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A COMPARATIVIST LOOKS AT MICKIEWICZ

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I.

In world literature the most unexpected parallels occur in the most unexpected places — in the works of writers separated from one another by centuries and belonging to the most widely differing cultural communities. The time has long since passed when the establishment of a resemblance — sometimes very distant — was regarded as evidence showing that one writer had "borrowed" from another. Parallels alone do not prove anything and borrowing is very hard to prove, quite apart from the fact that similar images in the work of two writers may have arisen spontaneously and independently of one another. They may also be explained by the influence of some common source, well-known at one time but now forgotten or lost. After decades of raptures over the search for "borrowings" and "influences", historians of literature have, fortunately, lost interest in investigations of this kind.¹⁾ Nowadays the establishment of similarities and parallels can only serve other ends: on the one hand the similarities and parallels are interesting as evidence of a common thought content and a common mode of stylistic expression in the work of writers who are either contemporaries or represent different periods connected only by their style; ²⁾ on the other hand similar images, motifs and stylistic ornaments may be the elements of some wider literary complex, which lasts over centuries and whose elements appear again and again in the work of different authors.³⁾ In the former instance we may speak of "kindred" ideas and styles, in the latter, of what is "permanent" in the sequence of literary development. To establish literary kinship and permanent literary elements is one of the tasks of the "comparative history of literature", as I understand it, and my observations on some details of the work of Mickiewicz should be interpreted in that sense.

II.

THE LITHUANIAN FOREST, ATLANTIS, ŚWITEZ

In the remarkable line which Mickiewicz devotes, at the beginning of the fourth canto of PAN TADEUSZ, to the Lithuanian forest (42-81), one metaphor is worth noting, even though it sounds pianissimo in two or three lines. It is stressed by a few isolated words scattered further in

1) In America, however, such studies still appear, to mention, for instance, a recent publication which can only be treated as a joke: Ch. E. Passage, "Dostoevski the adapter", Chapel Hill, S. C., 1953. The author tries to show that all Dostoevsky's novels were written under the influence of a number of short stories by E. T. A. Hoffmann, in fact were simply copied from them.

2) In this connection see the introductory article in J. Krzyżanowski, „Od średniowiecza do baroku", Warsaw, 1939, and other works referred to in my "Outline of Comparative Slavic Literatures", Boston, 1953, and the Introduction thereto.

3) Examples of such complexes — stylistic and ideological — are given in E. R. Curtius, „Europäische Literatur und Lateinisches Mittelalter", Berne, 1948, Engl. trans. 1953. A number of interesting „permanent" stylistic devices will be found in J. Tuwim's "Pegaz dęba", Cracow, 1950 (cf. my review in ZfSlPh XX, 1953, 1).

the text. Over the poet's head in the tree-tops of the forest the wind is heard blowing:

Dziwny, odurzający hałas! mnie się zdało,
Że tam nad głową morze wiszące szalało.

And below:

Na dole jak ruiny miast —

Next, the poet reminds the reader of the adumbrated metaphor, but only by hints in the form of separate words:

.... tu wywrot dębu
Wysterka z ziemi na kształt ogromnego zrębu;
Na nim oparte, jak ścian i kolumn obłamy,
Tam gałęziste kłody, tu wpół zgniłe tramy,
Ogrodzone parkanem traw . . .

Further on Mickiewicz again reminds the reader of the metaphor of the "submerged city" and again only by means of simple words:

.... u wrót leżą kości
Na pół zgryzione jakichś nieostrożnych gości . . .

and further:

.... wyinkną się . . .
Jakby dwa wodotryski, dwa rogi jelenie . . .

The fountains tell the spectator that the "submerged city" is still alive. Later Mickiewicz reiterates this idea in the MATECZNIK; here the poet only mentions the peaceful inhabitants of the city: the deer, the woodpecker, tapping like a child, the ballerina-like squirrel.....

Considering the part played in PAN TADEUSZ by the classical tradition, from imitations of the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" and their "polonisation" onwards, we should look for a classical analogy also in this instance. Naturally the first one to come to mind is the image of the submerged island, the "Atlantis" myth of mysterious origin, related by Plato in the unfinished dialogue Critias.⁴⁾ It is only in relation to Atlantis that mention could have been made of "towns" (in the plural), of "vast" structures, "pillars", etc. An author who wrote about Atlantis in his works on the history of geography was none other than Lelewel.⁵⁾ In all probability

4) Plato "Timaeus", 25 C & sqq., "Critias" 108 E & sqq., also Proclus "In Timaeum", 26 C. A survey of the vast literature on Atlantis is given in Pauly-Wissowa and in the new book by E. Brandenstein, "Atlantis", Vienna, 1951. Cf. also an article by E. G. Kraching in "Journal of the Americ. Orient. Society", 67, 1947. Some authors extend the subject by connecting with the tradition of Atlantis the accounts of the flood and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. The best example of a legend about a submerged city is the one about Wineta; the most recent historical study by R. Kiersnowski, "Legenda Winety", Cracow, 1950; the legend's literary echoes are dealt with in an out-of-date work, K. Koch, "Wineta", 1895, 2nd augmented ed. 1905 (Stettin). Further additions in an article by H. Pudor in the journal "Unser Pommerland", XI 1926. It may be noted that as early in 1845 there appeared a book by the well-known Russian follower of Hegel, T. Granovsky, "Yulin, Volin, Iomsburg i Wineta", a Polish translation was published in Warsaw in 1862.

5) Lelewel mentions Atlantis in his works: „Pisma pomniejsze geograficzno - historyczne”, Warsaw, 1814, and „Odkrycia Karthagów i Greków na oceanie Atlantyckim”, Rocznik Tow. Król. Warszawskiego Przyjaciół Nauk, XIV, 1821. These are known to me in German translation: "Kleinere Schriften geographisch - historischen Inhalts", Leipzig, 1836; "Die Entdeckungen der Carthagen und

Mickiewicz consulted these works for at the very time of their publication he was one of Lelewel's students at Wilno. Lelewel regarded the existence of the submerged island of Atlantis as a fact.

Mention should also be made of the "fine" and "flourishing" little town which sank into the water of Świteź.⁶⁾ Mickiewicz after many years often returned to the images used in the poetry of his younger days.⁷⁾ It may be that in Pan Tadeusz the image of Atlantis has merged with that of Lake Świteź. But one unexpected simile at the very end the description of the forest as a submerged town brings to mind yet another possible interpretation of the whole symbolic picture:

Bliżej siedzi wiewiórka . . .
. . . zawiesiła kitkę nad oczyma,

Jak piórko nad szyszakiem u kirasyjera. (lines 73-75).

The image of the cuirassier is closely related to the memory of the army of old Poland, independent and defeated, gone under. Such manifold symbols are not an exception in Romantic literature but rather the rule.

Compared to the image of the submerged town as it often appears in nineteenth century literature, the one in Pan Tadeusz is very original: here the author himself enters the submerged town. This is an unmistakable analogy to the Romantic practice of animating and reminiscence: the author not only recalls the past but somehow convincingly places himself in it.⁸⁾

The motif itself of the submerged town occurs frequently in European folklore. In Pan Tadeusz its meaning is connected with the Matecznik a theme announced straightforwardly in the words following upon the comparison of the forest to a submerged town:

Griechen auf dem Atlantischen Ozean", Berlin 1831. Atlantis is mentioned on pp. 136-7 and 24 of these books; in the former Atlantis is shown on a map (No 1). Lelewel presumably mentions Atlantis in two other books, inaccessible to me: „Badania starożytności we względzie geografii", Warsaw, 1818; „Geografia starożytna...", Począjów — Krzemieniec, 1819. The bibliography of Lelewel's works is by H. Hleb-Koszańska i M. Kotowiczówna „Bibliografia prac Lelewela", Wrocław, 1952. This, among works lost or ascribed to Lelewel mentions two reprints of his constructions to the history of Czech geography, Nos 2 an 13.

6) Folk parallels to the story of Świteź are mentioned in Polish studies of Mickiewicz's ballads: E. Jeleńska, "Świteź", "Księga Pamiątkowa 100 roczn. urodz. Mickiewicza", Warsaw, 1898, II, and more recently, L. Podhorski-Okołów, "Realia mickiewiczowskie", Kraków, 1952, pp. 28-29. "Tales of submerged cities are numerous among European nations. The Polish ones have been noted in "Wiśla", 1889, IV; 1890, III; 1891, I. A number of German local traditions are mentioned in Brandenstein's book. An out-of-date survey of Russian traditions will be found in an article by N. Sumtsov, "Skazaniya o provalivshikhsya gorodakh" in "Sbornik Khar'kovskogo istoriko - filologicheskogo obshchestva", VIII, 1895 and sqq., further in Kh. Loparev, "K legende o zatonuvshikh gorodakh", "Trudy XV Arkheologicheskogo s'ezda", 1914, vol. I, pp. 346-356. A recent work is V. Komarovich, "Kitezhskaya legenda", Moscow - Leningrad, 1936. In Russia literature references to the submerged Kitezh (or Svetloyar) are made by A. Maykov, M. Gorky, D. Merezhkovsky, Z. Gippius, S. Gorodetsky, M. Voloshin, N. Klyuev, M. Prishvin, K. Fedin and others' not to mention Rimsky-Korsakov's opera.

7) For Mickiewicz's reversion to his earlier subjects and images see Skwarczyńska, "Ewolucja obrazów Mickiewicza..."

8) An excellent example is provided by one of the few truly artistic stories by F. Gerstaecker, a writer who as a rule uses Romanticist themes only to heighten the narrative interest of his work. The story "Germelshausen" has run into many editions and been translated into a number of foreign languages.

..... w Środek tarasu
Zajrzeć straszno, tam siedzą gospodarze lasu,
Dziki, niedźwiedzie, wilki.....

Both the comparison of the forest to a lost civilization and the Matecznik underline the same theme which is typical of Romanticism: the contrast between nature and civilization, and the hostility of nature towards the world made by man; a motif which occurs in the works of the Romantics alongside with an entirely different one, in fact the contrary attitude to nature.⁹⁾ Mickiewicz in picturing the Matecznik as an animal kingdom organised on the model of human society but hostile to it, stresses the contrast and brings it up to date by enriching the picture with touches of characteristically Romanticist humour.

III

' PANI TWARDOWSKA

That the subject of this ballad belongs to the traditional category of "women worse than the devil", is well known enough. The theme had been developed in literature beginning with Machiavelli's "Belphegor" and was represented in many variants in the European folk tale.¹⁰⁾ The sinner or a man who has sold his soul to the devil, or a witch doctor who has been working in partnership with the devil, threatens the devil with a visit from his wife, a prospect which puts the devil to flight.¹¹⁾

But in Mickiewicz's ballad this subject is combined with yet another motif: according to the terms of the agreement Twardowski is subject to the devil's power only in Rome:

Miałeś pojechać do Rzymu,
By cię tam porwać jak swego.

But Twardowski finds himself in an inn called "Rome" and the devil makes use of this opportunity :

Ta karczma Rzym się nazywa,
Kładę areszt na waszeci.

This motif too is not new. It occurs in the work of well-known writers and in the first place in Shakespeare. In "Henry VI", Part II (act V, scene 2) Somerset is slain outside an inn called "Castle Saint Alban's" and Richard comments on his death:

9) For a reference to this Romantic motif see my review of "Urania", Tyutchevski Sbornik", 1928, in "ZfSlPh", XII, 1930 No 3-4. The same motif occurs also in a poem by K. Tetmajer, "Wielbić naturę?", "Poezje", Warsaw, 1905, I, p. 92 and in the work of the Russian symbolist, K. Bal'mont (1894).

10) Much has been written about the theme of Belphegor. See WEA Axon, "The story of Belfegor" in "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature", XXIII, 1922, 2, pp. 97-128 and W. I. Schreiber "Belphegor" in "Journal of English and Germanic Philology", (Urbana, Illinois), 44, 1945. The theme has been used not only by writers of fiction but also by dramatists (mostly French).

11) For a survey of tales with the motif "A woman is worse than the devil" see Aarne-Thompson, No 1164; in the Russian collection of Afanas'ev (edited by M. Azadovsky, N. Andreev and Yu. Sokolov, vol. III, 1940 p. 459) see Nos 433-437. On the same subject see also J. Polivka "Baba khuzhe chorta", "Russky Filologichesky Vestnik", 63, 1910, pp. 342-366. The author however, examines only one particular variant of the theme. The reference to the Polish tales is on p. 349.

So, lie thou there
For underneath an alehouse' paltry sign,
The Castle in Saint Alban's, Somerset
Hath made the wizard famous in his death...

Writing as far back as the 18th century, the editor and commentator of Shakespeare, Edmund Malone, explains that the wizard had prophesied that Somerset would be killed in a "castle"; Somerset meets his end not in a real castle but near an inn by that name.

Shakespeare uses the same motif in a more widely known work, in "Henry IV", Part II (act IV, scenes 4 and 5). At the "good news" of his army's victory over Northumberland and Bardolph in Yorkshire, Henry faints (scene 4). He is carried to another chamber where he regains consciousness, talks with Prince Hal and when after their conversation the courtiers come in, the King asks Warwick:

Doth any name particular belong
Unto the lodging where I first did swoon?

The answer (already known to the reader from the stage direction given at the beginning of scene 4: "Westminster. The Jerusalem Chamber") comes back:

'Tis call'd Jerusalem, my noble lord.

To this the King replies:

Laud be to God! even there my life must end.
It has been prophesied to me many years
I should not die but in Jerusalem,
Which vainly I suppos'd the Holy Land. —
But bear me to that chamber; there I'll lie,
In that Jerusalem shall Harry die. (scene 5).

As a matter of fact this motif occurs much earlier than Shakespeare in "Plutarch's" biography of the Spartan general "Lysander" (Chap. XXIX). The oracle had advised Lysander to beware of Athenian hoplites:

I tell you: beware of the boisterous hoplite.
Hopliten keládonta fuláxasthai se keléo.

But Lysander is killed in Boeotia in the battle of Hallartus. After the fighting the prophecy is recalled. It turns out that Lysander fell at the "boisterous" stream called Hoplite. "Man's fate is inevitable!" exclaims one of the Spartans.¹²⁾

The motif of the ignored prophecy in the form which it assumes in the work of Mickiewicz, consists in a combination of a number of separate motifs which may be numbered among the "permanent" motives of literature and folklore: 1. The general vagueness of prophecy in general. 2. The vagueness of the circumstances in which the prophecy is to come true. 3. The ambiguity of words and particularly of proper names. The first is developed in a number of stories, also by Plutarch, about ambiguous oracles, beginning with the celebrated one about Croesus.¹³⁾ The second is

12) I am quoting from K. Ziegler edition (Bibliotheca Teubneriana), III, 1926, pp. 143 and sqq.

13) For edited texts of Greek oracles see R. Hendess, "Oracula graeca", Halle, 1880 and H. W. Parke and D. E. Wormell, "The Delphic Oracle", I + II, 1955.

particularly prominent in the accounts of classical and later authors about the hero's death being caused by a seemingly harmless object: a dead animal, a status, etc. As far as Slavonic literature is concerned, "Nestor's chronicle" contains an entry under the year 912 about Oleg's death having been caused by his horse, an account which is reminiscent of that of the death of Odd in the Edda;¹⁴⁾ the third motif, that of the proper names, may be found, as has been seen, in Mickiewicz, Shakespeare and Plutarch in this connection it is worth noting that in Mickiewicz and Shakespeare the name in question is that of an inn.

It is also interesting that there should exist a tradition about an ambiguous prophecy concerning Pushkin, who himself in his youth had been attracted by the theme of ambiguous prophecy (as developed in "Peśń o veshchem Olege"). It is said that a fortune-teller had told him that he should beware of a "white head" (a fair-haired man). Pushkin was apprehensive of people with surnames such as "Weisskopf" but was shot in a duel by the fair-haired d'Anthés.

IV.

SOME "PERMANENT" AND ROMANTIC ELEMENTS IN THE WORK OF MICKIEWICZ

Literary historians have devoted a number of studies to "permanent" motifs, i.e. to ones that occur in different forms in works of literature from the earliest times to the present day, and to motifs that appear only in certain literary periods and are related to their style or outlook. One of the finest examples of this type of study is the remarkable book by Ernst Robert Curtius.¹⁵⁾ But in accordance with the principle "Slavica non leguntur" or even "Slavistica non leguntur", the scholars investigating the problems of comparative literature disregard even work on Slavonic literature available in the principal European languages and in Curtius' book no reference is made to Slavonic or incidentally, to Byzantine literature.

The extremely rich treasury of motifs contained in Mickiewicz's work includes a large number of interesting ones that are only indicated or touched upon by the way. I shall confine myself to mentioning only a few of these, without attempting to exploit or even hint at the entire wealth of parallels to these motives in world literature.

To start with a new trifle: the description of a landscape reflected in water belongs to the category of Romantic motifs. It is connected with the Romantic outlook, with the representation of the duality of the world. Water is the Romantic symbol of the "depths of being" (this symbol of meaning has been adopted in a sexual interpretation by the psychoanalysts).¹⁶⁾ I cannot dwell here on the details of this image in the work of Romantic writers, let me only refer to Mickiewicz ("Świtez", lines 9-12):

14) The motif of the obscure prophecy has been much used in literature, beginning with Herodotus and the "Alexandria" of Pseudo-Callisthenes where Alexander kills his true father, Nectanebus (to some Slovonic literatures the "Alexandria" was known as early as the 10th cent.) and ending with "Lord Arthur Savile's Crime" by Oscar Wilde. A. Stender-Petersen in his "Die Warägersage als Quelle der altrussischen Chronik", Aarhus, 1934, devotes a chapter to one such motif — Oleg-Odd and his steed.

15) Cf. note 3).

16) Cf. the observation on the psychoanalytical interpretation of the motifs in Mickiewicz's poetry by Kleiner, "Mickiewicz", II, I, Lublin 1948, p. 281.

Jeżeli nocną przybliżysz się doba
I zwróciś ku wodom lice,
Gwiazdy nad tobą i gwiazdy pod tobą
I dwa obaczysz księżyce.

With the same image Gogol opens early and unsuccessful poem "Hans Küchelgarten" (I, 1-10):

Świetaję. Wot proglanuła dierewnia,
doma, sady.

Plenitielno oborotiłos' wsyo:
wniz gołowy, w sierebrianoj wodie;
zabor i dom i sadik w niej takiež;
wsio dwižetsia w serebrjanoy wodie;
Siniejet swod, i woły obłak chodiat,
i les žiwoy vot tolko ne šumit...

Gogol repeats this image more than once in "Sorochinskaya Yarmarka" (I) and again in "Strashnaya mest" (II), and finally in the second part of "Dead Souls". The same image with transparent philosophical allusions occurs in the work of the most Romantic of all Russian Romantic poets,

... kak oprokinutoye nyebo,
pod nami more trepyetało.

("Vostok belej", before 1830, cf. also "Na Neve", 1850, "Na vazvratnom puti", 1859, "Tikho v ozere struitsya", 1866 and a number of other poems).¹⁷⁾

An interesting Romantic theme is to be found in the draft "Wsłuchać się w szum wód":

Wsłuchać się w szum wód głuchy, zimny i jednaki
I przez fale rozeznać myśl wód jak przez znaki...

This listening in to the voices of nature and particularly the view that the sound of murmuring or roaring water expresses an idea occurs in the works of Western as well as of Russian Romantics, particularly in a poem by Mickiewicz's Russian friend Boratynski, entitled "Vodopad" (1821-7):

Šumi, šumi s krutoy veršiny,
nye umołkay, potok syedoy!...

...
Začem, s bezumnym ožidanyem,
k tyebye prislušivajus ja?

Waterfalls — of which there are not many in Russia — and mountains streams — became one of the favourite subjects of Russian Romantic poetry and was treated by A. Bestuzhev-Marlinsky, F. Glinka, Prince P. Vyazemsky,

17) For this motif see also the article by L. Pumpyansky in "Urania", Tyutchevsky sbornik", Leningrad, 1928, pp. 44-45. Unfortunately, the author not realising that the Romantic motif of a landscape reflected in water has a symbolic significance, compares it to its purely pictorial application by the classicists.

There is no evidence to show that Gogol in his youth was familiar with the Polish language and with Polish poetry in the original but it is worth noting that some of his contemporaries at the Niżyn-Lyceum knew Polish and made translation from Mickiewicz. Thus Lyubich-Romanovich in leaving the Lyceum in 1828 published a collection of verse including translations from Mickiewicz.

V. F. Raevsky and V. Küchelbecker.¹⁸⁾ In contrast to the poets of the classical school (e.g. Derzhavin in the celebrated "Vodopad") who were trying to depict the play of light and colour in the cascades of the waterfall,¹⁹⁾ the Romantics are above all anxious — as was Mickiewicz — to catch in them the voice of nature — "ideas", "a speech without words". Also the words addressed to the waterfall — "roar away", "groan, wail" are repeated in a number of poems by the Russian Romantics. The same motif of a discourse with a stream or a waterfall as with a living being, was taken up again by the poets of "Młoda Polska" and by the Russian symbolists, to mention only two poems by K. Tetmajer. "Rzeka mistyczna" and "Potok symboliczny" in which the stream is in fact a waterfall.²⁰⁾

Mickiewicz's fragment goes on:

Dać się unosić wiatrom, nie wiedzieć gdzie lotnym,
I zliczyć każdy dźwięk w ich ruchu kołownotnym...

In the sound of the wind the Russian Romantics are anxious to catch the same "secret" voice of nature as in the noise made by water: cf. Küchelbecker's "Veter" (1828 or 1829), Tyutchev's "O chem ty voesh, vetr nochnoy?" (before 1835) and a number of other poems. The motif was taken up again at the end of the 19th century and here again a poem by Tetmajer may be mentioned: "O wichrze, wichrze..."²¹⁾

Let us now turn to the "permanent" themes. One of the favourite images in literature is that of a book symbolising the individual, particularly his soul, the history of mankind, and of the universe. E. R. Curtius has devoted a number of studies to the image of the world shown as a book but the numerous parallels from Slavonic literatures are not referred to.²²⁾ Two

18) Bestuzhev-Marlinsky's poems "Finlyandiya" (1829), "Shebutuy" (1829) and the earlier poem in "Dorozhnye pis'ma"; F. Glinka in "Kareliya" (1829), Prince Vyazemsky "Narvsky Vodopad" (1826), V. F. Raevsky "Duma" (1840). Küchelbecker in his 6th "Evropeyskoe pis'mo" (1820). It may be noted that the waterfalls and mountain steams described by the Russian Romantics are for the most part non-Russian: the waterfall at Narva, Imatra in Finland, the mountain rivers of Siberia, even Niagara Falls (in a poems by N. Yazykov).

19) A purely pictorial reaction to a waterfall from which the poet expects no "inspiration" or "speech without words" occurs in the work of Derzhavin and Karamzin (the description of European waterfalls and particularly of the Rhine — to which later M. Konopnicka devoted a whole cycle of poems — in the "Pisma russkogo puteshestvennika", from 1792 onwards). The same applies to the Decembrist poet N. Bobrishchev - Pushkin (the poem "Dovolstvie i spokoystvie" 1816, also published in the miscellany "Dekabristy. Poeziya, dramaturgiya, proza...", M. — L. 1951, p. 180). In an early poem by Bestuzhev-Marlinsky (1821) there occurs a transition from the "pictorial" reaction to the waterfall. Later the pictorial elements either disappear altogether from the work of the Romantics or are relegated to the distant background.

It is hardly necessary to add that the Romantics' portrayal of the sea also belongs to the theme of "the voice of waters".

20) See Tetmajer, "Poezye", Warsaw, 1905, III, 3 and sqq. Tetmajer's poems already in their titles stress the "mystical" or "symbolic" nature of "discourse" with a river or a mountain stream which becomes a waterfall (stanza 6 of "Potok").

21) Ibid, I, 25.

22) E. R. Curtius, p. cit., pp. 304-351 and the list of his contributions to the subject, p. 568. Curtius apart from completely neglecting the literatures of the Slavs, pays insufficient attention to the works of the mystics. A study of the symbol "the world — a book" see in a collection of articles by the present author entitled "Ost und West" (the Hague, 1956).

distichs from Mickiewicz's "Zdania i uwagi" particularly might be mentioned in this connection:

95. M i k r o k o s m o s, m i k r o b i b l i a.

Ciało jest małym światem; dusza książką małą,

W której spisano wszystko, co się w świecie stało.

121. R e s z t a p r a w d.

Jest i więcej prawd w piśmie, lecz kto o nie pyta,

Niech sam zostanie pismem — w sobie je wyczyta.

The latter epigram is a translation of the final one by "Der Cherubinische Wandersmann", Angelus Silesius, the former is a variation on the same theme. I have collected a large amount of Slavonic material related to this theme elsewhere and will confine myself here to mentioning only the Polish parallels. They are to be found as far back as Wacław Potocki's "Ogród fraszek" (ed. Brückner vol. I, pp. 77-80, 368-9) and in the "Poświęcenie" of his "Syloret":

..... oku śmiertelnemu skryta

Serdeczna księga, którą sam tylko Bóg czyta.

They next occur in a number of epigrams in Wespazjan Kochowski's "Ogród Panieński", (e.g. "Liber Divinae genesis", "Liber signatus", "Liber incomprehensus"). In the Romantic period the theme "The world is a book" returns to poetry, e.g. in the Poem "Bóg" by Antoni Czajkowski and in Słowacki's "Genezis z Ducha" (1949 ed., vol. X, p. 182, cf. p. 183). Finally in more recent times it occurs in one of the best poems on the subject — Leopold Staff's "Odsyłacz" which develops it in a brilliant and original way. The Czech, Russian, Ukrainian and Serbo-Croat parallels are numerous. Thus to the age of Romanticism, to Mickiewicz's age, belong the poems of Tyutchev, Glinka, Boratynski, A. Khomyakov,²³⁾ V. Nebesky, P. P. Niegos and of Mažuranić. In Mickiewicz we find also an allusion to the same subject in the striking draft "Bron mnie przed sobą" (first published by Kallenbach in 1889), where the poet speaks of moments "w których nawróś widzę Twoje księgi", — the books presumably being, as always in this particular image, the Bible, the soul of man and the world.²⁴⁾

The theme of Plato's "Timaeus"²⁵⁾ — the creator of the world, the

23) The resemblance between one of the epigrams in Mickiewicz's "Zdania i Uwagi" ("Liczba gwiazd", No 93) and Khomyakov's poem "V chas polnochnyi bliz' potoka" is remarkable and may be explained by a common origin. See the article mentioned in note 20.

24) It is noteworthy that the conception of "God's three books" — the world, man's soul and the Bible, identical in substance — which may be traced back to the Fathers of the Church, finds its most striking expression in modern mystical literature in the works of an enigmatic author, Bartolomej Scleus, of Little Poland, as he always describes himself. His books, written in the 16th century were published posthumously in Holland: "Vater Unser" in 1643 and "Theosophische Schriften" in 1686. His influence is discussed in the article mentioned in note 22. Neither Prof. S. Kot whose attention to Scleus I drew to it as long ago as 1934, nor any Dutch scholars, nor myself, have been able to trace any records referring to Scleus. Estreicher, vol. XXVII, p. 315, mentions only Scleus' second book; a copy of it was preserved in Danzig.

25) "Timaeus", 28 & sqq.; "Critias", 106. It must be borne in mind that Plato's demiurge was an "inferior" and, "created" God. Thus the introduction of this religious conception, albeit purely terminological, into the Christian monotheistic religious literature required the overcoming of some inner resistance offered by the Christian religious conscience. For the comparison of God to the artist — demiurge, see Curtius, op. cit. pp. 259 & sqq.

demiurge i.e. the craftsman or artist — also belongs to the permanent themes of religious poetry. Mickiewicz treats it in the poem "Arcy-Mistrz", inspired by the reading of Saint-Martin. God is here represented as a musician, a painter and sculptor and as an orator ("mistrz wymowy"). This image too occurs in the Slavonic literature, though comparatively seldom; as a rule the majestic figure of the "Creator of the Universe" takes precedence over the humble metaphor of God the craftsman. With Mickiewicz God is an artist as for instance he was with Calderon.²⁶⁾ But the image of the "demiurge" — the craftsman in the widest sense of the term — does occur in the literatures of the Slavs, first of all in two remarkable Czech hymns of the 14th or 15th century. Here God is shown as a potter (cf. "Isaiah" 29, 16. "Jeremiah" 18, 6, "Romans" 9, 20 sqq.) and a tailor-furrier, a bold application of a very "prosaic" metaphor.²⁷⁾ Both of these are also to be found in W. Potocki ("Ogród fraszek", II, 79, 11. 66, 275-6) who in another context compares God to a carpenter ("cieśla", ibid II, 385, 1, 14). The symbol of God the potter is also used by the Ukrainian writer of the late Baroque period, by Hrigory Skorovoda (Wks., I, 1912 pp. 401 — sqq, 64 — sqq) and by the most outstanding Czech Baroque poet, Bedrzich Bridel ("Co Boh? clovek?", 1934 ed., stanzas 7-8, 10, 28). Both Bridel (ibid, stanzas 29, 30, 32) and Skovoroda (e.g. I, 244 sqq, 496, etc.) see God as a tailor. Skovoroda's God is a partner (cf. I, 85, 86), like Mickiewicz's. I have collected all references to the numerous parallels in non-Slavonic literatures. The notion of God creating the world like an engineer, an artist, or a craftsman is of course, connected with the pseudo-Platonic saying "God is always doing geometry" quoted by Skorovoda which has found numerous reflexions in the fine arts, e.g. the 13th century French miniature in the Codex Nr 2554 at the Vienna National Library or Blake's coloured engraving "The Ancient of Days" (1795), strikingly reminiscent of it. In both God is represented holding a pair of compasses and measuring the world which he is creating.²⁸⁾

Needless to say, among these isolated motifs, often insignificant in relation to Mickiewicz's poetry, many more "Romantic" and permanent ones could be found. I propose to dwell on a few of these which will certainly not be dealt with in present-day Poland where an attempt is being made to reduce to a minimum the Romantic and religious motifs in Mickiewicz's work which has been labelled almost entirely as classical and even Voltairean on the one hand and realistic on the other. It may be worth mentioning a few more "occasional" but nevertheless "permanent" images of this kind, such as heaven and earth, likened to a pair of lovers ("Pan Tadeusz" VIII, 13-19), an image which A. Niemojewski has traced as far back as ancient Egypt²⁹⁾ and which is a favourite with some Romanticist (it often occurs in Gogol). It is based on the conception of the duality of the world mentioned above. The theme of "madness superior to reason" too is interesting; it is the basic theme of "Romantyczność", typical of Romanticism.

26) For Calderon see ibid., pp. 543-553, also pp. 532 and sqq.

27) For these religious hymns which were earlier for some reason regarded as satires, see my article "Prispevek k symbolice českého básnického náboženského" in "Slovo a slovesnost", II, 1936, 2, pp. 98-105 and an important addition ibid., 4, 251-2. As far as I have been able to ascertain, my interpretation of both hymns has thenceforth been accepted by all historians of Czech literature and, since 1952, without any mention of my name.

28) A detailed survey of Slavonic and Western parallels will be given in the article referred to in note 20).

29) A. Niemojewski, "Dawnosć a Mickiewicz", Warsaw, 1921.

Let me mention only the lengthy treatise by Prince V. Odoyevsky, in his "Russkie Nochi", a treatise suggested by the reflexions of E. T. A. Hoffmann in "Die Serapionsbrüder". The same theme was developed by the supposedly "radiant" and "rational" Pushkin in the poem "Ne ady mne Bog soysi s uma" (1833; its substance is diametrically opposed to the meaning of the first line). Even more interesting are the works of the mental specialists of the Romantic period, e.g. J. Reil of Halle and J. C. A. Heinroth of Leipzig; Mickiewicz eventually became acquainted with the works of the latter.³⁰⁾ Both the "permanent" themes, motifs and images in Mickiewicz's work and the ones connected with his times, are innumerable. Unfortunately there is no satisfactory survey of the "permanent" literary themes, not to mention those belonging to particular periods.

V.

SWEDENBORG

In "Pan Tadeusz" (XII, 461-2) the Count, offended at having been spurned by Telimena who is to marry the Rejent, addresses her in words which express his Romantic philosophy of love. Among other things he says:

Dwa serca pałające na dwóch końcach ziemi,
rozmawiają jak gwiazdy promieńmi drżącemi.

Pigoń, when collecting material on the reception of Swedenborg in Poland,³¹⁾ did not pay attention to these lines. And yet the communion of souls by means of rays of light is one of the most typical motifs of Swedenborg's mystical outlook and one that Pigoń does mention. Of course, it is in no way surprising that Mickiewicz who, as Pigoń convincingly demonstrated, was not only interested in Swedenborg, but quite obviously adopted some of his ideas and used them, "inter alia" in "Dziady", Part III, should allude to Swedenborg's teaching also in "Pan Tadeusz".³²⁾ Pigoń's observations were supplemented by Kallenbach.³³⁾ The lines quoted above must be

30) Both Reil and Heinroth come close to the psychological theories of Schelling. Attention to Heinroth was first drawn by Łempicki ("Tak zwany Heinrech", "Pamiętnik Literacki", 38, 1947, pp. 109-238). In addition to Heinroth's works referred to by Łempicki, one more should be mentioned: "Lebensstudien oder mein Testament für Mit- und Nachwelt", Leipzig, 1845. In this book Heinroth speaks of his attitude towards Schelling. In three articles by the present author on the influence of Schelling's philosophy among the Slavs, due to appear shortly, the question of the Romantic attitude towards madness will be discussed. — It is interesting to note that "Romantyczność" exercised a considerable influence on the literatures of the Slavs and after some delay found a place in German literature appearing in a correct but not altogether successful translation by a popular poet, Justinus Kerner (and not Körner as spelt by some Polish bibliographers, e. g. L. Stolarzewicz "Bibliografia Mickiewicza", Wilno, 1924, No 1524). Kerner published the translation of „Romantyczność" in his last collection of poems: „Der letzte Blumenstrauß", 1852. He translated the title by a term more comprehensible to his contemporaries than the original: "Erscheinung". Kerner makes some interesting remarks on "Romantyczność" in a letter to Count F. Poccii of 26th Nov. 1852, published in F. Poccii, ju., "Justinus Kerner und sein Freundenkreis", Berlin, 1928, p. 245, cf. p. 247.

31) See S. Pigoń, "Z epoki Mickiewicza", Lwów, 1922, especially pp. 141-162 and 203-7.

32) *Ibid.*, pp. 140 & sqq.

33) J. Kallenbach, „Mickiewicz", II, Lwów — Warszawa — Kraków, 1923, pp. 228, 364 n. Kallenbach tries to trace even the calculation of the number of Napo-

included in the numerous but for the most part very brief and sometimes obscure testimonies to the interest of Slav writers and thinkers in the work of the Swedish mystic. Pigoń finds that Mickiewicz, Słowacki, Krasiński, Towiański and Grabianka³⁴⁾ were all interested in Swedenborg; to this may be added a mention of Swedenborg in Trentowski's letter to Krasiński and especially the page on Swedenborg in the "Pamiętnik" of S. Brzozowski who sees him a profound thinker whom he puts on a par with Spinoza, Leibnitz and Kant, and a visionary incapable of adopting a critical attitude to his "sentimental poetic fantasies".³⁵⁾ Even more abundant is the evidence for the interest taken in Swedenborg in Russia, he attracted the attention of Derzhavin, Dal', Herzen, Mel'nikov-Pechersky, A. K. Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, A. Bely, even Gor'ky and, of course, as a thinker, that of V. Soloviev, the latter having in that respect undergone the influence of his teacher, the Ukrainian professor P. D. Yurkevich. Like Brzozowski, Yurkevich and Soloviev,³⁶⁾ considered Swedenborg to be one of the outstanding philosophers of his day, wrongly neglected, like J. Boehme, by historians of philosophy. An Ukrainian writer who took an interest in Soloviev was the short-story writer of the first half of the 19th century, Kvitka-Osnovyanenko.³⁷⁾ Dal' and A. K. Tolstoy the author of a poem entitled "Swedenborg", were confirmed Russian Swedenborgians. Only Derzavin, a man of the 18th century and Gor'ky, a man of the 19th, treated Swedenborg with undisguised consideration. It is interesting to note that both Mickiewicz, who undoubtedly appreciated Swedenborg and even regarded him as the next important mystic after Boehme,³⁸⁾ and Kvitka whose attitude to Swedenborg was likewise positive, reproduce his thoughts in a somewhat ironical context. Mickiewicz puts his idea of the communion of souls into the mouth of the comically romantic Count while Kvitka makes the devil, who describes hell "according to Swedenborg," his spokesmen. With Mickiewicz it is of course a case of Romantic irony, with the classicist Kvitka, probably an example of Ukrainian national irony which extends even into the domain of religion

VI.

THE POETICS OF " ZDANIA I UWAGI"

This collection of epigrams, partly translated from the 17th century

leon as Antichrist from Swedenborgs "mystique of numbers" (p. 64) but there is no foundation for this. The ancient world, Israel and the Christian world alike have known the symbolic meaning of numbers and of the numerical significance of letters. The Russian Old Believers who calculated that the name Napoleon („Napoleontii") equals the "Antichrist" number 666 did certainly not know Swedenborg. Cf. F. Dornseiff, "Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie", 1922, 2nd ed. 1925, and F. C. Endres, „Mystik und Magie der Zahlen", Zürich, 1951, 3rd. ed.

34) Pigoń, op. cit., Słowacki, pp. 411-2; Krasiński, pp. 146 and eqq.; Towiański, pp. 203-213, 237-9; Grabianka, pp. 203, 205. For Towiański see Kallenbach, op. cit. p. 364 n.

35) See the correspondence between Trentowski and Krasiński in vol. VI of "Archivum dla badania historii filozofii...", 1937, p. 327. Trentowski's attitude towards Swedenborg was of course sceptical. See S. Brzozowski, "Pamiętnik", Lwów, 1913, pp. 100-101, an entry for 1911.

36) See my note in *ZfSlPh*, XIX, 1949, 2, "Literarische Lesebrüchte", No 99 for a reference to Trentowski (cf. the preceding note) and some general remarks. A collection of articles by the present author, "Ost und West", includes a paper on Swedenborg among the Slavs, with details about Swedenborg's Russian followers.

37) For him see my note in *ZfSlPh*, XIX, 1949, 2.

38) Kallenbach, op. cit. p. 228.

German poet Angelus Silesius (Johann Scheffler), partly paraphrasing various reflexions in the prose works of Jakob Boehme, Saint-Martin and, as was shown later, F. Baader, and partly made up of Mickiewicz's own thoughts on religious, moral and even political subjects, first appeared under the title "Zdania i Uwagi" in 1836 (121 epigrams). A further number of epigrams were published from the poet's manuscript in the Paris edition of 1861 and a few more by Pigoń in his "Autograf 'Zdań i Uwag' Mickiewicza" (Wilno, 1928). Thus the number of epigrams rose to 160. As early as 1889 W. Bruchnalski established which epigrams were translations from Silesius's vast collection (pub. 1657, 6 vols, 1674 epigrams) "Cherubinischer Wandersmann".³⁹⁾ In 1907 Kallenbach published his observations on the manuscript of "Zdania i Uwagi"; in 1947 in a volume entitled "Wśród twórców" Pigoń contributed a number of corrections to Bruchnalski's analysis, and in "Pamiętnik Literacki", XXXVIII (1947) appeared some valuable comments by W. Borowy on the changes made by Mickiewicz in his translations of Angelus Silesius' epigrams.⁴⁰⁾ In 1954 there appeared further epigrams belonging to "Zdania i Uwagi": Samuel Fiszman had found in the U.S.S.R. a missing page of the manuscript. (Pigoń had already drawn attention to its existence, though not in the form of a definitive text but of a draft). Of these epigrams, two had not been previously published.⁴¹⁾

Historians of literature have paid little attention to this work of Mickiewicz'. Isolated epigrams have been quoted to characterize Mickiewicz's religious beliefs or as parallels to his various works. No special studies have been devoted to the "poetics", to the poetic technique of "Zdania i Uwagi". Kallenbach in his book on Mickiewicz does not go beyond a few observations pointing out the paradoxical nature of individual epigrams and the resemblance of some popular saying but fails to point out what constitutes the resemblance.⁴²⁾

I am not here concerned with the very interesting problems connected with the ideological aspect of the epigram — such as the choice of particular items and particular passages for translation from the prose works of Boehme, Saint-Martin and Baader, the principles governing this choice, or with the composition of the collection of epigrams to form a whole — these questions I shall discuss elsewhere.

Mickiewicz was obviously familiar with the older Polish epigrams — the "Fraszki" of Kochanowski, Kochowski and others as well as with those of the Greek anthologies and of Martial; it is possible that he had other models too, e.g. the neo-Latin master of the epigram, John Owen (Ovenus), of the German epigrammatists of the 17th century, e.g. Logau whose work was resuscitated by Lessing. But on the construction of his epigrams, it is Angelus Silesius that Mickiewicz follows most closely. Like the great majority of the epigrams of the "Cherubinischer Wandersmann", those of "Zdania i Uwagi" are written in two line Alexandrines. In his arrangement of ideas, images, words and sounds Mickiewicz observes the fundamental rules laid down by the ancients and follow the modern

39) W. A. Bruchnalski in „Pamiętnik Tow. Mickiewicza we Lwowie”, III, pp. 201-211.

40) J. Kallenbach, Autograf „Zdań i Uwag” in „Na ruiny”, Warsaw, 1947, pp. 46 and sqq.; S. Pigoń, „Wśród twórców”, Kraków, 1947, pp. 184-208; W. Borowy in „Pamiętnik Literacki”, 38, 1947, pp. 383-396.

41) Fiszman, "Nieznanne autografy Adama Mickiewicza" in "Kwartalnik Instytutu Polsko-Radzieckiego", Nr 2/7, 1954, I, "Karta brulionu Zdań i Uwag", pp. 67-72. A poor facsimile of the manuscript is reproduced on two tables.

42) Kallenbach, "Mickiewicz", II, pp. 254-255.

epigrammatists, including Angelus Silesius.⁴³⁾ Let us consider a few types of epigrams in "Zdania i Uwagi". Parallels to most of them are found easily enough in Martial, Owen or Kochowski but above all in Angelus Silesius who shows great consistency in constructing his epigrams according to a few basic patterns. Some of these have not been examined so far.⁴⁴⁾

1. One of Angelus Silesius's most striking ways of constructing an epigram is the arrangement of two ideas on the chiastic principle: both are contained in the first line and repeated in the second in the reverse order. In most cases the same words are used to express the ideas in both lines. For example:

Słowo i ciało.

Słowo stało się ciałem, ażeby na nowo

Ciało twoje, człowiekowi, powróciło w słowo.

("Zdania i Uwagi", No 27, cf. Nos 5, 6, 79, 81, 102).

2. Often the ideas arranged on the chiastic principle are expressed in different terms; this is a concealed chiasm, e.g.:

Słowo i czyn.

W słowach tylko chęć widzim, w działaniu potęgę;

Trudniej dzień dobrze przeżyć niż napisać księgi.

(Ibid, No 8. Here the corresponding terms are "słowo" — "księga", "działanie" — "dobrze przeżyć"; for other examples of Nos 13 — "człowiek" — "z nimi" — 15, 57).

3. Sometimes the epigram consists in the repetition of the same word or of a few synonyms, words or words derived from the same root, thus:

W z a j e m n o ś c i.

Ile się dusza wzruszy, tyle Boga wzruszy;

O ile dusza w Bogu, o tyle Bóg w duszy.

(Ibid, No 32. Other examples: No 18 "cnota" and "cnotliwy" are repeated three times; No 14 "sam", "Bóg"; No 2 "pokój", "Bóg"; No 36 "modli", "stwórz..."; No 38 "zwierz" twice, "człowiek" three times; Nos 67, 68 "Trójca", "pokój", "radość", "jedyny" — "jedność"; further Nos 81, 92, 108, 122, 126, 130. NB. The epigrams from No 121 have been renumbered as in "Dzieła", vol. I, 1949).

Many of the epigrams in Kochowski's "Ogród Panieński" are constructed on the principle of repetition but very few of his "Fraszki" follow this pattern. The other master of the repetitive epigram — besides Angelus Silesius — was Owen (Ovenus).

4. Sometimes the ideas are arranged on the principle of climax or gradation, e.g.:

Grzesznik leży, pokutnik dźwiga się na nogi,

A święty stoi prosto, gotowy do drogi.

(Ibid, No 144, cf. Nos 3, 42, 75, 80).

As it is easier to present a series of ideas in the form of a long epigram:

43) Some material on this subject and a bibliography will be found in my book "Ukrains'kyi literaturnyi barok, Narysy", I, 1941.

44) There exist two substantial studies of Angelus Silesius' epigrams: B. von Wiese, Die Antithetik in den Alexandrinen des Angelus Silesius, „Euphorion”, 1929, and E. Spörr, "Der Cherubinische Wandermann als Kunstwerk", Zürich, 1947. Neither however, has very much to say about the "poetics" of the epigram. I have had to continue the analysis with the help of 17th century manuals of "poetics" and my own theoretical considerations.

it is in this type that Mickiewicz uses the device of the climax. Angelus Silesius on the other hand, composed a large number of couplets leading up to a climax.

The two principles underlying the construction of Mickiewicz's epigrams are: analogy and antithesis. I do not propose to dwell on the various applications of these principles which led Kallenbach to compare some of the epigrams to proverbs.⁴⁵⁾

5. An analogy may be a simple analogy of ideas but it may also find expression in the syntactical parallelism between the lines of an epigram, a parallelism emphasising their rhythmical quality as to both sound and meaning. Thus:

K r ó l i k a t.

Dobry człowiek, jako król, szuka kogo wieńczyć;

Zły podobny do kata, szuka, kogo męczyć.

(Ibid, No 45; cf. 4, 17, 11 — with a concealed chiasmus —, 50, 59, 62 — "Mówisz" — "głupiec mówi", 82).

Syntactical parallelism does not occur frequently in "Zdania i Uwagi" the epigram newly published by Fiszman⁴⁶⁾ may serve as one example of it:

S ł a b e m u B ó g p o m o c a.

Chromy, ślepy i głuchy często Boga złowi,

Ujrzy, posłyszy przedzej, niżli ludzie zdrowi.

Here, however, the parallel is incomplete. The verbs "złowi" etc. correspond to the substantives "chromy" etc. in the first instead of the second line. For other examples see Nos 3 & 4 (anaphora and climax), 6 (anaphora and chiasmus), 36, 38 (repetition) and 39.

6. Antithesis plays a more important part, the two lines often acting as the two antithetical phrases; sometimes the portion of the first line as far as the caesura constitutes the first part and the rest of the text, the second part of the antithesis; occasionally a double antithesis occurs — each line contains two phrases and in addition both lines form an antithesis or an analogy. Here is an example of a simple antithesis:

E g o i z m.

Nie ten jest egoista, kto od ludzi stroni,

Ale ten, co za bliżnim jak za łupem goni.

(Ibid, No 105; more than half of all the epigrams are constructed on the principle of antithesis; it is therefore unnecessary to quote further examples). And now an instance of a double antithesis, i.e. one in each line and both lines constituting an analogy:

W a l k a z e s m o k i e m.

Ilękroć złą myśl w duszy dobra przewycięża,

Tylekroć święty Michał strąca z niebios węża.

(Ibid, No 105. For other examples of this type of construction see Nos 5, 12 — with a concealed chiasmus, 14, 16, 20, 25, 47, 51).

7. Blatant phonological devices are comparatively rare in "Zdania

45) Kallenbach, op. cit., pp. 254-255.

46) Fiszman, op. cit. p. 68. I have changed the punctuation. The scored out draft reads:

Kto chromy, nie ma wsparcia, ślepy przewodnika,
przedzej niżli zdrowy Boga napotyka.

The first line is followed by another, scored out and not deciphered by Fiszman, although judging by the facsimile, it should not be impossible to do so.

1 Uwagi". In this respect its epigrams differ markedly from those of Angelus Silesius and Owen and even from the rest of Mickiewicz's works. Play upon words is rare in "Zdania i Uwagi". It occurs in No 15: "Święty" — "Świąty" alliteration is rare; it is found for instance, in No 21 where seven words begin with "S": "służy, sam, sobie, sam, sobie, sam, się". There are no internal rhymes. Syntactical rhythm plays an important part. The significant aspect of the words in "Zdania i Uwagi" is not their sound or music but their meaning. Also connected with the predominance of the semantic element over the phonological is the fact that the construction of a large number of the epigrams is based — as in the work of Angelus Silesius — on the logical relationship between the two parts of the epigram:

8. One part confirms the other, provides the argument that proves the thesis put forward in the first part (occasionally the thesis is stated in the heading). Nos 10, 33, 36, 37 may serve as examples of this type of epigram. The second part is often connected with the first by the conjunction "in".

9. In a number of epigrams the second part explains the first, which is often a question, as in Nos 17, 28, 31, 40, 55, etc. The epigram is, as it were, a commentary on what seems at first sight a paradoxical statement.

10. It should be noted that series or "chains" of words are seldom met with in "Zdania i Uwagi". Enumeration is however, one of the characteristic devices used by Angelus Silesius in his epigrams and in Baroque poetry in general. The epigram quoted above in connection with 5, may serve as an example of this. There are two series of words, consisting of three words each. Only seldom do such series occur in the other epigrams. In No 109 there is a series made up of six words:

. Żartowano z panów,
Z mędrców, z wodzów, z poetów, z lekarzy, z kapłanów....
(cf. Ibid, Nos 39, 42).

Angelus Silesius produced a large number of such sequences (e.g. II, 255-5 words; I, 168-10 words; I, 190-8 words; V, 110-8 words; series of three or four words are frequent).

11. Only few of the epigrams in "Zdania i Uwagi" are constructed as a complete maxim, without any noticeable and essential division into parts, as in No 9. In many cases different methods of construction are combined in one epigram. Examples of this have been given above, e.g. No 4, whose four lines arranged on the principle of syntactical parallelism are anaphorical (the first three words and five syllables are repeated) and at the same time form a climax.

The fundamental feature of Mickiewicz's epigrams as well as those by Angelus Silesius, is the paradox, sometimes the oxymoron. This feature which has been pointed out by Kallenbach⁴⁷⁾ is an essential one of Mickiewicz's religious outlook. But the paradoxical character of the Christian attitude is also a fundamental factor in the religiosity of the Baroque, forcefully expressed by Angelus Silesius in his epigrams. Mickiewicz's translations from and imitations of Silesius are an example of Baroque influence on Romanticism.⁴⁸⁾.

It must further be noted that only a few of Mickiewicz's epigrams may

47) Kallenbach, op. cit. p. 254.

48) This influence is mentioned all too briefly in the introduction to my "Outline of Comparative Slavic Literatures", Boston, 1953.

be considered as failures — obscure or ambiguous. The other new epigram published by Fiszman⁴⁹⁾ belongs to their number:

Bóg nic nie może bez mnie.
Bóg bez pomocy mojej nie może nic tworzyć,
Chcąc siebie zniszczyć, trzeba wprzód Boga umorzyć.

No 22 could be quoted as an example of mistranslation, provided one could be sure that in this particular instance Mickiewicz really wanted to convey the sense of Angelus Silesius' epigram (I, 37) and was not simply inspired by the image of the perpetually revolving wheel of life which he interpreted as an instrument of torture.⁵⁰⁾ However that may be, the epigrams of "Zdania i Uwagi" remain an important chapter in the history of the Slavonic epigram⁵¹⁾.

VII.

In the jubilee year no doubt not a few publications on Mickiewicz will appear. It might therefore be worth while pointing out one or two subjects which in all probability will not be touched upon but which are nevertheless worthy of interest.

An early and rather poor poem "Tsaritsa morya" by N. Ogarev was published as long as 1916. Not even in the USSR has its author his role in the Russian revolutionary movement notwithstanding, received the attention which he deserves as a poet.⁵²⁾ "Tsaritsa morya" was undoubtedly written under the influence of Mickiewicz's ballads and can be only understood in consequence of a discussion of the whole complex problem of Polish influence on Ogarev's poetry.

Some new material for this is provided by the publication of K. Ryleev's rather feeble attempts at translating two of Mickiewicz's ballads: "Świtezianka" and "Lilie".⁵³⁾ The information about the origin of the translation of one of the "Crimean Sonnets" made by Lermontov⁵⁴⁾ who did not know Polish, has been published. What is new is the evidence that Gogol' was familiar with Mickiewicz's Paris lectures⁵⁵⁾ but in view of the absence of any further facts we may only guess at any bonds between the two writers.⁵⁶⁾

The new facts about the life of N. S. Leskov do not come as a surprise; they confirm his interest in and knowledge of Polish literature and particularly of the works of Mickiewicz. The recently published biography of Leskov written by his son, A. N. Leskov, frequently mentions Leskov's interest in Mickiewicz many of whose poems the Russian writer was able to quote from memory. Unacknowledged quotations from Mickiewicz sometimes occur in Leskov's works and letters. Leskov studied the Polish language and literature in the 1850s and the early 1860s. But even much later, towards the end of his life, he wrote to Mme A. Chertkova, the wife

49) Fiszman, op. cit. p. 68.

50) Cf. Borowy's article referred to in note 37).

51) A chapter of my book now in preparation: "Slavische Barockliteratur", will be devoted to the theory of the epigram.

52) "Russkie Propilei", ed. by M. Gershenson, vol. II, Moscow, 1916; now also in vol. II of Ogarev's "Stikhotvoreniya" ("Bolshaya Biblioteka Poeta"), 1939.

58) Literaturnoe Nasledstwo, vol. 59, 1954, pp. 48, sqq. 132.

54) Ibid., vol. 58, 1952, pp. 473-4.

55) Ibid., p. 670.

56) Cf. my articles "Neizvestnyi Gogol", "Novyi Zhurnal", 27, 1950 and more briefly "The unknown Gogol", "Slavonic Review" (London, XXX/75, 1952).

of the well-known follower of Tolstoy, who wanted to reconcile Leskov with her husband and had asked Leskov to forget the past: "One may command one's reason and even one's heart but no one can command his memory". This is a very obvious reminiscence of the first stanza of Mickiewicz's: "Precz z moich oczu". ("Do M...").⁵⁷⁾

A subject of major importance is the problem of the connexion between the "mystery plays" produced by the Russian Romantics (Küchelbecker, V. Pecherin, Timofeev, I. Aksakov and others) and the general convention of the Romantic "mysteries", including "Dziady".

The appearance of hitherto unpublished works by the most important and original of the Slovak Romantics, Janko Kral, and the publication of a critical edition of all his works in 1952,⁵⁸⁾ are of outstanding importance. Here the intellectual and formal influence of Mickiewicz is unmistakable, much more so than his accidental and very often dubious influence on other Slovak Romantics, frequently far removed from Mickiewicz's outlook. Many of these alleged influences can probably be explained by the contiguity of their work with that of Mickiewicz.

It is no less interesting to note that the founder of modern Slovak literature, L'udovit Stur, undoubtedly wrote his early work "Stary i novy vek slovaku" in imitation of Mickiewicz's "Księgi narodu i pielgrzymstwa polskiego," and that this fact has not so far been mentioned by any writer on Stur.⁵⁹⁾

Finally, it would be too much to expect any serious work on the influence of European mysticism on Mickiewicz. Nearly all that has been said on the subject shows that even the most reputable scholars had but an inadequate knowledge of the mysticism of the 17th century and the 19th century trends connected with it. Many questions arise in this connection and a good many recent Western-European⁶⁰⁾ studies may help to provide the answers.

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57) A. N. Leskov, "Zhizn' Nikolaya Leskova", 1954. The letter quoted is on page 270. For Mickiewicz see also pp. 152 and sqq., 276, 577, 631. It is interesting that Leskov should quote Mickiewicz from memory. Leskov's general attitude towards Polish literature deserves to be examined. Among others he translated into Russian Kraszewski's novel "Favoritka korоля Avgusta" (1877).

58) "Nieznanne basne", ed. by S. Mediar, Turc. s. v. Martin, 1938. The complete edition of Kral's verse prepared by M. Pisut appeared in 1952, ("Suborne dielo", Turc. s. v. Martin). My article "Neues über Janko Kral" was published in Zf.Sl.Ph., XXI, 1952, 2, pp. 402 and sqq.

59) On Mickiewicz's influence on this work of Stur there have only been remarks in my book "Sturova filozofia života", Bratislava, 1941, pp. 103-7. My article on Mickiewicz's influence on Kral' and Stur will appear shortly.

60) Cf. the now obsolete study by R. M. Blüth, "Chrześcijański Prometeusz" in „Prace Komisji dla badania historii literatury”, III, 1929, (cf. my review in „Put” (Paris), 21, 1930).

It should be noted that in recent years Russian scholarship has shown what must be either ignorance of Polish literature or a deliberate disregard of it. Thus the translation of Mickiewicz's first "Crimean Sonnet" carries a note: "A poem dedicated to Mickiewicz. I. M. Mikhailov's poem "K pol'ke-materi" (written between 1863 and 1865) is a fairly close translation of Mickiewicz's "Do Matki Polki", but in the popular edition of Mikhailov's poetry published as recently as 1950 ("Malaya Biblioteka Poeta"), the poem is presented as Mikhailov's work (pp. 139-140). However, many recent Soviet editions make no reference to this or that poem ascribed to a Russian author as being a mere translation.