Niobe translated by Artur Ćwikowski.
colleagues, other members of Rybałci, who were referred to in the story as “Truwerzy” [Trouvères]. Although Haupt used pseudonyms, it is not difficult to connect the characters with their prototypes from Lviv’s literary scene in the 1930s. The charismatic teacher, Ryszard Brandsteter, is Troczewski, that is the manager of the dormitory at Mochnackiego 32. Julisz Włoch, who expresses communist sympathies, is Hollender, and his “inseparable satellite,” Narcyz Briquet, is Banaś. The “true poet” Zdzisław Modrzewski is Rogowski, and the funny Kurt Fóhn-Żagielski is Wind. Rafał Breitman, as if taken straight from “Thackeray’s The Book of Snobs,” is the temperamental Freudman. And Alojzy Zamsz, the fictional editor of Zastrzaly, is Kuryluk, the editor of Sygnały.

The paragraph cited below, although not as masterful as Haupt’s post-war stories, is interesting for at least two reasons. The first one is the style. The paragraph reads: “Noszę w sobie zimne ostrza wspomnień, faktów, zdarzeń. W plątaninie swych dróg, przyjaciele, będziecie przechodzić koło mnie. Będziecie wyciągać ze mnie swoje noże, będziecie patrzeć w lustro ich kling i wróżyć z plam krwi. To tylko moja krew… przyjaciele” [I carry inside me the cold blades of memories, facts, events. In your complex ways, my friends, you will pass me by. You will pull your knives out of me; you will look at their mirror blades and read the blood stains. It’s just my blood… friends].

The melancholic “I” that may be found in the writer’s mature works also appears in this text. The “I,” although not yet alienated from his friends and colleagues, predicts the loss of his, as Haupt put it, “worlds” in the future. Still, the “I” is not nostalgic when it comes to the past. On the contrary, his body is filled with “cold blades of memories,” which may be read as a commentary on the theme of melancholic incorporation. These blades hurt but when you try to remove them, they cause more serious injuries. The “I” loses blood, an ancient carrier of vital forces, whose element (air) according to Aristotle, helped cope with melancholy and illuminated its darkness with a clarity of vision. As if in the last flash of clarity, the “I” foretells, and since Aristotle and Theophrastus melancholy has been associated with prophetic visions, that his will be the same fate as befell brothers in a fairy tale quoted in the story – death. And his loved ones will learn about it from the bloody marks on an old dagger.

The second reason is related to the author’s personal experiences. Although the story is not a documentary, it clearly shows how important Rybałci were to Haupt in the 1930s. Haupt was a member of the group; he was recognized as one of them by other Rybalci, critics, and readers alike. Also, the writer considered Rybalci his friends. He spent time with them and shared his concerns, modest resources, thoughts, and creative achievements. Rybalci – first as a rather informal artistic and literary group, then as a fairly big group of people associated with...
With “Young Lviv,” and finally a small group of authors writing for Dziennik Polski – played a formative role in Haupt’s, both private (Rybałci were Haupt’s friends) and professional (Haupt became and developed as a writer among them, only to become one of the masters of contemporary Polish literature), life.

While in literature and legends Lviv was a “city of blurred borders” that was “always smiling,” the city was a difficult place to live in the interwar period. Torn by national and political conflicts and provincialized, it did not provide its residents with a sense of security or stability. Undoubtedly, it was also not the most inspirational place for the development of innovative tendencies in art and literature. For this reason, cultural phenomena which in other centers, such as Warsaw, Vilnius or Poznań, might seem unimportant and peripheral acquired a special meaning in Lviv, becoming at first individual, then more and more popular and bold, traces of Lviv’s unique “style” in modern art, literature, and cultural literary studies. The Rybałci group was one such phenomenon. Even if in the early 1930s Rybałci somewhat pretentiously called themselves “the poets of ‘Young Lviv,’” they soon became such poets, creating an avant-garde center and one of the most interesting points on the literary map of the city. They were Haupt’s friends and colleagues; they shaped him as a young man. Sometimes they supported him financially. More importantly, however, they constantly inspired him and directed him towards literature, thus making an unprecedented contribution to the writer’s biography and the history of literature. This earliest Lviv period in Haupt’s life cannot, of course, be regarded as the most prolific or important. However, if it failed to give us a masterpiece, it was only because it was so brief and soon interrupted by World War Two. Haupt had his whole life and many outstanding works ahead of him.

translated by Małgorzata Olsza

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KEYWORDS

Sygnały

Zygmunt Haupt

Abstract:
The article is a critical reconstruction of the early period of Zygmunt Haupt’s artistic life against the background of the intellectual and artistic life of Lviv in the 1930s. Lviv’s political, social, and cultural situation in the 1930s was very complicated. It was a multinational and vibrant urban center, but it was marked by probably the most serious national animosities in the Second Polish Republic. Literature and the study of literature in the city were rather conservative. In the mid-1930s, however, the intellectual and artistic life of the city began to change. Against the background of these changes, the article discusses the nature of Haupt’s early career and his connections with the literary group called Rybalci. At the same time, it attempts to answer the questions to what extent the Lviv period turned out to be formative in Haupt’s artistic life and what artistic and social significance Rybalci had for Haupt, among whom he was not a leading figure.
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“In our region...”, or Haupt’s “Letychiv district”

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Haupt’s “prail”

“U nas” [In our region]. Where is that? “Każydy z nas” [We all], Zygmunt Haupt writes, “wywodzi się z jakieśgo «prailu», każdy pozostawił za sobą wody, które kiedyś «czerpał w niemowłecie dłonie»” [hail from some ‘prail,’ we all left behind the waters that we once ‘took in our baby hands’].1 So where can Haupt-the writer’s “prail” [primordial clay] be found? The “biographical” answer seems simple and unequivocal: Zygmunt, son of Ludwik and Aldona was born in Ulashkivtsi [Pol. Ułaszkowce], in the Chortkiv district of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the early spring of 1907, “nastąpiło stworzenie świata” [the world was created [for Haupt – TS]] in Ulashkivtsi. He “temu stworzeniu się przyglądał” [looked at the creation of the world] (Z kroniki o latającym domu [From the Chronicle of the Flying House] BD 416) in Ulashkivtsi. Alas, was Haupt-the writer born there as well? Are the

worlds he created based on Ulashkivtsi? Only on Ulashkivtsi? After all, Haupt was surprised that so little was left “z tamtego świata” [of that world]. This accumulation of pronouns results not so much from stylistic clumsiness as from an attempt to refer to the writer’s pronominal tendencies, or the “pronominal” specificity of his descriptions, and spatial “orientation,” which manifested itself with particular force in the era of “zagubienie na drugim końcu świata” [being lost at the other end of the world]. It was then that the writer confessed with resignation: “a u nas o takim, co przepadł, o kim zapomniano, było powiedzenie, że «uciekł, gdzie pieprz rośnie»” [In our region, someone who was lost, who was forgotten, “run for the hills”] (Tam, gdzie rosną poziomki – i gdzie pieprz rośnie... [Where wild strawberries grow – and where people run for the hills... ] ZR 130).

Probably no other Polish émigré writer (including those who were not allowed to live among their “praił”), including even those painfully “imprisoned” in nostalgia, showed such a steadfast predilection for comparing their current world with their former world, “our” world. Haupt was probably aware of this. In the short story Oak Alley nad Missisipi [Oak Alley on the Mississippi] he noted that he “posługuje się [...] ciągle sztuką paraleli” [constantly uses the art of parallel] (BD 710). We find it in many other texts. Here are some examples: “u nas2 to były chwasty, zielinina, którą żęła zakrzywionym sierpem do zgrzebnej płachty o porannej lub wieczornej rosie chłopka” [in our region, there were weeds, greens, which a peasant woman cut with a curved sickle and put in a coarse piece of cloth in the early morning or in the evening] (W Paryżu i w arkadii [In Paris and Arcadia] BD 215); “u nas, na Podolu” [in our region, in Podolia] (Meine liebe Mutter, sei stolz, Ich trage die Fahne BD 259); “sterczą na nich ruiny zamków i warowni, jak u nas na Podolu, regularnie według linii, jak u nas Trembowła, Czortków, Jagielnica, Skala” [ruins of castles and strongholds stand on top of them, like in our Podolia, regularly, in a line, like in our Tereblovia, Chortkiv, Yahilnytsia, Skala] (Barbarzyńcy patrzą w krajobraz podbitego kraju [Barbarians look at the landscape of a conquered country] 375); “sterczą mury i bastiony ruin zamków, jak to u nas, jak wzdłuż doliny Seretu albo Gnilej Lipy, albo Wereszychy” [walls and bastions of destroyed castles stick out, you can often find them in our region, along the valley of the Siret or the Hnyla Lypa or the Vereshytsya] (379); “tam koniki chodziły w hołoblach – nie tak jak u nas dyszlowe pary” [where horses walked in single harnesses – not in pairs like in our region] (Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Wełnowskiego [Report on Wełnowski’s non-arrival] BD 609); “mówiło się u nas: «ruski», «Rusini»” [we used to say Ruthenians, or Ruthenian] (El Pelele BD 526); “i żadne tam u nas hołoble, ale para u dyszla” [and our horses do not walk in single harnesses – we hitch a team of horses] (Z Laczczyny [From Polish lands] BD 630); “służy telegrafu jak u nas na Wołyniu smutne i krzyżowe” [telegraph poles like in our Volhynia are sad and cross-like] (Luizjana [Louisiana] BD 686); “u nas Rusini mówili: «żeleznięcia». [...] u nas magistrale miały solidny tłuczeń” [in our region the Ruthenians used to say: ‘żeleznięcia.’ [...] our track ballast was made of solid crushed stone] (Luizjana BD 688); “nie takie, jak smarowane i oszalowane deskami nasze drewniane wieże borysławskie” [not like the greased and boarded wooden towers of Boryslav] (Luizjana BD 692); “dalibóg, jak u nas dziedziczka na wsi” [like our heiress in the country] (Oak Alley nad Missisipi BD 708); “wzięte na drewniane kołki i kliny jak u nas, jak dachy naszych kościołów i dzwonnic cerkiewnych. [...] Jak u nas, strychy są zbiorowiskiem i składem emerytowanych

2 Emphasis mine – TS
meblí" [turned into wooden pegs and wedges like in our region, like the roofs of our Christian and Orthodox churches and belfries. [...] Like in our region, old furniture is kept in the attic] 

(Oak Alley nad Missisipi BD 709). However, while in these short stories it is quite easy to define a vaguely specific space that is not “ours,” which signifies only in relation to the “other” reality (Lithuania, Paris, Louisiana), it is usually difficult to say, apart from very few exceptions (Podolia from the short story Barbarzyńcy patrzą w krajobraz podbitego kraju, Borisyav from Luizjana), what the writer means by “our region.” Because it can be Podolia and the Siret, eastern Roztochia and the Vereshytsya, and the Lviv region and the Hnyla Lypa.

Haupt often juxtaposes in his texts “there” and “here,” and “here” means roughly the same as “in our region,” and is as difficult to define. However, not in terms of emotional value: “there” is the space “where wild strawberries grow,” and “here” is where “people run for the hills.” “Here” is a distant, lost, alien place. Importantly, “here” and “there” have a spatial, emotional, and temporal meaning. The writer sadly notes: “trzeba oddzielić się od przestrzeni, jak by to nie było trudne i niemożliwe, powiedzieć sobie: tu jest 

**tu**, a tam jest **tam**” [you have to separate yourself from space, however difficult and impossible it may be, say to yourself: here is here, and there is there] (Warianty [Variants] BD 575). One wants to reclaim the past, one wants to “sprzęgnięcia i związania przeszłości i teraźniejszości” [connect and join the past and the present] (O Stefcia, o Chaimie Immerglücku i o scytyjskich bransoletkach [About Stefcia, about Chaim Immerglück and about Scythian bracelets] BD 229). “There” implies, above all, a sense of security. To forget about the “horrors” of the unknown foreign reality of war and the watchful eyes of “łapsów Siguranzy czy Abwehry” [the Siguranța and the Abwehr] one could escape “we wspomnienia, tam, gdzie było tak swojsko” [into memories, there, into the known] (Baskijski diabeł BD 535). Because “było tam dobrze aż do niepokoju” [you felt good there, almost to the point of feeling anxious] (Entropy BD 25).

Because “ziemia tamtejsza [...] uwodzi” [the land there [...] seduces] (Dzisiaj, przedwczoraj, wczoraj, jutro... [Today, the day before yesterday, yesterday, tomorrow...] ZR 133). “There” is helpless and poor, and thus emotional: **tam** gonty przechnieją czarne i wstawia się łaty z białego drzewa, [...] tu wielka z lanego żelaza misa, [...] **tam** nasturcje w skrzynkach i róże «sztamowe», a tu kamelie, azalie, i zielone sztylety jukki” [there, shingles rot and turn black and patches of white wood are inserted [...] here, we have a large cast iron bowl [...] there, we have nasturtiums in boxes and rambling roses, and here we have camellias, azaleas and daggers of green yucca] (Oak Alley nad Missisipi BD 711). Haupt also fondly remembered “cierpliwa **tamtejsza** ludność” [patient locals] (“Baskijski diabel BD 536) with whom “myśmy **tam** żyli, współżyli” [we lived there, we lived together] (El Pelele BD 526). Only once, when reconstructing political cordons from before the Great War, did the writer reverse the relationship between “there” and “here:” “tamten kraj pozostał tamtym krajem, a tutaj było tutaj” [that country remained that country, and here was here] (Fragments BD 427). “That country” (for Haupt it was also Kamianets-Podilskyi, Proskurov and Vinnytsia) was the Romanov Empire, while “here” was the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Over one hundred years of divisions (since the second partition of the Republic of Poland) had left a mark. Not all of Podolia, in Haupt’s world, was “ours.” Only Galician Podolia was “ours.”

However, while it took place relatively rarely, Haupt did compare both realities without openly referring to the categories of “here” and “there,” juxtaposing what is “ours,” some “disconnect-ed fragments” of “our” world with “there.” As if he wanted not so much to “tame” the foreign landscape, but to transplant it from the proximity of “there” to the strangeness of “here.” As in
the English Midlands: “Obraz tutaj bardzo dziwny. Pejzaż, na który składały się równo ucięte spad wzgórz i płaska dolina Ikwy” [The landscape is very strange here. The hills which go down towards the river and the flat valley of the Ikva] (Rigor mortis BD 173). He felt it near New Orleans, where he dreamed that “że za chwilę ktoś zażenie do środka stadko owiec i capów” [in a moment someone will take a flock of sheep and goats inside], that instead of a bottle of Coca-Cola there will be a “gliniane naczynie z winem” [clay jar filled with wine], “że któryś z […] młodych chwatów w wypłowiach niebieskich spodniach jeans zagra na jakichś dudach czy innej drumli, a nie będzie kręcił śrubką radia. Czego to się nie zachciewa…” [that one of the […] young chaps in faded blue jeans will play the bagpipes or the harp, and not turn on the radio. Oh, sweet dreams...] (Henry Bush i jego samolot [Henry Bush and his plane] BD 413).

However, as have I mentioned, such moments are rare, because when Haupt abandons the “here–there” spatial binaries and reaches for the toponymic and the cartographic (his texts are full of geographical names), he, as if, specifies the space of the represented world and renders it more precise. Enslaved and intimidated by this “precision,” the critic-cartographer is surprised to discover fundamental difficulties with demarcating the borders of the writer’s “true homeland.” Haupt seems to indicate them: “mój kraj – od doliny jednej rzeki do drugiej, od jaru do jaru, od Miodobórów i Pantalichy do żębistaj sierry Karpat” [my land – from one river valley to another, from one ravine to the next, from the Medobory Hills and the Pantalycha to the toothy sierras of the Carpathians] (Entropia BD 21). However, it quickly turns out that these literary borders cannot be transferred to a geographical space. For if we stop for a moment and think about space and place, it turns out that the writer did not only define the borders of “his land” but also romanticized and poetized it – it is a magic kingdom surrounded by rivers, ravines, mountains and steppes. It is “kray czterech pór roku” [the land of the four seasons] (Entropia BD 22). Haupt does not specify what ravines, what rivers marked the borders of his land. We can identify some of them thanks to the names “Medobory Hills” and “Pantalycha,” which mean little or nothing to the contemporary Polish reader. The first toponym, according to the definition found in the nineteenth-century Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego [Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland], is “a part of the Carpathian mountains which merges with the Carpathians in the vicinity of Olesko and Podhorz in Galicia, [which] extends into the province of Podolia.” Haupt refers to the latter.

“Pantalycha,” respectively, has two meanings: it is a small village located near Terebovlia and also the Strusiv steppes located “at the highest point of the watershed between the Strypa and the Siret” (Haupt referred to the latter). We know that because Haupt made it

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3 “Niezliczone imiona miejsc jak drogowskazy. [...] Jak zasłuchać się w imiona rzek, dolin, lasów, szczytów górskich, wsi, miasteczk i miast, to jedne swym brzmieniem przywołują całe panaramy światów zagrzebanych na cmentarzyszkach pamięci, a zwou inne zaszokują nie znanym odkryciem” [Countless names of places are like signposts. [...] If you listen to the names of rivers, valleys, forests, mountain peaks, villages, towns, and cities, some of them evoke whole panoramas of worlds buried in the cemeteries of memory, and others surprise you with the unknown] (Inwokacja do powiatu latyczowskiego ZR 117).

4 Stanisław Vincenz, Dialogi z sovietami [Dialogues with the Soviets] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Znak, 1991) 7.


clear that the first of the mentioned rivers is the Siret, the left tributary of the Dniester, on which Ulashkivtsi was (and still is). The second river is the Strypa, which is another left tributary of the Dniester. The Strypa was the western border of the Podolia Voivodeship of the Kingdom of Poland. The author of the entry in *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego* described the lands which lie between these two rivers in an almost poetic way: “The entire plateau, covering several square miles, was a steppe, […] it is almost completely flat, so that only at the very Strypa and the Siret rivers it suddenly turns into precipitous banks, at the foot of which both rivers flow in deep gorges, and densely populated settlements are scattered along both rivers.” From one ravine to the next, just like described by Haupt. The “identification” of the rivers thus makes it possible to mark the eastern and western borders of Haupt’s “land.” Alas, where should we place “the toothy sierras of the Carpathians”? If in the south-west, then the border on the Strypa valley does not work. So maybe the other river was the Dniester? Perhaps Haupt meant the valleys between the Siret and the Dniester? It seems unlikely, however, because Jerzy Stempowski, who grew up near the Dniester, in a letter to Haupt emphasized that his “native region,” “further Ukraine, which lies closer to the Black Sea,” differed from Haupt’s Eastern Galicia, whose charm he also “uległ” [surrendered to] (*Inwokacja do powiatu latyczowskiego* ZR 121). Haupt was right when he wrote that “toponomastyka może nam dać dobrego łupnia!” [toponomastics can be tricky!] (*Inwokacja…* ZR 117). It is even more tricky for the meticulous cartographer-reader, who instead of locating toponyms has to decipher beautiful poetic periphrases.

Such research, which combines literature, cartography, and attempts at concretization, is by no means meant to demonstrate the writer’s geographical ignorance (or the fact that he plays a cartographic game with the reader), because Haupt proved many times that not only did he know foreign lands well, but he also wanted to be “po baedekerowsku pedantyczny” [pedantic like Baedeker] (*Lutnia* [Lute] BD 450) and tried to “uprzytomnić sobie [i czytelnikowi – TS] teraz topografię [opisywanych] tamtych stron” [remember [and help the reader understand] – TS] the topography of [the described] lands (*Stacja Zielona* [Green Station] ZR 266). The point is, first of all, to understand what territories Haupt had in mind when he solemnly assured that “że ziemia tamtejsza w jakiś sposób uwodzi” [the land there somehow seduces], that “biją w niej jakieś kastalskie źródła natchnień” [you can find there some Castalian springs of inspiration] (*Dzisiaj, przedwczoraj, wczoraj, jutro* ZR 133). That, in a word, it is there that

7 “Pomimo naszym domem a Seretem były pastwiska” [There were pastures between our house and the Siret] (Fragmenty BD 427). “Wspomnienie kapieli w Serecie, wielka wyprawa do Seretu, ale to gdzieś daleko, i szlo się latem, a powietrze aż stoii od popołudniowej spiekoty, i szlo się skosami ‘ścianek’ Seretu, gdzie wyłażą cienkie warstwy skałek” [Memories of bathing in the Siret, a great trip to the Siret, but it is somewhere far away, and you would walk to the river in the summer, and the air would be still in the afternoon heat, and you would walk along the diagonal ‘walls of the Siret, where thin layers of rocks can be seen] (Fragmenty BD 432).

8 *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego…*, vol. VII, 845.


you can find Haupt’s “prait.” The simplest answer, though we must be aware of its imprecision and anachronism, is that Haupt was talking about Ukrainian lands directly mentioned in the short story *Dzisiaj, przedwczoraj, wczeraj, jutro*. Such an answer would undoubtedly be justified by the context in which the words about the inspirational “land [which lies] there” appear. Haupt quotes Henryk Sienkiewicz’s column about girls from Ukraine, daughters of “ukraińskich obszarników – i tych urodzonych, i tych dorobkiewiczów, co urodzonych wyzuli z ich czarnoziemu i cukrowni” [Ukrainian landowners – both those who come from money and those who earned it, who robbed those who come from money of their chernozem and sugar refineries] (ZR 133). Haupt also made a list of Polish writers who were inspired by Ukrainian “Krynice, Kernycie” which included Stanisław Vincenz, Julian Wołoszynowski, Antoni Bogusławski, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, Michał Choromański, Jerzy Stempowski, Andrzej Kuśniewicz, Leopold Buczkowski, Stanisław Lem, Witold Szolginia, and Włodzimierz Odorowski.11 He also sometimes mentioned Andrzej Chciuk. What connects all those writers? All of them, those born in Warsaw or Poznań, as well as those from Krakow, Lviv, Drohobych, or Kolomyja, addressed in their works the broadly defined “Ukrainian” issues. But is this criterion enough to place the “Russian” writers Iwaszkiewicz, Choromański, and Bogusławski on the same plane as the “Galician” writers? How to find a common ground for the “Transnistrian” Stempowski, the “Hutsul” Vincenz, the “Podolian” Wołoszynowski, the “Lviv” Lem and Szolginia, and the “Kiev-Jelizavetgrad” Iwaszkiewicz and Choromański? For Haupt, Zhytomyr, which is not far from Ulashkivtsi, was an “exotic” town, perceived only through the prism of Brandt’s and Kossak’s paintings (*Kulig* [Sleigh ride] BD 78-79). And Kamianets-Podilskiy and Proskurov (now Khmelnytskyi) were territorially close but “foreign.” Not to mention Kiev, which was completely foreign. In *El Pelele*, the writer revealed that he did not like and should not “zapuszczać się w teren egzotyczny, nie z autopsi” [venture into an exotic territory, which he did not know first-hand] (*El Pelele* BD 520). And he only knew “first-hand” the western lands of contemporary Ukraine, its parts, so adopting Ukraine as the toponym of the “source” of Haupt’s literary inspirations seems too broad. Anyway, Haupt himself noticed and emphasized the borders between “Ukrainian” lands: “To był zbieg kilku krain, ten poligon […]: od wschodu to Polesie się zaczynało, od południa kraj Wołynia, a po drugiej stronie to już etnograficznie czysto rzeką odcięte Podlasie z Podlasjakami” [Different lands came together there, on this training ground […]: Polesia began from the east, the country of Volhynia from the south, and on the other side, Podlachia, with the Podlachian people, was cut off ethnographically by the river] ([Poligon leżał pomiędzy Bugiem i Muchawcem…] [The training ground was located between the Bug and the Mukhavets rivers…] ZR 333). In a different short story, he wrote about the lands “gdzieś daleko na wschodzie, na styku Wołynia i Podola” [somewhere far in the east, where Volhynia and Podolia met] (*Wyspa Galapagos i wyprawa na Mount Everest* [The Galapagos Islands and the expedition to Mount Everest] BD 126). In the short story *Zolota hramota* [The Golden Writ], he mentioned (perhaps in passing) a toponomastic distinction that is often present in Polish émigré literature (it is today completely outdated).12

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He quoted a fragment of the enfranchisement decree from the times of the January Uprising. The insurgent government appealed to the people of Volhynia, Polesia, Ukraine, and Kiev region, and Ukraine meant one of the historical lands (of the modern state) located east of Podolia and Volhynia. From the perspective of Haupt’s spatial “axiology,” “Ukraine” which was thus defined was an “exotic” territory.

Therefore, we should find a toponym narrower in meaning than “Ukraine,” which would specify and define the world of Haupt’s inspirations and explorations. Bolesław Hadaczek came up with “Holy Galilee.” From the historical and geographical point of view, however, it seems to be too narrow a concept, because it is impossible to locate Volhynia with Kremenets within its borders. It is possible, however, and probably Hadaczek acted on this, to read “Holy Galilee” as a kind of spatial metaphor. The two titles of Haupt’s stories, Z Laczczyny and Z Roksolanii seem to suggest that the writer was looking for quasi-cartographic terms by means of which he could contain not only the space of the world represented in his texts but also the space of his creative “praił.” But can these “lands” be found on a map? There is no problem with Roksolania; this name may be found in Polish literature, also in the texts from its Golden Age. It had been present in the Polish-Ruthenian history, mostly in reference to the conflict over Red Ruthenia in the Middle Ages, and in the Polish-Ukrainian history, mostly in reference to the wars over the Red Ruthenian lands in the 19th and 20th centuries. Haupt describes it in detail: “Latopisy, kronikarze mówili o księstwach łuczkich, włoszczynskich, halickich, o Rusi Czerwonej i Grodach Czerwieńskich [...] a samą ziemię nazywano Rusią, Hałyczyną, Galicją, ukraińskim Piemontem. Ludzi jej nazywało się Rusinami, Rusynami, grekokatolikami, unitami” [The annalists and chroniclers spoke of the principalities of Lutsk, Volodymyr, Halych, Red Ruthenia and The Cherven Cities [...] , and the land itself was called Ruthenia, the Halych lands, Galicia, and Ukrainian Piedmont. Its people were called Ruthenians, Ruthene, Greek Catholics, Uniates] (Z Roksolanii ZR 141-142). The writer does not include his native Podolia in the borders of “Roksolania” and rightly so. Are we then allowed to extend its literary meaning?

The “toponym” “Laczczyna” is more problematic. Neither Haupt, who did not define it, nor any historical, literary, or geographic sources can help the intrigued reader understand what it stands for. Apart from the title, “Laczczyna” does not appear in the short story, as if Haupt was convinced that everyone knew what it meant. And it is a vague term. It does not seem

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13 “Waszi brat’ja Polaky wziąłysia szczoby wasich do sebe přyłučzyty – vsich... i Wołynciw i Polisia i Ukrajinu i Pobereža – szczoby wy z namy razom znały jich prawo, i do kotreho prawa chcucz’ was przypustyty...” (Zołota hramota [The Golden Writ] ZR 55).


to appear in Polish literature, apart from Haupt’s prose. However, it does appear in Ukrainian journalism. In *List ruskich narodowców* [Letter of Ruthenian Nationalists], i.e., in the first manifesto of the Ukrainian national movement written by the Greek Catholic priest Danylo Taniazkzewycz (1867), “Laczczyna” is a synonym of Polish national sentiments that are equally threatening to Ukrainians as Russian national sentiments. For Haupt, however, “Laczczyna” is a proper name, perhaps coined in reference to the Turkish “Lechistan” [Polish lands] (which could be linked to a “story-within-a-story” about Michał Czajkowski, Sadyk Pasha, quoted in the text). Therefore, “Laczczyna” is a term used by the Ukrainian population to designate lands owned by Polish people, the Lechites, “panowie.” It is thus a negative and hostile name, which the peasant Ukrainian population used to express their contempt, anger, and rebellion. Thus, “Laczczyna” emerges as endowed with a metaphorical meaning, however, only as regards the socio-national aspects of Haupt’s texts. It was important for the writer, but definitely too narrow as a space of inspiration.

And what about the “Letychiv district”? This name, contrary to appearances, is not a metaphor, or rather, it is not just a metaphor. Letychiv, a “poor, muddy town,” became the capital of a new district created at the beginning of the 17th century. Its territory was separated from the huge Kamianets-Podilskyi district. However, the administrative problems of the former Republic of Poland are not important here; what is important is the role that Haupt attributed to the “Letychiv district.” He referred to Zygmunt Krasinski who was offended by the Lithuanian invocation in the opening verses of *Pan Tadeusz*, in which Poland was “replaced” by Lithuania: “brakowałoby tylko inwokacji do powiatu latyczowskiego” [the only thing missing would be an invocation to the Letychiv district] ([*Inwokacja...* ZR 116]). Krasinski’s ironic remark caught Haupt off guard, but he found in it beautiful and unexpected meanings. In his view, the Letychiv district grew into a spatial metaphor of “places of origin,” where all artists who are detached from their “praił” can look for inspiration. The changing borders

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17 Danylo Taniazkewycz (Pyśmo narodowców ruśskich do redakcji politycznej czasopysy. “Rus” jako protest y memoryjał (Spysaw Fedor Czornohora) [pseud.], (Vienna: Sommer Verlag, 1867) wrote: “nam Moskowszczyzna odnako w duszu nejde, szczo wasza laczczyna”; quote after: https://books.google.com.ua/books [date of access: 10 Feb. 2022].

18 This assumption is confirmed by Jerzy Stempowski who in a letter to Haupt writes that people who transported goods across the Dniester “from Zhvanets to Khotyn” used to say that they crossed “Laczczyna na Tureczczyna” [from Polish lands to Turkish lands], cf. Jerzy Stempowski, *List do Zygmunta Haupta* [Letter to Zygmunt Haupt], Kultura 1972, no. 4 (295), 73.


21 In fact, Krasinski repeated the words of Stefan Witwicki, antagonized by Mickiewicz’s “strange absent-mindedness” revealed in the invocation. Witwicki was afraid of the consequences of Mickiewicz’s “mistake: “perhaps soon some new poet, supposedly imitating Mickiewicz, will open his epic poem with the words: Oh, land of Chersk, my homeland! – or: Oh, the Letychiv district, my homeland”; quote after: Piotr Chmielowski, “Oceny Pana Tadeusza” [Reviews of Pan Tadeusz], Ateneum. Pismo Naukowe i Literackie 1885, vol. II, 320-321; https://docplayer.pl/220809742-.html [date of access: 10 Feb. 2022]; cf. also Krezysztof Rutkowski, “Mizdra i lico, czyli o Haupcie” [Flesh and face, or about Haupt], Twórczość 1991, no. 6.

22 “Dla mnie osobiście (nie artystycznie) każda inwokacja do powiatu latyczowskiego w literaturze krajowej jest czymś bezcennym” [For me personally (not artistically) every invocation to the Letychiv district in Polish literature is priceless] (Pisarze emigracyjni a literatura krajowa. Odpowiedź na ankietę ‘Wiadomości’ ZR 190).
of this “district” are each time marked only by the imagination of the artist, “nie dorysowany czy przerysowany realizm snów” [not adjoined or exaggerated realism of dreams] (Pisarze emigracyjni a literatura krajowa. Odpowiedź na ankietę ‘Wiadomości’ [Émigré writers and Polish literature. Response to the ‘Wiadomości’ survey ZR 190). This imagination grows out of a unique and special “soil,” combining geographically quite distant spaces, as is often the case in Haupt’s texts. The banks of the Siret and Volhynia, the Gorgany and the Cherven Lands, Polesia, and even Transcarpathia...

The topography and toponymy of the “Letychiv” district

“Czy istnieje piękniejszy na świecie kraj od Podola?” [Is there a more beautiful land in the world than Podolia?], Haupt asks, only seemingly rhetorically, because he immediately replies with a poetic, somewhat hidden, though very elaborate apostrophe to the land of “roślin najbardziej sprzyjających człowiekowi” [plants most favorable to man], “zwierząt najłagodniejszych i najprzedeziwniejszych w formie i czarze ruchów” [the gentlest animals and the strangest animals as regards their shape and charming movements], “ludzi sennych, naiwnych i prostych” [sleepy, naive and simple people], “drzew rozsypanych wzdłuż stawów jak uriańskie perły na srebrze zwierciadła” [trees scattered along the ponds like oriental pearls on a silver mirror], “miasteczek małych i kolorowych w cieniu białych barokowych wież kościółów” [small and colorful towns in the shadow of white baroque church towers] (‘Bateria śmierci’ 1. Pułku Artylerii Motorowej. W święto pułku [‘Battery of Death’ of the 1st Motor Artillery Regiment. On the Regiment’s Holiday] ZR 201). However, it would be a mistake to submit too eagerly to this idyllic vision of Podolia, determined by the incidental nature of the text which was written to celebrate a military holiday. In Haupt’s memoirs of Podolia, the images of these lands and their descriptions change frequently. It is not always synonymous with Eden. Haupt admits that “trudno określić, spreparować […] jego określenie” [it is difficult to come up with its definition] (Warianty BD 573). He sometimes calls it “zapadłe Podole galicyjskie” [provincial Galician Podolia] (Zamierzchłe echa BD 701), which, however, does not necessarily mean that the land is not construed as idyllic. Haupt is also able to see this beautiful “kraj czterech pór roku” [the land of the four seasons] as fundamentally different from the vision of the “zasiedziałych mieszkańców Podola” [old residents of Podolia]. He quotes a vulgar disrespectful name used by the officers of the imperial Austrian army who were stationed in Podolia during their training; those “wiedeńskie fircyki” [Viennese dandies] – they called Podolia “«Arschhöhle», więc już nie samo Arsch” [‘Arschhöhle,’ so not just Arsch] (Warianty BD 573). Haupt is not too angry, for he realizes that the beauty of Podolia “ani się równać do pocztówkowej malowniczości innych dykasterii” [cannot compare to the postcard picturesqueness of other districts] (Warianty BD 573). He also reminds the reader, albeit with some dose of regret, that “przetaczały się wszystkie armie, zaciągi, pochody, marsze, treny, forszypane, zagony, watahy («Sława Melnykowi i joho Kozakam!» na transparentie w poprzek ulicy), tabory, podwody, gruzowiki” [all armies, enlistments, parades, marches, trains, Vorspanns, groups, packs (“Sława Melnykowi i joho Kozakam!”]

23Haupt was not alone in his admiration for Podolia. Zygmunt Gloger (op. cit., p. 238) wrote that “Podolian Borderlands” were “the most beautiful and richest Slavic lands.”

24He repeated it in a slightly altered yet equally beautiful form in Entropia (BD 21-22).
Haupt consistently expands the boundaries of the land from which his “Castalian springs” gush forth, he shifts horizons and lengthens the radius of his world. From the Siret valley to the Lemko Gorlice, from the southern Transnistria and the Transcarpathian Rachov to Brest in Polesia in the north and Chełm in the west. He reaches for lands which are, as he writes, “daleko od mych stron, bardzo wycięte osobno” [far from my region, very different] (Meine liebe Mutter, sei stolz, Ich trage die Fahne BD 259), “znajome, as I know them from my trips to the mountains, holidays in the countryside and military service] which allowed him to “nasiąknąć tamtejszością” [absorb the local ambient] (Inwokacja… ZR 117). His early texts, which he mentions in Stacja Zielona, were after all associated with Volhynia, not with Podolia: “«...w jesieni dębowy las wołyński ze złotymi pokręconymi przez pierwsze przymrozki liśćmi […]»” ['…the oak autumn forest of Volhynia with golden leaves twisted in the first cold nights [...]'] (Stacja Zielona ZR 264). Also, his later “adult” text (written in 1937), probably his first Volhynian-Ukrainian work, was dedicated to Kremenets in Volhynia. The sui generis “degradation” of Probizhna, a tiny town in Podolia, from its role as “stolica and Metropolis” [capital and metropolis] (“Kiedy będę dorosły”, BD 40) demonstrates that Haupt changed his focus. Lviv became the new Metropolis and capital of Haupt’s spiritual life, and the city used to terrify the little boy with its incomprehensible labyrinth of streets (Kapitan Blood [Captain Blood] BD 85). The same happened to Podolia. That “other” world, abandoned in early childhood, was remembered only in “oderwane fragmenciki” [detached fragments] (Fragmenty BD 427). And only such fleeting reminiscences sometimes appear in Haupt’s texts. Occasionally, he managed to assemble a very beautiful mosaic out of them: “Nie było drzew, nie było ich w tych bezdrożnych stronach. [...] kraj leżał płaski jak tarcza pod łukiem nieba, otwarty i pusty, leżał polem, jednym oddechem – jak ręką zatoczyć, jak okiem zamieść. Czasem urywał się urwiskiem jaru, w którym przeciekały wody, które płynęły teraz kapryśnie na podziemiu. [...] U urwisk jaru czepiały się wsie jak zbiegłe do wody stadko gęsi. Chowały się w lecie w gajach konopnych i sterczały nad nimi kopuły cerkiewne i grusze o osiczkowych liściach” [There were no trees, no trees in this treeless land. [...] everything was flat as a shield under the arch of the sky, open and empty, completely flat, same – as far as the eye could see, as the hand could reach. Sometimes it ended in a ravine cliff where the river leaked, which had washed it thousands of years before and now flowed capriciously in its chosen bed. [...] Villages clung to the cliffs of the ravine like a flock of geese fleeing to a pond. They hid in hemp groves in the summer, and church domes and aspen-leaved pear trees protruded from above them] (Stypa [Wake] BD 192-193). Haupt described “niebywałe wrażenie zieloności pełnego lata” [the unprecedented impression of the greenness of summer] (“Kiedy będę dorosły” BD 40) around Czornokinci in a similar manner.26


26Haupt writes about Mali Czornokinci, a village near Chortkiv, which should not be confused with Velyki Czornokinci in the current Yavoriv district near Lviv.
It was definitely easier for Haupt to paint the landscapes of Volhynia and Red Ruthenia, although he also found it problematic, which was surprising considering his early career as a painter. As if he had nothing to inspire him, as if little remained in the visual memory of his youthful “wałęsanie się tamtędy” [vagabonding], of his drawings of “tamtejszych drewnianych kaplic, cerkwi, podcieni, lawr, baroku monasterów i rokokowa sobórów” [local wooden chapels, Orthodox churches, arcades, lavras, Baroque monasteries and Rococo cathedrals] (Z Roksałanii ZR 143). He barely crossed the threshold of generality, rarely succeeded in capturing the unique topography. From Kremenets he watched the land unfold “jak wachlarz i jak rozsypana talia kart” [like a fan and a deck of cards], over which “czadziła się […] w upale po gorącym dniu śreżoga i chmury układały się w nostalgiczne krajobrazy” [crepuscular rays lurked […] in the heat after a hot day and the clouds formed nostalgic landscapes] (Dziwnie było bardzo, bo… [It was very strange because…] BD 329). In the oak forests of Volhynia, he found places where “królowała […] taczanka” [tachanka […] regined], and when he listened to “echa serii” [the echoes of] rifle shots; he remembered “rozmaitych okupantów i rozmaite władze” [various occupiers and various governments] (Perekotypole [Tumbleweed] BD 513). So, he discreetly referred to war, but not WW2. Perhaps, however, in those “echoes” there were reverberations of a tragedy that was quite close and tragic, although known to him only by hearsay.

Haupt also wrote quite stereotypically about the landscape of the Cherven Lands near Rava-Ruska, Zaborze, and Zelene, to which he devoted the most attention: “Równina, jakieś łąki bardzo podłej klasy popstrzone milionami kretowisk. […] Ubogie przystanki z naftową latarnią u wejścia do telegrafu” [A plain, some poor meadows, dotted with millions of molehills. […] Poor stops with a kerosene street lamps near the entrance to the telegraph] and a forest, which, like a group of people, “zwartym tłumem” [stood closely together]. Still, he loved the colors of this world: “błogosławiony spokój […] zielonych traw, czerwonych pni, srebrnych czubów sosen” [blessed peace […] of green grasses, red trunks, silver tops of pines] (Stacja Zielona ZR 260, 272). In another text he described these lands as “dziwna kraina: kępy brzóz i sosen, wysoka mietlista trawa, zarośla pozbawione liści” [a strange land: clumps of birches and pines, tall, boggy grass, thickets devoid of leaves] (Polowanie wigilijne z Maupassantem [Christmas Eve Hunt with Maupassant] BD 56). He noticed in the monotonous landscape of Rava “ondulację płaskich wzgórz, i podmokłe łąki, biegnące ku wodzie” [a wave of flat hills, and wet meadows running down to the water], and “czarne od wilgoci strzechy dachów, gruszce drżące listkami jak soszyny, buki przy cerkwi, gnojówki podwór i droga biegnąca pośród płotów i wygonów, z kałużami” [thatched roofs, damp and black, pear trees whose leaves trembled like those of aspen trees, beeches by the orthodox church, manure pits in the backyards, and a road running among fences and pastures, dotted with puddles] (Biały mazur [Turnabout Mazur] BD 291). Haupt freed himself from the shackles of the realist painter, describing his visions on a tree stand near Rava-Ruska. He freed his imagination, opened a wide horizon, which he saw “with the eyes of his soul,” and painted-created the panorama of Letychiv: “Czuby i szczyty sosen stały nieruchomo zastęgłymi falami lasu i niosły się het! […] przesypane wydmami piasków i przetkane bagnem i wodą, przekraczały Bug i sztěty, szty na wschód, jak okiem sięgnąć, jak wyobraźnią sięgnąć, sosny, sosny, czasem dęby i znów sosny, i leśna trawa, i dalej na wschód, i poprzez Bug i sto chodów Stochodu, i Śluć, i Horyń, i dalej na wschód” [The crests and tops of the pines stood motionless in the frozen waves of the forest and extended so far away! […] sprinkled with sand dunes and interwoven with swamps
and water, they crossed the Bug and went, went east, as far as the eye could see, as far as imagination could reach, pines, pines, sometimes oaks and pines again, and forest grass, and further east, and across the Bug and the Stokhid, and the Sluch, and the Horyn, and further east] (PIM [II] BD 306). Actually, it should be northeast. In this vision, Haupt combined the Cherven Lands and Volhynia, all the way to Polesia, but without Podolia. This artistic vision is thus not, strictly speaking, his “invocation to the Letychiv district.” Haupt does not care about precision, although he tries to create such an impression when he mentions the names of different towns (Piddubzi, Verbica, Krystynopil). Contrary to his declarations, he does not care about the specifics that he was able to see as a newcomer otherwise “equipped” with the necessary instruments, i.e., foreign “eyes, ears, and awareness.” Perhaps in this way he realized that for him literature was not meant to “nurzacić jawy, ale marzeń” [impose reality, but dreams] (Pisarze emigracyjni a literatura krajowa ZR 190).

Even the relatively extensive description of the Gorgany is dominated by “classic” elements of a mountainous rather than an East-Carpathian landscape: “doliny są wąskie i zaniesione mulem dyluwialnym spłukanym z gór. Jest w nich kilka wsi większych i dosyć rozrzuczonych, jest także kamienista droga” [the valleys are narrow and full of diluvial deposit washed down from the mountains. We find there larger villages, few and far between, there is also a stone road] (Poker w Gorganach [Poker in the Gorgany] BD 241). The image of the domes of orthodox churches does not convey the unique nature of these mountains, even the reference to “ryzarnia,” huge wooden troughs, fails. Haupt notices the “otherness” of the Drohobych-Lviv “moon land,” to quote Chciuk; it differs from “ordinary surroundings” (he literally repeated the same comments when he described his visit at Kazimierz Wierzyński’s house in the nearby Truskavets). However, the writer does not specify what this “otherness” implies. It could be found in the perspective that opens before the viewer: “Z dolin widać tam, z daleka widać, jak sinieje piła, sierra Karpat, od Przełęczy Użockiej po Pantyrską. Stokami gór zbiegają lasy ku wodom Świcy, Łomnicy, Czeczwy, Bystrzycy. […] A w dołach ziemia ta przechodzi w pola, łąki, wsie, osiedla pochowane w gęstwach drzew. Osmoloda, Synowódzko Wyżne, Bolechów, Sołotwina” [From the valleys, from the distance, you can see how blue the saw, the Sierra of the Carpathians, was – from the Uzhok Pass to the Pantyr Pass. Forests run down the slopes of the mountains towards the waters of the Svicha, the Limnytsya, the Chechva, and the Bystrytysya. […] And below, this land turns into fields, meadows, villages, housing estates buried in thickets of trees. Osmoloda, Verkhnie Synovydne, Bolekhiv, Solotvyn] (Inwokacja… ZR 118).

These quotes perfectly illustrate Haupt’s unique “art of description;” the writer probably tried to “compensate” for the lack of topographical details by using toponyms. This is very characteristic of Haupt. Haupt’s Podolia consists of “Jagielnica i Probużna, i Skała, i Borszczów, i Ułaszkowce” [Yahilnytsia, Probizhna, Skala, Borshchiv, and Ulashkivtsi] (Fragmenty 427) as well as Zboriv, Ceczova, Glinna, Mala Plavucha, Velyka Plavucha, Tauriv, Kozova, Konskie, and Poplavi (Stypa). And

27Quote after: Aleksander Madyda, Poślówie [Afterword], in: Zygmunt Haupt, Baskijski diabeł [The Basque Devil], collected, edited and with an editorial note by Aleksander Madyda (Warsaw: Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza Czytelnik 2007), 672.
Volhynia, apart from Kremenets, consists of Katerburg, Zaliztsi, or Vyshnivets and Volochysk, which almost border on Podolia. And in another text, Haupt mentions Kamin-Kashyrskyi, Hrubieszów, Stojaniv, Ostroh, and Rokitne. Finally, the Red Ruthenia consists of Lviv, Rava-Ruska, Stryi, Sambir. The writer is a toponymic “maximalist” (and a topographic “minimalist”), and he also often conceals names of different places. And thus Z. stands for Zaborze. It is a space of hidden love for Panna [Lady] whose coat of arms depicts a girl riding a bear. Respectively, R. most likely stands for Rohatyn. Renaming Chelm as Chlad turns out to be even more surprising. Was Haupt afraid of being accused of insulting the Chelm Jews?

Haupt’s texts are a kind of Podolian-Volhynian-Cherven “travelogue” (Dzisiaj, przedwczoraj, wczoraj, jutro ZR 135), and certainly not Baedekers, because they lack, with a few exceptions, details that must be included in a tourist guide. Instead of descriptions of castles, cathedrals, and churches, instead of tourist attractions, we are presented with names of places, a list of trains to and from Ulashkivtsi, or rather from the nearby “hub station.” As if the writer wanted to emphasize the connections between his home and the “whole” world, the extremities of which were marked by Kiev, Lviv and Stanyslaviv. In Kopychyntsi, because Haupt probably had this train station had in mind, you could go “na wschód – przez Husiatyn, Jarmolińce, Żmerynkę [ – do Kijowa]; na południowy zachód – przez Czortków, Buchacz, Monasterzyska – na Stanisławów; na północny zachód – przez Mikulińce-Strusów, Trembowle, Tarnopol – do Lwowa” [east – via Husiatyn, Yarmolyntsi, Zhmerynka [ – to Kiev]; south-west – via Chortkiv, Buchach, Monastyryska – to Stanyslaviv; north-west – via Mykulynits Strusov, Terebovlia, Ternopol – to Lviv] (Dzisiaj, przedwczoraj... ZR 136). Haupt wondered what could be brought from the wide world to a little town on the Siret, somewhere in the middle of a steppe, in a time of constant wars. Perhaps “wyszabrowane wiktuały” [looted victuals]? And here, unlike on the tree stand, he let his artistic imagination run free, and he usually avoided it when he was describing the world he was exploring. He allowed himself to paint a Podolian landscape, or rather a collage, filled with “łanów kwitnącej hreczki, oczeretów, stawisk, gajów i wertepów, o kolorach słoneczników i malw na tle lepionych ścian chałup pochowanych w kępach drzew, o czereśniach i pasiekach na cmentarzach przycerkiewnych, weretach bielonych na błoniu nad wodą, zlocie stogów użątku, o porosłych zielenią łopatkach i szprychach młyńskiego koła znieruchomiałego pod stawidłem” [fields of blooming wildflowers, reeds, ponds, groves and wilderness, the color of sunflowers and hollyhocks against the background of the plastered walls of cottages buried in clumps of trees, cherry trees and apiaries in church cemeteries, whitewashed weeds on the common by the water, golden haystacks, the blades and spokes of a water wheel overgrown with green moss which lies lifeless in the water gate] (Dzisiaj, 136).
 précédemaraj... ZR 136). Alas, he never described what he saw on his train ride "from our place," that is from Lviv to Warsaw via Rawa-Ruska, Piaski Lubelskie, Rejowiec, Otwock, and finally Wawer and Grochów. The writer focused instead on the people on the train, the behavior of his fellow passengers. Perhaps, as an eastern "Galician," he was carried away by the desire to take a closer look and get to know the "other" Poles.

Reflections on Haupt’s landscapes seem to inevitably lead to the conclusion that for him the "other" world was more about people than landscapes, more about everyday objects than the beauty of baroque churches, more about language, local "slang," than orthodox iconostases. If Haupt happened to show "tło, sztafaż, drugi plan" [background, staffage, setting] "ładnie" [nicely] (Dziwnie było bardzo, bo... BD 335), the result was more ethnographic than painterly in nature. Writing about the works of 20th-century writers who were inspired by Ukraine, Haupt opposed the poetics of a "sentimental journey" on which they take the reader; such writers showed "ziemia oglądana przez muślin wyobraźni" [land through the muslin of the imagination], "jakąś daleką Ultima Thule" [some distant Ultima Thule], "planeta zagubiona w przestrzeni i w czasie" [a planet lost in space and time] (Dziisiaj, wczoraj... ZR 137). Respectively, he also accused Baroque authors of "fantasizing." And he sadly concluded that "dopiero obcy widzieli tę ziemię taką, jaka była" [only foreigners saw this land as it was], pointing out that "szczegółowy obraz Ukrainy" [a detailed map of Ukraine] (Z Roksolanii ZR 140) was drawn up by the French military engineer Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan. Even if this bitter reflection is not correct, and it certainly is not, it reveals Haupt’s expectations, his desire to reject a “fantastic vision of the world,” the mythical Ukrainian Ultima Thule. That is why Podolia is "najpiękniejszy kraj" [the most beautiful land] only occasionally; indeed, in his descriptions we find more cottages with windows "zasnutymi [...] bielmem brudu" [covered in ... dirt] and “martwymi spojrzeniami apatycznej biedy i beznadziei” [dead glances of apathetic poverty and hopelessness] (Kulig, BD 76-77) than steppe or mountain landscapes.

Brought up in the country, because Ulashkivtsi was more of a village than a town,²¹ Haupt described the urban space much more precisely (perhaps even more carefully). Chronologically and artistically, Kremenets was the first on his list of inspirations. The city of Salomea Bécu became the "titular character" of his Volhynian short story published in 1937. It is difficult to include it in the reflection on Haupt’s "Letychiv district" because nothing at that time heralded such a "status" of Volhynia in Polish literature. But after all, Haupt hinted at “nostalgia” in this short story. Krzemieniec [Kremenets] is a "Ukrainian" text, which was quite unusual for the young writer at the time as he concentrated more on "Western" themes. What is also surprising is the affirmative attitude of the narrator to the Volhynian world. Haupt uses this epithet willingly and often to describe the cobblestones of local streets, a "jednokonna linijka" [one-horse cart] he rode "wśród falistych pól" [among the rolling fields]. Krzemieniec is completely different from Haupt’s later émigré works; it is "correct" and "careful" when it comes to the classical principles of composition and description. The story describes three “meetings” with the city. Each of them had a different character. The first one was from the perspective of a tourist ("zlokalizowanie młodości Słowackiego" [locating Słowacki’s youth])

²¹"[...] pomiędzy naszym domem i Seretem były pastwiska i pasły się tam podolskie woły strzeżone przez pastuchów" [between our house and the Siret there were pastures and Podolian oxen were grazing there, guarded by shepherds] (Fragmenty BD 427).
The second was vagabond and artistic in nature (admiring landscapes in the spirit of Maria Kunciewiczowa’s Dwa Księżyce [Two Moons] and “wałęsanie wieczorami” [walking around town in the evenings]). Finally, the third meeting, taking into account the purpose of the stay, was military. It seems, however, that the character of this visit was best described by the author himself; Haupt called it an “exhumation.” As if he wanted to extract from the past something not so much alive as something that could help him revive memory and feeling. He had already tried, albeit unsuccessfully, to find the irretrievably lost past. He expressed his failure explicitly in the final parts of the text, where, instead of describing “urwiska wąwozu krzemienieckiego” [the cliffs of the Kremenets gorge] and his trips to “srebrna Ikwa, w samej nazwie majacej skoncentrowany romantyzm” [the silver Ikva, whose name is the essence of Romanticism] (Krzemieniec BD 649), he wrote about the “straszliwy odór” [terrible smell] of rotten potatoes and his sad and pointless return. Him playing with the image of Queen Bona’s Hill seems symptomatic in this context; in the beginning, the narrator shares the queen’s admiration for the city and its almost idyllic aura, but in the end he describes it in a disturbingly “Gothic” style: “szczerby murów […] wykrzywiły się ironiczny uśmiechem potwornej czaszki” [the cracks in the walls […] were twisted in an ironic smile on the face of a monstrous skull], and above “draperie makabrycznego obrządku” [draperies of a macabre rite] spread open on the sky (Krzemieniec BD 650). Was it some Cassandraic foreshadowing?

Kremenets haunted Haupt. It returned to him when he was abroad, each time showing slightly different faces. However, in a few short stories, some aspects of the Volhynian “pre-text” appear: the “terrible” smell of potatoes, the walls of Queen Bona’s castle, and the “appearance of order.” The description of the ethnic and social mosaic of this borderland city32 (with Catholics and Orthodox Christians, Jews in “unorthodox jackets,” peasants and women with children with runny noses, Ukrainian irredentists, officers of the Polish Army or Border Protection Corps, local officials) is accompanied by images of everyday life, sad “Potemkin’s” ambient (“ścieki uliczne biegnące środkiem jezdni były regulaminowo i co rana malowane wapnem na biało” [sewage in the middle of the road was covered with white lime every morning] (Dziwnie było bardzo, bo… BD 327)). This was the reality of eastern cities of the Second Polish Republic.33

However, Lviv turns out to be more important. At first, it was a labyrinth in which young Haupt would get lost; then, in middle school, when he stayed in the boarding school of fathers (“jojców” [feathers]) Resurrectionists (Jak się uczyli współczesni pisarze polscy. Odpowiedź na ankietę „Wiadomości” ZR 172), it was a city in which he experienced his first erotic fascination with Panna. Last but not least, it was in Lviv that he met members of the Rybalki [Minstrels]


33Józef Mackiewicz described this local “color” in his pre-war reportage: “The age-old cracks in the walls, dirt, manure, the terrible truth of the ugly city was covered with lime. From the front, of course, starting with the street, the avenue named after Marshal Piłsudski. […] Even the stones, which cannot speak, have their mouths filled with lime”; quote after: Józef Mackiewicz, Bunt rojstów [Bog rebellion] (London: Wydawnictwo Kontra 2002) 155.
Despite the fact that he “ninawidził miasta” [hated the city] (Nuda [Boredom] BD 136), Haupt noticed and praised its “natural” beauty, which “żadna z [...] architektur” [none of [...] architectural styles] managed to destroy; neither the “reminiscencyjna wszystkich stylów klasycznych” [the reminiscent form of all classical styles], nor “secesja wiedeńska” [Vienna Secession] and “architektura kafli, szkła i metalu” [architecture of tiles, glass and metal]. He sees in this the blessed effect of the city “położenia w dolinie wśród wzgórz, kiedy fala dachów zbiegała z nich ku wąwozom, w których dymioło i drżało w blasku rozgrzanego powietrza” [having been found in a valley among the hills; the tide of the roofs ran down to the ravines, which smoked and quivered in the hot air] (Kapitan Blood BD 87). It is surprising that in his reflection on architectural styles, Haupt does not list any examples of buildings found in Lviv, limiting himself to naming prototypes of these styles found elsewhere. His painterly eye does not stop at the beautiful Old Town, the “czarowne fasady” [enchanting facades] of tenement houses, but captures visual deformations which arise in the evening, the play of “światła gazowych [...] latarni” [the light of gas [...] streetlamps] in the hair of passers-by. He also writes about “beżelne prostytutki w załomach ulic” [cheeky prostitutes in the streets] (Nuda BD 133). In “najpodlejszej [...] pod słońcem ulicy” [the meanest [...] street under the sun] he manages to notice, just like Utrillo, “śmienącą się perspektywę albo niespodziewany czarodziejski spadek” [a mirage of a perspective or an unexpected magical point of view] (Kapitan Blood BD 87). It is almost as if Haupt deprived Lviv of its “Lviv character.” This applies both to the “respectable” neighborhoods and the suburbs. The writer sees in them what is typical of all metropolitan peripheries: “kratka ogrodów [...] śmietniska, składy, domy, domki, małe z daleka reklamy na deskowiskach parkanów, znów fabryki” [cages of gardens [...], rubbish dumps, warehouses, houses, cottages, small advertisements (when seen from afar) on fences, more factories] (Appendicitis BD 101). And it is probably what they were.

Zhovkva is different. Haupt said that he “może powiedzieć bardzo wiele” [can say a lot about it] (Lutnia BD 449). And indeed he did; he was not only “pedantic like Baedeker,” not only objective like a reporter, but also emotional. In Lutnia, we find echoes of the narrator’s emotional ties with the city. Haupt quotes the slang expressions of junior high schoolers, “local” dialect, “natural” Ruthenian language from Mikołaj Sęp-Szarzyński’s poems, who “stąd nie daleko urodzonego” [was born nearby] (Lutnia BD 461). But what is especially moving is the peaceful coexistence of Poles and Ukrainians. Distancing himself from politics and articulating national sentiments in moderation, Haupt tells the story of a fiercely anti-Polish Ukrainian, one of “tych «z czarnym podniebieniem»” [those with a ‘black palate’], who recalled his military service in the Zhovkva cavalry as “najszczęśliwszy okres swego czarnego, niewdzięcznego życia” [the happiest time of his dark, miserable life] (Lutnia BD 455). The story is seemingly unimaginable – a Ukrainian conspirator says he was happy in the Polish army, thus giving up...
on his dream of independent Ukraine (which was often brutally suppressed).\textsuperscript{37} But if this declaration is combined with a reflection on Haupt’s language, the fact that he “w sposób naturalny brał […] słowa” [naturally borrowed […] words” from “mowa wokół siebie” [the speech around him] (\textit{Lutnia} BD 461), one can come to the conclusion that Haupt would like to see Zhovkva as a space of reconciliation. Therefore, the “Bedekerian,” matter-of-fact description of the “Ruthenian” Carcassonne, its architecture, peculiarities of the streets, the castle, the Renaissance parish church with tombstones of Polish Hetmans, the Orthodox church, monasteries, and the synagogue are relegated to the background. However, Haupt ends his Zhovkva text on a different and not at all positive note. He modernizes and updates his memories, revealing the annihilation of this multicultural space and its Soviet transformation into a tomb, a “cenotaph.”\

\textit{Lutnia} is Haupt’s symbolic farewell to his homeland. The real yet neutralized “other people’s words”\textsuperscript{38} were recalled in \textit{Opowiadanie ulana Czuchnowskiego} [The Story of Uhlan Czuchnowski]. He entered Hungary through the Yabulynysia Pass, which separated the Gorgany (which he knew well and described later) from Chornohora. He was leaving Poland, saying goodbye to the “Letychiv district,” to the Hutsuls who came down from the mountains in festive clothes and watched the Polish army flee to Hungary in full gear during the war. And they did not know whether they should be happy or not (\textit{Polonez na pożegnanie ojczyzny} [Polonaise on the Farewell to Homeland] BD 149). Maybe some of them wrote “Proklatyje Lachy” (\textit{Poker w Gorganach} BD 242) on the walls of a train compartment. It was, supposedly, a moment of triumph; they were happy that Poles were humiliated. But Haupt portrays them differently; he shows their detachment from history, from current events.\textsuperscript{39} He tries to express his admiration for the dignity of “inny gatunek człowieka” [a different kind of man] who remains calm when “świat ludzi z dołów się przewraca i rzuca w konwulsjach” [the world of the lowlanders is destroyed and dies in convulsions” (\textit{Polonez na pożegnanie ojczyzny} BD 150).

From the Yabulynysia Pass, a little over 150 kilometers away from his native Ulashkivtsi, he “run for the hills.” But he constantly returned in his dreams, memories, texts to the world “where wild strawberries grow,” to the “Letychiv district.” So as not to become “zewłokiem wyrzuconym na skraj” [a corpse on the side of a road], so as not to “nie sflaczeć i nie rozejść się w suchej atmosferze księżycowej kraju innego ciśnienia” [flatten and disperse in the dry lunar atmosphere of a land with different air pressure] (\textit{Kawaler z morskiej pianki} [Seafoam man] BD 389).

translated by Małgorzata Olsza

\textsuperscript{37}Cf. Władysław A. Serczyk (op. cit., p. 326) In the villages where acts of sabotage were committed, Polish army or police officers destroyed the offices, clubs and shops of Ukrainian cooperatives and cultural and educational organizations, demolished cottages, beat the locals, carried out searches and imposed contributions in money and in kind.

\textsuperscript{38}Term coined by Mikhail Bakhtin, Problems of Dostoyevsky’s poetics, trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 59.

\textsuperscript{39}Stefania Zahorska, Warsaw – Lwów 1939 (London 1964) and Wit Tarnawski, Ucieczka. Nowele [Escape. Short stories] (London 1960) wrote about the attitude of Ukrainians towards Poles fleeing to Romania through Pokutia in the last days of September 1939. However, their recollections differ greatly. Zahorska was surprised to find Ukrainians so friendly, while Tarnawski emphasized the hostility of the Hutsuls.
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KEYWORDS

space of inspiration

NATIVE REGION

Haupt

ABSTRACT:
In the article, I reflect on the spaces of inspiration, the “prail” [primordial clay] of Zygmunt Haupt’s works. I examine a unique “pronominal” spatial orientation found in his texts, his use of the prepositional phrase “u nas” [in our region], and the juxtapositions of “tam” [there] and “tu” [here], trying to establish what spaces are “hidden” behind these pronouns. I do not think that it was Ukraine, because Haupt’s texts present only its western part. On the one hand, the writer poetitized the space of “his land” and, on the other hand, he rooted it, often imprecisely, in geography. The best concretization of this space seems to be the “Letychiv district,” which transformed into a metaphor of a “place of origin,” where artists who are detached from their “prail” can look for inspiration. The changing borders of this “district” are determined only by the artist’s imagination.
NOTE ON THE AUTHOR: