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Editorial

The legacy built by generations of Central and Eastern Europeans, along with their cultural, religious and national diversity, might be scattered or erased by the turmoil of war. We seem to know this very well, but it is still difficult to imagine this. Or rather, it was difficult for our generation to imagine it until recently... It is frightening how very relevant today is the topic covered by Marek Buika of Vilnius in his article about the removal of works of art, not just individual pieces, but entire collections, by the military and the Russian administration during World War I. Not long ago, it seemed that such studies would serve only as a memento reminding us of the darkness of the past, or as information for contemporary researchers looking for traces of old collections. Today, the research of many years by the Vilnius researcher takes on a new meaning and reminds us how pertinent the issue is in times of historical upheaval in our part of Europe: something we should be aware of beforehand.

One way to avoid such a state of affairs is through far-reaching cooperation, the creation of such a model for the functioning of the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe based on mutual understanding so as to at least mitigate threats that individual states cannot overcome. The ideas of Central European unity, as pointed out by the authors of the historical section of this issue, were highly diverse. Some involved the development of principles for the functioning of the state which were tested

in practice over the centuries. Those that proved successful attracted partners wishing to apply them as well. Other ideas were underpinned by a belief that it was necessary to protect the national substance of communities too small to withstand the onslaught of larger political entities on their own. The idea of preserving national identity, or even strengthening or expanding it, did not conflict with ideas for close regional cooperation, and was not shattered by plans to establish some kind of confederation or common state.

Milan Hodža, a Czechoslovak politician of the pre-war period and, most notably, the originator of the concept of Central European federalization, stands out in particular. It is difficult to imagine a man more rooted in the region than Hodža, who was fluent in almost all the languages spoken here. Active during the Austro-Hungarian period, he advocated national autonomy for the constituent parts of the empire, and as soon as the opportunity to build nation-states arose, he opted for close, politically and economically inclusive cooperation between smaller partners. This was a combination of ideology and pragmatism: Hodža had no illusions that the Central European states would be subjected to pressures that they would be unable to resist separately. The Munich Conference and the fate of the region during World War II corroborated the predictions of the Czechoslovak prime minister. When he was in exile, he never abandoned the thought of a federal rebirth of the region's free nations. We believe that recalling his ideas is important in contemplating the emerging concepts of the development of the region, hence his image on the cover of the issue.

Many ideas for the integration of the region – not only those we present in this issue of the journal – share the appeal to respect the autonomy and history of the partner. This is also a principle that guides us in the creation of *Trimarium*. Editors in each country are responsible for inviting authors and accepting contributions, as well as for appointing national reviewers who first evaluate the text and recommend it for publication. It is their responsibility to represent their own country in editorial work. The editor-in-chief interferes only in special cases,

sometimes at the request of the national editor. Reconciling different working styles, habits – not only personal, but also cultural – proves to be a challenge, and work on the journal represents the concept of integration on a micro level where respect for autonomy meets the need to develop or achieve common standards. At this practical, organic level, one can understand that the more complicated the task (and the integration of state organisms is among the most demanding of these), the more patience and attention is required. And that such tasks span decades and generations, not months or even years.

Meanwhile, the outlook on the present is changing, as is the historical perspective. Although saying this is a cliché, it is necessary, nevertheless, to account for this fact in mutual communication. Whether its mere awareness is enough to avoid miscommunication is debatable. The example of Zagajewski's and Herbert's clashing generational poetics, which failed precisely because they are incomprehensible to modern audiences, can inspire skepticism. And, after all, we have an even more difficult task: we communicate not only between generations, but also between nations. Moreover, we want this voice of ours to be heard outside, also outside Central and Eastern Europe. In the process, we cannot afford not to take up such a challenge in every area, including science and culture. Those on whose shoulders we stand have long warned that we will be lost without such efforts. The plow of history is a terrible thing.

History

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Medieval Origins of the "Jagiellonian Idea" and Its International Contexts

Abstract

The purpose of the article is to show the genesis of the "Jagiellonian idea," which the author links to the political and social changes in medieval Poland of the Piast era. Ecclesiastical law, which was associated with close relations with the Holy See and Rome, exerted a great influence on the formation of the state system of that time. Under the influence of these ties, the social system in Poland took shape somewhat differently than in other regions of Europe that were dominated by absolutism and had autocratic rulers. Under the law of the time, all members of society, despite class differences, were bound by the same ethical and moral principles. After the Jagiellonians took over the reign, the system evolved into a mixed monarchy, in which power was shared by three parliamentary branches: the king, the senate and the chamber of deputies.

Keywords

Jagiellonian idea, Central and Eastern Europe, Poland, Lithuania, Republic of Poland

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"The Jagiellonian Idea," or a political system in which territories located between the Baltic Sea, the Black Sea and the Carpathian Mountains could voluntarily unite through alliances and unions, was first defined by historians living in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Karol Szajnocha, Julian Klaczko, Stanisław Krzemiński and Witold Kamieniecki should be considered the authors of this definition (Mackiewicz, 2014). In the interwar period, this notion was developed by, among others, Oskar Halecki and Witold Konopczyński (Konopczyński, 1929; Maternicki, 1992; Kornat, 2014; Halecki, 2021). Today, it is often juxtaposed with the concept of the so-called "Intermarium," being promoted by advocates of the geopolitical unity of Central and Eastern European countries that are threatened by domination by Russia and Germany (Avramchuk, 2017; Nowak, 1995). This article argues that the roots of the Jagiellonian idea originated in medieval Poland ruled by the Piasts.

The concept of the Jagiellonian idea refers to the political and cultural heritage of the Jagiellonian dynasty that sat on the throne of Poland and Lithuania and several other countries of Central and Eastern Europe from the late fourteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries. This idea is related to the real alliance of these countries and states against powerful external enemies, such as the Teutonic Order, and later also Moscow and the Ottoman Empire. The alliance was grounded in a system of values common to the societies living in this part of Europe, which grew out of local experience reinforced by Christian tradition and church law. In the following essay, I will try to show that the Jagiellonian idea sprang from the experience of medieval, Piast Poland. It turns out that all major elements of the system and institutions of the Piast monarchy were adopted by the Jagiellons and proved to be a sound basis for governing a state with a much larger population potential and area.

The beginnings of state formation in Central and Eastern Europe date back to the early Middle Ages. The bedrock of this process was when these countries adopted Christianity, which guaranteed their progress through access to the rich heritage of Mediterranean culture. The nations of the western and central parts of the region gravitated to Rome and the Latin heritage, while the south and east gravitated to Constantinople and the Greek tradition. The Poles, like

their close Slavic neighbors to the south, the Czechs, chose Rome and Latin civilization in 966 (Smołucha, 2019). The Hungarians, whose ruler Géza crowned himself and his family in 974, did the same (Sroka, 2018). Meanwhile, the ruler of Greater Kievan Rus, Prince Vladimir, decided to accept baptism in 988 from emissaries of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople. This decision had a profound effect on the further development and transformation of the culture and civilization of all Ruthenia (Poppe, 1978). Vladimir followed in the footsteps of the Slavs living in the Balkans, including mainly Bulgarians and Serbs. In the Balkans, only the Croats, related to the Serbs, espoused close ties with Latin civilization and Rome.

Mieszko I, in deciding to accept baptism, wanted, on the one hand, to take away the German Empire's excuse for waging invasions and attempting to expand its dominion to the east. On the other hand, he may also have wanted to raise his importance in dealings with the German Reich. A personal motive for his conversion must not be ruled out either, as the life of St. Udalryk may indicate (Cetwiński, 2017). He sought a special relationship with Rome for this reason, as the famous document "Dagome iudex" testifies (Latoszek, 2017). There was clearly a danger of embarking on the same path as the Bohemians, who had accepted not only Christianity but also German supremacy a little earlier. When Boleslaus I recognized the feudal sovereignty of the German king in the middle of the 10th century, his state became permanently bound to the German Reich with all the consequences of this. From the "Dagome iudex" *regestum*, we learn that the ruler of Poland, Mieszko I, placed his state named *Civitas Schinesghe* under the protection of the Holy See. Accordingly, he pledged to pay to Rome a fief donation known as Peter's Pence. This custom, continued by subsequent rulers, was later transferred to all the faithful of the metropolis of Gniezno and survived until the 2nd half of the 16th century (Gromnicki, 1908)[1]. It is worth noting that this fee was customarily collected from the faithful in Poland once a year and sent to Rome. In the past, this small individual fee

1 Some researchers view this act as an archetype of later concordats with the Holy See. K. Burczak, 2019, pp. 46–47.

did not just used to be a mere symbol. In fact, it marked the different legal and political situation of the Polish territory, where imperial law did not apply (Krukowski, 2016).

The newly established Polish state chose to remain outside the empire to keep its freedom and independence. The baptism of Poland in 966 was one of the most momentous events in its history as it initiated cultural and religious changes that would shape Poland's national identity for centuries. The very concept of Poland and Poles, which had never existed before, was created on this foundation. Ties with Rome provided an opportunity for the intellectual and spiritual development of the elite, and enabled favorable agreements and alliances within countries belonging to the Christian community of nations (*Christianitas*). With this act, Poland was able to overcome threats and join a vibrant and exuberant civilization. By accepting baptism, Mieszko I introduced his subjects into a brand new area of civilization and culture. The greatest achievements in science and literature began to reach the country through Latin. There also appeared Romanesque architecture and art, whose reach coincided with the borders of the nascent state (Walkusz, 2017).

The Church had a profound influence on the legal and political institutions of Poland of the first Piasts. It was thanks to the Church that new ideas emerged in this part of Europe. Of particular importance was the requirement that the ruler must not violate the principles of natural and canon law, the interpretation of which rested with the clergy. From the very beginning, the Church spread the ideals of individual freedom and the inviolability of subject rights which guaranteed the safeguarding of all their interests (Vetulani, 1948). Churchmen were also responsible for the proper shaping of relations between the authorities and the subjects. Master Wincenty Kadłubek, who lived in the late 12th and early 13th centuries and is often referred to as the "father of Polish culture" wrote in his famous Chronicle that the highest value in the life of both individuals and the entire community is the good of the homeland (*salus patriae*). In the story of Grakch (the ruler of Krakow) and the dragon of Wawel, he shows his attitude to the role of authority and the ruler: the authorities are supposed to take care of the subjects and protect their freedoms rather than be tyrannical (Kadłubek).

The law that was based on canons issued by ecclesiastical authorities insisted on personal freedom resulting from the dignity of the human being created in the image and likeness of God. Under such law, all members of society, notwithstanding their status and wealth, were also bound by the same ethical and moral principles without exception. Everyone was also required to live according to the Christian model of a righteous and honorable man. Respect for traditional good customs helped in adhering to the rules of faith and the overall legal order. According to inner conviction and the guidance of the Church, their infringement was viewed as a sin. This principle gave rise to the belief that there was a legitimate right to resist wrongful authority that acted immorally, wickedly and repressively towards its subjects (Wyrozumski, 2009; Lewandowska-Malec, 2010).

Said limitation of monarchical power in Poland under the Piast dynasty as a basis for the later governance of the state, also during the Jagiellonian era, is connected with the history of the conflict between King Bolesław II the Bold and Bishop Stanislaw and its resolution. In accordance with tradition, all subsequent Polish rulers began their rule by participating in penitential pilgrimages to Skałka, as a symbol of the fact that every monarch was obliged to respect the freedoms of his subjects and that the Church would ensure that the king did not abuse his power (Kadłubek; Jagosz, 1979).

The adoption of Christianity paved the way for Poland's political alliances and treaties, which culminated in the Congress of Gniezno in the thousandth year. It set up an ecclesiastical metropolis with its capital in Gniezno and incorporated the three bishoprics of Kołobrzeg, Wrocław and Kraków, and the bishopric of Poznań a little later (Sikorski, 2016). One consequence of the agreement with the empire that was made at that time was the emergence of an original concept of a European political community that also included the united countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In this new political setup, the future Europe was to consist of four equal provinces: Rome (Italy), Gaul, Germania and Sclavinia (Slavonia). It is not without reason that the "Sclavinia project" was the first attempt to build political and cultural unity of the "Intermarium" in more than a century (Homza, 2018, pp. 65–80).

Although the projects considered at the time were short lived, the outstanding accomplishments of the reign of Bolesław I the Brave set the stage for future generations. The momentous royal coronation of the king, performed with the approval of the Holy See 25 years later, confirmed the sovereignty and independence of his rule. Since then, Poland emerged as an important player in international politics, and did not hesitate to take a stand on major issues (Dudek, 2000; Wieteska, 2011). In the Middle Ages, these included the ideological dispute between the empire and the papacy over supremacy in the Christian world. In this conflict, Poland usually sided with the Holy See. For this reason, it was perceived as a faithful ally of the popes and an actor stabilizing religious tensions in the Central and Eastern European region (Graff, 2004).

The rise of medieval Poland's economic power is linked to the reconstruction of the country that was undertaken after the barbarian Mongol invasions of central Europe in the mid-13th century. After decimating the population and ravaging many cities and regions, their armies eventually retreated from Polish and Hungarian lands to Eastern Europe, and maintained control over almost all of the territory of the former Kievan Rus for the next 200 years (Labuda, 1959). Such a long Mongol presence in these lands had a powerful bearing on the political culture and mentality of the people subjected to their oppression. The social and cultural changes that the Mongols initiated in Ruthenia were further strengthened by the persisting schism between the Orthodox and Latin Churches. In the mid-13th century, a new political force emerged in Eastern Europe, Lithuania, as most vividly demonstrated by the baptism and likely coronation of its ruler, Mindaugas, as king (Stopka, 1987). Soon after, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, rivaling Moscow, began the process of unifying the Ruthenian principalities under its rule. By 1340, it had succeeded in imposing its protectorate on Smolensk, Pskov, the principality of Halych-Volyn and Kiev, among others (Boyko, 2020).

For Poland and Hungary, the Mongol withdrawal from Central Europe meant that they needed to rebuild their ravaged countries. The new infrastructure was defensive: cities were surrounded by new stone walls, and castles and fortresses were erected so as to give shelter to the local population in the event of danger. Western

neighbors were approached for support in terms of people and money. In historiography, this reconstruction has been called colonization under German law, although settlers came not only from Germany, but also from Flanders and the Netherlands. Encouraged by the promises, they sought freedom and better living conditions in Eastern Europe. In exchange for hospitality, miners, artisans and farmers offered their skills, hard work and know-how. The total number of settlers may have been as high as 100,000. It was on their initiative that many new towns and villages were founded at that time and old ones were organized under new rules. Along with the settlers, Gothic architecture, which had been trying to make its way into the region for some time through political and ecclesiastical relations of the elite with the West, made a triumphant entry into Central and Eastern Europe. To this day, its extent marks a sharp boundary between different cultural and civilization zones (Kaczmarczyk, 1974; Kąkolewski, 2010).

In the 14th century, the Kingdom of Poland had gradually begun to emerge as a strong center of the Central European political state system. This was due to two remarkable rulers, Ladislaus the Short (Łokietek)and his son Casimir the Great. For many years, Ladislaus the Short was the leader of the national opposition against foreign domination in Poland. He succeeded in unifying the state through his admirable determination and indefatigable efforts (Marzec, 2023). However, he had control over little more than two core regions of Greater Poland and Lesser Poland, with Poznań and Kraków being the main political centers. At the very beginning of his reign, Łokietek lost control of the crucial province of Pomerania, along with the port of Gdansk, which was seized by the Teutonic Order. From this point, Poland was completely cut off from the Baltic Sea. Ladislaus the Short was strongly resolved to reclaim Pomerania (Judziński, 1994). His coronation in Cracow, Poland, in 1320, was the pinnacle of years of effort to revive and strengthen the Kingdom of Poland (Abraham, 1990). Even then, he based his foreign policy on partnership with Hungary. Friendly relations between the two countries were strengthened by the marriage of his daughter Elisabeth to King Charles Robert of Hungary of the Anjou dynasty. A few years later, however, he decided to gain another ally in Lithuania

under the rule of Gediminas, whose daughter Aldona was married in 1325 to his son Casimir (Wyrozumski, 1987).

Łokietek's successor, Casimir, carried on his father's policies. His almost forty-year reign was so successful he was the only one of all Polish kings who was later called "the Great." Throughout his life, he enjoyed extraordinary prestige, both at home and abroad. Almost the entire period of Casimir's reign fell during a time of great crisis in Western Europe, which was associated with the plague epidemic, the Hundred Years' War and the captivity of the popes in Avignon (Kurtyka, 2001). Suffice it to say that in this troubled century, a third of the Western population died out in a very short period of time. The demographic collapse led to a long-lasting economic and social crisis. It hit the central part of the continent with less force because there was relative peace between neighbors inland and there were no major centers of pestilence. These circumstances were conducive to the development of countries such as Poland, Hungary and Bohemia. At the time, they reduced the economic and cultural distance separating them from the West (Smołucha, 2019).

In Poland, King Casimir's work was particularly significant in the field of internal administration. With the help of experienced lawyers, he carried out changes in Polish law, which helped him restore order throughout the country. He decided to standardize the administration by creating central offices, and almost all local principalities were converted into provinces directly accountable to the king. He also promoted the development of cities, which benefited from the freedoms of Magdeburg law, but placed them under the control of a local court of appeal established in Krakow. Finally, he became famous as a defender of peasants, as well as Jews. The latter had already been granted various privileges in Poland in the previous century, and at the time they were settling in the country in increasing numbers, fleeing persecution in Western states (Zaremska, 2011).

In his foreign policy, Casimir was well aware of the need for territorial concessions to the neighbors. He recognized the sovereignty of Bohemia over almost all the Silesian principalities and tried to stave off the aggression of the Teutonic Order by taking legal action. This was vitally important when Casimir's involvement in Ruthenia

began after 1340 (Wróbel, 2007). Polish political leaders had not hesitated to openly criticize the Teutonic Order in the international arena before, even when they enjoyed the support of the popes. The problem with the Teutonic Knights was that they had brought methods of ruling and administering the state that had never been seen before in this part of Europe from the Middle East, where the order had been founded. It was a mixture of Byzantine civilization with barbaric measures in politics and organization of social life borrowed from Middle Eastern countries. In its complaints to Rome about the conduct of the Teutonic Knights, the Polish side constantly stressed their anti-Christian character. Poland pointed out their violation of all moral principles and laws established by God and men. It argued that the German order did not respect the rights of either its subjects or the Christian population of neighboring countries (Wojtkowski, 1966). The Teutonic Knights showed particular cruelty to pagan peoples: Samogitians and Lithuanians, and deliberately sought – as they had done earlier with the Prussians – their total extermination. The German knights organized armed looting expeditions against pagans. Their ultimate goal was to subjugate Lithuania to German domination. They summoned knights not only from Germany, but also from the rest of Western Europe to participate in these campaigns. Under the last two Piasts, this was already beginning to arouse mounting criticism and opposition in Poland (Łowmiański, 1954). There is no doubt that this critical attitude of the Polish court and society toward Teutonic lawlessness had a major impact on the later decision to make an alliance and union with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The year 1340 opened a new chapter in Polish history. After the death of his cousin Yurii II Boleslav Troidenovych, Casimir the Great inherited Halych-Volhynia Ruthenia. Then began a dispute over the land between Poles, Hungarians and Lithuanians that lasted more than half a century. The Polish king based his claims on the agreements of the 1338 Congress of Visegrad. The eastward shift of the borders meant the involvement of Polish forces in the complicated affairs of Ruthenia, where, other than Lithuania and Hungary, Moscow and the Tartars also had political interests (Wójcikowska, 2015). Casimir the Great was well received by the local Ruthenian

population, as he granted the occupied lands full autonomy and guaranteed local customs. Lviv, a thriving commercial city at the crossroads of trade routes leading from the Black Sea and Moldavia and Wallachia, became the new capital of the region. It soon became a major center for the expansion of Western culture in Eastern Europe, alongside the capital city of Krakow (Wyrozumski, 2005).

One of the most important successes of Casimir the Great's reign was the founding of a university in Krakow in 1364. It played a very important role in the following centuries in promoting Western culture and science. The ruler intended this university to be a place for the training of civil servants to strengthen the expanding Kingdom and accelerate modernization in the economic, social and cultural areas. This prominent ruler was especially keen on reforming the law. It was supposed, with an efficient administration and judiciary, to provide a guarantee of the necessary security and sure tomorrow for all subjects (Uruszczak, 2014).

After Casimir the Great's death in 1370, his nephew, King Louis of Hungary, became his successor in Poland. This was a culmination of decades of political and cultural rapprochement between the two countries and peoples. The new ruler left the reins of rule in Poland to a strong faction of the nobles of Lesser Poland, who backed him, and limited his activity to promoting one of his daughters to the Krakow throne (Marzec, 2017). To achieve this goal, he granted extensive state privileges to the Polish knights in Kosice in 1374, modeled on the famous Golden Bull of Andrew II of 1222 (Rada, 2014; Baczkowski, 2012). From then on, knighthood in the state had a privileged position, which would evolve towards the formation of a strong noble stratum. Following the Hungarian model, King Louis agreed to reduce Polish knights' taxes to a small, symbolic levy. If extraordinary benefits were to be paid, for example, in the event of war, the knights' approval had to be obtained. Additionally, the knighthood was given the right to decide on all important domestic and foreign affairs, both locally and nationally. These concessions gave rise to parliamentary rule in Poland (Bagi, 1997). During the reign of the absent king in 1375, the first Latin archdiocese was established in Ruthenia, with its seat in Halych, which was moved to Lviv in 1412. This began the centuries-long

presence of the Roman Catholic Church in what is now western Ukraine (Krętosz, 2012).

When King Louis died in 1382, the Poles remained true to their obligations to the Anjou dynasty and invited his younger daughter, Jadwiga, to the throne. She was sent to Krakow in 1384 and crowned "king" of Poland, aged about 10. The choice of her future husband proved to be decisive for all of Central and Eastern Europe (Wróbel, 2020). Although Jadwiga was already engaged as a child to Prince Wilhelm of Habsburg, he had no chance for the Polish crown. The reason was the growing expansion of German power, which, having established itself on the Baltic Sea, also seized Bohemia and encroached on Hungary in that period (Przybyszewski, 1975).

The Polish lords chose the Lithuanian prince Jagiełło, who was probably much older than Jadwiga, and was a heathen[2]. This plan was part of a far-sighted political strategy to counter the development of a disadvantageous geopolitical alignment in Central and Eastern Europe. Not only Poland, but also Lithuania felt threatened by the increasingly aggressive policy of the Teutonic Order which was supported by the Emperor and the German Reich. Lithuania, furthermore, started to fear the rising power of Moscow, especially since its victory over the Tatars at Kulikovo Field in 1380. The Grand Duchy of Moscow then challenged Lithuania by becoming its greatest rival in the struggle for dominion in the Ruthenian lands (Błaszczyk, 1998; Gaca, Bąk, 2020). Jadwiga agreed to the plan, being also driven by her desire to convert the last pagan nation in Europe (Przybyszewski, 1975).

On August 14, 1385, Jagiełło signed a treaty in Kreva with Polish delegates and pledged to baptize Lithuania and incorporate its lands into the Polish Crown. The marriage was concluded in Krakow on February 18, 1386, followed by Jagiełło's baptism, during which he was given the new name of Ladislaus. The coronation ceremony took place on March 4. Jadwiga was 12 years old at the time and Ladislaus Jagiełło was 36 (Przybyszewski, 1975).

2 In Polish historiography, there has been a dispute for years about the age of Jagiełło the time of his marriage to Jadwiga, see T. Wasilewski, 1991, pp. 15–34; J. Nikodem, 2009, pp. 350–362.

In February 1387, King Ladislaus traveled to Lithuania to personally oversee the process of conversion to the Christian faith. A bishopric was established in Vilnius. This gave rise to an ecclesiastical structure and freedom charters based on the Polish model, which were granted to the Lithuanian Church and knighthood (Ochmanski, 1990). Around the same time, the queen ventured into Ruthenia to consolidate the sovereignty of the Polish Crown over territory to which the Hungarians also laid claim. The entire region with its capital in Lviv recognized her authority; in return, the people of Ruthenia were given confirmation of old privileges and obtained new ones. On the vast territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and southern Ruthenia, from the shores of the Baltic to the Black Sea, a process of great civilizational transformation was set in motion, one similar in scale to that which once accompanied colonization on Polish soil under German law. The Polish–Lithuanian Union produced momentous consequences both in the spheres of politics, culture, economy and social relations. In its wake, a political culture referring to the classical foundations of Latin civilization spread in Central and Eastern Europe. In Poland, it was further reinforced by Krakow scholars who based their theories on the doctrine of canon law. The most important of these included Stanisław of Skarbimierz and Paweł Włodkowic. They were convinced of the inalienable dignity of the human being and the supremacy of natural law over state law. According to this principle, fundamental human rights comprise the right to life and its protection, the right to liberty, the right to property and the right to a fair trial. Polish scholars argued that the state, whose duty was to uphold such rights, could function only with the consent of its inhabitants. Otherwise, a tyranny would emerge and mercilessly violate them. These objective, inalienable and universal rights should also always be considered in moral terms with constant consideration of the evangelical principles of love. According to Krakow scholars, the natural state of humanity was not war, but peace. However, nations have the right to resist external aggression – to wage a "just war" whose goal should be to restore justice and create peace (Wielgus, 2008; Rau, Turlejski, 2013; Włodkowic, Stanisław of Skarbimierz, Hesse and Mateusz of Krakow, 2018).

Based on the above principles, the mutual relations between the many nations, religions and societies comprising the Polish–Lithuanian state began to form under the auspices of successive rulers of the Jagiellonian dynasty. Mutual understanding and cooperation were guaranteed by observance of the law and respect for different religions, traditions and customs. Symbolic of such an understanding of the role and mission of the monarch in the state was the famous statement of the last of the Jagiellons, Sigismund Augustus: "I am not the king of your consciences" (Smołucha, 2023, p. 22).

When, in the course of the 15th century, the Jagiellons also managed to claim the thrones of the neighboring states of Hungary and Bohemia, this idea, dubbed "the Jagiellonian idea" many centuries later, spread to the entire area of the "Intermarium." This concept was not limited to common defense against the powers that endangered them, but also meant the free development of regional and cultural government, as well as the indifference of state power to national, religious and worldview differences while maintaining elementary control over ethical and moral matters. For nearly three centuries, this system enabled broad social strata, not only the nobility, but also the bourgeoisie and peasants in the early days, to become rich and improve their standard of living. Social and political life was developing in the powerful Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and the countries associated with it quite differently than in other regions of Europe where absolutism and autocratic rulers dominated. In fact, the system of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth became a mixed monarchy, or *monarchia mixta*, where the different branches of the system of power, that is, the king, the aristocracy representing the Senate and the general nobility, which corresponds to the Chamber of Deputies, mutually balance each other in the likeness of the ancient triumvirates or all systems based on such a tripartite balance.

This dissimilarity is also well illustrated by the opinion of Nuncio Germanicus Malaspina. In his 1597 report on the system of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, he wrote:

> Those who first established such a form of government in Poland wanted to ensure that neither the king could exercise autocracy, nor the citizens

> break away from obedience to the king, but that the king knew that he ruled over a free nation, and the nation that the king was of higher rank than any citizen… Therefore the greatest thought and care was given to this so that the king could not oppress the subjects, nor the subjects break away from the king's authority. The king, as the Poles say, is the eye, the tongue and the arm of the law. If the law could see, speak and act, the Poles would have no need of a king, for the law would be the king (Rykaczewski, 1864, pp. 76–77).

Despite the changing times and the subsequent changes in civilization and society, a unique love of freedom and tolerance for differing beliefs and views has survived in all countries once ruled by the Jagiellons. The best example of this is the resistance that Ukrainians put up to Russian subjugation. Central European countries have also traditionally recognized the subservient role of government to its citizens. The Jagiellonian idea, with its roots in the system of Piast Poland, as it turns out, can still be inspiring and alive for modern societies.

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Geopolitical Imaginations: Czech and Slovak Variants

Abstract

Original models for the boundaries of Central Europe, reflecting Czech or Slovak national interests, are seldom encountered. Those that emerged in Czech and Slovak milieus and bear the features of geopolitical imaginations – ones that respect the dynamics of power movement within space and the logic of power balance – are threefold. Firstly, there is the vision of a broader federation, a state composed of multiple nationalities or original states that can balance external pressures from the west and/or the east. The most significant proponent of this model as a means of securing the Czech (Czech–Slavic) national interest is František Palacký. The second model is an empire rooted in Pan-Slavism and capable of resisting western pressure. This concept is most refined in the work of Ľudovít Štúr. The third model, resembling a nation-state, relies on both the potential for fostering collaboration among a bloc of Slavic states and the support of Western powers against Pan-German expansionism. The most prominent author of this model is Tomáš G. Masaryk. Other models, like proletarian internationalism or the European Union, draw from these sources but, in defining national interests, do not proceed from the principle

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of nations' right to self-determination. Practical experience has shown the limited possibilities of all the aforementioned geopolitical imaginations: that they are supplemented, for instance, by historical rights, strategic necessity, or the civic principle and, in some instances, that they fail due to the shifting balance of power in Central Europe. However, replacing them with the civic principle within European integration today entails risks. The only solution is a balanced respect for social, ethnic, and civic rights and the projection of this dynamic balance into international relations.

Keywords

federation, geopolitics, nation-state, national interest, power balance, Pan-Slavism, central Europe

Politics is a realm of action. However, for these actions to be successful, they either require sound judgement or luck. Surprisingly, truly thoughtful actions are sparse in politics. Most political actions rely on predictions for a few days ahead, with personal interests often constituting the value base, unfortunately. A politician, even one in high governmental positions, usually makes decisions based on whether a given action will strengthen or at least not weaken their position. What is called "the making of history" tends to be the vector result of opposing or different pressures – in other words, of the various decisions and practical steps of multiple statesmen. If this result aligns with the actor's intention, it is typically because of luck.

However, exceptions do exist: Politicians or intellectuals who base their activities on an analysis of the situation are able to create a model of the future they want to aim for and sometimes they even know how to choose tools that correspond to the possibilities offered by the analysis and that help achieve the desired situation. Behind such models, there is usually what could be called "geopolitical imagination": visions of the future in a space that seeks to respect the balance of power or, more precisely, the relationships between

the power potentials of individual actors. On the practical side, these Czech and Slovak imaginations focus on the Central European space.

The most important Czech and Slovak geopolitical imaginations were formed in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the following century. It was during this time that the three most original models emerged. Everything else that appears as a unique imagination and came later tends to be just a variant of these initial models. The fundamental difference between today and the birth of these models lies in the concept of the actor. The original models considered the nation to be the subject of geopolitical activities, while the contemporary ones consider the state as the main actor. This change is due to a shift in the geopolitical situation in Central Europe. The following can be considered as the starting models:

1. The vision of a federalized Austria, formulated in the second half of the 1840s by Czech historian and political scientist, František Palacký (1798–1876) – One noteworthy variant of this concept was the notion of a Danube federation by Slovak politician Milan Hodža (1878–1944). This vision indirectly helps justify the membership of the Czech Republic or Slovakia in the European Union and NATO.
2. The Pan-Slavic idea, which was originated by the Slovak journalist and politician Ľudovít Štúr (1815–1856) – While at first glance it appears to justify the ties of Prague and Bratislava with Moscow, as a geopolitical imagination, it had only marginal significance in practical politics.
3. The notion of an independent Czech or Czechoslovak nation-state was formulated as a geopolitical imagination by Czech politician, philosopher, and – by today's criteria – political scientist, Tomáš G. Masaryk (1850–1937) – This notion was momentarily realized, albeit not in its purest form.

The vision of a socialist Czechoslovakia built on the foundations of internationalism can be described as a peculiar notion, though it was not explicitly formulated as a geopolitical vision going beyond the general conflict conceived between socialist countries and capitalist imperialism. The idea of Europeanism is a unique concept, which is not rooted in nationality, and while it has Czech and Slovak adherents, it is neither of Czech nor Slovak origin.

Fundamental Starting Points

The question that all the early geopolitical models asked was straightforward and tied to an essential task: How can the survival and development of a small nation (later a small state) be ensured in a conflict-ridden world? The first two geopolitical models that emerged in Bohemia predated the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*. However, even at their inception, there was a growing revolt against Enlightenment rationalism and a rising interest in the scientific foundations of politics and its immutability through human action. Thus, the issue of a small nation's survival took on an existential dimension from the very start.

What was perceived as the "smallness" of a nation was not associated with any inferiority – moral, intellectual, or racial – as was the case in some later geopolitical visions. The primary concern was the nation's small population. It is often suggested that for a nation to survive in the modern world, it needs a population capable of supporting a university with a comprehensive offer of all the fundamental disciplines of the natural, technical, and social sciences taught in the native language. While this is not an exact criterion, it is a useful starting point. A "small state" is typically distinguished from a microstate and a large state or power by (a) a population of fewer than 15 million, (b) a territory less than 150,000 km², and (c) a contribution of less than 1% to the global Gross Domestic Product. By these criteria, which are merely indicative, both the current Czechia and Slovakia are considered small states.

Both the Czech and Slovak nations felt an existential threat from larger neighboring nations with different national characteristics. Specifically, for the Czechs, it was from Germany, and for the Slovaks, Hungary. This distinct threat dynamic had its implications, in some instances complicating or even precluding Czech-Slovak collaboration. It is common knowledge that, at the dawn of the era later known as the Spring of Nations, even the seemingly legitimate demands of emerging small and large nations could precipitate sharp conflict.

While Palacký was creating his geopolitical vision of Central Europe, Germany was grappling with national revival. Following the Napoleonic wars, the emerging German Confederation comprised

38 "sovereign princedoms and free cities of Germany." However, it lacked fundamental state characteristics. Two models of unification emerged: the Greater Germany model, which included the Austrian Empire, and the Lesser Germany model, which excluded Austria. The rationale against including Austria was twofold: Austria was too vast, it was a competitor with different ambitions, and while most of the "princedoms and cities" were predominantly Protestant (except the Kingdom of Bavaria), Catholicism dominated in the Austrian Empire. The issue of confession might seem insignificant today, but during the romantic times of the Spring of Nations, the horrors of the Thirty Years' War were not forgotten. Ultimately, the Lesser Germany model, centered around the Kingdom of Prussia, prevailed, culminating in the formation of the German Empire – or in the Franco-Prussian War – in 1871.

Accompanying the mission to unify Germany was the effort to conceptualize it, which gave birth to modern German patriotism. Lesser Germany eventually created the conditions for the emergence of a distinctive Austrian patriotism. The fate of Greater Germany was more tumultuous. Even today, it is challenging to pinpoint the nuanced differences between terms like "German," "Germanic," "Teutonic," "Nordic," and "Aryan." The term "Pan-Germanic" was even more contentious, especially when intertwined with social Darwinism and racism. It could be associated with both legitimate German patriotism and Hitler's Nazism. Many proponents of German geopolitics succumbed to social Darwinian ideas about "blood and soil," racial conflict, and German or Germanic superiority. However, this shift toward Nazism was never inevitable; it was only one branch, albeit a crucial one, of Germany's emerging self-identity.

Amid this partial encirclement, Czech patriotism and distinct Czech geopolitical visions were born. In regions of the Bohemian Crown where German minority enclaves existed, the radicalism of certain German groups grew alongside Czech national consciousness. Interestingly, radical proponents of Germanism among Czech revivalists in the 19th and early 20th centuries did not necessarily mirror the entire spectrum of the contemporary Pan-German movement in their fervent criticism; yet they were right in their beliefs. History revealed that initially marginal chauvinistic

currents gradually gained power, and the worst predictions about German–Slav conflicts, though not universally accepted at the time, materialized during World War II.

On the other hand, it cannot be overlooked that the German Enlightenment philosopher and Protestant preacher Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) provided the philosophical basis for both Czech and Slovak patriotism. Herder restored self-confidence to the oppressed Slavic nations using the modern Enlightenment idea of justice. He was the first to label the Slavs as the "Greeks of the new age." Especially in his essay on the Slavs (1791), he expressed idealized views of the Slavs, claiming they were "never a nation of war and adventurous ventures like the Germans." The Slavs were reportedly:

> of gentle manners, hospitable and obedient, averse to plunder and pillage. All this could not stand against oppression; in fact, it contributed to it. For not striving for world dominance, not having bellicose hereditary princes and rather being submissive if only they could live in peace in their lands, they enabled numerous nations, especially Germanic tribes, to gravely sin against them.

Herder wrote that "what the Franks began, the Saxons finished; in all lands, the Slavs were exterminated or enslaved, their lands then divided amongst bishops and magnates." According to Herder, the Slavs' misfortune was that, on the one hand, they were close to the Germans, while on the other hand, they were exposed to all the invasions from the east, suffering greatly under the Mongol rule. Yet he also contended that the Slavic nations inhabit an area of Europe which could be the most beautiful once "fully educated and commercially exploited." As the course of evolution demands that throughout Europe, bellicosity be suppressed and diligence and mutual relations be rewarded, "you too, once full and fortunate nations, will finally awaken from your long, idle slumber, finally freed from your servile chains, and enjoy your beautiful landscapes from Asia to the Carpathians, from the Don to the Mulde as your own, where you will be able to celebrate your ancient festivities of peaceful trade and diligence" (Herder, 1941, pp. 330–336).

To understand the Czech and Slovak national revival, it is essential to note that Herder's concept of the Slavs' civilizing mission was organically linked with humanitarian ideals and the notion of the inalienable rights of all nations. Herder's work contributed to shaping the idea of a nation as a natural ethnic formation and a state as an artificial institution. He also envisioned the concept of self-determination as a nation's right to its own state and, not least, developed a vision of equality among nations. This legacy of Herder is evident in all Czech and Slovak geopolitical imaginings that steered clear of social Darwinism.

The position of Slovaks in the Kingdom of Hungary differed from that of Czechs in Austria. Czech patriotism was born with the memory of an independent Czech state. However, as the Hungarians arrived in the Pannonian Plain, the Slovaks lost their statehood and became, as Vladimír Mináč put it, "a nation without history" (1972, p. 4). Pushed north of the Danube by the Hungarians and later by the Ottomans, they survived without a distinct culture, nobility, or intelligentsia, essentially preserving their Slavic language. The revival thus required the codification of Slovak language and the development of a unique culture. Not least, it also involved the demarcation of territory that could be called Slovak and later Slovakia; the internal administrative divisions of the Kingdom of Hungary consistently disregarded ethnic boundaries. Hungarian nationalism dominated not only among Hungarian conservatives, but also among Hungarian liberals defining itself against the Slavs to the north and to the south as well as against the Romanians. The transition from Latin to Hungarian as the official language in Hungary came later than the transition to German in the Austrian part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire – and perhaps for that reason was associated with greater radicalism.

Federalized Austria

František Palacký is often perceived as an exceptionally skilled historian, journalist, and politician during the national revival period. This has earned him the title "father of the nation" from some commentators. However, he was also a political theorist who was skilled at

evaluating electoral choices, drafting constitutions, and producing analyses and forecasts of international politics. Palacký's works include the rudiments of classical geopolitics, such as centralization or the Heartland theory, as well as notions about the inherent power balance in the international political system. Although some of his thoughts on international politics are scattered across minor essays, collectively they represent a conceptual exploration to define and champion the Czech national interest in Central Europe from the 1840s to 1860s.

Characteristics of the model: *The Czech, or potentially Czech–Slavic, nation is too small to defend its interests through its own nation-state. Hence, it needs to align with other small Central European nations to create a sufficiently large entity capable of resisting pressures from both the west and the east. The existence of Austria was thus a blessing. However, Austria should be structured as a federation, in which each nation can ensure its cultural uniqueness.*

František Palacký posited an inexorable trend toward global centralization, where large states or empires increasingly dominate the geopolitical landscape. This perspective presaged Nicholas Spykman's 1942 thesis that small states serve as vacuums or buffer zones, their existence contingent on the strategic interests of more powerful nations.

In the pivotal year of 1848, Palacký delineated the Czech national interest within the complex power dynamics of Central Europe. Rejecting an invitation to the Frankfurt Assembly – a forum discussing German unification – he underscored the distinct non-German identity of the lands of the Czech Crown. Palacký's stance was not anti-German per se; rather, he opposed the concept of a Greater German empire, while leaving room for the visions of Lesser Germans.

In his seminal work, "The History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia," Palacký elaborated on the unique role of the Czech nation as a cultural and geopolitical bridge between Germany and the Slavic world, as well as between East and West in Europe.

Furthermore, Palacký expressed grave concerns about Russia's burgeoning influence. He stressed that the impending threat was

not inherent in its Russian character, but due to Russia's potential emergence as a universal monarchy, which he deemed catastrophic.

Underpinning Palacký's geopolitical vision was the idea of pressure from both the West and the East, threatening the smaller nations of Central Europe. In his "Letter to Frankfurt," Palacký (1977) rejected an alliance with the West for national reasons and with the East for "ideological" reasons. The danger he saw in the "Letter to Frankfurt," concerning the "universalism" of the Russian Empire, can be characterized as a fear of the totality of the internal regime, which he referred to in the Afterword (instead of a preface) to *Radhost* (1872) as an "amalgam of Mongolian and German governmental principles" (Palacký, 1977, pp. 293, 52). For Palacký, the Eastern pressure was a significant problem throughout European history, from the migration of nations to the Turkish expeditions. As did the later British geographer and geopolitician, Halford Mackinder, Palacký saw the historical pressure of nomads on Europe as significant in shaping the history of Central Europe, but he also added the role of the Ottoman Empire.

Palacký rejected both the Greater German vision of Germany and the ideas of Slavic unification around Russia. In 1848, for Palacký, both the German *Drang nach Osten* and the Russian *Стремление на Запад* [Push to the West] were equally opponents of Austria and the Czechs. Therefore, Palacký believed that the creation of the Austrian Empire "through voluntary agreements" three centuries earlier represented a "significant blessing from divine providence for all of them." Had each nation retained full sovereignty, "how many and how bloody disputes would have arisen between them! Perhaps even one of them would have perished completely by now." The pathos of the "Letter to Frankfurt" is illustrated in the famous statement: "If the Austrian state had not existed for a long time, we would have to ensure, for the sake of Europe, indeed for humanity itself, that it would be created as soon as possible" (Palacký, 1977, pp. 350, 161). This concept of Austria as a state protecting small Slavic nations – Austro-Slavism – generally gave a state idea to the German Austrians in Vienna, justifying the existence of the Habsburg monarchy even after the Ottoman pressure on Central Europe had disappeared.

However, Palacký's vision of a federalized Austria, where the national principle would be combined with historical rights, was not fulfilled. German nationalism grew; some Czechs and Slovaks turned to Pan-Slavism; Poles, Serbs, and Romanians saw their future in a nation-state outside of Austria, and Hungarians achieved Austro-Hungarian dualism. In the 1870s, Palacký described his emphasis on the need for Austria as a significant political mistake. In the series of eight articles known as the "Idea of the Austrian State" (1865), another of Palacký's famous statements was voiced: "We existed before Austria, we will exist after it!" (Palacký, 1977, p. 387). By then, however, the position and vision of Austria as a balancing force between the East and the West were shifting to a realm, within witch the division between the West and East was occurring.

Yet, not only was the balance of power inside Austria changing, but so was the balance of power in Europe – leading to a change in Palacký's view of Russia and its role in promoting the Czech national interest. This change is particularly evident in the aforementioned Afterword to *Radhost*. There, Palacký concluded that there is no need to fear a "universal Russian monarchy" (1977, pp. 50–58). He believed that make the Czechs "in the inevitable global battle between Germanic and Slavic peoples, unable to stand on the side of their natural relatives and defenders." However, he maintained his humanistic distance – continuing to criticize the Russian government and diplomacy. He saw the basis for an alliance with Russia in the proximity of the nations, even recognizing a complete "identity of the Russian and Czech spirit concerning faith and religion, at least from a subjective point of view" (Palacký, 1977, pp. 50–58). He added that if Austria were justly federalized, it would have a friendly relationship with Russia.

Note on Federation

Geopolitical definitions of Central Europe primarily fall into two categories: those that include Germany and those that exclude it. Notable thinkers who have explored these conceptions include Czech František Palacký, Pole Adam Czartoryski (1770–1861), Romanian Aurel Popovici (1863–1917), Austrian Karl Renner (1871–1950), and

Hungarian Oszkár Jászi (1875–1957). In addition, some discussions touch upon Illyrian ideas on the restoration of the Croatian kingdom within Hungary, as well as the unification of all South Slavic peoples. The 1843 plan by Hungarian Miklós Wesselényi and the concept proposed by Croat Ognjeslav Utješinović Ostrožinski (1817–1890) are also noteworthy. In the contexts of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, Bohumil Šmeral (1880–1941) and Milan Hodža (1878–1944) deserve mention. Some of these thinkers have emphasized the importance of organizing historic or legal entities and medieval state formations, while others have defined entities based on ethnic boundaries. Some have even combined both approaches.

Ideas similar to Palacký's conception of a Central European federation were also adopted by some advocates of German views of a Central Europe that included Germany. The origins can be found in German economists like Friedrich (George) List (1789–1846), but these visions shifted toward political concepts in other authors. They were further developed by conservative thinkers such as Theodor Schiemann (1847–1921) or liberals such as the German Reichstag member and Lutheran priest Friedrich Naumann (1860–1919) in his once-celebrated book *Mitteleuropa* (Central Europe) from 1915, and Rudolf Kjellén (1864–1922), a Swedish theorist and politician considered one of the founders of the German strand of geopolitics. However, for these authors, Mitteleuropa, Zentraleuropa, or Zwischeneuropa were primarily solutions to Germany's geopolitical problems.

There were also visions of unifying Central Europe around Germany that presumed protection for smaller, non-German nations. For instance, according to Ola Tunander (2001), Kjellén believed that the future of Central Europe united around Germany required Germany, with the Slavs' approval, to "adopt a multiethnic, Austro-Habsburg face" (p. 460). However, this was not the dominant or the sole current in the German quest for identity. An opposing viewpoint emphasizing "racial purity" can be found in Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (2000, p. 285):

> From today's perspective, it must be regarded as fortunate that Germanization, in the sense of Joseph II's efforts, did not succeed in Austria. Its success would indeed have preserved the Austrian state, but

> linguistic unity would have led to the decline of the German nation's racial level.... A state nation might have been born, but a cultural nation would have been lost.

From the perspective of Czech and Slovak geopolitical imagination, the strongest reflection of Palacký's concept can be seen in the work of Milan Hodža, a Slovak and Czechoslovak politician from the First Republic era. Hodža (1997), in exile after the Munich Agreement, published the book *Federation in Central Europe* in 1942, where the very first sentence hints at a modified inheritance from Palacký: "War events in Central Europe affirm the idea of a future, firmly organized collaboration of eight states, located in close geographical proximity between Russia, Germany, and Italy" (pp. 65, 231). According to his model, the Danube Federation should consist of eight states covering an area reminiscent of the Three Seas Initiative: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Greece.

Hodža's attempt to revive Palacký's perception of Central Europe as a region under constant pressure from both the West and the East did not involve the idea of centralization – though he too suggested that "it's a physical sociological law that a larger society group must push the smaller one and eventually absorb it" (Čurda, 1994, p. 151). The foundation of Hodža's concept (1997) can be traced back to his 1931 lecture called "Czechoslovakia and Central Europe", where he argued that "European geopolitics identifies two significant corridors from north to south" with a "civilizational-organizational significance" (pp. 44, 50); the Central European corridor starts at the Vistula, moving through passes to the Morava or Váh rivers, then to the Czech-Slovak, Hungarian, and Yugoslav Danube, at Belgrade along the Serbian Morava River, to Vardar and Thessaloniki. Central Europe, with its unique mentality organized around this corridor, should be strong enough to counteract both western and eastern pressures, but should also act as a link or bridge between the East and the West and should have an agrarian character that would enable it to trade with the West (Hodža, 1997, pp. 44, 50).

The Danubian Federation was envisioned to emerge after World War II, serving as a tool for a new power equilibrium.

> Small or medium-sized European nations, when standing alone, will never succeed in establishing a serious guarantee of just balance. As independent entities, they cannot be partners to Germany without the risk of being consumed by it one day. Relations of balance and partnership require a Central Europe that is not a mosaic of several weak states but a federation of all… Their federation, not isolated from Western Europe, could offer a significant contribution to European security merely by its existence. By uniting political forces equivalent to the power of neighboring aggressive nationalism, it would create a counterbalance (Hodža, 1997, p. 221).

Thus, a strong Central Europe should become an indispensable continental core of European security for Western Europe, and especially its historical powers.

Milan Hodža (1997) believed that European security should be based on democracy, but not exclusively the Western kind: he believed it also needed the support of a united Central Europe. He argued that the "affinity, if not identity, of democratic ideals and institutions of Western and Central European democracies offers promising prospects" (p. 295). An integrated Central Europe represented a step toward a united Europe for Hodža. Moreover, he meticulously developed a draft constitution for the Danubian Federation, detailing the roles of various federal institutions. Interestingly for citizens of the European Union, the federal constitution proposed by the Federal Congress, whose members were to be elected by a two-thirds majority of national parliaments at a ratio of one member per million inhabitants, was to be approved and published by the parliaments of the federation states. Exiting the federation would not be voluntary and would require a constitutional change. Citizens of member states would simultaneously have federal citizenship, valid in all federation states.

Hodža, a former Czechoslovak prime minister, was among the politicians who, after the Nazi occupation of the Czech lands and Poland, supported the utmost rapprochement between Czechoslovakia and Poland. From 1939, the governments-in-exile of Czechoslovakia and Poland held consultations regarding the post-war creation of a Czech-Polish confederation. The Czechoslovak-Polish declaration

on the confederation (1942) states in its first article that "both governments wish the Czechoslovak-Polish confederation to also include other states of the European region associated with the vital interests of Czechoslovakia and Poland" (Veselý, 2004, p. 461). At the same time, a similar agreement was signed between Serbian and Greek exiled politicians. However, before the end of the war, the powers had different plans for Central Europe.

Pan-Slavism

In the Czech and Slovak contexts, Ľudovít Štúr (1993) significantly shaped the Slavic idea through his comprehensive geopolitical work, *Slovanstvo a svět budoucnosti* [Slavdom and the World of the Future]. Completed in the early 1850s and first published in 1867, the book had a peculiar fate, as it had little direct cultural or political influence in its homeland. Initially written and published in German, the book was quickly translated into Russian and published twice in that language (in 1867 and 1909). However, its first Slovak edition did not appear until 1993.

The varying levels of interest in the book can be attributed to its theoretical/methodological foundation, which blends elements of Enlightenment thought, Hegelianism, and conservative romanticism. The work includes classic reflections on Western nations deemed to have 'burned out', as well as those whose spiritual contributions guide humanity. These reflections are linked to a Philo-Slavic and Herderian perspective, which posits that Russians and Slavs have an emerging historical mission. This mission is understood in spiritual, even religious terms, adding a transcendental dimension to Pan-Slavism.

Ľudovít Štúr explicitly rejected both constitutional liberalism and communism. He wrote, "from a political point of view, the West is transitioning from absolutist monarchies to constitutional states, which ultimately transform into social and communist republics, leading to the decay of humanity by destroying humaneness" (Štúr, 1993, pp. 113–114). In Štúr's vision, the Slavs are the chosen people tasked with realizing the idea of Christian goodness throughout history.

Characteristics of the model: *In the face of intense Germanic pressure on Central Europe, Štúr posited that no Slavic nation could resist alone. He argued that the sole solution was to integrate all Slavic nations into the Russian Empire, thereby adopting Russian cultural traditions.*

During the 1848 revolution, Štúr initially defended Austria, viewing it as the functional core of the Holy Alliance. However, his perspective shifted when he recognized Austria's true nature. He wrote his pivotal book during a time when no Slavic nation, except Russia, had its own independent state. In this work, he explored three potential paths for Slavic tribes: a Slavic federation, Austro-Slavism, and a Russo-Slavic empire.

Štúr claimed that a Slavic federation could address the Slavs' situation via a republican system. However, this would mean excluding Russia, where republicanism was unlikely to flourish. A federation could potentially include Bohemia, Moravia, Lusatia, Silesia, Poznań, Slovakia, and others, but he highlighted internal divisions and 'foreign guests' as obstacles.

According to Štúr, the idea of a Slavic federation faced three insurmountable issues: diverse dialects and literatures among Slavic tribes, complex geographical distribution, and differing religious beliefs. He also believed that external factors like German, Hungarian, and Italian opposition, as well as Russia's stance against any non-Russian Slavic state, would prevent the formation of a federation.

Štúr dismissed Austro-Slavism as an even worse option. Austria had consistently acted to Germanize the Slavs and had always been aligned with German interests. He declared, "only upon the demise of Austria and Turkey will a better, eagerly anticipated future for the Slavs flourish." (Štúr, 1993)

Turning to the idea of a Russo-Slavic empire, Štúr argued that Russia, being the only free and strong Slavic state, had both the mission and the right to unify all Slavic nations. He believed that Russia offered an alternative better than Western constitutionalism. He outlined two radical measures for this vision: a general conversion to the Orthodox faith and the adoption of Russian as a universal literary language. Intriguingly, these propositions represented a departure from Štúr's own beliefs, as he had been a Lutheran and had helped develop literary Slovak.

Štúr's critique of Western cultural decline and his promotion of Pan-Slavic messianism were not rooted in nihilism or confrontational stances. Rather, they carried a humanistic tone. He felt that the Slavs could learn valuable lessons from the West, particularly in governance, science, and the arts. Specifically, he urged the Slavs to adopt strict state interests while maintaining individual personalities, to engage with Western science, and to be introduced to the 'temple of art' in order to realize worldly ideals. These ideas resonate with Herder's legacy, but also with the idea of linguist and historian Jan Kollár (1793–1852) (2007), a poet who, in the epigram *Advice from Mother Slava*, wrote:

"What are you? A Czech; what are you? A Russian; what are you? A Serb;
and you? I am a Pole; take the sheets, brothers, erase that, write: A Slav."
„Co jsi ty? Čech; co ty? Rus; co ty? Srb; a ty? já Polák jestem;
vezměte lejstra, bratří, smažte to, pište: Slovan."

He complemented this with the poem-aphorism *Horlic*:

"Consider the nation just as the vessel of humanity,
and always, when you shout: Slavian! let man echo back to you!"
„Národ tak považuj jediné jako nádobu lidství,
a vždy, voláš-li: Slavian! nechť se ti ozve člověk!"[1]

Although generally humanistic in his views, Štúr had moments where he sharply diverged from them, particularly when influenced by medieval antisemitism of a religious and social nature, rather than a racial nature (Štúr, 1993, p. 119). His views were also tinged with skepticism toward certain Slavic nations. For instance, Štúr criticized the Poles for their hostility toward Russia. He believed that the Poles were responsible for their own partition and saw their continuous struggles with the Russians as a fight for dominance over the Slavic world. In his opinion, the outcome of this battle was favorable for the Slavs at large.

1 Kollár, J. (2007). Menší básně [Shorter poems]. Retrieved July 23, 2023 from http://zlatyfond.sme.sk/dielo/145/Kollar_Mensi-basne

Štúr reserved his harshest comments for the Czechs and the proponents of Austro-Slavism. He accused them of prioritizing tribal interests at the expense of broader Slavic unity. According to Štúr, the Czechs were increasingly influenced by Western ideologies, which not only distanced them from other Slavs, but also stunted the growth of Slavdom. He traced the origins of Austro-Slavism to Czech intellectual František Palacký, who was heavily influenced by a Czech aristocracy that was itself reliant on Austria.

Interestingly, Štúr's critiques coincided with a shift in Czech nationalism. Czech leaders began emphasizing historical rights as the basis for national interests, drifting away from the concept of nations having inherent rights to their own states. This changing focus often led to the neglect of other Slavic peoples, especially the Slovaks, a point that Štúr found troubling.

Note on Pan-Slavism

Some critics describe Pan-Slavism as a "Czech product made from German material" (Černý, 1995, p. 6). In the Czech territories, however, both Pan-Slavism and Orthodoxy only resonated at the level of literary arts and ideological slogans or emotions. They found no author who could formulate a corresponding geopolitical model. However, Russian Nikolai Y. Danilevsky references both Štúr and Kollár in his work *Russia and Europe* (1871), which is the most pronounced expression of Pan-Slavic geopolitics.

Initial notions of Slavic mutual relations did not only stem from Czech or Slovak circles. Their originators were authors like the Czech clergyman, historian, and writer Tomáš Pešina from Čechorod (1629–1680), Croatian poet Pavao Ritter Vitezović (1675–1737), and Slovenian writer Anton Tomaž Linhart (1756–1795). In 1665, about two centuries before the publication of Štúr's book *Slavdom and the World of the Future*, Croatian Catholic priest Juraj Križanić (ca. 1618–1683) traveled from Rome to Moscow. There, he published a Slavic grammar and attempted to create a new Pan-Slavic language. He harbored strong animosity toward the Germans, accusing them of driving the Slavs from entire regions – Moravia, Pomerania, Silesia, and Prussia – and warned that Germans primarily despised

the Russians since they had never conquered their empire. According to Križanić, it was the Germans who subjected the Russians to utter contempt in Europe. Križanić sought fraternal harmony between the Russians and Poles. With his visions, he turned to the tsar, whom he saw as the liberator of the Danubian Slavs – and was subsequently exiled to Siberia.

National State

According to Article 1, paragraph 1 of Law No. 22/1930 of the Czechoslovak Republic, "T. G. Masaryk has merited the state." The subsequent paragraph of this law decreed that this sentence would be engraved in stone in both chambers of the National Assembly. Masaryk's achievements are primarily associated with his extraordinary diplomatic activity in exile during World War I, leading to the major powers' recognition of the need to form Czechoslovakia. However, this was not Masaryk's only contribution: the first Czechoslovak president also justified the possibility and need for the creation of a national state for the Czechs and Slovaks, a geopolitical vision starkly different from the legacies of Palacký or Štúr. Masaryk defended the idea of a nation-state using arguments from the theory of balance of power, the right of nations to self-determination (i.e., natural rights), historical rights, and economic and military/strategic security considerations and contrasting the conflict between theocracy and democracy.

Characteristics of the model: *Pan-Germanic expansionism and Germany's defeat in World War I created a new situation in Europe where even non-German powers were interested in the formation of small nation-states in Central Europe. Active diplomacy combined with Slavic solidarity allowed the small Czechoslovakia to withstand power balance fluctuations.*

Before World War I, in his books *Česká otázka* [The Czech Question] (1895) and *Naše nynější krize* [Our Current Crisis] (1895), Masaryk (1990) defended Palacký's vision of Czech national interests within Austria. In *Naše nynější krize*, he directly stated: "I do not expect any tremendous world catastrophes and very realistically count on the existence of Austria" (p. 233). However, when the world catastrophe did occur, he did not hesitate to reassess his position on the nation-state based on a new analysis of the situation. His new

vision is found in speeches, memoranda, and studies, especially in the confidential memorandum to the British Foreign Minister "Independent Bohemia" (1915) and in the book *Nová Evropa. Stanovisko slovanské* [The New Europe: The Slavic Stance] (1918).

Masaryk's geopolitical vision of the nation-state was rooted in the idea of the natural right of nations to self-determination, but he also enriched his views with arguments from historical rights. He found the ideas of natural rights reflected in the speeches of US President Woodrow Wilson in particular. However, in *Nová Evropa*, he did not hesitate to reject Wilson's concept of autonomy for nations within Austro-Hungary, as laid out in his famous Fourteen Points. According to Masaryk (1920),

> the Czechs have a historical right to the independence of the Czech lands (Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia), and they have the right to independence for the state they have created. Furthermore, they have the natural and historical right to annex Slovakia, brutally suppressed by the Hungarians. Slovakia, forming the nucleus of the Great Moravian Empire, was torn away by the Hungarians in the 10th century... Therefore, the connection between Czechs and Slovaks is a legitimate demand (pp. 160, 166–167).

The self-determination principle also served Masaryk in *Nová Evropa* as a justification for the "new plan," which "was proposed by the Ruthenians living in Hungary ... However, this proposal must be approved by the people in Hungary" (Masaryk, 1920, pp. 160,166–167).

Though Masaryk used categories from Anglo-Saxon geopolitics in the aforementioned memorandum, his focus was on the Central European situation. Radical Pan-Germanism served as the basis for his analysis of Central European balance: "By colonizing Austria, Germany is trying to colonize the Balkans, aiming for Constantinople and Baghdad" (Československá zahraniční politika 1914–1945, 2000, p. 13). Preventing this expansionism is not just in the interests of the Czechs or Slovaks, or generally in the interest of the 18 small nations living between Germans and Russians, from the Finns to the Greeks, for whom Pan-Germanism denied a future. It is also in the interest of non-German powers in Europe. Palacký's idea of

federalizing Austria was not realized; Masaryk saw an increasing role of the Great Germans in Austria and Germany itself. Austria's original role as a defense against the Turks cannot be fulfilled against Germany, and Austria thus has no positive idea; it has become a medieval relic, serving as a German vanguard in the Balkans.

The Great War should result in the reconstruction of Central Europe. When writing *Nová Evropa*, Masaryk (1920) was convinced that the concurrence and identity of Czechoslovak and Polish interests are given by the Pan-German Prusso-Austrian alliance. He regarded the Serbs as the closest allies of the Czechs (Czechoslovaks), with whom a corridor should connect the new Czechoslovak state. The corridor should then be followed by a Yugoslav state, creating a democratic connection between Czechoslovakia and France through a broad democratic belt.

According to Masaryk, the alliance of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia was to be guaranteed by Russia. "Even during the Bolshevik Revolution, Masaryk still counted on the protection of the great Slavic Empire and was terrified of what it would mean if Czechoslovakia could not lean on powerful Russia," wrote Masaryk's long-time associate Karel Stloukal (1930, pp. 41–42, 137), recalling Masaryk's St. Petersburg speech of September 1917:

> What will a weak Russia mean for us if we are granted independence and do not have enough support? And what is true for us is true for the Poles and the South Slavs.... We must wish and each of us must work to make Russia strong, then Germany and Austria will be weaker (Stloukal, 1930, pp. 41–42, 137).

Stloukal himself then added a remarkable thought that suggests the forced expediency of Masaryk's turn from realism to idealism: "After the subversion of Russia by the Bolsheviks, however, Masaryk's ideas about relations with Russia took a different direction. He no longer relies on Russian help, looking for a substitute in the great ideas of democracy" (Stloukal, 1930, pp. 41–42, 137).

According to the book *Nová Evropa*, the Central Powers were "unnational and directly anti-national" (Masaryk, 1920, pp. 74, 110, 176–178). Therefore, he also assumed – or tried to assert? – that the

primary task of the war was to politically reconstruct Eastern Europe on a national basis. Masaryk (1920, pp. 74, 110, 176–178) argued that "if the Czechoslovak nation remained in the thrall of the Germans and the German-allied Asiatics (Hungarians and Turks) or even fell" , the Pan-German plans would be realized. Therefore, according to him, "the Czechoslovak question is a world question and is the question of this war" (pp. 74, 110, 176–178). He did not consider the liberation of Bohemia to be the most important objective of the war, but was convinced that "the aims which the Allies have set themselves cannot be achieved without the liberation of Bohemia" (pp. 74, 110, 176–178).

Risks of Modeling

Forecasting in politics recalls the dilemmas posed by Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle: a precise depiction of the current state inhibits capturing its dynamics, while illustrating the dynamics blurs the image of the present. Essentially, geopolitical models contradict what they purport to represent: geopolitics is the study of the movement of power in space – or to put it in the language of the school of political realism, the study of shifting power balances. A model captures only the significant components of the current system, its elements, and their interrelations. Yet, international politics is an "unstable substance" (George Kennan), potentially making today's accurate model tomorrow's mistake.

The three geopolitical imaginations mentioned above all reflect the ambiance of the "Spring of Nations," embodying national revival tasks of emancipation under the changing circumstances of the late 19th century and the dawn of the 20th. They primarily build upon the idea of the natural rights of nations to self-determination, with such self-determination being seen as the right to have one's own state, since only an independent state can guarantee a nation's full existence. This is true for Palacký's vision of Austria, where federalization meant securing the cultural distinctiveness of nations. This idea is not inherently flawed: both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights – documents adopted by

the UN General Assembly in 1966 – declare in their opening statements that nations "freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development." The challenge often lies in the practical implementation of these proclaimed rights.

In politically concretizing his ideas on nations' right to self-determination, Palacký had to make concessions to other theoretical/methodological principles. In his above-quoted Afterword (instead of a preface) to *Radhošť*, Palacký (1977) wrote that he understood nations "in the genetic sense of the word," as unique entities (p. 40). However, in his debates, he also employed arguments based not on the "genetic" ethno-linguistic characterization of a nation, but on a political/territorial understanding, where Czechs were seen as the inhabitants of Bohemia, meaning both Slavic and German ethnicities. His proposed concept of the Austrian constitution of 1849 included four lands, a number he later increased. In the constitutional committee of the Imperial Diet in January 1849 in Kroměříž, after his initial constitution draft was rejected, Palacký presented a revised version that introduced eight groupings of lands assembled "so that the nations would be content in Austria." In this draft, Czech lands encompassed the "Czech parts of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia and Hungarian Slovakia." He did not reject the idea of separating areas with a German majority from the historical lands of the Bohemian Crown outright. He added that he was not "against the division of German and Czech parts of Bohemia (Deutsch-Böhmens and Czechiens); if only it were practically possible, I would suggest it. Bohemia is a basin, but a basin cannot be split without being destroyed" (Dějiny, 2005, p. 139). When Palacký said this, a voice from the hall responded: "But it can be patched." A leaky basin might be patched, but the borders of a state? When the Czech lands lost their border regions following the Munich Agreement in 1938, they became defenseless and the remainder was occupied without resistance by Nazi Germany the following year. From a theoretical/methodological perspective, something else about Palacký's argumentation stands out: In defining the borders of the Czechoslovak land, he used strategic reasoning rather than arguments grounded in natural rights.

Development of the National Revival thought in the Czech lands during the 1860s shifted the defense of the national interest, at least in part, from natural law ideas toward the doctrine of historical law. At first glance, this doctrine drew from Palacký's conception of Czech history. However, its primary focus was not on the Hussite Revolution, but rather on proving that the constitutional uniqueness of the Czech state remained intact even when the Czech lands became part of the Habsburg monarchy. The essence of this historical legal doctrine claimed that the relationship between the Czech state and the wider empire was a contract between representatives of this state and the Austrian monarch. According to this contract, in the event of the dynasty's extinction, the Estates retained the right to freely elect a new king. Neither the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 nor the Pragmatic Sanction of Emperor Charles VI in 1713 fundamentally changed this relationship between the dynasty and the Czech Crown. The Provincial Estates Assemblies remained the bearers of state sovereignty. Issues began due to the straightforward centralism of Maria Theresa, who, through her reforms, interrupted the organic development of Czech constitutional law. Nevertheless, this doctrine never deviated from the idea that the lands of the Bohemian Crown were part of Habsburg Austria. However, it did mark a departure from justifying national distinctiveness based on natural law and it separated a portion of the Czech representation from Slovak interests, who could not invoke historical law.

The Central European Federation model developed by Milan Hodža arises from problematic geopolitical characteristics. Primarily, the corridor idea lacks a real foundation: The region was never centrifugally integrated. A geopolitical space with its core equipped with gravitational force typically has specific external borders or border zones. The 20th century demonstrated that the Danube, as the axis of a geopolitical region highlighted by Palacký in "Writing to Frankfurt" [*Psaní do Frankfurtu*] did not foster Central European solidarity; during the bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999, neutral Austria was more amicable toward Belgrade than the political elites of Central European Slavic countries. The notion of an agrarian Central European Federation trading with the industrial West does not conform to the laws of capitalism. It seems that Hodža's project

reflects a nostalgia, recalling certain development possibilities of Austria-Hungary – and its collaboration with the Habsburg heir, Archduke Franz Ferdinand d'Este, when he tried to exert his influence in favor of Slovak interests and the federalization of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

Different challenges are present when defending Slovak or Czech national interests in the Pan-Slavism concept of Ľudovít Štúr. Primarily, Štúr oversimplified his geopolitical imagination by nearly consistently labeling Slavic nations as tribes of a single Slavic nation. This political inaccuracy is significant: No supranational "pan-" idea – Pan-Slavic, Pan-Germanic, Pan-Arabic, etc. – ever gained a practical strength comparable to the mobilizing power of national ideas. In Tsarist Russia, Pan-Slavism never became the official state doctrine; after all, the Holstein-Gottorp-Romanov dynasty ruled by divine right, not because it was Slavic. Even Nazi Pan-Germanism was politically rooted in chauvinism that elevated Germans, not Germanics, above other nations, not to mention the unsuccessful attempts at Pan-Arab unification between Egypt and Syria or Libya. In the Czech lands, even before the revolution of 1848, there was a significant influence of the Slavism concept formulated by the poet and influential publicist Karel Havlíček Borovský (1821–1856). In his essay "Slav and Czech" [*Slovan a Čech*] from 1846, he wrote that

> our homeland is not Slavdom, but only Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, Silesia… In short, with national pride, I say "I am Czech," but never "I am a Slav." Whenever I call myself a Slav, I always do it in an academic, geographical, and ethnographic sense (Borovský, 1981, pp. 72, 88).

Štúr (1993) himself was aware of the unrealistic emergence of a Russo-Slavic empire in his time. "We cannot expect our tribes to overcome their humanly understandable self-love and voluntarily commit to this significant step toward unification, and under foreign domination, there is no need to push for it at any cost," he wrote. "This significant step will be decided in favor of the Slavs only under the pressure of significant political events" (p. 173). The three decades after the demise of the "socialist community" and the implosion of

the Soviet Union show that it is easier to instigate conflict between Slavic countries than to find mutual understanding.

Tomáš G. Masaryk, in his conception of a nation-state, grappled with many of the same issues earlier tackled by František Palacký. He perceived the quest for balance in Central Europe as an endeavor to counteract the aggressive push of Pan-Germanism. To the east, he recognized the immense importance of a Russian ally, yet held a deep mistrust of the monarchy. Consequently, he welcomed the emergence of the Russian Republic, which even aimed to be socialist, and eventually accepted the Soviet Union's retreat from European politics. Initially, Masaryk hoped for a non-existent solidarity among Central European Slavic states. When this proved illusory and the creation of a corridor to Yugoslavia seemed unfeasible, he was compelled to rely on a convergence of interests with powers that sought an ally behind Germany. This vision appeared viable during the Versailles Peace Conference: France desired an ally to the east of Germany, and, influenced by Mackinder's *Democratic Ideals and Reality* (1919), British geopolitics embraced a contentious new dictum:

> "Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland;
> Who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island;
> Who rules the World-Island commands the world" (Mackinder, 1962, p. 150).

However, Masaryk did not adopt these visions for ensuring the existence of a small nation-state in Central Europe. With the loss of support from Russia and the impossibility of forging a corridor to Yugoslavia, he gradually reframed the world war as a struggle between theocracy and democracy in his writings. His humanism repudiated social Darwinism. In this vein, he wrote in *Nová Evropa* that "the Pan-Germans have turned history and sociology into zoology and mechanics – in alignment with the intimidation tactics practiced in this war" (Masaryk, 1920, p. 23). He believed that the world war pitted powers of medieval theocratic monarchism and absolutism, undemocratic and non-nationalistic ideologies against constitutional, democratic, republican states recognizing the right to sovereignty of all nations, both great and small. But he undoubtedly knew that

Tsarist Russia did not fit into the "theocracy versus democracy" paradigm and that, for example, the suffrage systems in Germany and Austria-Hungary were among the most liberal before the Great War. Masaryk's ideological framing of the causes and meaning of WWI coincided with his realization that the self-determination of nations was seldom discussed as a reason for the conflict.

Masaryk's (1920) thinking was always fundamentally rooted in humanism, which differentiated him from the views of Palacký and Štúr. He linked democracy, socialism, and nationality. "Democracy, like nationality and socialism, is based on a humanitarian principle: No man should use another as a means to his ends – this is the moral essence of the political principle of equality and equity," Masaryk wrote in *Nová Evropa*, echoing Kant.

> For him, democracy was a societal organization founded on labor. In his vision, a democracy should not have people or classes exploiting the work of others; militarism and secret diplomacy were alien to a democratic state, and both domestic and foreign policies should be subjected to parliamentary review and direction (Masaryk, 1920, pp. 209–210).

Masaryk (1919) recognized that the new European order, based on the national principle combined with historical rights, would result in significant minorities within nation-states. From his worldview, he did not see this as a fundamental problem.

> The Czechs have always demanded equal rights, not superior ones. Given our central position, it's in the interest of the Czechs to grant equal rights to the Germans as well as to the other smaller minorities. Common sense demands it. It won't contradict the spirit of the proposal that the rights of national minorities will be approved and secured by an international tribunal (Masaryk, 1919, pp. 13, 7).

On the other hand, Masaryk never deviated from his stance that the Slovaks "are part of the Czech nation," although "in the 18th century, they adopted their own dialect as a literary language" (Masaryk, 1919, pp. 13, 7).

Masaryk thought of revising the historical borders of Bohemia in favor of the German minority, even after World War I. He entertained the idea of a different, more favorable boundary for Hungary along the southern border of Slovakia. Yet, during his speech to the Revolutionary National Assembly in December 1918 – delivered partly in Slovak – he clearly articulated his vision for the life of Hungarian minorities in the new Czechoslovakia and the nature of the Slovak–Hungarian border: "Hungarian minorities will enjoy all civil rights. Hungarians were cruel enough to say, 'A Slovak is not a human being' – we will not repay them with evil, but only wish for Slovakia to have boundaries conducive to its prosperity" (*Dějiny*, 2005, p. 394).

Masaryk succeeded in his efforts to establish a nation-state. However, he keenly felt that in the shifts of power balance – alliances with non-German Western powers, Slavic solidarity, and the democratization of political life – a small state in the heart of Europe would not stand protected. He therefore explored other ways of safeguarding national interests, turning back to Palacký's ideas of federation, but on a Pan-European scale. For instance, in his book *World Revolution* (1925), he somewhat prematurely opined:

> Despite all the challenges, it can be said that the beginning of a free European federation is emerging in place of the absolutist rule of Europe by a single superpower or an alliance of superpowers in mutual conflict. In such a new Europe, independence for even the smallest national identities can be ensured (Masaryk, 1925, pp. 475–476).

On the eve of Hitler's rise to power, Masaryk believed that if a French-German-British cooperation in Europe could occur, all the dreams we have, like Pan-Europe, might one day materialize. As late as March 1933, he stated that if he were young, he would do everything in his power to "help advance the idea of forming the United States of Europe" (Opat, 1999, pp. 37– 38).

Loss of Future

The collapse of the European power balance, established after the defeat of Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War I, buried Masaryk's initial vision of securing the existence of the nation-state. Czechoslovakia's liberal-democratic allies signed the Munich Agreement; Slavic Poland joined in support of the Munich dictate. The Little Entente, a Czechoslovak-Romanian-Yugoslavian alliance against Hungarian revisionism, could not replace the original concepts of foreign security guarantees for Czechoslovakia's existence.

According to some scholars, the gradual disintegration of Czechoslovakia following the Munich Agreement highlights the shortcomings in Masaryk's vision of a nation-state. Given the debates of that era focused on protecting Czech national interests, it is indeed difficult to pinpoint a unified state ideology for Czechoslovakia. The principle of self-determination seems inconsistent with the inclusion of sizable German and Hungarian minorities in the newly formed Czechoslovakia.

When it comes to Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia, the following questions emerge: What is the best way to guarantee a nation's right to self-determination? Should this be through a referendum, elected representatives, or some other mechanism? While historical rights might define the borders of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown and the northern frontier of Slovakia, they fall short of justifying the merger of Czech lands, Slovakia, and Subcarpathian Ruthenia into a single entity.

Furthermore, the emphasis on regional assemblies, which historical rights underscored, was entirely negated by the creation of Czechoslovakia. The assemblies for the Czechs, Moravians, and Silesians were dissolved. Additionally, the southern border of Slovakia does not align with the principles of self-determination or historical rights. That particular border did not even function as an administrative boundary within the Kingdom of Hungary. Rather, it is a strategic delineation established by the Treaty of Trianon, reflecting decisions made by the major powers.

All these points of contention speak to the view that the nation-states emerging in Central Europe after the fall of Austria-Hungary

and the Russian Empire were not born out of local visions like Masaryk's. Instead, they were shaped by the interests and compromises of the victorious powers within a new balance of global power.

The rise of German Nazism and the war it sparked were by no means inevitable. The Versailles system did not lock the world into a single path of development; rather, it presented multiple avenues for transformation that were ultimately not pursued. For instance, the Treaty of Versailles led to the establishment of the League of Nations and the Permanent Court of International Justice in The Hague. Naval conferences aimed to regulate armament, the Briand-Kellogg Pact outlawed war as a means of conducting foreign policy, and the World Disarmament Conference in Geneva even debated an elimination of offensive weapons.

It was not preordained that these potential pathways for a more peaceful international landscape would be abandoned. This had more to do with the inherent risks of civilizational development and the failure of political elites to adequately manage these risks. Therefore, to argue that the post-Munich events invalidated Masaryk's vision of the Czech state also necessitates an explanation of why similar challenges called into question the state ideas of Poland, France, and other countries. After all, these nations also faced temporary dissolution at the outset of World War II.

Developments in the second half of the 20th century showed that shifts in power dynamics depend on more variables than geopolitical mapping suggests. The three mentioned geopolitical imaginations primarily focused on the national interest of defense. After World War II, however, this focus was shifted to the strife between social and civic ideas: countries aligned with the Soviet Union emphasized transnational internationalism and social equality, while liberal countries aligned with the United States highlighted civic principles and individual freedoms. Even though the relations of these blocs adhered to the logic of power balance, it was not purely geopolitical realities that decided the downfall of the Soviet Union.

The trajectory of Czechoslovakia and its successor states, the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic, appears to have looped back to the ideas of František Palacký, particularly in seeking the assurance of

their existence within the structures of the European Union and NATO. However, this comparison only holds up to a point; the resemblances are arguably more superficial than they are substantive.

Firstly, neither the European Union nor NATO can be seen as purely Central European institutions that would protect against pressures emanating from both east and west, as envisioned by Palacký. In essence, joining these Western institutions could be seen as a divergence from the 'Central European mentality' articulated by Milan Hodža. Organizations like the Visegrád Group, for instance, were less about preserving Central European uniqueness and more about expediting the member states' adoption of Western norms within the frameworks of the European Union and NATO.

Secondly, there is a stark contrast between Palacký's vision of a federal Austria and the present-day European Union. Palacký's Austria was designed as a conduit for realizing national interests and preserving cultural uniqueness. In contrast, a notable part of Czech and Slovak political elites see European integration as a civic process. Rather than safeguarding national interests, its aim is to form a new kind of European citizenship.

Moreover, it is noteworthy that the deep discussions on the implications of history and the nature of national interest – conversations that were so crucial when different geopolitical visions were formulated in the past – are largely missing today. This absence suggests a lack of intellectual ferment that could explore the multiple dimensions and contingencies that define statehood and sovereignty in the region.

In the absence of such discourse, there is a risk that international relations might be reduced to a simplistic, social-Darwinian view that offers little solace or strategic direction for small states and nations. The absence of complex discourse could inadvertently pave the way for a form of international politics that is less considerate of the nuanced needs and contributions of smaller nations, thereby reducing them to mere pawns in a bigger game.

The feeling of individual freedom goes hand in hand with European balance and, consequently, with peace on this continent. The fate of the aforementioned three geopolitical imaginations suggests that this sense of freedom is tied to the conception and fulfilment

of social, national, and civic needs. Individual freedom must be balanced with social and national equality. The fate of countries under bureaucratic socialism demonstrated where an overemphasis on social equality over individual freedom can lead. Overvaluing an individualistically conceived civic principle over the national one also leads to many people feeling a lack of freedom and a threat to their personal identity. This is one reason for the growing unrest that is also reflected in international politics, in the power dynamics permeating Central Europe. The most significant of these dynamics run between the capitals of the great powers, and neither Czechia nor Slovakia can significantly influence their direction and energy. Just as in the times of František Palacký and Tomáš G. Masaryk, for small nations and states, the foundation for defending their interests has been and remains skillful diplomacy. It is a diplomacy of all azimuths, aiming to gain as many friends as possible and to have as few enemies as possible.

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Yurii Lypa's Black Sea Doctrine and Intermarium According to Bohdan Osadczuk: Main Ideas and Modern Interpretations

Abstract

The paper deals with the historical and typological analysis of integration projects in the journalism of Yurii Lypa (1900–1944) – a public figure, physician, writer, ideologist of Ukrainian nationalism, and founder of the Ukrainian Chornomorskyi (Black Sea) Institute in Warsaw – and Bohdan Osadczuk (1920–2011), an émigré, publicist, researcher of the modern history of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), regular contributor to the Parisian monthly *Kultura*, and supporter of Polish–Ukrainian reconciliation. These activists help us to trace the different geopolitical accents of, respectively, nationalist and liberal Ukrainian political thought. In addition, their journalistic activities took place either in the interwar/war period (Lypa) or after the war (Osadczuk). The debate in the Ukrainian–Polish press in 1947–1948 within the camps for displaced persons in Germany can be considered a conditional distinction between different stages in the understanding of regional integration projects.

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The current security threats caused by Russia's aggression have revived discussions in CEE about regional integration, projects of which have both supporters and critics. From a discursive approach to the reactualization of the idea of the Baltic-Black Sea Union and Intermarium, we analyze the conceptualization of ideas relevant to the period of Lypa's and Osadczuk's life and work.

Keywords

geopolitics, Intermarium, Black Sea doctrine, Baltic-Black Sea Union, federalism, regional cooperation

Lypa's Doctrine in the Context of Ukrainian Political Thought in the Interwar Period

The Black Sea vector gained popularity as an idea of a cooperation zone in Ukrainian intellectual nationalist circles in the first half of the 20th century. Active nation-building processes during that period made it possible to assess Ukraine's geopolitical position and its potential to become the largest power in the Black Sea region. For example, the founder of Ukrainian geopolitics, Stepan Rudnytskyi, called for the creation of a Baltic-Pontic federation consisting of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine. Such a structure was supposed to demonstrate the unity of the Eastern European region and the desire of its peoples to gain independence from Russia, which was characterized by despotic power. The Ukrainian geographer included Poland in Central Europe. The idea for a Black Sea–Adriatic Federation was supported by Ukrainian politicians and theorists Stepan Tomashivskyi and Serhii Shelukhin. The latter considered it possible to unite with Slovenes, Serbs, Slovaks, Croats, and Czechs. He drew the basis for such cooperation "from racial, spiritual, and mental grounds" and rejected alliances with both Russia and Poland, which, in his opinion, were only possible in the form of a confederation if political interests came into play (Shmalenko, 2007; Tokarchuk, 2014).

Ukrainian scholars' study of Lypa's life and work makes it possible to outline a field of "Lypa studies," within which the political science (geopolitical) component is quite significant. The main research works are *Pryznchennia Ukrainy* [The Destiny of Ukraine] (Lypa, 1942), *Chornomorska doktryna* [The Black Sea Doctrine] (Lypa, 1953), and *Rozpodil Rosii* [The Division of Russia] (Lypa, 1954). Interest in Lypa's views on Russia and the prospects for developing Russian–Ukrainian relations has intensified in connection with the Russian war against Ukraine (Kucherenko, 2018).

According to Ostap Kushnir (2010), the nature and content of Lypa's journalistic work was influenced by both external and internal factors. The first include the state of scientific and political thought between the 1920s and the 1940s: the rise of fascism in Italy and Germany and the strengthening of communist totalitarianism in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The internal factors include Lypa's personal traits and contacts, upbringing, and education. The Ukrainian publicist was impressed by the above-mentioned Rudnytskyi and Shelukhin; he was acquainted with Mykhailo Hrushevskyi, Ivan Ohienko, and Dmytro Dontsov – many of whose ideas he shared. The historian, ethnographer, and art historian Vadym Shcherbakivskyi should be considered Lypa's "spiritual father," who influenced his worldview. Lypa was well acquainted with the pan-European ideological and scientific thought of the time, as evidenced by the references in his texts to the works of French, German, Italian, Polish, Russian, and British researchers. The Ukrainian writer's style, with its imperative language, testified to the author's uncompromising position and a dichotomous division of the world into "our own" and "others'."

Researcher Marek Wojnar emphasizes the reliance of Lypa's geopolitical concept on racial theories. As a representative of integral nationalism, he classified Ukrainians, along with the peoples of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, as agricultural peoples settled since the Neolithic age, thus contrasting them with hunters and nomads of Ural-Altaic (Muscovy) and Baltic origin (Poland and Belarus). This helped him to avoid the constant dilemma of Ukrainian political thought about the nature of interaction with Poland and Russia and instead form an understanding of geopolitics

in terms of the North–South axis (Wojnar, 2015). In his *Ukrainska rasa* [The Ukrainian Race], Lypa (1937) defined Ukraine's role as a southern wedge resting on the Danube and in the Caucasus, connected through rivers to the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas. The direction of rivers' flows (in the vision of geopoliticians, shared by Lypa, this is the most important artery uniting the population geographically), as well as the location of the Azov and Black Seas (connected to the Mediterranean), determined the understanding that "the Ukrainian territory was more or less located by the sea, but the main trend of its life was the alternation of north and south in the formation of its culture and statehood for thousands of years" (Lypa, 1953, p. 59).

Therefore, as Yurii Kyseliov (2016) rightly notes, in Lypa's doctrine, Ukraine was located not in the south, but in the north of the interethnic community, which appeared in his imagination as a geographical cyclic space. This differed from the axial approach proposed by Rudnytskyi. According to Lypa, such a union would be more relevant because of the similar historical experience of many nations in the Black Sea region, such as the Ukrainians, Georgians, Bulgarians, Romanians, and Turks, who did not have strong enough states at that time. Rudnytskyi's axial approach, as he understood it, was losing relevance, as the Baltic states were developing as sovereign and national states, while Ukraine and other countries needed a different geopolitical unification strategy based on the logic of historical events.

For the geopolitical delineation of the Black Sea space, Lypa proposed the metaphor of a "fortress" bounded on the northeast by the western shores of the Caspian Sea – with Transcaucasia and Dagestan and the Kalmyk-Saratov desert and the Volga canals – on the north by the Don and the Dnipro along with their tributaries, and on the west and south by the Carpathians, the Balkans, and the Asia Minor massif. Three "gates" served as passageways into this space: The first was the Danube trade route in the west, the second was the Caspian gate of the steppes, nomadic hordes, and trade caravans in the east, and the third was the gateway for sailors through the Bosporus and Dardanelles in the south. The construction of the "Black Sea fortress" had its own "base" – Anatolia – and a "platform"

that, with its reliance on Transcaucasia, allowed access to Iran and the Persian Gulf. The borders of the 800–900-kilometer-long "Ukrainian arch" were marked by the Danube and the Carpathians on the one hand and the Caucasus on the other. The publicist determined the place and role of Ukraine based on cultural, historical, linguistic, ethnographic, and demographic factors (the energy of growth that stimulated expansionism) (Lypa, 1942). He saw the "conquest of the Black Sea coasts" (Lypa, 1954, p. 63) as the main direction of Ukrainian expansion over the centuries, which even the Russian imperial government could not prevent. Together with the Caucasian peoples, the Black Sea area was turning into an "inland lake for the Black Sea peoples" (Lypa, 1954, p. 70).

Researcher Volodymyr Baran (2011) summarizes the main ideas of Ukraine's geopolitical modernization in Lypa's Black Sea doctrine:

1. The Black Sea and the upper reaches of the Dnipro River are important components of Ukrainian statehood.
2. Separation from the capital of non-Black Sea states is the basis for Ukrainian control over the Black Sea.
3. The Union of the Black Sea states was to be built on common economic and political interests, as well as a sense of "new higher justice."
4. Identification of Crimea is the key to domination of the Black Sea.
5. Ukraine as a "Christian empire over the Black Sea" was to revive the "tradition of the Apostle Andrew."
6. Separating from the Mediterranean is inadmissible for Ukraine's development.

That the Black Sea vector was typical of Ukrainian thought of the period which was reflected in politics was confirmed by the borders within which politicians saw Ukrainian statehood – in Pavlo Skoropadskyi's Ukrainian State and the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR). The map submitted by the UNR delegates to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 as a plan of demands was rejected, given that the government controlled a more limited territory at that time (Maiorov, 2017).

Ukrainian–Polish Relations in the First Half of the 20th Century – From Confrontation to Attempts at Reconciliation

Despite the competition and confrontation between the Polish and Ukrainian national projects, the military and political situation in the fall of 1919 – due to the Bolshevik threat – created conditions for a short period of Ukrainian–Polish cooperation. The Polish head of state, Józef Piłsudski, focusing on the east, planned to dismember Russia "along national seams" (Miedziński, 1975, p. 7). His program initially included the incorporation of western Belarusian and western Ukrainian territories into Poland and the creation of a federalist union with Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine. This union was to guarantee security in CEE. The project assigned a leading role to Ukraine due to its demographic and economic potential, and especially to its geostrategic position. At the same time, it is necessary to emphasize the signs that the idea was to support Ukrainian independence under the Polish protectorate (Komar, 2017; Parukh, 2021).

Despite the considerable distrust that arose among representatives of both sides, the Warsaw Pact was signed in April 1920 between Poland and the UPR, led by the head of the Directory, Symon Petliura. Despite the controversial consequences of the international agreement, most contemporary Ukrainian historians assess it favorably (Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2021). At the same time, the signing of the Riga Peace Treaty of 1921 as a result of the Soviet–Polish war, according to Osadczuk (2000), meant the collapse of Piłsudski's federalist plans and a gradual transition to a policy based on the principles of Polish national democracy, which already included attempts to assimilate Ukraine (Kerskyi & Kovalchyk, 2009). The political idea of Intermarium in the interwar period envisioned the establishment of a federation of CEE countries that would cover the space between the Adriatic, Baltic, and Black Seas, including Belarus, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Yugoslavia, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Romania, Ukraine, Hungary, and possibly Finland. Piłsudski believed that it would help the Central European states avoid German or Russian domination. Simultaneously, the failure of the initial project prompted the Polish leader to rethink the idea

of a federation and to formulate the concept of a union of the Baltic and Balkan states (Jurkowska, 2018).

The Second World War led to the CEE nations being occupied and subsequently losing their independence and/or sovereignty. Concurrently, there were attempts to normalize interethnic relations among émigrés. One example of such a process was the discussion in the Ukrainian and Polish press that was published in Germany in 1947–1948 in camps for displaced persons. The discussions were first initiated by *Kronika*, which was edited by Klaudiusz Grabik on the Polish side, and *Chas*, edited by Roman Ilnytskyi in Ukrainian. Later, they were joined by such Ukrainian publications as *Nedilia*, *Nashe Zhyttia*, and *Ukrainska Trybuna* and Polish publications such as *DP-Express* and *Orzeł Biały*. The discussion centered on Poland's and Ukraine's place in the concept of Intermarium. Assessing its results retrospectively, Osadczuk, under the pseudonym BEO (1952, p. 89), pointed out that it "developed inorganically, immediately taking up the solution of key and hierarchically highest problems (e.g., forms of federation), leaving many matters and important obstacles aside".

Ukrainian fears about Polish federal concepts persisted into the early 1950s, as evidenced by the continuing debate in the press. Ukrainian nationalists in *Ukrainets – Chas* defended the most radical position on Juliusz Mieroszewski's project to create an international Eastern European brigade under the European armed forces, and accused the *Kultura* thinkers of disguised Polish imperialism. The authors of *Ukrainsky Visti* expressed their warnings on the dangers of being neutral about destroying the Russian Empire and the hegemony of Polish federalists over Ukraine and Belarus. The democratic Ukrainian émigrés offered their own programs, including the creation of a bloc of nations from the Baltic Sea to the Caucasus and the formation of a union of Ukraine, Belarus, and Poland as an alternative to Polish projects (BEO, 1952). Thus, we see both a rethinking of the interwar idea of Intermarium and a continued interest in the Black Sea (or Baltic-Black Sea) among the Ukrainian thinkers.

Osadczuk: A Supporter of Intermarium in the *Kultura* Circle

Osadczuk should also be considered a democratic publicist and activist of the Ukrainian diaspora. He was associated with the left/liberal Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party, which united mostly immigrants from the Soviet republics. The party opposed Soviet imperialism, announced a platform of democratizing Ukraine, and established contact with other peoples of the USSR (Kowalczyk, 2014). Noting Osadczuk's liberal views in the Ukrainian emigrant community, the Polish researcher of Ukrainian–Polish relations Bogumiła Berdychowska (2009) calls him a "rare bird" (*rava avis*).

In the geopolitical realities of the postwar world, the new regional configuration in CEE was increasingly associated primarily with the independence of the peoples of the region, in particular those who had lost it before 1939. This determined one of the strategic directions of the Parisian monthly *Kultura*. This concept was initially combined with the idea of a federation. In an interview with Osadczuk (under the pseudonym Yurii Chornomorskyi [1950]), Jerzy Giedroyć and Józef Czapski stated during the Congress of Cultural Freedom in Berlin that "all the peoples of central and eastern Europe occupied today by the Soviet Union, must gain their independence within the framework of a European Federation" (p. 3). According to the American historian Timothy Snyder (2013), the program of the periodical can only be seen as a new form of federalism if we accept the main claim that cooperation with the eastern neighbors had to be built on friendly relations with the states and required Poland to abandon territorial ambitions and civilizational claims inherent in the old concepts of federalism of the nationalist tradition of the New Era. This idea of federalism involved the use of modern methods of alliance and approaches to cooperation with other countries.

This line of thought was evidenced by the appearance of the "Declaration on the Ukrainian Cause," signed by 14 representatives of the Russian, Polish, Czech, and Hungarian diaspora in *Kultura* in May 1977. The text dealt with the issue of liberation from Soviet colonialism in Eastern Europe – including in the incorporated Soviet

republics, encompassing Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Lithuanians – as well as the need to rid Russia of its imperial ambitions. It was emphasized that Ukrainians, as the most enslaved people of the USSR, along with Lithuanians, fought the hardest for state existence (Deklaracja..., 1977). The document is seen as an important part of the broader concept of Ukraine–Lithuania–Belarus developed by Meroshevskyi, as well as an important element in the journal's model of Ukrainian–Polish reconciliation (Lodyn, 2017). The belief in the fundamental influence of *Kultura*'s concepts on the formation of the eastern policy of independent Poland is shared by a wide range of Polish and other East European researchers (see, e.g., Frenkel, 2022; Mashkevych, 2015).

Changes in the geopolitical situation at the end of the 20th century – associated with the collapse of the socialist system and the USSR and the emergence of new independent states in the region – opened up opportunities for modeling new configurations of the regional structure. Leonid Kravchuk, Ukraine's first President, proposed a plan to create a zone of security and stability in CEE between Central Europe, the Baltic States, and other sovereign states of the former Soviet Union, with the possibility of Bulgaria and Romania joining, but excluding Russia and Austria. However, this and other similar projects were rejected due to critical reactions from Moscow and the West, according to researchers (Drzewicki, 2011; Chorna, 2013).

In Osadczuk's political thinking, we can trace several variations of the configuration of the regional order involving Ukraine and Poland (Lodyn, 2015):

1. bilateral relations between the two states in the context of the Scandinavian orientation of the Baltic states and the Russian orientation of Belarus,
2. Ukrainian-Polish-German cooperation as a result of the disappearance of the German threat,
3. cooperation in the Black Sea basin involving Turkey and Bulgaria, and, if possible, Georgia and Romania, as a counterweight to Russia's aggressive policy in the region, and
4. involvement of the Baltic states, Hungary, and Romania in Ukrainian–Polish cooperation: "Poland can and even should become

a leader of the initially informal, but with time and experience, even closer unification of the states of this region. The idea of a Black Sea-Baltic complex could become a lasting concept" (Osadczuk, 1997, pp. 142–143).

Osadczuk (1992, p. 85) urged that

> unless thinkers like Mieroszewski are found in our region between the Baltic and the Black Sea and inspire politicians to take practical action, Poland, Belarus, Ukraine, and the Baltic states may within a generation be facing a threat to today's independence again.

Seeing such ideas as an opportunity to preserve stability in the region and to create conditions to prevent political crises, the Ukrainian publicist believed that Western partners exerted political pressure on the Polish leadership to force it to abandon its own idea of creating a second NATO in the east or of supporting the Kravchuk Plan to create regional security within the Intermarium lands (Osadczuk, 1993b).

In 1993, intellectual discussions about the Intermarium project and other similar doctrines ceased. The concept of cooperation between states in the Black Sea basin was taken over by Turkey, which held a leading position in the region. The idea of creating a nuclear-free zone between Russia and France, with the participation of Germany, Poland, and Ukraine, was not discussed in detail at all (Osadczuk, 1993a).

The second President of Ukraine, Leonid Kuchma, pursued a foreign policy oriented toward Europe and was informed by his unofficial adviser Osadczuk (Vyrpsha, 2013). It involved strengthening relations with Poland, Hungary, and the Baltic states through the implementation of Intermarium. But this plan once again failed to receive support from neighboring states (the idea was articulated only within the political party Confederation of Independent Poland). Osadczuk was concerned about NATO's eastward expansion, as he believed it could lead to Ukraine's international isolation and hinder its plans for regional partnership. He also saw the process of Poland's integration into Euro-Atlantic structures as one of the reasons for the shift in priority in its relations with Ukraine (Osadczuk, 1994, 1995a, 1995b).

Osadczuk believed that cooperation between Ukraine and Poland should have been the basis for integration projects in CEE, as an imitation of the Piłsudski–Petliura alliance (Osadczuk, 1996). Polish publicist Bohdan Skaradziński opposed this idea on several grounds. He emphasized the lack of political will and weak economies (especially Ukraine's) preventing the necessary level of cooperation (Skaradziński, 1994).

Osadczuk repeatedly returned to the topic in his publications:

> The concept of creating a space between the seas or connecting the Baltic Sea basin with the Black Sea basin is no less important, and politically even more important, in terms of preparation. This is the program of the century, if not of the millennium, because if we succeed in implementing this plan, we will turn the old geopolitics, which has always been unfavorable for us, upside down (Osadczuk, 2000, p. 124).

It is worth noting that the vision of creating a regional security system based on Ukrainian–Polish cooperation, which the Ukrainian writer published in *Kultura* actively promoted, differed from the position of the magazine's editorial board. After 1991, Giedroyć abandoned the idea of a Polish federation with its eastern neighbors in favor of a partnership alliance without formalized political ties, saying in an interview before his death in 2000 that Poland would have to watch out for the eastern countries – Ukraine, Belarus, or the Baltic states – to exist as independent states (Marshal & Srokosh, 2012).

Professor Maciej Mróz (2011, p. 48) also notes, concerning Osadczuk's interest in this idea, that

> adapted to modern conditions, the old idea of Intermarium did not contain an internally consistent and intellectually innovative idea, nor was it an example of classical political thought in the sense of political definitions, but its appeal stemmed from the geopolitical and, to some extent, military-political realities of Central and Eastern Europe after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the formation of a new political map so important for international security and the stabilization of the Old Continent.

What is meant by the Baltic-Black Sea Union and Intermarium today?

In analyzing holistic geopolitical concepts, as in the case of Lypa's Black Sea doctrine or Osadczuk's views on Intermarium, one should take into account the conditions of the thinkers' affiliations, which influenced their subjective optics and possibly downplayed some factors and overestimated others.

In the context of the current Russian invasion on Ukraine, we can note a surge of interest among scholars and analysts of international relations in geopolitical concepts related to the CEE region. The basis for such theorizing is often the practical implications of close military/political cooperation and support by Ukraine's regional neighbors in its fight against the aggressor. Kushnir (2020) highlights the difference between the geopolitical concepts that have developed in the Ukrainian and Polish historical traditions. In his opinion, the Ukrainian term "Intermarium" should be considered as borrowed from Western Europe and having no roots in national historiography before the early 20th century, when Ukrainian intellectuals and politicians, drawing on the traditions of Kievan Rus and the Cossacks, used the concept of the "Baltic-Black Sea Axis." Its vector, as evidenced in particular by the Lypa doctrine, was oriented southward, which meant closer partnership with the peoples of the Caucasus, Romania, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Meanwhile, Polish historical conceptualizations, especially of Intermarium, were based on the traditions of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Contemporary interpretations of the Baltic-Black Sea Union/region (see, e.g., Levyk, 2015; Martyniuk, 2015; Nadtoka, 2017; Rudnytska, 2015) usually include Poland, which was not foreseen by the Ukrainian geopoliticians of the interwar period. Given the increased use of the term "Intermarium" by contemporary Ukrainian researchers (see, e.g., Voytyuk, 2019; Zahrebelnyi, 2019; Todorov & Todorova, 2016; Shevchenko, 2016), who often outline the same regional construction of the states, we can speak of the conceptual syncretism of historical concepts of the 20th century because of their modern rethinking. Despite these peculiarities of terminological theorizing, the practical dimension of discussing

such regional cooperation, given the Russian aggression, does not require much proof of relevance.

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Literature

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The Classicist, the Romantic and an Uncertain Eternity

Abstract

In the second half of the 20th century, the Young Wave of Polish poets (the avant-garde poets born in the mid-1940s) clashed with Zbigniew Herbert (a member of the wartime generation, born around 1920) over generational differences. This dispute revolved around poetics ("plain speech" versus "classicism") and subject matter: whether poets should deal with "contemporary times" meaning current events, especially focusing on politics, or whether they should rather invoke topoi of Mediterranean culture in order to view current events in the context of the permanent values of European culture. For Herbert, this was also a question of the writing strategy, as he felt that topicality should not dominate the interpretation of the poem and that poetry should survive past communism. Adam Zagajewski was chosen as a representative of the New Wave because his early clash with Herbert propelled him to the position of an adversary. Sadly, both Harbert and Zagajewski failed in their attempt at an *exegi monumentum*, as the education system of today has abandoned the classical tradition and many allusions to it are simply incomprehensible to today's high school or even college graduates. Knowledge of recent history is

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not in demand either. Both poetics are unintelligible to a wider audience and in this sense they have failed.

Keywords

Zbigniew Herbert, Adam Zagajewski, New Wave, 20th century Polish poetics, 20th century classicism

There are different poetic strategies: to follow the *Exegi monumentum aere perennius* dictum and become a beacon in national, and perhaps even world literature. Let us follow two of them that clashed in the late 1960s. Which one won? That is for history to judge.

On the one hand, there was some "imaginary version of classicism," as Herbert describes his program. On the other – the manifestos and the "plain-speech" practice of the New Wave. Since the latter is a poetic group, we will focus on its prominent representative, Adam Zagajewski, whose evolution is thought-provoking. In order to understand the history of the dispute, let us also take into account the background, and at least vaguely outline its main elements.

A defined epoch

The two adversaries have different dates of birth and, consequently, different generational experience, as well as different ideas of poetics. They share a "defined epoch," that is, the communist era, more precisely, three different decades: Władyslaw Gomułka's "little stability" (1956–1970), Edward Gierek's period when "Poland grew in strength and people lived more prosperously" (1971–1980), and the Solidarity movement along with General Wojciech Jaruzelski's attempts to destroy it by martial law (1980–1989). With that said, Zbigniew Herbert (1924–1998) lived through not only the Second World War as an adult, but also, most importantly, through Stalinism and the so-called "Polish October," otherwise known as the "thaw," which ended shortly thereafter with Gomułka's tightening of control. He also remembered from his high school days the Soviet occupation of Lviv, which fell to Stalin under the Ribbentrop–Molotov pact and

subsequent German–Soviet agreements, as well as the Allies' acquiescence in the USSR's post-war acquisitions. This experience is very important, because it forever stripped the poet of any illusions about the nature of communism and immunized him against the leftist draw to "red fascism"[1].

New Wave poets, on the other hand, entered literary life only in the second half of the 1960s. They could not remember the war (they were generally born in the mid-1940s), they lived through Stalinism and the "thaw" as children, and their attitudes were largely influenced by the student March of 1968 and December 1970 (with the interlude of the entry of Warsaw Pact troops into Czechoslovakia due to the "Prague Spring"). In the first case, there was a student-intelligentsia revolt with an admixture of the party playing the anti-Semitism card on the occasion of Israel's Six-Day War (1967)[2]. In the second case, there was another workers' revolt over food price hikes, which was brutally suppressed in the port cities of Poland (Gdynia, Gdańsk, Elbląg, and Szczecin)[3]. So, in general, the difference was generational and conditioned politically and economically (the latter element is generally overlooked by literary scholars), while the atmosphere of the worldwide countercultural revolt of the 1960s constitued its broader historical background.

Another factor is the question of aesthetics, which is also governed by the laws of history, although on slightly different terms, since it

1 "Those who survived the Soviet occupation from 1939 to 1941 in Lviv or Vilnius simply had an idea of the Soviet system, its functioning in a nutshell. People like me felt that 1945 was no liberation whatsoever, but simply an invasion, a further, longer occupation, one that would be much more difficult to survive morally. I had the Lviv experience. It was an insightful lesson, after which virtually no doubts remained about the intentions, the color and the goals of the power. For me, it was simply a variation of fascism. A terrible word, but I can document it. True, fascism in the sense of methods"; Herbert qtd. in Citko, 2008, p. 119.

2 In Poland, Israel's victory over the Arab states supported by the USSR was greeted with enthusiasm by the public and produced countless jokes. In a society deprived of opportunities for public expression, "political jokes" were a form of manifestation of public sentiment. Another element was pride in Israel's military and political leaders of Polish descent (especially popular was Menachem Begin, an Anders Army officer who, with the acquiescence of the Polish exile authorities, remained in Palestine and headed the Irgun, an underground armed organization operating in the British Mandate of Palestine).

3 Nalepa, 1990; Nalepa 2011.

depends on the changing sensibilities and fashions. Herbert's debut as a poet falls on the "thaw" of 1955–1957 and involves a generational misunderstanding, since it concerns a man who is already a well-formed adult, with earlier very tentative attempts at poetry since the late 1940s. In terms of age, the poet belongs to the war generation that was born around 1920. For military, social, and political reasons, this generation debuted in three groups. The poets of the cultural center, the so-called "Warsaw poets," were students and soldiers of the Home Army who participated in the underground cultural life of the German-occupied capital (Tadeusz Gajcy, Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński, and Andrzej Trzebiński). Basically all the 20-year-old talented boys died if not during the occupation, then in the Warsaw Uprising, with the exception of Tadeusz Borowski, who survived... in Auschwitz. As a prose writer, the author of *U nas w Auschwitzu* [Here in our Auschwitz] made his debut after the Red Army defeated the Germans, and he became involved in the cultural policy of the new government, but committed suicide several years later.

Poets from smaller towns and younger poets, such as Tadeusz Różewicz and Wisława Szymborska, debuted shortly after the war (three or four years' difference is quite a lot at that age). The second wave also had its exceptions, for example, Karol Wojtyla was a seminarian and then a priest and would hide his real name under the pseudonym Andrzej Jawień, and besides, did not participate in postwar literary life (he was active during the occupation as a student of illegal courses and theatre movement[4] in the Polish Underground State[5]). Moreover, what was unique about this group of artists was the emergence of such prose talents as Stanisław

4 Komorowska, 2022; Kisiel, 2021.

5 Note that sometimes the incorrect name "resistance movement" is used, which is a misunderstanding. In several German-occupied countries, there were various underground organizations, including armed ones, but in occupied Poland, the Undergound State was an extensive, complex, top-down system on an unprecedented scale, divided into the civilian part (with an underground parliament and national government and a government-in-exile) and the military (the Home Army as an underground organization in occupied Poland with about 390,000 soldiers under the command of 10,000 professional officers, and the Polish Armed Forces in the West with more than 200,000 soldiers and officers); see: Korboński, 2008.

Lem and Jan Józef Szczepański. The latter debuted and fell silent due to Stalinism, having published in the marginalized periodicals of the Catholic ghetto anyway. Though they were older, Herbert, together with Miron Białoszewski, openly debuted only during the "thaw," with new and very diverse members of the Generation '56[6] (the most important being Jarosław Marek Rymkiewicz, Stanisław Grochowiak, Ernest Bryll, Andrzej Bursa, Tadeusz Nowak, Witold Woroszylski, and Witold Dąbrowski – artists born in the early 1930s[7]).

The New Wave were poets born in the mid-1940s, just before or just after the fall of Nazi Germany, and their debuts usually occurred in the second half of the 1960s. The main centers of this movement were Krakow (Julian Kornhauser, Adam Zagajewski, Jerzy Kronhold, and Stanisław Stabro) and Poznań (Stanisław Barańczak and Ryszard Krynicki), although poets from Warsaw (Krzysztof Karasek) and Wrocław (Marianna Bocian and Lothar Herbst) claimed to be part of Generation '68, while the Łódź milieu was represented by a somewhat separate group (Zdzisław Jaskuła and Jacek Bierezin[8]). It should also be noted that the scope of both names is disputed. The matter was summarized by Tadeusz Nyczek (1995, pp. 4–5), a literary critic and participant in the movement:

> Some (e.g., Stanisław Barańczak) felt that the New Wave and Generation '68 were one and the same. And since they did not like the term New Wave, they preferred to use the other name, as they believed it to be more accurate and more informative. It should be stated that they meant "generation" in a narrower sense, as a group of writers clearly distinguished from the literary generation as a whole. Others (e.g., Julian Kornhauser) were also inclined to use the terms New Wave and

6 The names *Współczesność* (from the name of the *Współczesność* literary magazine as well as the *Współczesność* literary group gathered around it) generation or Generation '56 were used, but the distinguishing feature was a similar debut date rather than a crystallized group or poetics.

7 In some cases, it was a repeat debut, as the very young writers under the care of the communist state, known as "pryszczaci" (pimpled youths), had already managed not only to publish in Stalinist periodicals, but even to publish volumes of socialist realist poetry.

8 I mention only the most important writers, leaving out even then active and important, but now forgotten.

> Generation '68 interchangeably, except that – this time, the reverse was true – they extended its meaning to the entire (or almost entire) generation beginning their literary careers at the time.... As they understood it, New Wave meant the activities of at least several creative groups and several dozen members of the generational group in total.

Nyczek considers the term Generation '68 to be more appropriate for the entire generation (in terms of the birth year), since it refers to a fundamental existential experience, while he uses the term New Wave to describe those poets who made up the social and ideological Krakow-Poznań circle that published mainly in the biweekly Krakovian *Student*.[9] Thus, it would seem that he mainly has the literary group in mind, were it not for the considerable differences in their poetics, which were noticeable from the very beginning. The author of the anthology admits that what mattered more was the peer community and the social-political ties (metaphorically called the "mass mobilization movement"), rather than a coherent poetics, aesthetic views or literary or philosophical influences, although the subject matter was similar for all poets: the experience of a hypocritical existence in the People's Republic of Poland.

This problem reveals the methodological influence of the prominent Polish literary historian Kazimierz Wyka (1910–1975), for whom the most important determinant of a literary generation was a "generational experience," i.e. a historical event (mainly political) that substantially affected the consciousness and sensitivity of writers who were entering adulthood at that moment (Wyka, 1977). It shaped the writers' world-feeling and worldview. In Polish literary studies of the second half of the 20th century, this category was a handy tool for describing successive generations of writers of the 19th and 20th centuries, from the first generation of Romantics to the New Wave. Nowadays, this terminology has fallen out of favor, being displaced by newer methodologies, especially when it comes to recent Polish literature that does not lend itself to such categorizations.

9 Writers not associated with the movement or generation also published in this magazine.

Poisoned humanities and self-education

However, let us remember that the dates of birth of New Wave adversaries and Herbert, decided both about the differences in their historical experience (political, military, and economic) and in their education. This is one of the key distinctions that is often forgotten. Herbert (like others of his generation, for example, Różewicz, Wojtyła, and Szczepański) received his education in a patriotic, modern school, which was of the highest standard of its time. And although he and Różewicz did not manage to graduate from the pre-war high school (the other two succeeded in starting college), the academic training they received (there was illegal underground schooling during the occupation, so Herbert, for example, managed to pass the underground high school diploma) gave them an intellectual advantage over those receiving the communist education of the People's Republic of Poland. As for Herbert, it should be added that shortly after the end of the hostilities, he began attending the Higher School of Commerce and Jagiellonian University in Krakow, and later studied at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. The dates are very important, because in the first post-war years universities still had a pre-war staff and young Herbert learned non-socialist economics (he remained a Keynesian until the end of his life[10]); in Krakow, he attended lectures on philosophy by Roman Ingarden (the most prominent Polish student of Edmund Husserl); in Toruń, he took a philosophy seminar by Henryk Elzenberg (an excellent scholar, who was very "independent," and did not belong to any school of philosophy), while other lecturers at this university were outstanding professors of philosophy and law, mainly from pre-war Vilnius and Lviv. After transferring to the University of Warsaw (by that time, scholars like Ingarden and Elzenberg had already been removed from the faculty), he was refused permission to submit his master's thesis by Adam Schaff, a member of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and one of the important ideologists of Marxism-Leninism in Poland. We must add that Herbert, an erudite,

10 On the poet's economic education and the presence of economic doctrines, see: Ruszar, 2020; Ruszar, 2016.

who would have been the happiest to take "a position as a perpetual student" (Citko, 2008, p. 111),[11] gained a great deal of knowledge in art history through self-education.

The New Wave poets attended schools in the People's Republic of Poland. The education of this generation is described in Bohdan Cywiński's book *Zatruta humanistyka* [Poisoned Humanities][12]. Society was pacified by Stalinist terror, and consent to public hypocrisy was widespread. Barańczak and Krynicki both studied Polish literature in Poznań, while Kornhauser graduated from Slavonic studies (with a major in Serbo-Croatian) in Krakow, while Zagajewski studied psychology and philosophy. Barańczak's academic career (of the main leaders of the New Wave, he – a former member of the Polish United Workers' Party – became most involved in overt opposition activity) ended when he joined the Workers' Defence Committee (Polish acronym: KOR) in 1976[13]. He was expelled from the Adam Mickiewicz University and moved to the United States in 1981, where he took the chair of Polish language and literature in the Slavic studies department at Harvard University. Zagajewski was an assistant lecturer of philosophy (officially: Marxist philosophy) at the AGH University of Science and Technology in Krakow until 1975, and, having lost his job, he emigrated to France for twenty years (1982–2002), while also teaching at American universities as a visiting professor (in Chicago and Houston). Only Julian Kornhauser kept his job at Jagiellonian University until the end of the Polish People's Republic and retired as a professor in free Poland. The young writers and scholars had to make up for the gaps in their education on their own and, first of all, free themselves from the allure of Marxism, which in those days had the status not so much of an ideology as of the crowning achievement of philosophical thought in general, albeit less so after the collapse of Stalinism.

11 *Herbert nieznany*... [Herbert Unknown], p. 111.

12 Cywiński, 1980 [illegal edition in the so-called "second circulation"].

13 KOR, Komitet Obrony Robotników – Committee for the Defense of Workers was an institution of intellectuals formed after the pacification of the Polish workers' revolt in 1976. Initially this organization was set up to defend the imprisoned and help those who had been thrown out of work, then by 1980 it had grown into a serious opposition force: the Committee for Social Self-Defense. See: Lipski, 2006; Błażejewska, 2010.

To realize the importance of education for the indoctrinated minds of the New Wave (and for the entire generation, of course), let us consider the small booklet *W cudzym pięknie* (In The Beauty Created by Others) by Adam Zagajewski (2007, first published in 1998). The publication is a sort of confession with elements of memories from his youth, and – as is often true in such a case – is somewhat pretentious, and at times dull, not to mention very forgiving of the author. Nevertheless, it shows us the poetic path from the vantage point of old age, which is interesting to us. Zagajewski recalls old professors for whom he feels respect, but with whom he had no intellectual rapport (except perhaps for Danuta Gierulanka, a student of Roman Ingarden, and therefore a "granddaughter" of Husserl, with whom he wrote his master's thesis). When he was a student, the intellectuals he met were generally already retired and did not teach (Ingarden would at most give lectures at the PAU[14]), or had already become autistic eccentrics completely crushed by the system (prof. Leszczyński who taught Descartes, Berkeley, Hume and Kant), or at worst senile retirees like the prominent pre-war psychologist Stefan Szuman, who was graciously allowed to live on the top floor of the Institute of Psychology, where he was once head of the department. The demeaning life of an eminent scholar did not invite intellectual interactions:

> We were looking at a stodgy, rather poorly dressed old man, carrying up grocery bags to the third floor, slowly and with effort, with the occasional white bunch of onions or green, hard stalks of leeks sticking out of them. Sometimes he was accompanied by his wife, as old as he was […]. There was an air of sadness, poverty, dotage about them […]. For them, for Szuman and his wife, we were probably barbarians, formed by the post-war education system, by the new schools, the new newspapers, the new radio and television. They must have regarded us as fools trained by the new system […]. We were so different! These two generations, so far apart in time, could be considered completely alien to each other […]. One could also come to think that the system had won a victory by carefully separating the old from the young, cutting

14 Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Krakow.

> off the young from any contact with the best representatives of the pre-war intelligentsia [...] (Zagajewski, 2007, pp. 48–49).

The twenty-year gap between Herbert and the New Wave meant a cultural and civilizational gulf. For Zagajewski, as he writes in his memoir, "the greatest attraction was that the prominent intellectual living in humiliation was a personal friend of Witkacy and Schulz," and years later he regrets lacking the courage to talk to him. Gaps in education – or more precisely, indoctrinated studies – left the young susceptible to Marxist usurpations, although, as the author describes, "I came out of this tribulation [of communism] unscathed – or almost unscathed" (Zagajewski, 2007, p. 230):

> I taught classes in the history of philosophy, but officially my subject was called "Fundamentals of Marxist Philosophy." I read passages from Plato [...], Descartes [...], Kant, Hegel, existential philosophers with the students, and sometimes I did not even get to Marx at all, who – contrary to chronology! – was supposed to crown and conclude all the millennial efforts of European philosophy, but, nevertheless, I belonged, formally, to the army of mercenaries appointed to enslave the minds of students (Zagajewski, 2007, p. 29).

The enslavement was also carried out through ideological struggle against the Catholic Church. "I was twenty-three years old; someone advised me to apply to the Society of Atheists and Freethinkers and offer my services as a contractor. The lectures there were very well paid" (Zagajewski, 2007, p. 138). The experience was disconcerting for someone "who neither belonged nor intended to belong to the Communist Party, who was part of a tribe different from theirs, who was a young poet and just wanted to earn some money so that he could buy books and records" (Zagajewski, 2007, p. 139). Sensitivity to beauty (communism was unbelievably hideous and primitive) and widespread lies that blatantly defied reality must have pushed the sensitive poet (as well as his peers) into confrontation with the regime. The clashes of 1968 and 1970 came as a shock, as the restricted openness to European culture and the loosening of censorship under Edward Gierek failed to become an effective means of rallying young artists

and intellectuals. The 1970s was a decade of total ideological collapse of communism in Poland as a doctrine explaining the world, because – of course – communism as a concept and system of power was doing well, as it guaranteed people's careers (hence the affiliation of some members of the generation to the Polish United Workers' Party).

Additionally, there was a difference between the generation that remembered Stalinist terror (which was a cause for fear or at least restraint) and the generation born in the People's Republic of Poland, which did not experience the terror of life sentences, capital punishment and gulags (Kopka, 2019; Moczarski, 2009), so the young in the 1970s were braver as they did not know to be afraid. Murders were rare, sentences were generally of several years (with the hope of amnesties on communist national holidays), and the majority of oppositionists risked mere interrogation, detention for 48 hours, or expulsion from work or college[15]. The 1970s witnessed a multitude of overt political activities (before that, conspiracies which invariably ended in arrests, dominated[16]). The young intelligentsia, aware of the shortcomings and official lies of history, was swept up in a frenzy of self-study in illegal seminars and lectures, and the typical conflict of generations (let us remember that these were the times of the counterculture, the Paris May and similar phenomena) gave way to the expectation of intellectual support from older intellectuals. This is how the Flying University[17] and the Society of Scientific Courses (Terlecki, 2000), which Zagajewski mentions, came into being:

15 "I experienced neither trial nor imprisonment, I was not persecuted by the secret police and, although I turned into an enthusiastic oppositionist, I spent only one hour at the police station" (Zagajewski, *W cudzym pięknie* [In the beauty created by others], p. 24).

16 In the early 1970s, "Ruch" activists were arrested. Sentences ranging from 4 to 7 years in prison were handed down; see Byszewski, 2008.

17 The tradition of illegal education and clandestine colleges is more than a century old in Poland. The name "Flying University" appeared in the Polish public discourse with a book by Bohdan Cywiński, who described the activities of illegal schooling under the Russian partition in Warsaw at the end of the 19th century, and the term used a century later also refers to it (Cywiński, 1971). Illegal education during the German occupation of the World War II years had slightly different characteristics, as it was organized by the Polish Underground State and was more codified, despite the fact that participation in underground education was punishable by death or deportation to a concentration camp (Korboński, 2008).

> Seminars and lectures were proliferating, either in private homes or – sometimes – in churches or monasteries. For example, at the Norbertine Sisters in Salwator, on the banks of the Vistula, where crowds of listeners gathered. These classes, taught by prominent and independent intellectuals, and supported by the students who "self-educated," were among the best that could be found: for they were unselfish, their fuel was curiosity, not a lust for a useful diploma (Zagajewski, 2007, p. 193).

In the second half of the 1970s, Herbert (and his generation) comes together with Generation '68 in joint political and cultural activities (of course, individuals get involved for a more or less political reasons). This is also when the dispute between the "classicist" and romantic "New Wave" writers ends, and when the older poet reconciles with and befriends Stanisław Barańczak, Ryszard Krynicki and Adam Zagajewski.

Herbert the "classicist" and the poetics of "plain speech"

In the 1960s, Herbert was regarded as a "classicist," a "stoic" and an "aesthete": a poet who drew on ancient tradition and Mediterranean myths to counter the intellectual, aesthetic and moral misery of communism (Ruszar, 2020b). It was this image that became the reason for New Wave's attack. It seems that at the deepest, unspoken level, the dispute was over the attitude to language and tradition. The New Wave grew out of the avant-garde and distrust of hypocritical public speech. Herbert had no misgivings on this issue either, but believed that it was possible to oppose communist newspeak both through language and tradition. His correspondence with Jerzy Zawieyski, an older colleague and, in a sense, confidant, is symptomatic. In a letter that comes from before his book debut and documents his personal search in the field of poetics, Herbert writes:

> I am now looking for some imaginary formula for classism of my own, for poetry that would have some chance of survival. There is a reference to this in the attached poem about time (title undetermined). I would like to find powerful vocabulary with which to rebuild sincere pathos. We have a petulant fear of pathos and of some supreme prophetic creation of poetry. I would like words to be stateful, equivalent elements (not

> ornaments, not sounds, not references, not punchlines). I would like to reach a conceptual purity of poetry, new conceits, instead of sprawling metaphors, a culture of phrases and poetic syntax, parallelism, poetic definition, antinomy, paradox, dialogue, repetition, simplicity, and an expansion of the culture of concepts [Z. Herbert to J. Zawieyski, October 4, 1950] (Kądziela, 2002, p. 41).

This was the task that the poet, who had only published several poems so far and was consciously looking for his own voice, set himself. More than that – it was a philosophical and personal attitude of a conscious reference to tradition, with the premise that one must examine what remained alive in it and what had died. After all, the disaster of World War II also meant an axiological disaster, not just a military one:

> Teachers in middle school hammered into our heads that "historia magistra vitae." But when it descended upon us in all its barbaric splendor – as a real glow over my city – I realized that it was a peculiar teacher. Those who experienced it and all that followed have more material to ponder than readers of ancient chronicles. It is a muddled and dark study material. It takes the work of many consciences to illuminate it [...]. Humanity does not give up the dream of a sign, a spell, a formula that will explain the meaning of life. The need for canons, criteria to separate the evil from the good, a clear set of values is as strong now as it was in the past. When our fathers and grandfathers were asked about eternal values, their thoughts would invariably gravitate toward antiquity. Human dignity, seriousness, and objectivity radiated from the writings of the classics (Herbert, 2017).

Generation '68 was marked by aesthetic incoherence, while Tadeusz Nyczek (1995, pp. 5–6) describes it as a loose "mass mobilization movement." "It is a blend of the most diverse aesthetic criteria, with literary and philosophical influences coming from extraordinarily distant traditions." When we narrow our analysis of the New Wave generation to Adam Zagajewski and the Krakow "Teraz" group, the first thing we notice is the role of the biweekly *Student* in crystallizing important friendships in Krakow, which were not limited to a single city or literature, since theater artists, filmmakers, painters,

musicians, and cultural publicists also took part in the countercultural movement. More broadly, the generation grew up influenced by worldwide trends of cultural and moral revolt, especially from the US and France (May '68). As Nyczek (1995, p. 8) writes, "everything old was to be negated. Customs, culture, art, even language." With that said, the issue of language occupied a key position in the Soviet system, and its abuse had a different character. The new, "non-naive realism" clashed with the hypocrisy of public speech. The upshot was that the new movement failed to develop a new convention: "The truth is that the New Wave really did not create a new language, or a new style. Just as the painters of the Wprost group or the filmmakers of the cinema of moral unrest failed to create one" (Nyczek, 1995, p. 12). "Realism" (New Wave writers were maliciously accused of sharing similarities with the artists of socialist realism) actually meant being communicative, focusing on the gray and oppressive everyday life, and exposing the struggle against persuasive-propagandistic newspeak (Głowiński, 2009) that falsified the communist reality. However, this practice was not the exclusive property of the New Wave movement, but a common system of means of expression of the time (used by various artistic groups), and besides, it did not apply exclusively to art or literature. On the contrary, from the 1970s onward, it was the norm in everyday life as well, as a reaction to the dissociation of the official language from everyday private speech.

Adam Zagajewski's attitude to language was even more complicated, as his output of that time indicates. His testimony survives not only in the poems, but also in his commentary, or rather, a self-critical confession from years later: "I was convinced that language lies; at that time I was not yet thinking of the 'language of newspapers,' this *bête noire* of the New Wave, but of language in general" (Zagajewski, 2007, p. 161). The statement distinguishes the poet not only from Herbert, whose ambition was to discover a language of truth, a language tied to the thing, a language that is "transparent" (i.e., does not obscure Reality[18]), but also from his peers, focused on

18 When I use the word spelled with a capital letter, I am referring to the notion of Zbigniew Herbert, who understood it as the fullness of physical, cultural and transcendent reality.

deconstructing the language of communist propaganda and using various forms, from irony, to unmasking, to unabashed mockery to achieve this goal. This is probably why Zagajewski was never an advocate of "linguistic poetry," like his Poznań colleagues Stanisław Barańczak and Ryszard Krynicki, for whom (at least in the first period of their career) sophisticated language games were part of poetic philosophy.

What Herbert and the young poets had in common was a sense of incapacitation (under communism, a person was not a citizen, but a subject) and a psychological self-defense against police-political power through irony or even mockery. The similarity between Herbert's and New Wave's diction is most obvious in the frequent use of reported speech and pseudo-reported speech, with Herbert preferring the poetics of roles and masks (hence Mr. Cogito, who slowly displaces other characters, who are generally borrowed from history, mythology or literature), while New Wave more often uses a style of appeal, especially to the "ordinary man of the street." New Wave poets also liked to identify with their protagonist, the "simple man," and use this convention to speak on his behalf, which led to some surprising situations, like when Zagajewski, in his poem "Philosophers," demands that philosophers "stop fooling us." As stated above, the author was a (hardly diligent) lecturer of Marxist philosophy[19].

Zagajewski was the first in his circle to abandon this poetic device. He also sharply disputed his reserve against the poetry of living alongside others, of understanding and empathizing with others, as will be discussed later. Herbert, on the contrary, wrote the poetry of roles or masks in order to distance himself, to avoid subjectivism, confusing the speaking subject with the author. Thus, it can be deceptive to identify the views of the characters of the poems with their author and vice versa: many readers honestly believed that Mr. Cogito was the poet himself, and Mr. Cogito stuck to Herbert as a pseudonym standing for the author. Only professionals insisted that the degree of identity (or rather, similarity of views) should be

19 "We [young poets] were ourselves infected with some of the venoms of the system" (Zagajewski, *W cudzym pięknie* [*In the beauty…*]…, p. 64).

discovered in each poem separately. As for his strong connection to the nation, this trait brought the poet into fierce conflict with the former oppositionists, who after the victory of 1989 formed an alliance with the former apparatchiks from the Polish United Workers' Party, as well as with Czesław Miłosz[20].

Distrust of deceitful language – a feature of both this movement and of Herbert – coincided with a desire to restore the link between words and reality, to debunk lies. The dispute was over methods, as will be discussed later. Often it was a matter of drawing attention to some of the more subtle operations on language, such as the blurring of concepts and the annihilation of the concrete, not to mention the substitution of designators. This is the subject of Zagajewski's poem, involving a battle against newspeak based on the substitution of words:

> No one talks about butchers today
> those old knights of blood
> butcher shops have become museums of new sensitivity
> he's an official no hangman (...)
> In the twentieth century under the new government of reason
> certain things no longer happen[21]
> (translated by Charles Kraszewsky)

Another achingly obvious enemy is the ubiquitous censorship, which Julian Kornhauser writes about, while making an allusion to the colloquial term "deleted by the censors," meaning eliminated from print:

20 Namely, Adam Michnik and the circles of *Gazeta Wyborcza*. The conflict between Miłosz and Herbert (despite their mutual admiration for each other's poetry) was political. Miłosz hated the Second Polish Republic and the insurrectionary spirit of the Poles and right after the war, he became a Stalinist diplomat, fighting the pro-independence emigration in America (Mokrzycka-Markowska, 2013). He referred to Herbert as an alleged nationalist: "It was I who made a name for Herbert in America, and for what? So that he would capitalize on the momentum all his life and cruise through his poetry like this, another child prodigy 'riding on the wave of events,' but without that wave, a sullen, old, National Socialist fart?" (Giedroyć, 2011, p. 379). Herbert was proud of the achievements of pre-war Poland and felt a strong moral connection to the generation of "Warsaw poets" who perished during the German occupation. He also wrote a spiteful pamphlet dedicated to Miłosz (Herbert, "Chodasiewicz" from *Rovigo*, 2008, pp. 617–618).

21 Zagajewski, *Sklepy mięsne* [Meat Shops], 1975, p. 25.

The state deletes the nation
The state deletes the fatherland
The state deletes the barricade
The state deletes the December events
The state deletes certain names
The state deletes the banners
The state deletes the Jews
The state deletes Radio Free Europe
The state deletes March
The state deletes titles ranks and degrees
The state deletes the imperative mood
The state transforms the nation into socialist camp
Fatherland into industrialized cities
Barricades into paper for recycling
The December events into Bratny's novel
Some names into initials
Banners into Mayday parades
Jews into professors
RFE into CIA
March into spring
Titles ranks and degrees into empty spaces
The imperative mood into the conditional
The state is the most renowned Polish poet of all[22]
(translated by Charles Kraszewsky)

Let us note that the poem talks not only about complete or partial removal of the text, but also about a mandate to change words, phrases, names and other actions through which the censor becomes a co-author of the work. Zagajewski shows the bureaucratic banality of the censor's office, which cannot be compared with the physical suffering of the persecuted heroes:

Thou art, oh Censorship, art not so horrible after all
Neither dungeon nor drops of salty water
Dripping down dark stony walls,

22 Kornhauser, 2016, p. 129.

Neither the whistle of knout and bloody curses
But sunlight in the curtains, a desk of ash
The gay whistle of the teakettle, the homy aroma of coffee
Fills every corner and you can hear the high
Pearly laughter of the full-bodied official
Who holds in her hand quite ordinary scissors.[23]
(translated by Charles Kraszewsky)

The tension between the personal experience of the world and the duties to the community was perhaps most noticeable in the poetry of Zagajewski, who – in this regard – never came to terms with the claim of the collective. He himself, years later, described the issue this way:

> Great and unforgettable emotions – but not quite mine [the election of Karol Wojtyła as pope, the great strike at the Gdansk shipyard, the rise of Solidarity, martial law – my addition]. As they subsided, they faded, I felt a little ashamed. I was returning to my inner homestead, which for a moment, sometimes quite a long one, seemed poor and modest. [...] I have nothing against these kinds of experiences. They certainly enriched my life and not only mine. I was only embarrassed that they came from outside, that I didn't earn them. I was a spectator of a gigantic spectacle. Can poetry, art be made from such emotions? [...] But due to this hint of shame... when the immense emotions were leaving me, I did not stop wondering about the genesis of artistic emotion, and I was more and more inclined to believe that a poem or an essay or a story should originate from emotion or observation, from ecstasy or melancholy – my own, not national ones. They should be born within me, not in the crowd, even if I loved the crowd (loved the crowd – my God!) and passionately identified with it. The New Wave – this is where its strength and its weakness come from – tapped into collective emotions, sometimes only intuited and hypothetical (it's not every day that society deigns to turn up in a church or a shipyard!) (Zagajewski, 2007, pp. 207–208).

The breakthrough came in the mid-1980s, during his exile in Paris, and was most visible in the collection of essays *Solidarność i samotność*

23 Zagajewski, 2010, p. 49.

[Solidarity, Solitude] (Zagajewski, 1986). Not surprisingly, the poet forgoes New Wave political themes as too current, temporary and essentially unimportant, in favor of personal experience. He is also critical of his debut and early poetry:

> The New Wave was a hybrid formation, a historical-artistic alloy, a metal in which collective emotions and individual dreams, fantasies, and skills were mixed. I have the most deeply ambivalent feelings towards this phenomenon, this metal. [I am] not saying this angrily, I am not motivated by either regret or resentment, and neither bitterness nor despair, envy nor pettiness (at least I don't think so) is speaking through me. Rather, it is indifference to a form that has already burned out, to a shape that was established so long ago; indifference and boredom (Zagajewski, 2007, p. 206).

> We knew the poetry of our predecessors, we read the great European poets. But we were not educated enough [...]. A handful of 20-year-olds, who knew nothing yet, founded the TERAZ poetry group. The name was supposed to be a manifesto [...]. The name TERAZ suggested something radically present, that this group of young poets in black sweaters had found direct access to current affairs.... Soon I turned into a propagandist and ideologue of this unattractive "now"; I, exiled from the paradise of imagination, where music used to mix with poetry and painting, began to proclaim the supremacy of "duty" over pleasure, sobriety over daydreaming, society over the solitary reader and poet, history over the timelessness of artistic contemplation, the concrete over the symbolic (Zagajewski, 2007, pp. 174–176).

> The fact that I made my debut with angry political poetry protesting against the system, irritates me at times; I have long stopped attaching importance to this type of poetry. I have come to understand that poetry is elsewhere, outside of current partisan battles, and even outside of rebellion against tyranny, preferably even justified (Zagajewski, 2007, p. 63).

In his late comments, Zagajewski seems to acknowledge that the poetics of the New Wave did not suit him at all, mainly because of his personality and philosophical interests, and that social involvement

was a need of the hour, a matter of atmosphere and friendships. Paradoxically, in his late career Zagajewski not only befriended Herbert, but also came very close to his poetry, in the sense of the subject matter, especially in terms of philosophical inquiry, and in particular in the understanding of what is, or what should be, the focus of poetry: "contemporaneity" or "Reality"? This question will be discussed separately, as it was the cause of a major dispute, but first let us turn our attention to Zagajewski's evolution. What is worth writing about? What should be the subject of poetry? It seems that the turning point is seen in the poem "Co godzinę wiadomości" [Hour by hour news] (*Letter, Ode to Plurality*), whose conclusion reads:

> Hour on the hour news on the radio
> The talking heads know everything: impossible
> You'd think that every hour
> Should kill, steal, deceive. And yet
> It does, the hours like lions devour
> The stores of life. Reality reminds one of
> A sweater worn at the elbows. Whoever
> Listens to the news, knows not, that
> Just around the corner, in the rain-soaked garden
> A little grey cat is wandering, playing,
> Struggling with the stiff stalks of the grass.
> (*Letter, Ode to Plurality*, 36)
> (translated by Charles Kraszewsky)

The former New Wave poet focused his attention on political news and was passionate about History, spelled with a capital letter, at least in the Communist era. This epoch was fascinated by history, while claiming to be its culmination, the happy and perfect end of social development. Now the poet suggests that one must not miss other facets of life, because the sphere of political interest that is imposed by the media is not necessarily worth it at all, not to say that it is not likely to be more valuable[24]. Politics becomes degraded,

24 In his prose comment, the assertion reads as follows: "There is a war going on in art, a fierce dispute, concerning reality. And yet we experience the totality

virtually irrelevant: this even applies to such a dramatic event as martial law:

All of these great events,
the unexpected blows,
the victorious battles that
you wage against your own brothers
– now you've conquered factories and mines
smashed in the doors of
our flats, keep going, now
arrest our thoughts – they'll
shrink until they arrive at the dimensions
of the tiny fonts used
for the notes to Norwid's poetry.[25]

This is the new version of *ars poetica* in poetry, tantamount to a retreat from the ideals of the debutant. Zagajewski (2007, p. 128) puts it this way: "The defense of poetry is the defense of something which abides in the human being, the fundamental ability to experience the wonder of the world, to discover the divine in the universe and in other people, in a lizard and chestnut leaves, to marvel and freeze in this wonder for a long moment." This is almost a quote from Herbert! although the view was expressed in a poem to another representative of the New Wave. At the same time, this opinion can serve as an interpretation of the poem "To Ryszard Krynicki – A letter" (from the collection *Report from the Besieged City*), which extols the salvific value of beauty. Despite the friendship and affinity between the two poets, Herbert, in gentle words, but nevertheless scathingly judges

of the world, given to us at every moment; on the beach, in the late afternoon, when seagulls gather on the sand; on the train, at dawn, when the sun rises over the rooftops of a foreign city, and even in a moment of great fatigue, when we are able to forget about ourselves for a moment. As soon as we have enough patience, when we are attentive, reality opens trustingly before us; we feel then that it is before us, whole" (Zagajewski, *Solidarność i samotność*... [Solidarity, Solitude], p. 60).

25 *Kultura* 7/418–8/419, 1982, p. 59. The poem was later published in the second-circulation volume: A. Zagajewski, *Petit*, Wydawnictwo Słowo, 1983.

the poetics of the New Wave, which is overly focused on the description of the miserable contemporaneity:

Not much will remain Ryszard in truth not much
of the poetry of our mad century Rilke Eliot sure
a few other worthy shamans who knew the secret
of word spells time-resistant forms without which
no phrase deserves memory and speech is like sand

our school notebooks subjected to earnest torture
with their traces of sweat tears and blood will be
to the eternal proofreader a song without a score
nobly righteous and all too self-evident

we came too easily to believe beauty does not save
that it leads wantons from dream to dream to death
none of us was able to wake the dryad of a poplar
or to decipher the handwriting of the clouds
that is why no unicorn will stray across our tracks
we'll raise up no ship in the bay no peacock no rose
nakedness was left to us and we stand here naked
on the right the better side of the tryptych
The Last Judgment

we took public affairs onto our lanky shoulders
the battle with tyranny lies the recording of pain
but our foes–you admit–were despicably small
and so was it worth it to bring down holy speech
to rostrum gibberish to a newpaper's black foam

so little joy—sister of the gods—in our poems Ryszard
too few glimmering twilights mirrors wreaths ecstasies
nothing just obscure psalmodies the whine of animulae
urns of ash in a burned-out garden[26]
(translated by AlissaValles)

26 Z. Herbert, *To Ryszard Krynicki – A Letter* [in:] *Herbert, Z. The Collected Poems 1956–1998*. Translated and edited by Alissa Valles. *HarperCollins, 2007.*

Herbert's poetics remained consistent. He believed in the liberating power of truth, as well as in the salvific power of beauty.[27] In this poem, he calls to witness the highest poetic authority in Poland, that is, Adam Mickiewicz. The line "to whisper in the garden of betrayal a silent night" is an allusion to the scene from Konrad's cell (*Forefathers' Eve* Part 3), a romantic masterpiece in which the waking prisoner ponders over questions beyond his miserable plight:

> Still moon, when you arise, who asks of you
> Whence you come; when you toss before you stars,
> Which of them might your future ways construe!
> (translated by Charles Kraszewsky)

In his youth, he developed a style with beauty and truth as its two pillars. Beauty saves humanity in a situation of debasement, the banality of evil and widespread ugliness and wickedness. The problem is that when one is forced to resist, one must stoop down to the level of the despicable enemy. Tadeusz Nyczek (1995, p. 117), in recalling the poetics of the New Wave, says something almost identical as Herbert: "The catalog of ways of exercising power that this poem records may not be very fanciful: searches, trials, interrogations, courts, censorship... But this is how, through repression, the political side of life appeared in this best, in its own opinion, of all systems." Both of the poets – Zagajewski and Krynicki – underwent a far-reaching evolution towards philosophical poetry, concerned with the beauty of the world, and not only with the monstrosity of History,

27 What is poetry which does not save? – this question, which Czesław Milosz asked just after the war in his volume *Ocalenie*, was one of the most momentous during the existence of the People's Republic of Poland, with many poets, including Herbert and the New Wave writers, trying to offer their answers. The relevant passage reads:
What is poetry which does not save
Nations or people?
A connivance with official lies,
A song of drunkards whose throats will be cut in a moment,
Readings for sophomore girls.
(translated by Miłosz)
("Dedication" from *The Collected Poems 1931–1987* by Czesław Milosz. HarperCollins Publishers, 1988).

represented by "everyday press gibberish" and "the black foam of newspapers." Incidentally, Zagajewski also received the royal gift of a poem called "Widokówka od Adama Zagajewskiego" [A postcard from Adam Zagajewski] (from the *Rovigo* collection), where a close reading reveals the prominence of truth, though without overlooking beauty. This time the focus is not on truth as a description of banal evil, but on anthropological and metaphysical truths that are difficult to recognize, but also hard to accept, such as the question of existential loneliness (this is a topic discussed by Zagajewski):

Thank you Adam for your card from Fryburg
on which an Angel with a cap of snow
with his great trumpet heralds a charge
of hideous apartment blocks

They've come up over the horizon they come inexorably closer
to reach your and my lecture podium
Hideous apartment blocks of Chernobyl Nowa Huta Düsseldorf

I can imagine just what you're doing at this moment—
reading to a handful of the faithful for there are still some left
"Das was sehr schön, Herr Zagajewski." "Wirklich sehr schön."
"Danke." "Nichts zu danken." "Das war wirklich sehr schön."
So there you are in spite of tragic Adorno's fancy theories

A comical situation because instead of *drzewo* you say *der Baum*
instead of *obłoki—die Wolken* and *die Sonne* instead of *słońce*
and it has to be so if the uncertain covenant is to last
breakneck metamorphoses of sound to save an image

So you're in Fryburg I was there once too
to make an easy buck for paper and bread
Under a cynical heart I hid a naïve illusion
that I was an apostle on a business trip

The handful listening to us deserves beauty
but also truth
that is—danger

so that they will be brave
when the moment arrives

The Angel in a cap of early snow is truly a Destroying Angel
he raises his trumpet to his lips summons the fire
vain our incantations prayers talismans rosaries

The final moment is at hand
elevation
sacrifice
the moment which sunders
and we step separately into the melting sky[28]
(transl. by Alissa Valles)

Such is the poets' philosophical discussion of posthumous life. Herbert's melancholy has less to do with the transience of a short life and more with the essential loneliness of man, especially in the face of death, like in the poem "Threnody" (from the volume *Report from a Besieged City*) dedicated to the memory of the poet's mother, which speaks of utter loneliness "abandoned like everyone else." Because death is a moment of absolute and insurmountable separation, parting with loved ones and objects closest to one's heart, as mentioned in the poems "At the Gate of the Valley" (from the volume *Hermes, Dog and Star*) and "Mr. Cogito's Eschatological Premonitions" (from the volume *Report from a Besieged City*). The boundary between the world and the hereafter is the annihilation of even the strongest ties, and the last line of the quoted poem is one of the most poignant visions of the Last Judgment, as it does not depict the final reconciliation and the community of the saved, but shows the terrible *principium indviduationis*. Death obliterates solidarity and condemns us to eternal loneliness.

Herbert wrote his poems-gifts, poems-elegies and farewells to his friends at the end of his life, and the dedications were written

28 Herbert, Z. (2007). "A Postcard From Adam Zagajewski" [in:] Z. Herbert, *The Collected Poems 1956–1998*. Translated and edited by Alissa Valles. *HarperCollins*.

many years after the first meeting, or rather, the clash that we must talk about.

The Kłodzko Poetic Spring and the dispute over principles

Herbert's dispute with the New Wave came in two major episodes: the argument during the 9th Kłodzko Poetic Spring (1972) and the publication of Zagajewski and Kornhauser's collaborative book *The World Unrepresented*. [29] The accusation was that Herbert is a "poet of culture," who writes about Greek gods and deals with ancient history, while the present day of communist Poland remains untold. Herbert, who was also an economist by training and understood the phantom nature of the communist economy better than any other Polish writer, comprehended Poland's financial destitution acutely, and was therefore predisposed to a keen criticism of the system. So why did he not write "in plain speech"? This was a matter of his poetics and writing strategy[30]. "Writing about the first secretary" not only bored Herbert, but he also believed it was a wrong literary strategy that would efface the tragic dimension of human existence and would not touch the axiological depths of the human essence. His response, published in the literary monthly *Odra*, was calm but firm:

29 I am referring to two texts: J. Kornhauser, "Herbert z odległej prowincji" [Herbert from a distant province], and A. Zagajewski, "Jak zmierzyć własny świat" [How to measure one's own world], [in:] J. Kornhauser, A. Zagajewski, 1974. The dispute had already heated up earlier, during the 1972 Kłodzko Poetic Spring. The monthly magazine *Odra* (issue 11 of 1972) published three texts: by Edward Balcerzan, Zbigniew Herbert, and Jacek Łukasiewicz under the common title *Poeta wobec współczesności* [The Poet in the face of modernity]. Herbert's statement (under this title) was later reprinted (Z. Herbert, *Węzeł gordyjski oraz inne pisma rozproszone 1948–1998*, ed. P. Kądziela, Warsaw 2001, pp. 44–46). An account of the discussion was published in *Nowy Wyraz* (1973, 1–2) under the title: "Spór o nową sztukę. Dyskusja na 9th Kłodzkiej Wiośnie Poetyckiej 1972" [Dispute over new art: The discussion at the IX Kłodzko Poetic Spring 1972].

30 I write more extensively on this subject in: J. M. Ruszar, *Zapasy ze światem Zbigniewa Herberta* [Wrestling with Zbigniew Herbert's world]...

> I must confess that the subject of our meeting: the poet in the face of modernity, provoked my negative reaction due to a rather obtrusive association with sterile pseudo-discussions from the period of socialist realism, and all the normative poetics alien to me [...]. History does not know a single example where art or an artist anywhere or at any time succeeded in making a direct impact on the fate of the world – and this sad truth leads to the conclusion that we should be modest, aware of our limited role and power [...]. The realm of the poet's activity, if s/he is serious about his/her work, is not contemporaneity, by which I mean current socio-political and scientific knowledge, but reality, a person's stubborn dialogue with the concrete reality around him/her, with this chair, with this neighbor, with this time of day, the cultivation of the fading skill of contemplation and, most of all, the building of values, the building of sets of values, the establishment of their hierarchy, that is, their conscious, moral choice with all the real-life and artistic consequences that are associated with it – this seems to me to be the basic and most important function of culture (Citko, 2008, pp. 241–243).

Years later, Adam Zagajewski, too, was critical of his youthful views:

> Two young poets publish a book in which they argue that the country they live in is indescribable (while hinting that other countries or continents are better off in this regard). However, the world is never and nowhere described!... Reality mocks description (Zagajewski, 2007, p. 95).

> [...]. some furious speeches during the Kłodzko Poetic Spring, attacks, emotions, taunts and the belief that one day we will reach maturity (Zagajewski, 2007, p. 209).

In hindsight – perhaps influenced by Herbert – Zagajewski places his accents differently. First, he changes his view ("contemporaneity") of his adversary's notion, that is, he uses the word "reality." And secondly, the point of the discussion was not that the world was not "represented" well enough, but that this sort of duty was being abandoned. This was the accusation made at the time, and it is

confirmed by researchers of the era[31]. "The poet's words, therefore, have to fit reality as closely as possible if they are to be credible," writes critic and participant in the movement, Tadeusz Nyczek (1995, p. 224). The dispute was over the understanding of reality and its representation. Herbert's poems addressing public affairs sought to distill the essence of the political dispute and transfer it to the eternal-historical-mythical world, to generalize a tangible manifestation in order to portray it as a certain mechanism governing history (to some extent, we are talking about circular time[32]). Meanwhile, Zagajewski's method (and that of the New Wave) was associated with the communist literalism, and current historicity, which was synonymous with contemporaneity, the present day, and the topicality of political commentary in poetic form[33].

Yet – as it turned out a little later – both poets had a penchant for contemplating the beauty of the world and marveling at individual existence, especially that existence which is independent of humankind. Zagajewski's lyric poems (which were rather scarce in his debut period, and predominant since the mid-1980s) have a similar atmosphere to Herbert's lyric poetry written around the same time. Malgorzata Mikołajczak (2013) and Grażyna Halkiewicz-Sojak have pointed out these poets, affinities with late Polish Romanticism, particularly the poetry of Norwid. The patronage of Rilke (Kuczyńska-Koschany, 2017) is also at play, and it is not without

31 "If the hallmark of the system is lying, then much of literature was accused by New Wave writers of the grave sin of abandoning the truth. Let us recall Kornhauser's and Zagajewski's *The Unrepresented world* with their thesis on writers' escape from responsibility for the reality they were dealing with. Form rather than content, aesthetics rather than ethics, beauty rather than reliable testimony to facts were to be the main sins of the 'old' literature" (*Określona epoka…* [A Defined Era], p. 223).

32 "One should not recount much, but crystallize experience: extract the essence from it. There is a beautiful word in German, *Dichtung*, which means to condense something, to compress it. So if one condenses, one cannot allow oneself to ridicule some party secretary, who will have to be footnoted two years later: who he was, what happened to him" (*Stalin i my. Rozmawia Helga Hirsch* [Stalin and us: Herbet interviewed by Helga Hirsch], [in:] *Herbert nieznany…* [Herbert Unknown], p. 182).

33 Herbert's relations with his younger colleagues were described by, e.g. J. Samosiej, 2004; T. Cieślak-Sokołowski, 2006; and D. Zawistowska-Toczek, 2008.

reason that the author of the *Duino Elegies* and *Sonnets to Orpheus* appears in the poem "To Ryszard Krynicki – A Letter."

The two poets met at the same point of mimesis, as they came to an agreement on the understanding of reality as Reality. Zagajewski's former handling of detail and love of the concrete also drove him to glorify ordinary and everyday things, as has always been the case with Herbert (Stec-Jasik, 2014). The shift was that when he dropped the subject of politics, Zagajewski emerged as a pure lyricist, full of admiration for the here and now, not just the "political now." He switched to the side of description of "Reality," which also includes its unseen part – something that has always been a feature of Herbert's poetry. The poets met on the plane of making the inexpressible present, rendering a mood in which the moment merges with eternity and the concrete with transcendence, so that poetry opens up to the mystery of existence. "Fighting against some president or first secretary reduces literature to the hell of journalism" (Toruńczyk, 2008, p. 127), claimed Herbert, while Zagajewski followed suit from the mid-1980s, and accepted this claim as his own, as evidenced by the poem "Petit," which dates back to the period of martial law, but already heralded a change in the author's attitude.

Non omnis moriar?

This discussion began with the presumption that every poet creates within the horizon of eternity. Thus, one should be tempted to make a prophecy about how long the works of these poets will last and how effective their strategies were. What is the fate of Herbert's and Zagajewski's poems?

After writing *Mr. Cogito* (1974), Herbert became a patron of the anti-communist resistance, and under martial law even became a "national banner" as poems from *Report from a Besieged City* (published in Paris and in underground publications) were recited at illegal literary meetings in private homes and churches. Although the New Wave poems were political, it was Herbert who, for the Solidarity generation, was a teacher of valor and courageous defense of the dignity of the individual and the rights of the community. The paradox is that at the end of the sixties Herbert was accused of breaking

away from the present day in favor of mythology and ancient history (he was a "poet of culture," as Kornhauser wrote), and years later his political involvement caused a revolt of the younger generation (the *bruLion* poets) and even the "necessity" of founding the League for the Defense of Polish Poetry against Herbert[34]. Generally, the point was a retreat from commitment to national issues and the manifestos of the poetry of "new privacy" of the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Also, the "classical" idiom, references to Mediterranean tradition, is no longer comprehensible, having been largely eroded and forgotten. The real "period of purgatory" is yet to come, in the strongest version to boot, due to civilizational, cultural and educational changes. The standard and orientation of education has resulted in a decline in the cultural competence of successive generations of Poles, and the younger part of Herbert's potential readers do not understand his texts: more specifically, they are unable to correctly decipher the tropes of classical humanism based on the Greco-Roman-Hebrew tradition (this remark, by the way, also applies to the works of Czesław Miłosz, as well as many other poets raised on the Mediterranean heritage). The centenary of the Poet's birth in 2024 may spark momentary – actually occasional – interest. In all likelihood, it can be assumed that poems lauding responsibility (also for others), valor construed as "wrestling with the world" and the ethos of sacrifice cannot serve as a benchmark in an individualistic, and hedonistic culture.

Adam Zagajewski's situation is equally unenviable. His period of political involvement, as we know it, ended in the mid-1980s, during the struggle of Solidarity against General Jaruzelski's matial law. His essays from the *Solidarity, Solitude* series and later poems caused considerable dismay in the circles of admirers and provoked unsavory comments in underground literary criticism[35]. The shift

34 Tadeusz Komendant – the author of the slogan – was speaking "not so much against Herbert himself, but against Herbert being appointed as the national bard number one"; *Kamienny posąg Komandora* [*Stone statue of the Commander*], *bruLion* 1989, 10, p. 121. For an extensive discussion of the *bruLion* poets' attack on Herbert and a review of the historical and literary context, see. D. Zawistowska-Toczek, *Stary poeta…* [The old poet].

35 J. Malewski (pseudonym of W. Bolecki), Stracone szanse [Lost Opportunities], [in:] Malewski, *Jedynie prawda jest ciekawa* [Only the truth is interesting], Warsaw 1987 [underground publication outside censorship].

away from the current affairs to private admiration for the beauty of the world and personal experiences did fit into the new trend of "privacy poetry," but the association of the poet with his debut poetics stood in the way of younger audiences recognizing him as their representative: after all, they already had their poets, who rebelled against their obligations to the community (Marcin Świetlicki and Jacek Podsiadło) and also against the elegance of language. It is likely for this reason that Zagajewski became a more prominent poet abroad than at home (by the way, he stayed in France until 2002) and won more awards in Western Europe than in Poland[36]. Moreover, the youngest generation of poets in Poland over the past ten years grew up in an atmosphere of a return to newer versions of Marxism,[37] and their anti-capitalist and cultural left-wing views prevented them from appreciating the lyricism of the author of *A Defense of Ardor.* On the contrary, his poetry became an object of mockery and derision, especially in the autumn, when before each announcement of the Nobel Prize winner, there were spiteful comments about the "constant anticipation of the prize" for Adam Zagajewski. The paradox is that contemporary leftist "engaged poetry" employs the brutalized poetics of the New Wave, with the use of vulgarisms and simplifications that poets debuting half a century ago would never have allowed themselves[38].

36 The most important awards include: the 1987 Prix de la Liberté, Paris; the 2004 Neustadt International Prize for Literature, USA; the 2010 European Poetry Prize; the 2013 Chinese Zhongkun Literary Prize; the 2017 Duchess of Asturias Prize.

37 This phenomenon comes as a real shock to generations who remember real communism.

38 At the end of his life, after the victory of the Law and Justice party, Adam Zagajewski departed from the principle of apoliticism and published a political poem in *Gazeta Wyborcza* entitled *Kilka rad dla nowego rządu* [Some advice for the new government]. The piece, written according to New Wave poetics, was so inept that even his admirers were embarrassed. On the pages of the newspaper (*Gazeta Wyborcza* 16 January 2016), the poem is not available (free) in its entirety, but it was published in *Akant* 2016, 3 (March 25, 2016). Zbigniew Herbert also made extremely strident statements towards the end of his life, but in his journalistic texts (see Z. Herbert, *Węzeł Gordyjski* [The Gordian Knot]..., pp. 690–720).

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"How Terribly the Plow of History Plows…": National and Cultural Identity In the Historiosophical Discourses of Lina Kostenko

Abstract

In the poetry of the prominent Ukrainian writer Lina Kostenko, the category of "historical memory" is conceptualized in ontological and philosophical dimensions: her philosophical discourses on history and the nation are built on this foundation. By "trying on" eternity (with the manifest: "I am floating into life from eternity"), she comes to philosophical self-awareness and artistic reflection of history, with vivid and convincing motifs / collisions / concepts / plots / images. In her epic poems, she measures human existence throughout epochs through the triad of the dominants of humanity / nation / family, giving each of them nation-building meanings. Her time is always anthropological, with an expressive psychological "face", heavy with tragedy and endowed with a potential for the future. Her lyrical pieces have the same temporal tint. Through an integral conceptual sphere, in which the category of time remains fundamental (dramatic poems and ballads *Skifska Odisseia* [*Scythian Odyssey*], *Marusia Churai*, *Berestechko*, *Duma pro brativ neazovskykh* [*A duma on brothers other than the Azov ones*], *Snih*

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u Florentsii [*Snow in Florence*], and a number of poems), Lina Kostenko tries to embrace the temporal and anthropological paradigm of **man-history-man** with her artistic imagination, where the problems of individual and national identity are given primary importance. In this context of the historically conditioned formation of national and national-cultural identity, she unfolds her own idea of a person's home within history, especially national history, while professing the principle of "simultaneity of non-simultaneities" (R. Kozellek) of a series of past events. The author examines certain "semantic circles" of the writer's narrative, discovering new semantic historiosophical projections that in Kostenko's works eventually form a coherent, verified anthropocentric conceptual model of the decisive role of the individual in the historical progress of the nation, showing, with the help of artistic and figurative means, how she creates the historical and psychological canvas of past events / collisions / interpretations that set the direction for the future. At the same time, the author emphasizes that the poet always upholds the position of the artist's ultimate accountability in the face of national history.

Key words

Lina Kostenko, history / historiography, time, personality, past / future, tragedy

The time of our presence on Earth is unique in that, according to the Ukrainian philosopher Serhii Krymskyi, the past "is becoming more and more relevant" (Krymskyi, 2008, p. 259) – and this thesis is "especially strongly revealed by the processes of national renaissance" on different continents. At the same time *...maibutnie tomu i maibutnie,/shcho maye buty, shchob ne bulo* [...the future is therefore the future,/what is to come, whatever happens] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 110). As Lina Kostenko notes, *Konveiier chasu – tilky vriznobich / odyn v mynule, druhyi – u maibutnie./Otak vsi y rozmynaiutsia navik* ["The conveyor belt of time runs only in opposite directions – one to the

past, the other to the future"] (Kostenko 1987, p. 190). And the mission of a poet – especially one who has the right to declare his or her own worldview in eloquent lines *...ya u zhyttia iz vichnosti plyvu* ["...I am floating into life from eternity"] (Kostenko 1989, p. 60), is to reconcile both time streams, to the past and future, in order to extract the quintessence of truth and experience for the sake of a resulting sensible future. After all, national revival requires "the value assimilation of everything that is preserved in time, the awakening of stable values, the invariant content of the nation's experience" (Krymskyi, 2008, p. 259). This is why *Istoriia prosytsia v sny nashchadkiv* ["History is asking for descendants' dreams"] (Kostenko 1989, p. 550), convincing us every time that *Nemaie moria hlybshoho, nizh Chas* ["There is no sea deeper than Time"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 118). And only those with great talent can do what ordinary people are not capable of: to go beyond one's own era and "probe" into epochs that have long since passed. In the context of "unbreakable eternity", as defined by philosophers, national history with the central concept of historical memory (which defines national and cultural identity in all its semantic projections) is the "solar plexus" of the Ukrainian literature legend, the core of the author's historiosophy, including national philosophy, that she nurtures. The latter concept (*natsiosofiia*) refers here to the socio-philosophical subject of the study of the philosophy of nation, wherein "the concept of nation should be considered not only as a sociological phenomenon, but also as a subject of philosophical ethics through the ontology of feeling (aesthetics), as the actualization of the ethics of both a particular individual and a particular community" (Ihnatiev, 2010, p. 15). From this point of view, the assimilation of historical lessons (from victories to defeats) and rethinking the events of the past, the work of L. Kostenko is not only socially resonant, but also unique in terms of the assimilation of various layers of world culture, knowledge of national history, and the use of a wide palette of artistic and figurative means, where a subtle synthesis of creative intuition and productive logic gives rise to the word elevated to the level of aphorism (aphorism is one of the poet's most prominent features). She is a prominent representative of the Ukrainian Sixties movement, which in the late 1950s and early 1960s challenged totalitarianism and demonstrated disobedience and resistance to the official Soviet

system (Tarnashynska, 2007; 2013; 2019). This passionate generation of artists (re)actualized the historiosophical and national concepts of **people / nation** as the primary forms of human organization of life, laying out the foundation for society's stance on the priority of democratic rights and freedoms, the concepts without which a sovereign state cannot exist (Tarnashynska, 2022). Seeking a balance between national rhetoric (as a defense of worldview ideals) and aesthetic criteria (as distancing from the ideologically biased and devalued method of socialist realism) (Tarnashynska, 2014), they created a highly praiseworthy synthesis of life as creativity and creativity as life. Taking advantage of a brief "Khrushchev thaw" after the exposure of the cult of Stalin, the Sixties broke free of totalitarian ideological prohibitions, overcame the practice of constricted forms and means of artistic expression, and combined a responsible choice of freedom and a decisive act with the search for new artistic expressive means (Tarnashynska, 2013). The repressive measures of the official authorities against the creative intelligentsia gave rise to such unique socio-cultural phenomena of the twentieth century as dissidence (open / defiant and quiet / internal as a manifestation of escapism) and *samizdat*, forced creative silence and writing "for the drawer" (for example, Lina Kostenko's works were not published in Ukraine for 16 years) (Tarnashynska, 2021), on top of various forms of resistance / disobedience. *Strazhdaiu, muchus, hynu, a zhyvu!* ["I suffer, I struggle, I die, but I live!"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 33), the poet wrote during those difficult years.

The exquisite emotional word, embodied in a clear poetic form, enhanced by intellectual intuition and high artistic and figurative culture, awakened the longing for both the historical past and the poetic form of its reconstruction in Kostenko's many readers. As a result, she contributed to the formation of national and national-cultural identity, which "always included a moment of choice" (Lysyi, 2013, p. 33). Her aphoristic poetry, extremely consonant with the present, with the "nerve" of free choice in life / creativity and resistance to totalitarian ideology, with its extremely powerful historiosophical potential and the conceptual category of historical memory, appeals to history as an incremental progress of the people, because *Chas, velykyi dyryhent,/perehortaie noty na piupitri* ["Time,

the great conductor,/turns notes on the music stand"] (Kostenko, 2011, p. 232). Keeping in mind that *Chas ne nasha vlasnist* ["Time is not our property"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 27), the poet claims at the same time: *Nikhto ne smiie zupynyty nas./…Tym chasom my prokhodymo kriz chas* ["No one dares to stop us./…As time goes by, we are passing through time"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 6). On these foundations, she builds historiosophic / nationalist artistic discourses, the key ones being the concepts of individual / national identity, which can be decoded as discourses "about belonging to someone and about being someone" (Lysyi, 2013, p. 30), the latter implies, according to Anthony Smith, to changes that take place within "the boundaries defined by the culture and traditions of a particular nation…" (Smith, 2010, p. 26). Both concepts correlate with the notion of cultural national identity, since the poet does not think of culture outside the nation. In post-imperial Ukraine, such a look into the depths of history was effectively banned by the totalitarian authorities of the Moscow metropolis, so Kostenko appeals to oblivion as a particularly destructive feature of totalitarianism: *Ale chomu na zemliakh tsykh, de Kyiv / ishche do litopysnykh lykholit,/tak nache nam khto chornu dirku vyiv / u istorychnii pamiati stolit?* ["But why is it that in this land, where Kyiv lies / even before the ancient chronicles / it is as if someone had made a black hole / in the historical memory of the centuries?"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 71). Her goal is to find answers to many questions, including the universal one: *Shliakh evoliutsii movnykh i etnichnykh / kriz mnohotu kryvavykh nespryian,–/vidlunnia slavy z napysiv runichnyk / chy ne vernulos imenem slovian?* ["The track of linguistic and ethnic evolutions / through a multitude of bloody adversities / an echo of glory from runic inscriptions / is it not returned in the name of the Slavs?"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 88). Therefore, she invites the reader to engage in active thought cooperation in "discovering" and re-reading the historical past: *Davai poplyvemo u te, shcho mynulos* ["Let's sail into the past"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 181), after all, she herself has the right to confess to the ability to "see through time": *…chuiu holos vymerlykh plemen* ["I hear the voice of extinct tribes"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 412).

The poet is in constant dialog with Soviet historiography, whose apologists were guided by false views, optical semantic aberrations,

ideological templates convenient for the totalitarian government, deliberate distortions, and taboo interpretations. Such examples of the alleged "historical truth" were inspired and instilled in the minds of Ukrainians by ideological imperial propaganda. The writer's main self-imposed goal is to give history back to her native land, where *Teche rika velyka Borysfen* ["The great river Borysfen flows"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 119). Therefore, by challenging the totalitarian system, she was forced to proclaim a truth that is universally understood in the free world, which at that time required a rethinking of reality in Ukraine at the cost of deep mental work: *Koly v liudyny ye narod,/todi vona uzhe liudyna* ["When someone has a nation, they become someone"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 38) to prove the allegedly paradoxical thesis "from the opposite viewpoint": *My ye tomu, shcho nas ne mozhe buty* ["We are because we cannot be"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 6). Based on both an understanding of historical injustice and a sense of historical perspective, Kostenko, familiar with flashes of insight as *myt yakohos potriasinnia* ["a moment of some kind of shock"]: *pobachysh svit, yak vpershe u zhytti...* [see the world as if for the first time in your life] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 90), set herself a global supertask: to decipher *zoloti manuskrypty* ["golden manuscripts"] take a look *u vichi vikam* ["into the eyes of centuries] feeling comfortable in different eras: *...za dva iksy istorii zacheplena,/na sto vikiv rozmotuiu sebe* ["...caught in the number of the 20th century, I unwind myself for a hundred"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 411). Therefore, her work is characterized by a "simultaneity of non-simultaneities" (Reinhart Kozellek), a consideration of "different zones of experience" within one "studied" space (Kozellek, 2005, p. 221) – temporal experience (different epochs, different historical events and their consequences). Despite her manifested sense of the transience of time, its *Shaleni tempy...* ["the frantic pace..."] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 27), her lyrical hero is present in different centuries at the same time: the author, for whom *Odna-dvi ery tilky interval* ["One or two eras are just an interval"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 115), constantly resorts to the convergence / mixing (*vsi viky zhyly vzhe bez adres* ["all ages have lived without addresses"]) of the past and the present (*Bidni sviashchenni byky boha Heliosa / de zh yim teper pastysia – / na raketnii bazi?!* ["Poor sacred bulls of the god Helios / where should they graze

now – / at a missile base?!") (Kostenko, 1989, p. 30). This organic coexistence of different historical epochs, the different shades of historical events and details, which corresponds to the "presumption of simultaneity" (S. Meyen), helps to design the future, which is always the sum of what has been, is, and will be, and therefore, in her opinion, is the future, *u maibutnoho slukh absoliutnyi* ["the future has absolute hearing"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 8).

The vector of national historicism as historical memory and a glimpse into the day when we will finally find "Ukraine in Ukraine" (here I refer to the lines of the sixties writer Mykola Vinhranovskyi, *My na Vkraini khvori Ukrainoiu,/Na Ukraini v poshukakh yii* ["We in Ukraine are suffering with Ukraine,/In Ukraine, we search for it"]), is seen by her as a "tension curve" of national struggle. Through the focus of this painful search, national, and thus national-cultural identity is revealed: from *Duma pro brativ neazovskykh*, *Horyslava-Rohnida*, *Drevlianskyi tryptykh* [*The Drevlians' triptych*], *Kniaz Vasylok* [*Prince Basil*], *Liutizh* [*Town of Lyutizh*], *Chyhyrynskyi kolodiaz* [*The well in Chyhyryne*], *Chadra Marusi Bohuslavky* [*The Veil of Marusia Bohuslavka*], *Stara tserkovka v Lemeshakh* [*The Old Church in Lemeshky*], *Chumatskyi voz* [*The Chumaks' carriage*] and other poems to the poetic epics *Marusia Churai* and *Berestechko*. Lina Kostenko, as noted in the history of Ukrainian literature, broke from the tradition of processing historical themes and created "her own personal tradition" (1995, p. 111), the temporal recoding of the present through the matrix of the past, such as the cognition / reproduction of the historical existence of the people, elevated to the pedestal of high poetry, where time sheds its veil of mystery and reveals itself through convincing vivid images as an object, saturated with creative potential, unmuddied by ideological clichés: *Yaki tut ne prokochuvalys ordy!/Yaka proishla po zemliakh tsykh bida!/Mechem i kroviu pysani krosvordy / nikhto uzhe povik ne rozghada* ["What hordes have not rolled through here!/ What troubles have passed through these lands!/Crossword puzzles written with sword and blood / no one has solved them for centuries"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 72). Modifications of time, passed through a sensitive and "all-seeing" heart, acquire convincing details and emotions; in the poetic epic, particularly in dramatic poems, time takes on a distinctly epic dimension: slows down the flow, changes

the optical angle of vision so that the reader can take a closer look at historically significant events, find historical parallels, and comprehend them. In such narrative structures, there is a clear **reconstruction of time**, a reproduction / reflection of its former dimension in the present one (Tarnashynska, 2011), what can be called the restoration of the past or "extrapolation of a person into the future" (Volodymyr Panchenko), as seen in the poem "Zatinok, cutinok, den zolotyi" ["Shadow, twilight, golden day"]. *Mozhe, tse vzhe cherez tysiachu lit / ya i ne ya vzhe, rozbudzhena v henakh,/tut na zemli ya shukaiu khoch slid / rodu moho u plachakh i lehendakh* ["Maybe it's a thousand years later / I'm not me anymore, awakened in my genes,/here on earth I'm looking for at least a trace / of my people in laments and legends"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 15) is how the poet manifests her creative guidance. Her well-known aphoristic statement *Dusha tysiacholit shukaie sebe v slovi* ["The soul of millennia seeks itself in the word"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 91) voices the extremely present dimension of creativity, which is deepened in the Logos as essential being. The poem "Bilia stoianky pervisnykh liudei" ["At the first people's campsite"] is indicative, where the Rubicon River, a real and symbolic boundary between the present and the past, provokes a mnemonic paradox: *...i vsi viky zhyly vzhe bez adres*" ["...and all the centuries they lived without addresses"], because "*Bulo do nykh rukoiu nam podaty,/i yim – lysh richku pereity ubrid* ["We were only a hand's reach away from them, / and they only had to wade the river"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 351).

Her *Skifska odisseia* [*Scythian Odyssey*] (written in 1983–1986) can be called a kind of prelude to the historical themes developed by the author in the form of the immortal past, which lays the foundation for national identity: this poem-ballad is an example of the unmistakable intuition of creative choice from the cosmos of Ukrainian prehistory in order *aby khoch krykhtu istyny znaity* ["to find at least a crumb of truth"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 68). After all, the past has always been for Kostenko not only a compendium of facts, events, impressions, and experiences, but also an "intellectual temptation", to use a phrase from the creative heritage of Serhiy Krymskyi. The writing of historical works is not an attempt to "rewrite", "correct", or "order" the past, to dot the i's and cross the t's, to "justify" or "embellish" certain events,

but rather a great deal of intellectual research, work with documentary sources, and rethinking the theses around which the debate is taking place. First of all, the poet has to overcome a short-term doubt about trying to read history through the lens of her own research and insights: *Chy nam sudylys poshuky natkhnenni,/znannia yakis novi i nestemenni?/Chy tilky smutok zolotoi zghadky / z nemirianoho obshyru zahadky?* ["Are we destined for inspired searches,/knowledge of some new and unnatural kind?/Or is it only the sadness of a golden memory / from the immeasurable scope of a riddle?"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 88). *Skifska odisseia*, written after the 1983 publication of the book *Skifskyi step* [The Scythian Steppe] by the Ukrainian archaeologist and poet Borys Mozolevskyi, a member of the same passionate generation, sets the context for the general interest of the Ukrainian Sixties in Scythian themes. According to Ivan Dziuba, one of the most prominent representatives of the Sixties, a statesman, scholar, and cultural critic, Kostenko's artistic and figurative appeal to the vision of Scythia is a model of contemporary cultural experience of Scythia, "in solidarity with historical memory, free from ideological exaltation" (Dziuba, 2007, p. 542). This ballad is an internal / latent polemic with the Russian poet Alexander Blok's poem *Skify* [*The Scythians*] as "a kind of ultimatum to historical forgetfulness" (Panchenko, 2005, p. 22). Claiming to be a "masculine response", but using feminine, "soft", artistic and figurative means, Lina Kostenko contrasts (according to I. Dziuba) her own view of the historical past with the views of O. Blok with his vision of "the messianism of Russia, which allegedly carries a renewed charge of nomadic-revolutionary energy of a new 'Scythianism' that will destroy the false culture of bourgeois Europe" (Dziuba, 2010, p. 200). This topic has a deeper historiosophical dimension: without a constructive delving into this issue, it is impossible to talk about the formation of national and national-cultural identity as the self-awareness of the people. The poet engages in a dialog not only with the idea / interpretation (after all, also with Bloc himself), but also with time, which is comprehended from a cross-cutting perspective: *Use ide, ale ne vse mynaie / nad berehamy vichnoi riky* ["Everything flows, but not everything passes / over the banks of the eternal river"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 108). She does not intensify the narrative structure by deliberately injecting emotions / arguments /

anti-assumptions, but rather conducts a narrative reconstruction of the past in a reasonable manner, without external overdrive, with her own research and artistic "tools", since the ancient "Scythian reality" has come down to us in the form of "crossword puzzles" written with "sword and blood", in the "dimensions of legends"/ conjecture / insinuations. However, its position "beyond time" is clear and transparent: *Yaki b tut ne buly stovpotvorinnia,/khto b zvidky ne nakochuvav siudy,/a liud buv korinnyi tut, bo korinnia / v takomu grunti hlyboko sydyt* ["No matter what crowds are here,/whoever comes from where,/the local people are indigenous, because the roots / are deep in this soil"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 72). The author tries to consider the Scythians not only through *slipuchu pryzmu pektorali* ["the dazzling prism of armor plates"], and in general *istoriiu po zolotu chytat* ["to read history in a golden way"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 85). For her, the search for roots remains the main historiosophical attitude, which is the central theme of this layer of her work. *Viky ishly, narod ne perevivsia / i vreshti resht vony zrobylys namy* ["Centuries have passed, the people have not changed / and in the end they became us"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 69) – the slow rhythm conveys not only the slow passage of time, which is hard and full of experience, but also the process of forming an ethnic group, which does not happen overnight, easily and simply, but only with sweat and blood. It is set deep in time and manifests itself through artifacts that can be distorted, "corrected" for posterity, and one can "blow off the dust" of false theories and insinuations to try to find the truth. *Nemaie dat, nemaie faktiv holykh,/use diishlo u vymirakh lehend./Ale v kurhanakh skifskykh – ne monholy./Na pektorali – tezh ne Oriient* ["There are no dates, no bare facts,/everything has come down in the measurements of legends./But in the Scythian mounds – are no Mongols./On the armor plate – no Orient either"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 73). Lina Kostenko refers to the Scythian armor plate of a Scythian king of the 2nd century BC from the Tomb of the Tolsta Mohyla, found by archaeologist and poet Borys Mozolevskyi on June 21, 1971, during an archaeological expedition to a Scythian mound near the town of Pokrov, Dnipro region.

If the hero of the Scythian Odyssey is an unnamed Greek merchant, a rather conventional character around whom the story "revolves", the passage of time, then time itself is not conventional at all: is

a distinct concrete reality full of events / collisions / observations / allusions. It is overgrown with convincing realities, everyday details, and is concretized through a "portrait" of the era, which speaks through the time quite clearly and convincingly. This is achieved not only by the successful "arrangement" of the chosen theme, but also by the parity of the author / time relationship. The writer does not pretend to be afraid of the past or its interpretations, but rather tells a slow story, creating her own patterns of a particularized temporality, where not so much collisions / oppositions / arguments are important as visions / observations / visual impressions. Thus, the usual (or expected here) lyricism often gives way to irony / humor, which does not allow us to descend into Blok's sentimentality, sometimes a kind of particular seriousness that balances show-off intonations. Instead, the apparent softness of the narrative, which dictates the corresponding poetics, carries a great potential for confidence: *Ne mozhna braty istynu v orendu / i siiaty na nii chortopolokh* ["You cannot rent the truth / and sow thistles on it"] (Kostenko, 1987, p.73): it was on this "thistle" of distorted historical truth that the Ukrainian national and national-cultural identity was built on in the totalitarian era. The descriptive-soft tone of the poetic narrative with glimpses of humorous culture, focusing the reader's attention on landscapes / details of everyday life / visual impressions, turns into a tone of the indisputability of the very idea of finding one's own roots: *Yaki tut ne prokochuvalys ordy! / Yaka proishla po zemliakh tsykh bida!* ["What hordes have not passed through here! / *What a disaster has passed through this land!"*] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 72). In this way, the poet's time takes on a historical dimension, "sown" with events that tested the strength of the sacred land; it does not remain anonymous / impersonal, has a clear anthropological dimension, a "human" content, and reaches us alive / rich / fulfilled. All of this is not only for the sake of solving historical mysteries, but also for the sake of intergenerational resonance, searching for one's identity, roots, and answers to the questions:

I khto vony?
A my khto?
Khto ty? Khto ty?!

Khto nashi predky?Pryishli? Avtokhtony?
Skoloty? Loty? Vykhidtsi z Dvorichchia?
Vysoka vit z prakorenia slov'yan?
Yaki buly tut movy i narichchia?
V yakykh sadakh spivalos solovia'm?

[*And who are they?/And who are we?/Who are you? Who are you?/Who are our ancestors? Newcomers?Autochthons?/Scoloti? Lots? Refugees from the Crimea?/A high branch from the ancestral tree of the Slavs?/What languages and dialects were here?/In whose gardens did nightingales sing?*] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 88).

The theme of "peoples from the boundless wastes", which is interpreted by Lina Kostenko as in the lines of the poem *Tsyhanska muza* [*Gypsy Muse*] where the main character, the legendary poet Papusha, is a kind of an artistic projection of the artist's fate in the context of a stateless people, which was the Ukrainian people before the collapse of the USSR and the restoration of Ukraine's independence in 1990. The inner drama of a talented person torn between the need for creative expression and the cruel circumstances of an anti-democratic reality is multiplied by sober understanding: *Mynuloho nema. Maibunoho ne bude* ["There is no past. There will be no future"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 88); *Bo tilky Slovo – pamiati spasennist./Zhyvyi narod, shcho mav svoie pysmo!* ["For the Word alone is the salvation of memory./A living nation, which has an alphabet!"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 88). The controversial lines of Papusha's opponents, *Poeziia? Narod? Tse vydumaly liudy./Tse viazhe do zemli. A my – kochivnyky* ["Poetry? Nation? It was invented by people./It binds you to the ground. And we are nomads"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 406) return to the problem of historical roots / historical memory, the establishment of statehood as a guarantee of self-realization of the individual on the basis of free choice. The theme of the statelessness of the Roma, who pass through time as *protiah zolotyi v istorii derzhav* ["a golden thread in the history of states"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 404), refers to the problem of colonialism on the territory of Ukraine and focuses on well-known lines that reflect the inner drama of the poet herself: *Ale zh, ale zh, ale zh!.. Narod ne vybyraiut./I sam ty – tilky brunka u noho na hilli./Dlia noho i zhyvut, za*

noho i vmyraiut,/okh, ne tomu, shcho vin – naikrashchyi na zemli! ["But, but, but... You do not choose your nation./And you yourself are just a bud on his branch. / For him they live, they die for it,/oh, not because it is the best one on earth!"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 406). Thus, during the period of imperial totalitarianism, Kostenko used Aesop's language to draw attention to Ukrainian problems: of statelessness, genocide, and the destruction of a nation deprived of the opportunity to speak out about its tragedies through the mouth of a poet: *A khto zh rozkazhe liudiam pro ti kryvavi sloz / ... /koly my yshly v bezvykhid, u holod, u morozy,/tikaiuchy od zvira, shcho zvavsia henotsyd?!* ["And who will tell people about those bloody tears/... /when we walked into despair, into hunger, into frost,/running away from the beast called genocide?!"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 409).

Interpreted through a number of works (*Tsyhanska muza*, *Marusia Churai*, etc.), this theme of the artist of a stateless nation reflects the spiritual biography / fate of the poet herself, who consistently manifested her own unbending position as an artist in the context of the tragic twentieth century through her uncompromising life. The dramatic poem *Snih u Florentsii* (written in 1983–1985, published in 1987) also addresses this problem from a temporal perspective. But time here is not only a fertile background against which bifurcation knots / webs / explosions are revealed, but also a kind of mirror that reflects the artist's position. The action takes place in the monastery of the ancient French town of Tours in the XIV century, and the symbol of the dramatic poem is the garden of "unfading figures" that personifies the talent of one of the most talented inspired sculptors who worked in the era of Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo. The conflict of past / present time encoded in the images of Giovanni Francesco Rustici (the Old Man) and Florentine (the youth of the Old Man), who represent the same person in different hypostases, is in fact a conflict of time / human nature: It leads to the problem of the artist, in particular the artist / authority, which is one of the main themes in L.'s work. Kostenko, especially in the context of the past totalitarian era. *Yak vazhko buty v nashi dni myttsem!* ["How difficult it is to be an artist these days!"], the old man sighs. The Florentine's rhetorical response is heard in response: *U nashi dni... A zavzhdy i ponyni?* ["Nowadays... Is it always the same?"] (Kostenko,

1989, p. 484), by this transfer of meaning through time, the poet projects the era in which she herself happened to live.

One of the highlights of several poetry collections by Lina Kostenko is her dramatic poem *Duma pro brativ neazoskykh* (written in 1984), which projects a folk story onto a historical background, "re-imagining" it: the author creates a literary and philosophical antithesis to the well-known folk *duma* about Cossacks' escape from captivity, raising the themes of cowardice-apostasy / sacrifice, knightly honor / disgrace. It uses a mirror image of the plot: according to the text of the folk duma, the older brothers renounce the younger one in order to save him, and in Kostenko's poem, Cossack Sakhno Cherniak voluntarily surrenders to share his martyrdom with his older brothers: *Ya yidu z vamy ne po chest i slavu. / Ya yidu z vamy, bo meni tak lehshe... Ne cherez vas ya yidu, a dlia sebe...* ["I am not going with you for honor and glory/I am going with you because it's easier for me"... I am not going because of you, but for myself..."] (Kostenko 1989, p. 520). A tough choice: *...A my zh ne iz nevoli, my – u smert* ["...We are not out of captivity, we are at the brink of death"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 529) offers a chivalrous counter-idea: *My zh ne braty azovski...* ["We are not the Azov brotherhood..."] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 529). The sacrifice of the Cossacks Tomylenko and Pavliuk carries a great moral and ethical burden in dimensions broader than the local case: to atone for the sin of apostasy of others in order to prove the high moral spirit of the nation, its spiritual capacity for unity and readiness to defend the native land – something that has been particularly tragic in recent Ukrainian history during the full-scale Russian-Ukrainian war, which began with a treacherous attack by the neighboring "evil empire" on February 24, 2022. These events bring us back to the author's generalizing theses of powerful emotional force and historical truth: *Vzhe stilky lit, vzhe stilky pokolin! / use zhyttia – mizh shableiu i pluhom* ["For so many years, for so many generations! / all my life – between the saber and the plow"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 141); *To mor, to mur, to holod, to viina, / To z neba hrim...* ["Either a pestilence, or a wall, or a famine, or a war, or thunder from the sky..."] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 146); "*Narod – na rani rana*" ["The nation – wound upon wound"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 142).

Developing the world tradition of memory, Kostenko focuses on the search for and restoration of a special concept – "persecuted truth"

(according to the thesis of Ukrainian thinkers Stefan Yavorskyi and Hryhorii Skovoroda) in the realities of Ukrainian life: the three hundred years of enslavement and the struggle for statehood. This national discourse remains a key one in her work. *V istorychnykh lokhakh / vidstoiatsia vyna istyn* ["In the cellars of history / the wines of truth will lie"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 156) this is the credo that the poet uses to reconstruct historical events in the context and in the process of national identity formation and establishment, along with individual identity that crystallizes in the projections of national and cultural identity. Her work convinces us that time creates experience. Therefore, every reference to historical events is intended to "break through the old space of experience" (Kozellek, 2005, p. 196) through temporality, especially in the case of those periods of the past that were subjected to ideological deformations to please the official totalitarian authorities. The era of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi has become not only the object of close study by historians, but it also "thinks" of itself through the artist and his works, which reproduce not so much "past reality" as "real probability" with varying degrees of accuracy. Despite the fact that the poet's grandiose project "to enclose the whole of Ukrainian history in a stanza" (Kostenko, 2005, pp. 104–105) as an intention to realize a kind of "exclusive claim to comprehensiveness" (Kozellek, 2005, p. 216) has not been fully realized (Kostenko 2005), but we are still talking about her coherent historiosophical concept. The writer unfolds her historical and personalistic approach through a vision of the historical mission and historical power of the Ukrainian people, depicting an extraordinary figure at the center of events, "through whose spiritual dimension and fate one sees national history in its drama and heroism, in the long-suffering of the Ukrainian land" (Dziuba, 2007, pp. 536–536). In one case, it is Marusia Churai, a legendary Ukrainian folk poet whose songs provide insight into the aesthetic dimension of the Liberation War led by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, "eternal questions of the human spirit that arise not in the abstract, but in the whole subjective specificity of national existence" (Dziuba, 2007, p. 537) (*Marusia Churai*), in another, Khmelnytskyi is presented after the lost battle of Berestechko (*Berestechko*), the lessons of which are the realization of historical defeat in the context of the "psychological

eternity" recreated by the poet (I. Dziuba) with a projection to future historical victories.

The name of the legendary Marusia Churai, lost in time, has been preserved only by folk legends. Since experts have not been able to historically prove her existence (*Nemaie dat, nemaie faktiv holykh,/ use diishlo u vymirakh lehend* ["There are no dates, no naked facts,/ everything has come down in the dimensions of legends"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 73), the author has been given the mission to expand the available memory of the legendary girl through the lens of her own imagination: *usmikhaietsia pravda ochyma lehend* ["Truth smiles through the eyes of legends"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 8). Reconstructing the hypothesis and the temporal and psychological atmosphere of the era required a great deal of intellectual and research work: this is the case when it is possible to "make the known unknown, to see in it something that no one else has seen, or to experience it in a way that no one else has experienced. Then what is known and allegedly experienced becomes a qualitatively different value-as if it had never existed before." (Dziuba, 2010, p. 193). Therefore, the historical novel in verse, *Marusia Churai* (written in 1980) is to some extent experimental, since the author artistically explores the era not through a fixed documentary reality but through the dimension of folklore-folk tales. On the one hand, this provided a greater scope for conjecture / admission of probabilities, and on the other hand, it raised the problem of authenticity, convincing truthfulness, which is achieved by precisely found artistic and figurative means. Readers and critics alike appreciated this work (it was for it that Kostenko was awarded the highest national honor, the Shevchenko Prize). After all, the poet, actually guided by Marcel Proust's instruction that space has geometry, while time has psychology, was artistically decoding an ancient mystery that seemed to have drowned with the Atlantis of time. Therefore, it was the psychological basis of the work that became the key to its undeniable success: such an arrangement on the level of deep emotional instincts of a supposedly well-known theme on the canvas of a historical era is possible only for virtuoso masters of the word.

In the historical discourse actualized by Lina Kostenko, *Istoriia dyvylasia v dva dzerkala / antychne hretske y skifske zolote* ["History

looked into two mirrors – / ancient Greek and Scythian golden"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 439), where two mirrors are like two dimensions of memory, through which the self-awareness of the nation is manifested, which forms and unfolds national identity, and thus national-cultural identity with its artistically fixed and actualized concepts through the figurative word. Nevertheless, tolerating the theme of antiquity, the poet escapes from the captivity of the ancient "idea of the Cosmos as the dwelling place of man" (Krymskyi, 2008, p. 254) (cf., in her work, the antiquity is vividly present in various allusions / appeals) and develops her own idea of the human home within history (according to Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel), using her own conceptual sphere, developed over the years, where the category of time remains fundamental as a broad context and at the same time as a powerful factor in the formation of national and cultural identity. The poet tries to encompass the anthropocentric paradigm of man-history-man with her artistic imagination. Such a temporal and anthropological range / amplitude ("scope", "span") of historical development is usually compressed in her works to the existential world of an individual personality (*Marusia Churai*, *Berestechko*, *Tsyhanska muza*), and she tries to transform the situation that plays the role of a mirror into an existential and artistic model, where the cathartic imperative always remains dominant, even if the catharsis is related to the philosophy of defeat. Thus, the fate of a nation / state and the fate of an individual "nominated" by history itself to the role of a historical character (sometimes it is the will of one person, sometimes a coincidence or a challenge of time, but never an accident) are interdependent, they mirror each other, as seen in the image of B. Khmelnytskyi (*Berestechko*). Of course, the thesis that "events are 'embedded' in a specific course, in a Before and After of a natural chronology that can be proved empirically" (Kozellek, 2005, p. 157). This thesis of the famous German researcher does not contradict the historiosophical position of L. Kostenko, but only emphasizes it, despite the fact that her historiosophy is not formed chronologically, but makes certain "semantic circles", eventually forming a coherent, verified anthropocentric conceptual model of the decisive role of the individual in the historical progress of the nation. Undoubtedly, a true artist is free to comprehend

different events in different periods of his or her life, returning to what he or she has already "mastered" again and again, rethinking the painful problems of historical existence at a different level each time. And only later do such "outliers" of the past develop into a coherent clarity and quality, which testifies to the author's long process of crystallizing the image of the Khmelnytskyi era (*Marusia Churai*, *Berestechko*). Obviously, Kostenko's "crown jewel" or, perhaps, pivotal work, judging by her reverent attitude towards it and the resonant response of the intellectual community, we shall regard her novel in verse, *Berestechko*. Here we are talking about a painful, traumatic experience, grounded in layers of time, which does not add much optimism in complex historical realities, especially in the context of "walking in circles" in Ukrainian national history. Therefore, a "justificatory philosophy" is inevitable and fully justified here, a version of which has been maturing in Kostenko's mind for a long time and, obviously, accompanied with doubt and difficult reflections. After all, the mission of a poet (especially if he or she leans towards romantic poetry) is not to open old wounds, but to enlighten the people, to inspire them for national growth with artistically perfect, elevated words. The author's extraordinary self-determination is evidenced by the fact that she returned to writing / improving this work for thirty years (1967–1999), adding new expressions to the text each time: It is also obvious that the work itself did not let go of the writer (Panchenko, 2010, pp. 207–210). There was a long conflict with the creative laboratory of the recognized artist regarding the polishing of the concept of the work and the "molding" of the image of B. Khmelnytskyi's work testifies not only to the censorship restrictions in totalitarian Soviet times and the writer's perfectionism (as critics have emphasized), but also, obviously, to her internal conflict between the real and ideal. The "expectation horizon" of society, which is extremely important for her, played an important role, so the thesis about "aged wine" will probably not be out of place either. The year 1999, one of the strategic choice, became the necessary "x" time that could ensure an adequate perception of *Berestechko* by Kostenko's compatriots and guarantee its success, the election of a new Ukrainian leader, when it was important to avoid another defeat.

Berestechko, which has gone from an ordinary place name on the map of Ukraine to a key historical event, has eventually "grown" into a cultural symbol that tends to be tinged with national philosophy in its tragic version of national defeat, which, despite everything, contains a great potential for victory encoded in the value of experience. And in the fate of the writer herself, it is also an important stage in her creative biography. The novel *Berestechko* has two temporal layers of memory: The first covers the events of more than three hundred years ago near Berestechko and their consequences, and the second is three decades long, when various interpretive versions, variants of textual texture, and meanings layered and crystallized on the writer's original idea. L. Kostenko tries to trace the fate of Ukraine as a consequence of its previous history in all its potentials and weaknesses, unfolding a broad theme in a short phrase: *Ye borotba za doliu Ukrainy* ["There is a struggle for the fate of Ukraine"] (Kostenko, 2010, p. 118), and the theme of apostasy / treachery is presented here on the "scale of national tragedy and history" (Dziuba, 2007, p. 543). Interpreting the concept of the **fate** of a nation / people, she tries to reject "all the mystical and fatalistic connotations of its meaning", replacing it with an understanding identical to the concepts of "natural abilities", "national character", "the nature of a given statehood", etc. (Chyzhevskyi, 2005, p. 10). And yet there is no denying that there is something "irrational, unexpected, beyond human will, like fate itself" (Chyzhevskyi, 2005, p. 11). Dmitry Chizhevsky calls it mercy or grace (which, obviously, in the rational plane of thought can be described as a causal law). It is a blessing (as the spirit in the "self-consciousness of the epoch", according to S. Krymskyi, as the quintessence of the progressive development of history, historical experience), because "happiness spoils people, nations; because happiness weakens, because happiness obscures other possibilities…" (Chyzhevskyi, 2005, p. 11). Even from this point of view, the novel has an undeniable importance as a glimpse into the psychological depths of history, into the experience that lies beyond the exclusively chronological course of events, since the writer "takes from history not the transient but the eternal" (Dziuba, 2010, p. 197). The thesis *Porazka – tse nauka./I ty v tsii Akademii – spudei* ["Failure

is learning.../and you are a freshman in this Academy"] (Kostenko, 2010, p. 170) is grounded in the position of a strong personality who, facing a painful defeat, opens up a new range of other possibilities: *Niiaka peremoha tak ne vchyt* ["No victory teaches you like that"] (Kostenko, 2010, p. 173). According to D. According to Chyzhevskyi, people "can never guarantee that the tasks they set can be solved" (Chyzhevskyi, 2005, p. 12), since different circumstances exist. This claim is reflected in the sacramental phrase put by the writer in the mouth of Hetman B. Khmelnytskyi: *Use zh bulo za nas./Chomu zh prohraly my?!* ["Everything was in our favor./Why did we lose?"] (Kostenko, 2010, p. 12), so her *Dusha hortaie tysiachi prychyn* ["Soul flips through thousands of reasons"] (Kostenko, 2010, p. 120). In general, the poet's analysis is in tune with V. Panchenko's analysis of the situation around B. Khmelnytskyi (*Berestechko*): *...Ne vse, vykhodyt, zalezhalo vid Bohdana Khmelnytskoho* ["...Not everything, it turns out, depended on Bohdan Khmelnytsky"] (Panchenko, 2010, p. 212). No wonder D. Chyzhevskyi was convinced of the need for an active life position capable of overcoming obstacles: *Braty na sebe vynu, shchob, mozhe, y dosiahnuty tsili, yty na nebezpeku, shchob distaty nadiiu peremohy – bez tsoho* ["To take the blame in order to achieve the goal, to go to danger in order to get the hope of victory – without this"], a person will not move forward in a historical movement; but in a historical movement there are no **guarantees**, no **guaranteed** happiness. Fate will collapse only under the blow of grace independent of man (author's highlighting)" (Chyzhevskyi, 2005, p. 12). Thus, through the cathartic imperative clearly stated on the pages of *Berestechko*, the writer brings the reader to the philosophy of defeat as the start of new opportunities and potentials. Therefore, her historiosophical concept is in line with the historiosophy of D. Chyzhevskyi: only those who risk danger in order to obtain the "hope of victory" are able to make it. Of course, Kostenko's lyrical-epic works are imbued with a tragic spirit that "blows on the field of the struggle of will against fate" (Chyzhevskyi, 2005, p. 12), but his position is far from that of a fatalist (and thus has nothing to do with Hegel's "sin of fatalism" that his descendants accuse him of). In fact, collective memory and individual memory, multiplied by the time factor, had to enter into a complex interaction in order

for the writer to create this image of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, whom one can approach at least with understanding, if not justification.

For Lina Kostenko, who uses convincing artistic and figurative means to reveal her historical and personalistic vision of time and man in the context of this time, history is always creation as a sphere of human effort, unfolded chronologically, as well as specific actions of people responsible for the fate of the country. In the process of unfolding this creativity, a national identity is crystallized and a national-cultural identity is nurtured, which should be characterized by "the criterion of continuity in cultural change, the criterion of culture's very nature, the criterion of traditionality as fidelity to the community hierarchy of values, etc." (Lysyi, 2013, p. 36), all of which is ripening in the depths of time and historical memory. That is why it is so important for her to go beyond factualism and plunge into the maelstrom of psychology, which, according to Marcel Proust, is what time is all about, as a temporal and anthropological substance. It is this psychological depth and psychological portraiture that makes it possible to say that "Bohdan in the novel 'transcends' not only the battle, but, to a certain extent, **time**" (Panchenko, 2010, p. 214), and this timeless psychological reality is more important for the writer in terms of psychological authenticity, artistic persuasiveness, and projection into the future. That is why Bohdan's words sound so authentic: *Mene ne mozhut liudy ne pochuty –/dusha v meni rozghoidana yak dzvin!* ["People can't help but hear me – / my soul is swinging like a bell!"] (Kostenko, 2010, p. 174). This is how its inherent constructive temporality manifests itself: It is about extrapolating three days into "psychological eternity", according to I. Dziuba (the researcher compares them to the days before the execution in *Marusia Churai* (Dziuba, 2010, p. 198)). Emotional immersion in the complicated past is achieved through dramatization of the plot (primarily internal) and visual illustration. The deep layers of the protagonist's "inner psychology" and the conflicts of the internal dialog illustrate the truth that national history is always anthropocentric: a significant role in it is played by a personality inscribed not only in the chronology of the time but also in the chronology of one's own soul with its seemingly far from real history conflicts (the Khmelnytskyi-Helena love theme).

The writer's vision of historical characters is consistent with the views of G. Hegel, who defined historiosophy as a symbiosis of two moments: ideas and human passions, since, according to unwritten historical laws, "nothing great in the world happens without passion", and a person (historical character) who cannot be considered outside of his or her interests and passions is not a person at all (i.e., an average person), but a very specific person with the whole complex of virtues and vices. The artistic and figurative system of the work activated by the writer unfolds in such a way that eventually "Berestechko" in the interpretation of L. Kostenko symbolizes defeat, and at the same time, it is not only a toponym of defeat, its symbol, chronotope, mythologeme, metaphor, but also a toponym of hope as a result of rethinking the tragic experience, reinforced by the thesis: *Zakon viiny, tiazhka yoho khoda* ["The law of war, its heavy gait"] (Kostenko, 2010, p. 146). This is how a historical event is transformed in L. Kostenko's interpretation into a source of moral reflection and lessons for future generations: the articulation of the past defeat is projected onto the possibility / impossibility of defeat in modern Ukrainian history: the current Russian-Ukrainian full-scale war of the twenty-first century is exactly the kind of difficult test for learning historical lessons. After all, "the past opens up to experience only to the extent that it contains an element of the future and *vice versa*..." (Kozellek 2005, p. 40). It is not without reason that the text raises the problem of Ukraine's verbal "presence" in the world: *Chomu u nas nema Horatsiia?* ["Why don't we have a Horace?"] (Kostenko 2010, p. 139). Accordingly, the poet's historiosophical model as a vivid emanation of the national spirit is immersed in Taras Shevchenko's natiocentrism: "One of the main motives of *Berestechko* is the need for Shevchenko. However, Shevchenko is also a certain alternative to Bohdan Khmelnytskyi..." (Dziuba, 2007, p. 539). There remain certain constants in the work: Ukraine's desire for sovereignty and its anti-imperial stance. We are talking about the strong statehood of Ukraine, which generations of Ukrainians have dreamed of: *Derzhavnist – derzhyt. Bo vona – derzhava / U nei skipetr vlady u rutsi* ["The state holds. Because it is a state... / It holds the scepter of power in its hand"] (Kostenko, 2010, p. 99). The text of Berestechko is full of lines that rise to the level of Taras Shevchenko's

poetry: *Ne poshchastylo nashomu narodu, / Dav Boh susidiv, lasykh do nashest. / Zabraly vse – i zemliu, i svobodu. / Teper zabraty khochut vzhe i chest* ["Our people are unlucky, / God gave us neighbors eager to invade. / They took everything – land and freedom"] (Kostenko, 2010, p. 132); *A zvidusil – to khyzhi kihti leva, / to dzob zokliuchenyi orla* ["And everywhere there are the ravenous claws of a lion, or the beak of a chained eagle"] (Kostenko 2010, p.146); *Vsi khochut bulavy, vsi boriutsia za vlast. / Ta y bude bulava, yak makova holivka. Otak potorokhtit, i znovu khtos prodast. Ne toi, tak toi. Tam zrada, tam zlodiistvo. Tam vyhnaly Somka, obraly slymaka. Tam nalyvaikivtsi pobylys z lobodivtsiamy. / Tam ti ob tykh zlamaly derzhaka.* ["Everyone wants power,/ everyone is fighting for it. / There will be a sceptre like a poppy head / If not this one, then that one. / Betrayal, theft. / Now, they kicked out Somko and elected a slug. / Now, the Nalyvaiko faction fought with Loboda's... / Now, they broke a club on somebody..."] (Kostenko, 2010, p. 118).

L. Kostenko's artistic and historical truth is beyond the limits of historical truth alone. Without relying on "posterity to sort it out" (Kostenko, 1989, p. 152), the poet usually rises above the document / fact / storyline of historical events with her undeniable ability to see through the thickness of time layers, her experience of generalization, and her ability to verify this historical truth with the realities of her time. *Dusha hortaie tysiachi prychyn* ["Soul flips through thousands of reasons"] (Kostenko, 2010, p. 121), Because really: *Vazhke tse dilo – vlada, bulava* ["It's a hard business, power, the Hetman's seat"] (Kostenko, 2010, p. 119). Therefore, Shevchenko's anti-imperial theme finds its own artistic embodiment and plot development through his own optics of seeing history as "an actual image of a tragedy" (I. Dziuba), in which the influence of the individual plays an almost decisive role. His position is based on anthropocentric dominance: The driver of historical events is the individual, in whom its "moral force" is manifested (D. Chyzhevskyi). At the same time, as a rational and intuitive thinker, she does not reject the philosopher's thesis about the "high tragedy" of history (as opposed to the historical optimism imposed by Marxist ideology), when "a true attitude to the historical element in which the future of people and nations is forged" (Chyzhevskyi, 2005, p. 11) remains fundamental. She is no

stranger to Chyzhevskyi's idea of the "superhuman" and "supra-individual" in history, which he concentrated in the concept of the fate of the people (and not just the individual), which "emphasizes... the inexorably cruel nature of what binds the individual, the nation and the state not only from above but also from within..." (Chyzhevskyi, 2005, pp. 10–11). Thus, in covering the historical fate of Ukraine, the poet is guided not only by the course of external events but also by their internal context: hidden motivations, psychological motivations of historical characters, human virtues / weaknesses, irrational concepts such as charisma / energy of a personality, etc.

Using the resources of word art, the writer realizes the idea of Hegel's philosophy of history, according to which individuality in history acquires its significance in the process of realizing what the "national spirit" seeks; therefore, the individual component of the historical process synthesizes the character of the special type and content of the consciousness of the epoch. Kostenko's work is primarily about determining the limits of personal responsibility of historical figures, which is rooted in the national ontology, in national existence as the basis of self-identification and the formation of national identity. In the history of Ukraine, it has always been an object of foreign encroachment: *Dlia nykh tsi zemli tilky lasyi kusen* ["This land is just a tidbit for them"] (Kostenko, 2010, p. 143). The poet fills in the gaps of Ukrainian historical existence as the basis of self-identification under the omophorion of national responsibility, which she sacralizes as a counterbalance to Ukraine's longstanding colonial situation. Such an impulse to "rehabilitate history" from the perspective of an "offended nation" whose history has been distorted for centuries to please the imperial ambitions of its northern neighbors, of course, lies in the ideological, social, and socio-cultural plane. By artistically synthesizing the varieties of collective memory – ethnogenetic, historical, and social – and ennobling them with individual memory, the poet creates a historiosophical model where being-in-itself and being-in-the-world coexist, presented through the prism of the national. The writer engages in a dialog not only with specific events and their traces in history, but also with time, which modifies the proportionality of these events and history itself, which in fact remains a process

of "will actualization" (Hegel), according to the distance between our "now" and our "then" of the event.

Kostenko's attempt to read the "invariant content of the experience of the nation" (Krymskyi, 2003, p. 217) is not so much to correct the past history with all its dramatic and tragic consequences as to correct the future with the help of an "adequate understanding" of the past. So, from the point of view of constructive temporality, it is always a dialog between the past and the future-through the mediation of the present: "...Everything is preceded by a diagnosis that incorporates the given experience. From this perspective, the space of experience, open to the future, opens up a horizon of expectations. The acquisition of experience enables and guides predictions" (Kozellek, 2005, p. 359). This observation is to some extent illustrated by the prose novel of L. Kostenko, *Zapysky ukrainskoho samashedshoho* [*Notes of a Ukrainian madman*] (written in 2001–2010), which for a thoughtful reader sounded like a premonition-foresight of the latest full-scale Russian-Ukrainian war of 2022–2023, launched by our northern neighbor in the eastern regions of Ukraine in 2014. Cf.: Tarnashynska 2018). The "privilege of the past", which is active in her poetry, loses its position here under the pressure of time itself, due to its inclusion in the totality of the present and the feeling of a threat to the future. Thus, as *Idut roky. Idut stolittia* ["Years go by. Centuries go by"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 36), and *Proishla vikiv povilna chereda* ["A slow line of centuries has passed"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 464), and Ukrainian history seems to be unfolding in a circle: *...otak tut spokonviku / Zhyttia i smert na vidstani strily* ["...this is how it has been here for centuries – / Life and death are at the distance of an arrow"] (Kostenko, 1987, p. 72). And in the context of the tragedies of the twenty-first century, the poet's words from *Berestechko* sounds powerful again: *My – shchyt Yevropy i svii khrest nesem* ["We are the shield of Europe and we carry our cross"] (Kostenko, 2010, p. 86). And as a warning, as a message to future generations, it is carried on beyond time: *Ne dopuskai takoi mysli,/shcho Boh pokazhe nam nelasku./ Zhyttia liudskoho stroky stysli./Nemaie chasu na porazku* ["Do not allow the thought / that God will show not us grace./Human life is short./ There is no time for defeat"] (Kostenko, 2010, p. 182). *Viky mynuly / i viky hriadut* ["Ages past and ages to come"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 177);

"Yak strashno ore istorychnyi pluh!" ["How terribly the plow of history plows!"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 264); *Mynaie chas, yedynyi sekundant* ["Time is passing, the only second"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 262) – her aphoristic lines sound like a reminder of the transience of time. And the lines that support our victory are completely in tune with the tragic present: *My peremozhem. Ne taki my y kvoli* ["We will win. We are not so weak"] (Kostenko, 2010, p. 182). After all, the historical experience of Ukrainians gives them the right to speak through the mouth of their great poet: *Blahoslovenna kozhna myt zhyttia / na tsykh vsesvitnikh kosovytsiakh smerti!* ["Blessed is every moment of life / in this world's harvest fields of death!"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 7).

Thus, in L. Kostenko's work, individual time is extrapolated onto the collective time (time of the state / non-state nation), which gives us the right to talk about the interdependence of these temporal units, their fullness of creative potential. Personal (subjective) and social (objective / anonymous) time have different semantic transcriptions. *Prohravshy na spivuchii tiatyvi / istoriiu...* ["Having lost playing history on a bowstring..."] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 425), the poet proposed her own version of "ideological decolonization" that promotes "the restoration of the connections of liberated peoples (from the oppression of totalitarian regimes) with their long, traditional memory, which these regimes confiscated, destroyed or distorted" (Nora, 2014, p. 262).

Thus, the reconstruction of historical truth with the help of artistic intuition and insight, multiplied by thoughtful verification and comprehension of the facts of national history, always acts as artistic truth for Lina Kostenko. The writer seeks to "reshape" the historical time distorted by other people's projections and aberrations and appeals not only to historical accuracy but also to the reader's emotional sphere. This "actual time" and the poet herself are looking for answers to the questions: *Kudy ydemo?/Yakyi lyshaiem slid*? ["Where are we going?/What is our trail like?"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 260). *Dusha nalezhyt liudstvu i epokham* ["The soul belongs to humanity and epochs"] (Kostenko, 1989, p. 27) is the main thesis of our great contemporary, the Nobel Prize-level writer Lina Kostenko, whose work is imbued with irrefutable conviction: *Bo lysh narody, yavleni u Slovi,/dostoino zhyty mozhut na zemli* ["For only the peoples

revealed in the Word / can live in dignity on earth"] (Kostenko, 2010, p. 111).

And finally, instead of a summary. In the context of the formation of national, and thus national-cultural identity on the example of the work of a leading Ukrainian writer, it is worth turning to the discussion conducted by professional philosophers such as E. Smith, P. Ricœur, T. V. Adorno, S. Hall, E. Gellner and others, and which is very eloquently summarized by the Ukrainian philosopher Ivan Lysyi: "However, the currently influential phenomenological line encourages us to look for the national identity of culture not in the culture itself and its artifacts, but in the intentions of the subject of culture creation and in the attitude of the 'consumer' of culture. If we do not alterealize the artifact of culture and the subject's instructions from this perspective, then we can find some resonance in this statement. However, the discussion of such resonances leads to the question of the criteria of a culture's national identity, when identity is thought of in its adjectival hypostasis rather than in its substantive version. That is, we will be talking about theoretically grounded determinants of "one's own" in the course of national and cultural self-identification of the community" (Lysyi, 2013, p. 35). It is Lina Kostenko's work, with its cross-cutting concepts of historical and cultural memory, temporal continuity, and the creative role of the responsible individual in these processes, that demonstrates her distinctive attraction to all these still debated components with a clear emphasis on the specific "own", the native, as the most productive. That is, on what has been gained through the historical and cultural experience of generations and embodied in the national and cultural consciousness, where both the artist's intentions and the resonant perception of her texts by a thoughtful reader seem to "converge".

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The Resemantization of Historical Symbols in the Romanian Poetry of the 1960s–1980s

Abstract

In Romanian culture, in the 1960s–1980s, communist totalitarianism went through various stages (Eugen Negrici, 2003, 2019); poets varying in style and creative instincts were active in a social and political context influenced by several factors varying in intensity such as the censorship constraints, party ideology, the resumption of cultural exchanges and translations from great works of world literature, the promotion of aesthetic autonomy, etc. Obviously, the main battle pitted aesthetics against ideology. Throughout this period, poetry was largely ideology- and propaganda-tinged and its themes changed from one decade to the next, moving from the pro-Soviet enthusiasm, which glorified Stalin while criticizing the "corrupt" West in the 1950s, to the tributes paid to the "beloved leaders" Nicolae Ceaușescu and Elena Ceaușescu, in the 70s and 80s. Such poems used significant figures in Romania's national history to legitimize the new leaders.

In parallel to this type of "poetry", however, there were numerous formulas that returned to lyricism and intellectualization, word play magic and creative experiment. Among the

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most important post-war writers of the neo-modernist generation are Ana Blandiana and Marin Sorescu, therefore we will analyze – in the larger context of their work while also referring to other lyrical representations of the same theme -, two poems: *Avram Iancu* by Ana Blandiana, from the volume *Poeme* "Poems" (1974), and Biografii [Biographies] by Marin Sorescu from the volume *La lilieci. Cartea a doua* [Near the Lilac Bushes. Book Two] (1977). Both resemantize history in an original manner that moves away from its official and ideologized versions. Taking as a starting point the dramatic death of a fighter for social and national rights from the nineteenth century, through resemantization and ambiguity, Ana Blandiana creates a poem that could be read, on a deeper level, as a comment on the tendency to give up one's desire for freedom and the danger of the social and spiritual inertia common during the communist regime. Marin Sorescu, using innovative techniques closer to postmodernism, brings to the fore a complex world, a regional language, another "Macondo", which deconstructs its mythology while exposing its history through individual stories that become exemplary and counterpose an alternative imaginary to the official culture.

Keywords

literature, censorship, communism, ideology, neo-modernism, aesthetic autonomy, Ana Blandiana, Marin Sorescu, poetry with historical subject-matter, Romania

During the communist period, Romanian literature used various aesthetic formulas, ranging from the Proletkult writing of the first decade to onirism and postmodernism. The neo-modernism of the 1960s was the most successful of the trends, given the great number of writers and the central place they occupied on the literary scene, in literary histories and in textbooks. The emergence and development of these writers cannot be fully understood without succinctly presenting the political and cultural context after the Second World

War, with its main stages. The literary historian Eugen Negrici (2019) considers that the first stage is that of "absolute Stalinism" (1948–1953), when, due to the presence of the Soviet army on the territory of Romania, aggressive forms of control and pressure are established, literature becomes "part of the class struggle", becoming one of the "effective instruments through which power is accessed and consolidated" (Negrici, 2019, p. 25). Poetry becomes merely a manipulative, ideologized, propagandistic form of discourse.

Devoid of any aesthetic value, with verses whose rhyme and meter patterns often recall folklore or ballad patterns, the main principle of propagandistic poetry is accessibility. The "red aesthetics" covers themes such as the vilification of party enemies, the "odious past", the glorification of the "collective farm", "Papa Stalin", etc. Poetry is integrated into a "political religion", where the "apostles" are Stalin, Lenin, Dej, and the Communist Party is the protecting church (Negrici, 2019, pp. 85–87). It was also during this period that censorship was established. Researchers such as Liliana Corobca (2014) and Liviu Malița (2016) show that this was one of the institutions of force in the cultural field after the Second World War. Liliana Corobca demonstrates that, in communist Romania, the censorship institution was the third repressive force, along with the Communist Party and the "Securitate" (the political police of the time). Under Decree No. 218 /1949, the General Directorate for the Press and Printed Matter (GDPPM) was established, a body in charge of censorship and control. It authorized the printing, distribution, import, and export of newspapers, books, art objects, it regulated bookstores, antique bookstores, libraries, warehouses, it provided guidelines for the organization of censorship offices in the capital city and the rest of the country, it established the conditions under which proofs or manuscripts were stamped "good to print" or "censored". Even though the institution itself was disbanded in 1977, the control over books is carried forward through various mechanisms and roles, with the ultimate perfidious and tragic effect of self-censorship. In the first decade, almost all established authors, from Vasile Alecsandri and Mihai Eminescu to Otilia Cazimir, T. Arghezi and V. Voiculescu, disappear from bookstores and libraries, as do many publications. An unprecedented purge of books ensues, but things

do not stop there because "the hunt for books goes hand in hand with the hunt for people" (Negrici, 2019, p. 23), as intimidation, repression, denunciations, arrests follow. A group of young writers under the influence of the modern writer and philosopher Lucian Blaga, a group that had manifested itself in the early 1940s, during the war, known as the "Sibiu Literary Circle", was then deemed the "lost generation". Some of its members ended up in prison, while most of them were socially marginalized after 1948. Members of this literary group such as Radu Stanca, Ion Negoițescu, Ștefan Augustin Doinaș, Cornel Regman, Eugen Todoran, Ion D. Sârbu, Nicolae Balotă, Eta Boeriu, Ioanichie Olteanu and others had emerged on the literary scene with a manifesto in the form of a letter addressed to the critic who supported modernism, E. Lovinescu. The latter, in his turn, had called them *the fourth generation which defended aesthetic autonomy* (after Titu Maiorescu, the first critic from the second half of the nineteenth century). It was precisely this concept, which had seemed lost forever during the first decade, that subsequent generations sought to recover gradually and partially.

In this cultural and political context, in 1952 was published the large anthology "New Poetry in the Romanian People's Republic", which includes only Proletkult texts infused with communist ideology, illustrating the recent past of the class struggle. The mythical figures of Stalin and Lenin were present (in the work by poet A. Toma and many others), "the history of the great Bolshevik March" – in a verse written by Maria Banuș -, as well as historical figures who took part in social uprisings such as Horea, Cloșca and Crișan – in Mihai Beniuc's poetry -, the workers' Grivița strikes, the 1907 peasant uprising, Doftana Prison – a recurrent theme, a symbol of the struggle of the "communist heroes" in the illegal period, the victory of the "Red Army" – in work by poets Dan Deșliu and Imre Horvath, among others, then the figure of the old "Soviet tankman comrade" – as Eugen Frunză calls him, etc. Historical references of a different nature are infrequent, for instance, the medieval voivode Basarab or, pejoratively, King Michael, called "fat Michael". In other words, during this stage, history is seen exclusively through the lens of class struggle and the friendship with the "heroic Soviet army" – an army that was still stationed on Romanian territory, which it left

in 1958. The history of Romanians supplies only personalities who distinguished themselves in the struggle for social justice and are now used to legitimize the "new order".

The second stage, in Negrici's classification, is the "stage of perfunctory destalinization" (1953–1964): after Stalin's death, a certain détente in international relations is an opportunity to renew cultural exchanges. Some studies on universal literature are published, classical authors are translated, books that could not be published before are now allowed. A re-discussion of the cultural heritage starts, writers and books reenter circulation. However, the works and their meanings, texts in their entirety and creative destinies, are falsified, deformed, censored, reinterpreted from the perspective of Marxist and class ideology. "Reassessments" of this type occur alongside a more nuanced interpretation, alongside bursts of artistic freedom that run under the radar of political dogmatism, which means that "regimented literature" seeks to find some balance, to foster the creation of more complex, more nuanced characters. In addition, intellectuals with a solid literary and artistic formation are allowed to resume their work, while young authors are encouraged. An "international pole" (Pascale Casanova, 1999, p. 163), a sign that national artistic creative endeavours were again drawn to great world literature is, at this stage, the publication of the periodical entitled *The 20th Century*, which publishes good translations of poetry and prose from the Soviet Union, but also from universal Western literature, even if left-wing writers are preferred initially. Foreign poetry is translated into Romanian by Gellu Naum, Maria Banuș, Nina Cassian, Virgil Teodorescu, Ștefan Aug. Doinaș, Mircea Ivănescu, Ioanichie Olteanu, Miron Radu Paraschivescu, Eugen Jebeleanu, Ion Frunzetti, Ion Horea, Nichita Stănescu, Petre Stoica and Veronica Porumbacu. Creativity and stylistic forms become more dynamic, breaching the fortress of ideologized "enslaved poetry" prevalent in the 50s, while some freedom and originality are finally allowed.

Between 1964–1971 occurs the "stage of relative liberalization": socialist realism is left behind, the severity of censorship becomes weakened, literature returns to its natural, relatively autonomous path, the aesthetic code is altered. These are some of the main features

of the period. The beginning of Nicolae Ceausescu's regime provides the right conditions for liberalization, unhoped for in the previous decade. Literary circles become active, quality literature is published in cultural magazines and so on. A new literary generation – the so-called "60s Generation" – reaches prominence. Its members seek to resume the literary tradition of interwar modernism and thus will be called – at least when it comes to poetry – neo-modernist or "a modernist remake" (Manolescu, 2008, p. 1000). This generation includes Nichita Stănescu, Ana Blandiana, Constanța Buzea, Marin Sorescu, Ileana Mălancioiu, Leonid Dimov among others.

After 1971, the "nationalist communist stage" begins: Romanian culture is once again isolated from the wide sphere of universal literature, while the secret police becomes increasingly repressive. The main features of the period are censorship and self-censorship, poverty, the absence of freedom of expression, the establishment of a personality cult for the Ceaușescus. Therefore, many intellectuals are forced to emigrate, for instance, directors Lucian Pintilie and Liviu Ciulei (whose performances had been banned), or dissident writers like Paul Goma or Herta Müller. The omnipotence of the censorship offices, which are now present in every cultural institution, from publishing houses to the national television station, results in self-censorship: the authors themselves avoid certain themes, ideas or formulas that would lead to their work being banned, pulped or not published. At the same time, allegorical or parabolic expression becomes widespread; thus, certain realities are masked by various figments of creative imagination to bypass the censors. Thus, creators sought to make readers their accomplices in their implicit satire of the world in which they lived (E. Negrici). Under these circumstances, censors step up. In March 1982, the *Tribuna* magazine was withdrawn from circulation, due to some poems signed by Ileana Mălăncioiu (also found in the volume *Linia vieții* [Lifeline], which was withdrawn from the printing house and censored in three successive stages). The author then came to the attention of the secret police. When, in 1988, Ana Blandiana introduces in a "children's" book the tomcat *Arpagic*, a character in which everyone recognised the dictator, the author is again banned, now indefinitely, and her books are removed from libraries.

In the 70s, a new generation of poets included Mircea Ciobanu, Mircea Dinescu, Emil Brumaru, Șerban Foarță, Mircea Ivănescu, Cezar Ivănescu, Dan Laurențiu, Virgil Mazilescu, Ion Mircea, Adrian Popescu, Dorin Tudoran, Daniel Turcea, Mihai Ursachi etc. Their writing has an even darker tone and is stylistically even more varied. Playfulness, irony come to the fore; whole autonomous poetic universes are built, fueled by a bucolic, erotic, politically rebellious, or sad, domestic, narrative imaginary. Thus, with this new series of poets, Romanian literature enriches its subversive arsenal, building a rather neutral or banal universe on the surface, and an "Aesopian" one in the underground, as noted by literary critics.

The personality cult around the leader and his glorification were supported by some ideological myths exploited in a literary form in "patriotic poetry", among them the myth of the imperiled motherland (which had been perpetuated since the 1950s, as E. Negrici shows), and the myth of the hero of the nation. Among those who contributed to the development of this form of adulation typical of all tyrannies were, initially, Dumitru Popescu and then, through the activity of the *Flacăra* [The Flame] literary circle and through much of his own literary creation, Adrian Păunescu (along with, among others, Corneliu Vadim Tudor and Victor Tulbure). Obviously, they are not on their own, as one of the most prolific writers of "party-minded" poetry from the communist period was Mihai Beniuc. It should be noted that, despite the critical and public success of "tolerated poetry", school textbooks were always, until the revolution of 1989, replete with propaganda poetry and works related to the cult of personality of the Ceaușescu family. Prominent figures of national history are put together with famous characters from fairy tales to build a hyperbolized, mythic image of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu, whose glorification was supported by all state institutions including the ministry of culture, the party and political police, the "Securitate". Nicolae Ceaușescu's lineage is said to go far back in history to the Dacian rulers Burebista and Decebalus. Elena Ceaușescu is compared with Ileana Cosânzeana, a character from folk tales, with Ana from the Master Manole's Ballad, with the mother of the medieval Voivode Stephen The Great, as it transpires from a poem by Victor Tulbure:

> Cosânzeana / your eyes like Voroneț blue / like Manole's Ana in a ballad / you rise under the halo of supreme sacrifice / Like Stephen's mother / you raise your children with fierce resolve /the son returning from battle with a lowered brow / is sent away on the threshold (...) And now when your bright future is built on a sound foundation / sweet Romania, embodied in its most precious daughter / Elena Ceaușescu! Our brave and fearless Romanian comrade! Thus do we lovingly call her while she courageously strides on the path of glory.

The verses are simple and accessible, the tone is declamatory, similes are the most frequent figures of speech. In addition, the lyrical monologue which includes verbs and pronouns in the second person emphasizes the suggestion of direct dialogue. The interaction between "we" (the people) and "you" (the homeland) supports the image of the embodiment of "sweet Romania", Elena Ceaușescu, using historical and literary symbols that pertain to our cultural identity. "Brave" and "fearless", as the heroes of history are, Elena Ceaușescu is placed, next to Nicolae Ceaușescu, in the centre of the national identity representations. Most of the time this type of glorification of the family at the head of the state was associated, almost inexplicably, with the "sacrifice" motif, precisely to put the two in the lineage of the heroes of the nation, who died for the "prosperity of the motherland", for freedom, for the unification of the nation, etc.

Returning to the liberalization stage, one finds that Romanian poetry becomes emancipated by once again finding inspiration in interwar modernism and by discovering new avenues of creative freedom, a common denominator being the fact that declarative discourse is abandoned in favour of confessional discourse. The most famous of the poets of the 1960s generation, Nichita Stanescu, with an aura of a bohemian genius, is the creator of poetic work meant to be a return to lyricism, while revolutionising the expressive potential of language, redefining poetry, and looking for new poetic avenues. In Nichita Stănescu's neo-modernist poetry one can find reimagined echoes of interwar modernist poetry, such as the transfiguration of reality into words, the lexical magic reminiscent of T. Arghezi, hermeticism and a propensity towards the abstract coming from Ion Barbu, the "visionary" and philosophical

vocation of Lucian Blaga. However, all these echoes are implanted onto new lyrical soil, grafted on a new poetic sensibility. From the first volumes – *Sensul iubirii* [The Meaning of Love] (1960), *O viziune a sentimentelor* [A Vision of Feelings] (1964) – there is a surprising return to poetic lyricism, and a certain "materiality and corporeality of perception". The poetic space is conceived as a world of objects and beings that are playfully transfigured, the whole world turns into a ludic space, and erotic gesticulation is instantiated as ritual and play (Pop, 1985). In addition, the literary critic Ștefania Mincu noted that "the titles of the first volumes suggest the aspiration to meaning and vision expressed by the poems, the intention to reestablish knowledge-centric poetry. However, his path to knowledge is totally new for the reader familiar with prestigious poetic systems, such as those of the interwar modernists Ion Barbu, T. Arghezi, and Lucian Blaga. Ready-made notions, myths, symbols are given up and what is emphasised is sensory knowledge, in which human bodily faculties have a primary role." (Mincu, 1997, p. 12). With the volumes *Dreptul la timp* [The Right to Time] (1965) and *11 elegii* [11 Elegies] (1966), the dominant theme changes. The auroral time of love, the miraculous discovery of sensuality and feeling is replaced by an awareness of time and its dramatic effect on human existence and verbal expression, by the "adventure of self-knowledge". In the last volumes, a preference for the themes of time and death becomes evident. In his last books, which illustrate the attempt to transform language, to fight against its limits employing absurd play and "non-words", Nichita Stănescu's poetry reaches at the higher end of modernism. Poetry is at the same time aspiration, play upon words, but also painful integration of the lyrical self, self-play in an attempt to understand the world.

In other words, we are dealing with a type of poetry quite different from "politically regimented" poetry, devoid of historical/patriotic/ideological themes. This is a kind of poetry that turned to the world before communism and to its predilect themes, having as its center interiority, the states of the self, and general human, even philosophical, problematics. With an ever-increasing focus on poetic art, poetry becomes self-reflexive. Styles diversify, recourse to metaphor and prosodic renewal, free verse and enjambment is increasingly

frequent, to the detriment of folkloric narrative, musical-folk or declarative triumphalist versification, full of exclamations and interrogations, and the directness typical of Proletkult poetry. As is the case in modernist aesthetics, poetry is increasingly ambiguous, dissociating itself from the facile attempts of the first communist decade.

Ambiguity plays an important role in the author-reader relationship, facilitating the use of double language and double decoding, political and social allusion. This new direction, drawing in more and more authors including women writers, revives the literature of the era and becomes, in fact, central in the literary arena. However, from the point of view of literary history, given the pressure of censorship and other repressive bodies, this type of poetry was called "tolerated poetry" (a term coined by historian and literary critic Eugen Negrici). It is perhaps not by chance that, at this stage, as Nicolae Manolescu (2008, p. 10001) states, "the first literary genre that rose from dogmatic sleep was poetry".

The lyrical universe of Ana Blandiana (born in 1942) is built in the same way, drawing inspiration, from the very first volumes, as regards the poetic vision and imaginary, from the work of the great interwar modern-expressionist writer Lucian Blaga, also adopting imagism features. A prose writer and author of numerous poetry volumes, she became established as a female voice of special sensitivity, pondering and emphasizing questions of a moral and metaphysical nature about human life. The titles of her poetry volumes published during the communist period demonstrate, on the one hand, an attempt to recover intimacy, and, on the other hand, a preference for weakly connotative language and for a (domestic) proximity imaginary in which metaphysical nostalgia prevails: *Persoana întâia plural* [First Person Plural] (1964); *Călcâiul vulnerabil* [The Vulnerable Heel] (1966); *A treia taină* [The third mystery], (1969); *50 de poeme* [50 poems] (1970); *Octombrie, noiembrie, decembrie* [October, November, December] (1972); *Poeme* [Poems] (1974); *Somnul din somn* [The sleep from sleep] (1977); *Întâmplări din grădina mea* [Stories from my garden] (1980); *Ochiul de greier* [The cricket's eye] (1981); *Ora de nisip* [Hour of sand] (1984); *Stea de pradă* [Predatory star] (1986); *Alte întâmplări din grădina mea* [Other stories from my

garden], (1987); *Întâmplări de pe strada mea* [Stories from my street] (1988); *Poezii* [Poems] (1988). A prolific, civically engaged writer, Ana Blandiana gained national and international recognition, receiving numerous awards, such as the Poetry Prize of the Writers' Union of Romania, 1969; the "Gottfried von Herder" International Prize, Vienna, 1982; the "Vilenica" International Prize, 2002; the "Camaiore" International Prize, 2005; the "European Poet of Freedom" Prize, 2016. In addition, because of censorship, she was banned for several years under communism in two rounds: 1959–1964, 1988–1989. At first, her poetry is suggestive of the innocence of youth, full of delicate diaphanous feeling. Gradually and discreetly, her poetry moves towards the intellectualization of feeling, growing more serious and more melancholy. Her images are increasingly poignant, problematizing the self and language. In her debut volume, rain, the vegetal, nature and the bucolic, her own sensations and visions are transposed into the experiences of a whole generation to which the author adheres, while also manifesting her distinct identity. Gradually, the poet's own sadness merges with the weariness of the world, fuelling poetic work full of dramatic questioning and bitter confessions, but not devoid of a sense of the fragility and joy of human life – transient as it may be. Snow, inner exile, the (im)possibility of prayer, images of heaven and nature, rain and the field, the presage of death, crying, the night, leaves, cosmic stillness, etc. – these are all motifs that make up a poetic imaginary of rare plasticity and tenderness. The critic Nicolae Manolescu described Ana Blandiana's poetic work as follows: "a constant emotional vibrato accompanied open confessions, perspicuous professions of faith, frank eloquence. Formally, her poems are flawless, with rounded corners, unassuming metaphors which seemed impressive ("the ropes of the rain", "the marrow of the smile"), rarely pushing towards pre-war avant-gardism ("the dead cat of the fog"). In *Călcâiul vulnerabil* [The Vulnerable Heel] one can find both Ana Blandiana's first masterpiece (the dramatic parable *Torquato Tasso*), as well as Blaga's influence ("I want the village with the sound of my tear", the themes of sleep, ancestry, the matrixial). Only *A treia taină* [The third mystery] is the first volume truly characteristic of the style of the poetess. Her discourse becomes exclusively ethical, and prosody is free" (Manolescu, 2008, p. 1048).

In addition, in Ana Blandiana's poetic work, there can be found, even if infrequently, motifs and historical figures that are presented in a *sui generis* manner, completely differently from what one finds in "politically regimented" poetry. An outstanding figure for the destiny of Romanians in Transylvania, a hero of the struggle for social and national liberation, a romantic confident in the ideals of justice and freedom, a leader of the 1848 revolution, a lawyer and military, Avram Iancu (1824–1872) is also representative of our patriotic and historical imaginary and is also found in the poetry written by Ana Blandiana. Another member of the same literary generation is the poet Ioan Alexandru, who debuted in the same year and who, like Ana Blandiana, hails from the same Romanian province which used to be under Austro-Hungarian administration for a long time. They grew up in a cultural milieu in which Avram Iancu is a dramatic emblem of national and social consciousness. Like Ana Blandiana, Ioan Alexandru also wrote a poem that is actually called *Avram Iancu* (from the volume *Imnele Maramureșului* [The Maramureș Hymns], 1988), which presents the tragic end of this freedom fighter, who, in the last two decades of his life, wandered with a clouded mind through the Apuseni Mountains, through villages and towns: "from one end to the other / the Prince roams the Apuseni on foot / his mind in disarray." Thus, the poet does not describe Avram Iancu as a revolutionary hero. There is no mention of glorious armed confrontations, of the dialogue and negotiations for the rights of Romanian peasants, of assemblies and proclamations with tens of thousands of people. Instead, Ioan Alexandru preferred to ponder on Avram Iancu's moving, romantic destiny, and the tragic death of the hero who had apparently lost his mind and travelled the country where he had fought both gun in hand and through appeals to the Austro-Hungarian emperor.

An unexpected, original resemantization can also be found, a decade earlier, in another poem entitled *Avram Iancu* published by Ana Blandiana in the volume *Somnul din somn* [The Sleep from Sleep] (1977). The author chooses the image of a melancholy, wandering Avram Iancu, who carries the burden of collective suffering. In accordance to the title of the volume, the hero goes forth, "sleeping" and "playing his subdued pipe", into a dimension which is

hard to define and beyond reality and history. On the one hand, "sleep" can be, alegorically, the sadness and numbness of a people held back by the Iron Curtain, upon which totalitarian pressure was exerted. The semantics of the poem are built around common weeping and a sense of existential void: "In his wake grow great forests of weepin / and perpetual disasters roar. / In his wake, an earthquake ploughs itsel / our land ravaged by sleep / and, under the day's red trembling, / it sows itself with old royal bones." Sleep is suggestive of an apocalyptic worldview, evoking powerful, expressionist images. Sleep, a recurrent motif in Ana Blandiana's poetry, obviously also means death, "in the literal sense and in all senses", as another great poet would say. Thus, it means spiritual death and vegetal death, a call from beyond the visible and the desire to plunge into the "Great Passage" (Lucian Blaga) and the stillness of the eternal abyss. It suggests, in places, a reaction to the boundary between bliss and renunciation. At the same time, for the reader of the time, the metaphor of falling asleep is suggestive of renouncing freedom and effort, resignation and the entrapment of the nation in a closed, oppressive society. This sooner or later, one way or another, leads to social ossification and spiritual paralysis: "a whole country transhumed while in a dream". Avram Iancu himself, a symbol of bravery during the 1848 revolution, becomes, in Ana Blandiana's words, "the defeated King of our suffering", "His Majesty, asleep, eyes wide-open and grey, / goes forward playing his subdued pipe". The loss of hope, the dissolution of heroic symbols, the reification of the world all result in sad resignation and "sleep", the equivalent of the transition to metaphysical nostalgia. Nothing is awakened because the hero is himself under the spell of the end of life and inertia: "but the clouds fall asleep in the heavens and the waves on the lake". What an enormous difference from the bellicose and triumphalist rhetoric of Proletkult poetry! The nation's historical slumber merges with metaphysical sadness in a poem in which metaphors and expressionist images abound. The synaesthetic construction "the day's red trembling" is a chromatic reference to the communist regime, an allusion that the reader of the era would quickly identify, assigning it a subversive and corrosive reading. Only a single stanza preserves hope and at the same time suggests doubt that it will be

fulfilled: "it would be enough for his pipe to whisper the call / shuddering, the earth would sprout heavy warriors, / but his helmet is a sleepy swarm of bees /and my slumberers flock to his army". The piper's tune, a staple of Romanian imaginary, related to the long pastoral history of the nation, no longer has the force of a real call to life. The orphic suggestion of the end to the magical, divine word, capable of transfiguring reality, suggests another apocalypse. The "old bones", the "slumberers", the desolate Earth, the grain stalks that "lie down to die in the vineyard, / under the weight of poppy flowers "– are images and metaphors of vegetal death, which takes over the whole world. The hero's sleep is also the sleep of the world and of the whole history, leading to the slow descent into the still depths of the Earth.

The poem *Avram Iancu* by Ana Blandiana invites at least two readings: the first rather superficial one emphasizes the figure of the national hero, a common historical reference in Romanian poetry from the nineteenth century onwards. The second deeper interpretation is a critique of the tendency to give up one's desire for freedom and the danger of slipping into social and spiritual "sleep" or inertia. In a way, the poem describes the collective subconscious proclivity for lethargy or lack of social reaction.

Another writer of the neo-modernist generation, a poet, playwright, and prose writer of striking originality was Marin Sorescu (1936–1996). The first volume, published in 1964, entitled *Singur printre poeţi* "Alone among poets", showcases the writer's desire to assert his originality through parodic poetry. Other volumes of poems follow, at an impressive pace, while Sorescu also distinguishes himself as a playwright in the country and abroad, being equally inventive and inclined to experimentation. He soon becomes one of the most translated Romanian writers and is always at the centre of the literary scene. Throughout his career, he is awarded numerous prizes, by the Writers' Union, the Romanian Academy, and prestigious foreign institutions (Herder Prize, Vienna – 1991, Fernando Riello Prize, Madrid – 1983, Le Muse Prize – 1978, etc.). He also earns the admiration of the public through his use of language, through his ironic-parodic imagination and through the ingenuity of his literary approach. Marin Sorescu's drama is reminiscent

of Beckett's or Eugen Ionescu's theatre. His plays – *Iona* [Jonah], *Matca* [The Matrix], *A treia țeapă* [The Third Stake] (with medieval Voivode Vlad the Impaler as the main protagonist), etc. His work uses elements of both expressionist drama (character essentialization, predilect themes such as the opposition between man and the world, inner division, special ways of communicating) and the theatre of the absurd (impersonalization, abolition of various plot elements, the journey into the labyrinth, the meaninglessness of facts, etc.).

Poetry volumes such as *Poeme* [Poems] (1965), *Moartea ceasului* [The Death of the Clock] (1966), *Tinerețea lui Don Quijote* [Don Quixote's Youth] (1968), *Tușiți* [Cough] (1970), *Suflete, bun la toate* [My Soul, My Factotum] (1972) thematize the human condition, fate, life, death, serious topics addressed in a tragic-ironic style, with references to myths, ancient symbols and famous characters from ancient and modern universal literature. The six books of the cycle *La lilieci* [Near the Lilac Bushes] create a peculiar rural universe where an idiomatic, deliciously ironic language is used. The first book, published in 1973, was considered "the most radical poetry volume of verse published after the war" (Negrici, 2019, p. 354), deemed an instance of "depoetization" shedding light on an extinct civilization. Moreover, literary critics noted that Marin Sorescu's poetry goes beyond modernism to postmodernism precisely through prosaism, its focus on the mundane, transitivity, playfulness, the anecdotic. In the 1987 volume *Despre poezie* [On poetry], Nicolae Manolescu stated that the volume *La lilieci* [Near the Lilac Bushes], inspired 1980s postmodernism, a fact "that it will have to be recognized one day". The literary critic Eugen Simion changed the title given to the chapter on Marin Sorescu from his book *Scriitori români de azi* [Contemporary Romanian Writers] (vol III). In the 1974 edition, it used to be called *Ironişti şi fantezişti* [Ironists and Fantasists]. In 1998, the title becomes *Ironie, fantezie, postmodernitate* [Irony, fantasy, postmodernity]. The dominant feature of Sorescu's poetic language is orality, in the regional dialect of Oltenia. The author gives a voice to authentic rural figures, men, women, young or old, who speak a language that is archaic, closer to the abusive or affective registers. Thus, *La lilieci* [Near the Lilac Bushes] is a literary reconstruction of a colloquial language model, the expressiveness

of the Oltenian dialect becoming a way to instantiate the poetic function of language.

Marin Sorescu builds the world of a village on the edge of history, populated by picturesque and tragic "characters", who engage in seemingly banal dialogues, but which sometimes hint at the absurdity of existence. In the second book of the series *La lilieci* [Near the Lilac Bushes] (1977), the history of the Oltenian village makes the respective topos – a village at once real and imaginary like Bulzești – into the centre of the world. The comic, the burlesque, irony, slight nostalgia, all create a unique atmosphere that goes beyond its regional hypostasis to a world that simultaneously builds and deconstructs its own myth. As Eugen Simion states, "a world that lives in a mythical world, without a sense of the sacred, and acts, without knowing, like the Greek shepherds and navigators, in a way that will enter into legend" (Simion, 1984, p. 165).

The poem entitled *Biographies* seems, on its first reading, an enumeration of the members of a family tree and those related by alliance, with their dramatic stories told in an ironic and natural style. The central figure is a man, Banța. Each character, however, has a tragic life, a personal history that becomes exemplary simply by the very act of narration. History belongs primarily to individuals and the events they experience: "Nae's mother was from Florești / Mitruș Nică's daughter, very rich / And she also had a brother / who was a tax collector. / And he was a really mean fellow / And he measured the drinks while the tavern keepers were in the cellars / Then one night he took a candle, and went into the hallway of the cellar, and then into the cella / to measure a barrel of spirit / And when he moved the candle nearer, to see / the barrel caught fire and burned there in the cellar, / with the house and everything." Feasting, widowhood, drinking, arguments between spouses, stories from the war with the Cossacks and trains, the traditional village customs and life habits – all these make for a fascinating, unique tableau, whose outlines are enhanced by authorial irony. The village of Bulzești is, in fact, similar to Gabriel Garcia Marquez's Macondo, a topos in which history merged with the destiny of the individual, which becomes an exemplary story. Nae's father, we further learn, is called Banța and had been rich, wouldn't let anyone enter his many

bought forests. Moreover, in the large and beautiful houses where he had amassed his wealth, he used to hide the "outlaws", "Trancă and his thieves, so that the posse could find no trace of them." The old times, full of legends about outlaws, social rebels, who preyed on the rich to give to the poor, in a simulated act of rebellion and justice, belong to an undefined and somewhat unexpected past for a character who was also a member of the upper class. Next comes the list of children, because Banța had not only "bought estates, forests" but had also had several children: Anica, the girl who had got married, but died young, then Gligore, who had also got married to a rich girl, "then Gogu, / who had got married in Bălcești and was curse / Machea, 'cause he had two boys and when they became teachers / they both died of consumption." The fact that a seemingly insignificant detail like "consumption", that is, pulmonary tuberculosis, is mentioned speaks to the havoc that this disease wreaked in the nineteenth century and up to the beginning of the twentieth century, especially among the poor. Here history is a way of life, it is the history of the School of the Annales, with an economic and social focus.

The story of this family then overlaps with great historical events, because the last child, Fănică, "died in 1917 in the war."

In a striking, unembellished, simple style, the author ponders the tragic paradox of the father, who became a collaborationist mayor during the German occupation during the First World War, while all of his five children were fighting on the front against the Germans:

> during the German occupation, Banța had five son / all in the war, but he had become the mayor of the Germans / he went to the people, he cussed, he swore, / he took their oxen, sheep and even the eggs from under their broody hens, so all the women cursed him, / and he walked, roses on his lapel. /[...]) / He would dress up and go hunting all that stuff, / give it to the Germans. / He died in peace, at home.

The bitter, burlesque image of a mayor commandeering goods for the occupier's army and swearing at the villagers, while dressed elegantly, in a shirt and overcoat, evokes a historically and morally charged period going back several decades.

The ironic effect is enhanced in the short, unexpected, and surprising ending, typical of this series of volumes written by Marin Sorescu. The ending turns out to be a sign of the dark irony of fate. The collaborationist mayor "died in peace, at home," but had lost all his young children in various circumstances, including the war he himself supported, forcing the villagers to contribute and making them curse him. Wealth, which is the literary leitmotif in the first part of the poem, glues together families and marriages; what matters is how substantial each of the spouses' dowry is. But wealth does not save anyone from death, on the contrary – this is Sorescu's moral lesson. Another law of traditional village life is overturned in the very fact that the evil mayor lives a long and prosperous life. According to folk culture, immoral, uncommonly callous people, such as Banța, "do not die a good death". Such people for sure pay for their acts with a tormented end. Nevertheless, in the very last verse, we learn that Banța "died in peace, at home", which again ironically contradicts ancient common wisdom.

In other words, Marin Sorescu, using new techniques reminiscent of postmodernism, associating playfulness, tragedy and irony, brings to the fore a complex somewhat strange world, which deconstructs its mythology while exposing its history. In this way, he forges a new poetic path in Romanian literature and his own vision on humanity and history, from the level of individuals living side by side and one after the other, weaving their destinies at the edge of time.

The title of the poem, *Biografii* [Biographies], could very well be lent to other poems that narrate personal stories or merely list names and their minimal ancestry. The paratext refers to the writing of these lives. It is only through an act of creation that they become part of history, which finally incorporates us all.

The novelty of Marin Sorescu's poetry lead to a difficult reception at the time, although, in the public space, including in comedic shows on state television featuring the great actor Amza Pelea, Oltenian village life and its irony had extraordinary appeal. It might be said that this is a form of escapism and subversive consumption, "tolerated" under the increasingly transparent roof of official, sclerotic culture which employed awful quasi-generalized wooden language. The brutal and dramatic authenticity of the village world, viewed

through a deforming burlesque lens, undoubtedly broadened the artistic experience of the people and induced a diversification of the cultural thematic range.

In conclusion, in the communist period, history remains one of the references of the poetic imaginary, but it acquires various interpretations, depending on the author's worldview and sensibility, but also on the latter's relation with either propagandistic, "politically regimented" poetry or autonomous censor-"tolerated" poetry, sending complex messages to the readership and questioning one's own interiority.

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The Lithuanian Research and Studies Center: Establishment of the Lithuanian Diaspora Research Institution in Chicago and its Activities from 1982 to 2022

Abstract

With origins that date back to the 1970s, the Lithuanian Research and Studies Center is the only Lithuanian diaspora research institution in the world. Its emergence was determined by the Lithuanian heritage accumulated in the Lithuanian diaspora and the need to disseminate it, as well as the developing scientific potential of Lithuanians abroad and the consequences of the Soviet occupation. Representatives of the Lithuanian American scientific and cultural elite founded this institution at the Youth Center in Chicago in early 1982, uniting 12 departments under the umbrella principle. The goal was to collect Lithuanian material, make it available to researchers, bring the latter together for scientific work, and promote research both within the Lithuanian diaspora and among non-Lithuanians. Up until 1990, the Center took shape by pooling the Lithuanian base and strengthening Lithuanian research. After 1990, in the second stage of the LRSC's activities, extensive and resilient relations were established with Lithuanian research institutions and scholars; Lithuanian libraries were supplied with Western

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literature and diaspora publications; books by Lithuanian and foreign scholars were prepared and published; articles and documents were scanned and microfilmed; and exhibitions were put together. The Center also became known to foreign scholars interested in Lithuanian studies.

Keywords

Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, Lithuanian studies, USA, Chicago, Lemont, Lithuanians abroad, Lithuanian diaspora, Youth Center, World Lithuanian Archive, Jonas Račkauskas, Robertas Vitas.

Introduction

There are few nations in the world that do not have a diasporic community. The Lithuanian nation is no exception. Its diasporic population has a history of more than 150 years. It is believed that together with their descendants (up to the 5th/6th generation), there may be four to five million Lithuanian emigrants worldwide. The largest number of Lithuanians abroad are concentrated in the United States, where there were nearly one million people of Lithuanian descent in 2017 (Skirius, 2018a). Chicago, which is the largest city in the state of Illinois, has long been called the Lithuanian capital of the United States. According to the U.S. Census, there were 112,410 Lithuanians and Americans of Lithuanian descent living in this state in 1980 (Adomėnas, 2023).

People appeared within the Lithuanian diaspora who realized that it was necessary to collect the legacy of the emigrants' activities – their cultural values, without which it would be impossible to remember the social, cultural and economic activities of Lithuanians abroad and write the history of Lithuanian emigration. In addition to private collectors, special institutions, such as the World Lithuanian Archive (WLA) in Chicago, the Lithuanian American Cultural Archives (ALKA) in Putnam, and the Museum of Lithuanian Culture founded

in Chicago by Stanley Balzekas, Jr.,[1] were founded and have long been collecting the cultural values of the Lithuanian diaspora. Among the emigrants and their descendants, there were enthusiasts who have published books, a Lithuanian encyclopedia, and jubilee publications, but complex studies of the heritage of the Lithuanian diaspora did not appear until the 1980s.

It took a long time for Lithuanian diaspora organizations to set the task of conducting research on Lithuanian material or at least discussing cultural values as a contribution of Lithuanian emigrants to the common culture of the Lithuanian nation and making them available to the public. However, the diaspora's representatives of culture and science discussed the matter of a potential research institution in the Lithuanian American press. The turning point was in the late 1970s/early 1980s, when the Lithuanian intellectuals in Chicago announced that the Lithuanian Research and Studies Center (LRSC; also referred to here as "the Center") was being founded. This may have been influenced by similar research institutes that had already been set up by Polish, Ukrainian, Czech and other diasporas in foreign countries (the United States, Canada, etc.).

This important event for the Lithuanian nation – the attempt to conduct comprehensive research in the diaspora – has not received broader attention from scholars to this day. The exceptions may be the one and only scientific article about the establishment of the LRSC and its first stage of activities (Skirius, 2018b), as well as the article written by the head of the LRSC, Robertas Vitas, Ph.D.,[2] which briefly summarizes the activities of the LRSC and sets apart three stages of the organization's activities (Vitas, 2022). In general, information about the LRSC and its activities is mainly found in the articles and reports published by the Center's employees in Lithuanian diaspora periodicals, as well as in one-off publications and leaflets published by the Center. There are a few pieces of information in encyclopedias.

1 "The Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture's mission is to preserve, perpetuate, showcase, and celebrate the history, culture, and achievements of the Lithuanian nation and people worldwide." Museum link: https://balzekasmuseum.org/

2 Robertas Vitas is the author of *Lithuanian Immigration History* (1982) and *The United States and Lithuania: The Stimson Doctrine of Nonrecognition* (1990).

The material is, one might say, relatively "scattered", so it needs to be collected, summarized, and supplemented by yet unpublished documents. The LRSC also safeguards the World Lithuanian Archive, where there is a special LRSC Fund consisting of several boxes. These boxes contain material which has not yet been documented (documents, correspondence, photographs, press clippings, etc.), and which reflects the history of the LRSC. In addition, the Lithuanian Consulate in Chicago Fund (box No. 2A) contains File No. 21, where the documents collected show the establishment of the LRSC and the initial activities of the Center relatively well. These documents were collected by Lithuanian Honorary Consul General Josephine J. Dauzvardis (1904–1990),[3] because she was also a member of the LRSC Board and participated in its meetings. It should be noted that the Center is not widely known in Lithuanian society, apart from researchers of the Lithuanian diaspora, library and archive employees, and some scholars at Lithuanian universities; it is also known among foreign scholars interested in Lithuanian history and culture. Information about the LRSC's funds is useful for them.

The objective of the article is to reveal the importance of the LRSC's activities to Lithuanian culture, highlighting the specificity of its stages. To achieve this objective, we shall draw attention to the necessity of such a center and the tasks set for it; discuss the conditions of its foundation and the motivation of the employees of this establishment; highlight the directions of activity and relations with Lithuanian research institutions as well as Lithuanian and foreign scholars; and consider the matter of the LRSC's perspectives.

The Idea of the LRSC and its Materialization

In instilling young people in a foreign land with a sense of Lithuanian identity, the Lithuanian American clergy – the Jesuit Fathers – played a significant role. In 1957–1966, they used the donations of Lithuanian emigrants to build a large Youth Center (YC) complex near Marquette

3 1917–1928 – editor of the *Amerikos lietuvis* weekly; organizer of the first Lithuanian song festival in the United States; compiler of the book *Popular Lithuanian Recipes*. Since the USA did not recognize the Soviet occupation of the Baltic States, diplomatic missions could continue to operate there.

Park in Chicago so that they could develop and better coordinate their activities. This well-equipped YC has housed many different public organizations. It was noted that at that time, 42 Lithuanian societies were using the premises of the YC, and "some 100,000 Lithuanians pass through the Youth Center every year" (*Čikagos jaunimo centras 1957–1967*, 1968). Later, most of the organizations that operated in the YC were merged into a common coordination structure – a large scientific and cultural unit – the LRSC, which was based in the YC, where the main Lithuanian events for Chicago and its surroundings took place, and Lithuanians and their American friends visited in large numbers.

The idea of establishing the LRSC came up in Chicago in November 1981, during the 4th Science and Culture Symposium held every four years by Lithuanians abroad. The main theme of the symposium was the contribution of Lithuanian emigrants to science. The speakers mentioned concerns regarding the cultural life of the Lithuanian diaspora. Chairman of the Lithuanian World Community (LWC)[4] Vytautas Kamantas (1930–2012) spoke about a Lithuanian scientist in his community and reminded the participants about the aspirations of the Lithuanian diaspora: to preserve and develop Lithuanian identity, and to seek the restoration of Lithuania's independence (*Draugas*, 1981, p. 6). This event clearly demonstrated the scientific potential of Lithuanian emigrants, which could be used for the affairs of the nation.

The necessity of the LRSC was further provoked by the information received that various old and even rare Lithuanian (and not only Lithuanian) publications were being eliminated from American universities and public libraries because they were either microfilmed or no longer being preserved due to a lack of funds. This unpleasant news stirred the cultural elite within the Lithuanian diaspora. Jonas Račkauskas (1942–2018), who was the rector of the Lithuanian Institute of Education (LIE) at the YC,

4 After World War II, the Lithuanians who had left Lithuania began to create a national organization in Germany – the Lithuanian World Community, which was meant to unite Lithuanians worldwide and preserve the language and traditions in emigration. The LWC has been in operation since 1949 and currently has 47 communities in different countries around the world.

a doctor of philosophy (pedagogy), and a professor at Chicago State University, formulated a principle that was constantly hammered into the heads of Lithuanians abroad: "If our cultural values are to be preserved, they will only be preserved by Lithuanians" (*Draugas*, 1985, p. 1). What he was implying was that apart from the Lithuanians themselves, no one else was going to ensure the preservation of Lithuanian cultural relics in emigration.

On January 6, 1982, *Draugas* (the Lithuanian American newspaper founded back in 1909) published an article about the need to preserve and expand Lithuanian culture, as it is necessary for the nation's freedom struggle, especially in the diaspora (Miškinis, 1982). This was probably the pretext for the intellectuals within the Lithuanian diaspora to take action. On January 9th, a group of initiators (Jonas Račkauskas, Dr. Vytenis B. Damušis, legal historian Jonas Dainauskas, WLA director Česlovas Grincevičius, Fr. Vaclovas Gutauskas, collector Bronius Kviklys and St. Joseph Calumet College professor Tomas Remeikis) gathered for the first meeting at the YC in Chicago to discuss the main organizational issues and outline guidelines for the status of the LRSC. It was announced in the press that a new institution had been founded – the Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, which was legally registered in Springfield, the capital of the state of Illinois, as a public, non-profit organization. The objective of the new institution was also announced:

> To collect various Lithuanian materials – books, magazines, newspapers, studies, documents, photographs from the life and activities of Lithuanians – and other items of Lithuanian studies that have historical significance; also, to take the gatherers of the said items – collectors – under its wing, make sure that valuable Lithuanian material does not perish, prepare it for scientific studies and create the necessary conditions for those who want to use it, and conduct various scientific research work ("Lituanistinis tyrimo ir studijų centras", *Draugas*, p. 6).

The LRSC was officially established on January 11, 1982, and a temporary board was formed, with Jonas Račkauskas appointed as chairman. At the board meeting on October 9th, it was decided to invite representatives of influential organizations (the Lithuanian World

Community, the Lithuanian American Community, the Lithuanian diplomatic services, the Lithuanian Institute of Education, the Lithuanian Catholic Academy of Science, the Jesuit Fathers) to be members of the board. The LRSC management structure was prepared and the Center's statutes were approved[5]. The operational goals were officially set for the Center:

1. Bring together all of the existing scientific organizations or institutions (the Lithuanian Institute of Education, the World Lithuanian Archive, the Žilevičius Musicology Archive, the Freedom Museum, the Center for Economic Studies, Association of Lithuanian Historians, the Association of Professors, etc.) into one central unit;
2. Preserve, organize and protect cultural values;
3. Involve young people in Lithuanian work;
4. Establish the main units: a) Country Studies and Research, b) Society Studies and Research, c) History Studies and Research, d) Cultural Studies and Research;
5. Hire at least one scholar for each unit[6].

Hence, the plan was not only to collect information, but also to prepare scientific studies based on it and disseminate the research outcomes in society. Given, the Center still had a few urgent tasks ahead – it had to finish preparing the legal framework for the LRSC, find suitable premises for the new organization, start collecting Lithuanian materials, and find the funds needed to finance all of the work planned. It must be noted that money was the LRSC Board's main concern. Unfortunately, the lack thereof prevented the rapid implementation of their plans (Skirius, 2018b).

The issue to be addressed was that of the LRSC premises. Fr. Vaclovas Gutauskas (1913–2003), the chaplain of the Sisters of Jesus Crucified Convent in Elmhurst, Pennsylvania, negotiated with the Jesuit priests for the first six rooms at the Youth Center. By the end of 1983, the Center already had 13 rooms that housed the library, archive, and periodical collections; the LIE, WLA and Žilevičius Musicology archives were added, among others. The Center already had over

5 Chairman of the LRSC Board Dr. J. Račkauskas's 22 October 1982 letter to Consul J. Dauzvardis. LRSC/WLA, f. Lithuanian Consulate in Chicago, b. 2A, f. 21 (Lithuanian Research Center), l.n.

6 LTS centras – organisation and objectives. Ibid.

100 historical maps and a large number of museum exhibits. The activities of the Center were supported by the Jesuit Fathers (who paid the rent); the Lithuanian Foundation also contributed and donations were collected.

One of the Center's employees, lawyer Augustinas Idzelis, Ph.D. (1942–2018), commented on the informational role of the new institution as well:

> We also have to spread information about Lithuania to the free world… The facts that reflect the reality of occupied Lithuania become an important weapon not only in the work of liberating Lithuania, but also in the common ideological struggle between the West and the Soviet Union… Given the Soviets' efforts to hide and distort the reality of occupied Lithuania, scientific analysis becomes an important tool to reveal the true situation of Lithuania (Idzelis, 1983, p. 3).

In his opinion, disseminating research outcomes meant publishing scientific monographs in English, participating in scientific conferences, and printing journalistic articles in U.S. publications. And all of this was done, even though there were not many Lithuanian scholars.

After becoming acquainted with the newly launched LRSC, Josephine J. Dauzvardis, the Honorary Consul General in Chicago, wrote that the Center "left me with a good, serious impression. It is being headed by U.S.-educated professors/doctors who are familiar with the management and establishment of American science, research and technology institutions. They are committed to applying the latest methodology to the Research Center"[7].

The First Stage of the LRSC's Activities (pre-1990)

During this period, the main focus was on developing and strengthening the LRSC. On October 12, 1984, LRSC Chairman Jonas

7 Transcript of J. Dauzvardis's 8 November 1983 pro memoria to the Lithuanian diplomatic service. *LRSC/WLA*, f. Lithuanian Consulate in Chicago, b. 2A, f. 21 (Lithuanian Research Center), l.n.

Račkauskas signed an agreement with musicologist and organist Juozas Kreivėnas (1912–1987), by which the latter donated his collection of musicology, which was named the Library of Lithuanian Music. In 1986, this collection was joined with the archive of the composer Juozas Žilevičius, and the Žilevičius-Kreivėnas Musicology Archive was born – the largest archive of Lithuanian musicology in the free world[8]. In 1988, the YC opened the Museum of Medicine as part of the Center – this is the only Lithuanian museum of its kind abroad and houses a large collection of rare medical books, documents, photographs, medical instruments, and samples of old medicines. The museum was patronized and supported by Dr. Milda Budrys (1916–2008), who was a clinical professor at the University of Illinois in Allergy and Immunology. The Lithuanian Museum opened at the Center on April 23, 1989. The exhibition, which is comprised of 26 stands, displays material that reflects Lithuania's past and the Lithuanian diaspora and its activities (a loom, flags of Lithuanian parishes, the Lithuanian army, religion in Lithuania, M. K. Čiurlionis, Lithuanian currency and coins, posters, Lithuanian national costumes, wrought iron sun crosses, etc.) (*Lituanistikos tyrimo ir studijų centras 1982–2008*, 2008, p.n.). This dissemination, which was also aimed at the U.S. public, was encouraged by the national liberation movement that was already taking place in Lithuania in 1988–1990.

In 1987–1988, the LRSC received a library of Lithuanian publications (approximately 15,000 books) from the Lithuanian Congregation of Marian Fathers in Marianapolis (Thompson, Connecticut) for safekeeping, and from there managed to bring back a unique and abundant archive of the activities of the Lithuanian American Catholic Council (Lithuanian National Council) from 1914 to 1920 (*Lituanistikos tyrimo ir studijų centras 1982–2008*, 2008, p.n.). To the best of the author's knowledge, this is the only surviving collection of documents that is so compact and so well reflects the political and informational activities of Lithuanian Americans. The LRSC staff can rightly be proud of it, as a unique collection on par with those of the German Lithuanian DP camps in 1944–1951, the Lithuanian

8 October 12, 1984, agreement between J. Kreivėnas and J. Račkauskas. *Ibid.*

Association in Great Britain since 1947, the Lithuanian Consulate in Chicago, the United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America[9], the personal archive of Leonardas Šimutis (1892–1975)[10], and other abundant WLA documentary funds. One which is crucial for conducting research on the history of the Lithuanian diaspora.

By 1990, the Center had published 10 publications, including *Vengeance on the Run* (a collection of documents edited by Dr. Saulius Sužiedėlis); the Society of Lithuanian Historians finished printing issues of the newspaper *Varpas* (1889–1905; five volumes, over 3,200 pages)[11], and published *The Samogitian Crusade* by Prof. William L. Urban, *Bibliography of the Lithuanian People* compiled by Kazimieras V. Baltramaitis back in 1934, and so on. Together with the Center for Research Libraries Chicago, the LRSC completed a major project – microfilming sets of *Draugas*[12] and *Sandara* newspapers. In supporting Lithuanian dissidents, the Center included Dr. Kazys Ėringis, Dr. Vytautas Skuodis and Dr. Algirdas Stankevičius in the ranks of its research collaborators. Once the Lithuanian National Revival began, LRSC employees, particularly Prof. Jonas Račkauskas and Dr. Robertas Vitas, spoke about Lithuania on U.S. television and radio, and gave interviews to the U.S. press (Skirius, 2018b).

By 1990, the LRSC was already operating in as many as 25 rooms that they rented at the YC. The Center united 12 departments under the umbrella principle. At that time, the Center's library had accumulated more than 100,000 Lithuanian books and 1,500 periodical collections. Unlike other cultural centers of the Lithuanian diaspora

9 The United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America (ULRFA) was founded in 1944 as a unified aid organization of all patriotic Lithuanian American political organizations, with the aim of supporting Lithuanian refugees and exiles, and preparing for the reconstruction of the Lithuanian state. It operated from 1944 to 2008. During those years, it helped hundreds of thousands of unfortunate people, and distributed material goods, food products, medicines, and so on worth at least USD 100 million.

10 One of the most prominent Lithuanian American figures of the 20th century. One of the founders of the ULRFA, long-time chairman of the Lithuanian American Council, editor of the newspapers *Vytis*, *Garsas* and *Draugas*, head of the largest Catholic organizations.

11 A newspaper that was printed in Prussia and illegally distributed in Russian-occupied Lithuania and Congress Poland.

12 A Lithuanian daily in the United States that went into publication in 1909.

(which are either owned by private individuals, such as the Balzekas Museum in Chicago, or by an ideological group, such as ALKA in Putnam, under the patronage of Catholic organizations), the LRSC Center was patronized by the Lithuanian American community and supported by the Lithuanian Foundation. One might say that it is an institution of the entire Lithuanian diaspora, which contributes to the spread of Lithuanian identity among Lithuanians abroad and beyond (Paplauskienė, 2002). The LRSC had become the largest Lithuanian emigrant research organization and accumulation of archives in the West, which became an attractive subject for scholars and researchers not only from the United States, but also from more distant lands, including Lithuania once it became independent (Paplauskienė, 2002). This is when the second stage of the LRSC's activities began –the establishment of relations with Lithuanian research institutions and scholars.

Thus, the Center was still just taking shape in the first stage – it expanded its structure and increased its funds, pooled scientific and informational potential, and discussed the selection of scientific research topics.

The Second Stage of the LRSC's Activities (1990–2020)

In the second period, when Lithuania was declared a restored independent state, the Center got the opportunity to fully unfold and prove that the efforts Lithuanians abroad had made in creating this Lithuanian unit were not in vain. The research institution played an important role by making a significant contribution to strengthening the quality of science and education in Lithuania once its independence was restored – especially in the first decade.

The Center was one of the first Lithuanian organizations that immediately joined in helping the Fatherland, sending Western scientific literature as well as books and newspaper and magazine sets published by emigrants to Lithuanian libraries, replenishing their funds. As a reminder, these publications were scarce in Lithuania or were not freely available to the general public.

Since its inception, the LRSC collected books and periodicals published by the Lithuanian diaspora, and even had "duplicate

rooms", because Lithuanians were constantly giving the Center their books, magazines and newspapers. On the initiative of Jonas Račkauskas, the LRSC began sending books to Lithuanian research institutions in postal bags in 1988. In the summer of 1990, Račkauskas agreed with the National Library of Lithuania in Vilnius on sending even more books, and the library undertook distribution of the books received to other Lithuanian libraries; the Lithuanians in Chicago organized a book drive called "Books for Lithuania" for this purpose. In the autumn of 1990, a total of three containers were sent to Lithuania, loaded not only with books and periodicals, but also with works of emigrant artists that were donated to the Lithuanian Art Museum. The cost of sending these containers was covered by the Lithuanian American Community and Lithuanian Catholic Religious Aid[13]. At that time, Lithuanian libraries received some 200,000 books, with an estimated value of USD 800,000 (Juodelis, 1990). There were subsequent book drives as well. LRSC employees are justifiably proud that through their initiative (collecting, packing and loading containers), nine containers with almost 1.5 million books donated by Lithuanian Americans and American academic institutions were dispatched to Lithuania. This made it possible not only to rapidly replenish library funds and put together a more comprehensive Lithuanian collection, but also to provide Lithuanian scholars and students with the literature they needed (Skirius, 2018a). The Center is still responding to inquiries and requests to this day.

One of the most important activities of the LRSC is close cooperation with scholars, mainly from Lithuania. The management of the Center, understanding the difficult material and financial situation of Lithuanian scholars – especially in the first decade of independence – created excellent working and living conditions for them (room and board, copying of documents, and sending books and copies by post were all paid for). All this facilitated the efforts of scholars when working with archival material, literature and

13 Lithuanian Catholic Religious Aid was founded in 1959 by Lithuanian American priests and Catholic organizations, with the core goal being to support the church and believers in Soviet-occupied Lithuania.

exhibits. If these conditions had not existed, some of the scholars who came would not have been able to comprehensively carry out the work they had planned. Over the past 30 years, Lithuanian scholars researching the history of the Lithuanian diaspora have already done extensive research work, publishing articles and monographs, defending theses, and participating in conferences. The output provided by them more or less reflects the material used from the LRSC archive funds as well.

From the very beginning, the LRSC management had a liberal attitude towards newcomers. The Center was and is open to Lithuanian Americans and Americans, as well as to guests from abroad. According to Jonas Račkauskas, "the LRSC is not a political organization. We welcome everyone: Christians [and] atheists [alike]... We welcome those who want to contribute to the activities of the Research Center." (*Draugas*, 2020, p. 4). Exact statistics on how many researchers have already visited the LRSC are not yet available. Based on data provided by Chairman of the LRSC Board Robertas Vitas in 2022, over 900 different employees from Lithuania have worked at the LRSC since the restoration of Lithuania's independence in 1990, cataloging, managing archives, doing internships, or assisting in other ways (Vitas, 2022). This refers to people who have helped the Center. Since the management of the LRSC has agreements concluded with the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania, Lithuanian archives, and other research institutions, there is ongoing cooperation between them, with librarians and archivists coming from Lithuania to help manage the library and archive funds and digitize documents.

Visiting scholars also contribute by organizing the funds they research – this is one of the Center's unspoken rules and a sort of compensation to the Center for the excellent living conditions provided to the scholars. Though not yet precisely counted, it is thought that more than 100 scholars have collected material for scientific work – dissertations, articles and monographs. Scholars – and not only from Lithuania – are particularly interested in the abundance of documents in the World Lithuanian Archive, which was founded in 1946. This is the largest Lithuanian archive outside Lithuania: it contains over a million documents, not including the

abundant Žilevičius-Kreivėnas Musicology Archive, which researchers of Lithuanian diaspora culture cannot do without it. According to Robertas Vitas (2020, p. 4): "If we didn't have those primary and secondary sources, those studies would not have come out, and our place, the Lithuanian diaspora, in the world of Western science, our role, would be much smaller." The studies and articles on emigrants would not have been documented as abundantly as they are now – using materials in the WLA and other archives. One can only agree with Vitas's statement that if it wasn't for the LRSC, the historical material collected not only in Chicago, but also from various parts of the United States, would have been irretrievably lost and destroyed for the Lithuanian nation (as the diasporas of some other nations have experienced).

Various emigrant archives continue to fill the Center. At the meetings of the LRSC Board, the necessity of preserving archives was and is constantly emphasized and the importance of supporting archives is raised; this is also in the interest of the Lithuanian American Community (LAC). For example, at a meeting of the board that was held on September 11, 2010, President of the Lithuanian American Community National Executive Committee Vytas Maciūnas said that "the preservation of archives is one of the most important undertakings of the activity of the LAC" (Lapienytė, 2010, p. 6). This suggested that the Lithuanian American Community would continue to contribute and look for opportunities to help the archives.

Another important part of the Center's activities is the publication of scholarly books not only in Lithuanian, but also in English, as a way to disseminate information about Lithuania and the Lithuanian diaspora. According to the latest data, the LRSC has published 54 books over the course of its operations, primarily by authors from Lithuania. A third of the books were published in English, and according to the Center's managers, these books are in demand. Prominent American authors are also published. As an example, there is the aforementioned William Urban, Ph.D., a professor at Monmouth College who is a global historian, a medieval studies researcher, and the former editor of the *Journal of Baltic Studies*. Urban's *Tannenberg and After* (Urban, 1999) was published in 2001 and was recognized as one of the 30 best historical research works in

the world that year (Vitas, 2022). It was later translated into Lithuanian in Lithuania. Books not only bring attention to Lithuania and Lithuanians – they also provide the Center with a bit of income.

Furthermore, in order to provide a more detailed presentation of the available archives and exhibits to the American public, the LRSC holds various exhibitions that also have certain political significance. For example, in early 1990, the LRSC held an exhibition about President of the Republic of Lithuania Aleksandras Stulginskis (1885–1969). At the time, the press wrote:

> When Lithuania is currently in the midst of a national revival, when the nation is fighting with all of its might for the freedom and independence of Lithuania, it is very useful to draw strength from the past, as our national anthem says... The aim of the exhibition is to learn about the history of Lithuania's statehood and for our youth, who grew up in occupation, exile and emigration, and all older people, to develop their ethnic and national consciousness (Juodelis, 1990, p. 6).

Jonas Račkauskas brought a copy of the exhibition to Vilnius and handed it over to the National Museum of Lithuania; the exhibition was shown in larger Lithuanian communities in the United States and Canada. To mark special occasions, the Center holds exhibitions in the premises of the Čiurlionis Gallery – for example, "Lithuanian American Folk Dance Festivals", "Lithuanian DP Camps in Germany", "The 90th Anniversary of the Lithuanian Consulate in Chicago", "North American Lithuanian Sports Activities", and so on. They are also published on the website. Rarer exhibits that are stored in the LRSC archive and museum funds are also displayed at the exhibitions.

For several years now, the Center has been carrying out an extensive project in cooperation with *Draugas*, the Lithuanian American daily – scanning and photographing the press of the Lithuanian diaspora so as to preserve the periodicals of Lithuanians abroad and to makes them more accessible to researchers. The management of the Center is serious about scanning and digitizing all available documentary, audio and video material, so that researchers and hobbyists can access the historical documents and research that they need from anywhere in the world (Vitas, 2020). Work has already

begun. The managers of the Center admit that this is and will be the most important prospective activity of the LRSC (Timukienė, 2017). From the beginning of this process, one could talk about the third stage of the Center's activities. Chairman of the LRSC Board Robertas Vitas says that the third period began in 2018, when the Center's archives began to be moved from Chicago to Lemont,[14] to the newly acquired premises that were adapted for the archives and the library, and space was created for future new collections. The Center opened there on October 24, 2021. One of the reasons given for the relocation was that there were a lot of Lithuanians living in Lemont, including volunteers who wanted to help manage the archives (Vitas, 2022). The Center's management plans to expand its work even further. The extensive scanning work that was already mentioned coincides with the Center's move to Lemont.

In the new premises, the Center began going by a shortened version of its name – the Lithuanian Research Center. However, most researchers (and Lithuanian American newspapers) still refer to the Center as the LRSC. Robertas Vitas claims that the name of the organization was too long. Plus, as Vitas says, "someone who researches also studies... We think that 'research' is a word that encompasses all scientific activity."[15] This is hard to dispute. Moreover, the word "studies" in the name had meaning while the Lithuanian Institute of Education was operating, which trained teachers from the Lithuanian diaspora for Saturday schools. For their classes, students from the institute carried out certain studies and used the literature and museum exhibits that had been accumulated. Once the Lithuanian Institute of Education was closed down, the studies disappeared.

Broader awareness of the Center and dissemination of information about it occurred when the LRSC website was created in Lithuanian and English in 2003[16]. All of the LRSC's departments and their activities are presented on the website. A catalog of 2,300 periodical

14 Lemont, Illinois (USA) is home to the Lithuanian World Center, which was established in 1987 as a scientific, cultural and educational institution for the Lithuanian diaspora.

15 Robertas Vitas's March 9, 2023, Messenger message to the author.

16 http://www.lithuanianresearch-arch.org/

collections can already be found in the WLA section, and lists of stored books, archive personnel and organizations are gradually being added. The website now has a "What's New" section that is updated monthly (*Amerikos lietuvis*, 2003, p. 15). This is also important for scholars, who can now find out remotely what this research institution has in its funds.

In evaluating the second stage of the LRSC's activities, it is the Center's clear and direct connection with Lithuania and its research and cultural institutions. Although the Center tries to balance the significance between Lithuania, the Lithuanian diaspora and foreign stakeholders, the Lithuanian factor is still the more significant. To put it simply: The Center is important for Lithuania, but at the moment, Lithuania is more significant for the Center's activities.

In carrying out its cultural and Lithuanian identity dissemination mission, the LRSC is faced with some shortcomings, including the funds necessary for essential activities, competent employees, and premises for work. Some of the problems are solved not only with the help of Lithuanian diaspora organizations and individual enthusiasts, but also through assistance from Lithuania.

Conclusions

1. The emergence of a research institution like the Lithuanian Research and Studies Center in Chicago to coordinate significant Lithuanian studies was inevitable in the Lithuanian diaspora. The Lithuanian scientific elite abroad was encouraged to create the LRSC by the political processes in the United States in the 1970s that were unfavorable to Lithuanians as well as the vanishing cultural heritage of the diaspora.

2. There was a need not only to collect, register and preserve, but also to study the cultural heritage of the Lithuanian diaspora – the guarantor of Lithuanian identity. Once it was founded in the Youth Center in 1982, the LRSC, in its first stage of operation under the umbrella principle, united the library, the archive, museums, societies, and so on (12 institutions in all), and accumulated scientific information; it planned to include scientific intellectual potential, and secured guaranteed and regular, albeit insufficient, funding.

The vast majority of the Center's employees worked and are still working on a voluntary basis.

3. By 1990, the Center expanded its structure and premises, pooled information potential, and discussed the selection of scientific topics and the inclusion of young people in history studies. It managed to create a base that was visited by scholars around the world conducting Lithuanian research; this base formed the axis of research into Lithuanian traditions and history among members of the diaspora. In the first stage of its activities, the Center prepared and released 10 publications (some of them in English) on Lithuanian studies.

4. The second stage of the Center's activities involved close and extensive relations with Lithuanian research institutions, libraries, archives and scholars, with literature and periodicals published in the West being collected and sent to Lithuanian universities, research institutions and libraries. Over 900 librarians, archivists and scholars came to the LRSC from Lithuania as assistants and researchers.

5. Attention is given to the preparation and release of publications by Lithuanian and foreign scholars. The Center has published a total of 54 books (one-third of which were in English). To mark special occasions, the Center holds exhibitions featuring exhibits in its holdings. A project involving the scanning and microfilming of Lithuanian diaspora press and preserved historical documents has been launched and marks a new stage of the LRSC's activities. The collection and preservation of Lithuanian diaspora heritage continues; contacts are maintained with foreign scholars, and cultural values are disseminated among Lithuanian researchers and researchers of other nationalities. The relocation of the Center to Lemont in 2021 will help solve problems with premises and helpers, and in part – the lack of funding.

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The Great Evacuation of Vilnius in 1915: Losses of Cultural Property[1]

Abstract

Due to the threat of Vilnius being captured by the approaching German troops, the tsarist authorities decided to hastily move to the empire not only government administration units, industrial plants, and educational and financial institutions, but also the most valuable resources of cultural institutions, movable sacred objects, and Russian monuments. The population leaving the city also took with them valuable items, including objects of historic and commemorative value, as well as works of art. At the time, the former capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania suffered colossal losses of movable cultural heritage objects collected over several centuries. Thanks to the dignified attitude of the local community remaining in Vilnius, it was possible to partially secure and save many items of cultural property from being exported, destroyed or dispersed.

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Vilnius, cultural heritage, World War I, evacuation, war losses

In 1915, the multinational Vilnius, the capital of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which was then a governorate city and part of the Russian Empire, found itself under threat from the rapidly advancing troops of the German army. For this reason, the tsarist authorities carried out an unprecedented forced evacuation of libraries, museums, offices, banks, and educational institutions, together with the most valuable objects gathered there, which are classified as cultural property. In just a few months, the city suffered irreparable damage to its heritage of many generations. It was a period of great relocation of museum objects, book collections, archival collections, all kinds of movable monuments, and historical memorabilia – the effects of which are still being felt today.

State institutions and offices were evacuated to the cities of Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Tambov, Tula, Ryazan, Yaroslavl, Kursk, Samara, and to the outskirts of the Vilnius and Minsk governorates (*Spravochnik* ..., 1916). Orthodox clergy and organizations were spread across Moscow, Usman, Nizhny Novgorod, Ekaterinoslav, and Yelets (*Spravochnik* ..., 1916).

During the evacuation, special attention was paid to institutions involved in collecting and storing archives. Administrative and military documents – various confidential letters, maps, and plans of strategic facilities – were selected for removal first. In addition, the evacuation action covered the most valuable historical and memorial objects. Also exported were a significant portion of the documents stored in the building of the post-Franciscan church on Trokskaja Street, which was converted in the 1870s into the Archives of Gubernial Government Institutions (*Arhiv gubernskih prisutstvennyh mest*), where some 700,000 folders with old files were kept. The building had five floors, while inside there was a gallery and a staircase, with shelves and cabinets (*Kościół Wniebowzięcia*..., 168v). Thus, for example, a large number of selected documents from the governorate offices (along with directories of document folders)

were transported from there, as well as some court documentation (Gizbert-Studnicki, 1922).

In addition, the archives of the Gubernial Land Management Commission (*Gubernskaja zemleustroitel'naja komissija*), a sizable portion of the documents of the Vilnius Gubernial Drawing Room (*Vilenskaja gubernskaja chertiozhnaja*) were expedited, as were almost all of the archives of the Vilnius Land Bank (*Vilenskij zemel'nyj bank*) and of the branch of the State Nobles' Land Bank (*Gosudarstvennyj dvorjanskij zemel'nyj bank*), the archives of the state railway administration and the postal and telegraphic communications offices, and some files of the Vilnius Gubernial Statistical Committee (*Vilenskij gubernskij statisticheskij komitet*) (Gizbert-Studnicki, 1922).

Some of the more valuable files were taken out of the archives of the Vilnius Gubernial Noble Deputy Assembley (*Vilenskoe gubernskoe dvorjanskoe deputatskoe sobranie*), which is a valuable resource for research into the history of Lithuanian families (Gizbert-Studnicki, 1922). Also evacuated were the most valuable documents of the Vilnius Scientific District (*Vilenskij uchebnyj okrug*) and some files from the Court Chamber archive complex (*Sudebnaja palata*) (Chwalewik, 1927).

Regarding the evacuation of official archives, it is essential to note that among the exported files were materials that dealt not only with contemporary issues (e.g., current official documentation), but also valuable historical materials. For example, the aforementioned Archive of Gubernial Government Institutions, which was partially evacuated, included manuscripts from the 16th and 17th centuries, which are of great importance for the study of the history of the lands of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania (*Kościół Wniebowzięcia…*, 168v). Information about specific files is difficult to verify today as registration documentation (inventories, lists, and catalogs) were also taken.

In addition, it was ordered that the most valuable documents be exported from the Vilnius Central Archive of Old Records (*Vilenskij central'nyj arhiv drevnih aktovyh knig*), whose headquarters were located in a building belonging to Vilnius University, which was closed after the November Uprising. Among the documents taken were the most valuable manuscripts concerning the history of Lithuania, such as

universals and royal privileges as well as inventories of estates. It is known that the books of the Supreme Tribunal, the Treasury Tribunal, the Treasury Commission of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the files of the Vilnius Castle Court, as well as a vast stock of materials relating to the history of Lithuanian cities and counties disappeared from the archives (Gizbert-Studnicki, 1922). In 1915, court books of the Brest, Raseiniai, Upytė, and Ukmergė districts were taken from there, which, according to tsarist historians, were supposed to be proof of the "eternal Russianness" of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Ptaszycki, 1923, p. 71; Mienicki, 1923).

The evacuation action included government museums. Special attention was paid to the Museum of Count Mikhail Nikolayevich Muravyov (*Muzej gr[afa] Mikhaila Nikolayevicha Muravyova*). This institution, although clearly ideological, contained valuable historical documentation on the January Uprising, including files with information on death sentences, images of insurgents, and all sorts of documents produced by the governor-general's office and other tsarist offices, which illustrated the course and suppression of the uprising in the Lithuanian governorates (Mienicki, 1937). During the evacuation, part of the archives (political and secret files) and museum specimens were transported to Russia (Mienicki, 1937).

In view of the approaching military operations, valuable exhibits were taken away from the museum, operating at the library of the Vilnius Military Assembly (*Vilenskoe voennoe sobranie*), whose resources consisted of donations and deposits from antiquities enthusiasts of Russian origin. The core of the collection consisted of objects donated by Alexander Zhirkevich, colonel (later general) of the tsarist army, man of letters, and collector, main donor, and *spiritus movens* of the institution. He founded the aforementioned museum, which collected not only items closely related to the history of the Russian army (Panchenko, 2014), but also specimens relating to the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Examples include documents bearing the signatures of King Stephen Báthory, coins from the reign of Sigismund I, and artifacts of John III Sobieski or Tadeusz Kościuszko. The collection was adorned with interesting archival documents illustrating the course of the Napoleonic campaign in Lithuania (Vinogradov, 1904). Along with the museum,

a rich book collection of some 30,000 volumes was transported away (Kuntze, 1937).

When considering the losses of cultural property during World War I, we must not forget the fate of valuable objects that are part of the collection of the largest of Vilnius's libraries, the Vilnius Public Library (*Vilenskaja publichnaja biblioteka*) and its government museum. After the January Uprising, exhibits from the Museum of Antiquities – founded in 1855 by Count Eustachy Tyszkiewicz, a distinguished archaeologist, collector, and researcher of the history of Lithuania – were added to the collection. It also housed a vast number of prints from closed monasteries and churches and estates confiscated by the tsarist authorities.

In 1915, valuable parchments, incunabula, all kinds of rare old prints pressed in the printing houses of Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and several cabinets of manuscripts were taken out of the Vilnius Public Library (Gizbert-Studnicki, 1922; Rygiel, 1928). In turn, the collections of the aforementioned government museum were impoverished during the evacation by at least 5,300 coins, 1,333 medals, and 38 treasures from excavations (Rygiel, 1924; Keršytė, 2011). In addition, Kontush sashes, crucifixes, militaria, and 17th-century textiles were taken (Keršytė, 2011). In the summer of 1915, the museum's collection arrived in Moscow. This is evidenced by a letter from the custodian of the Imperial Moscow and Rumyantsev Museum (*Imperatorskij Moskovskij i Rumjancevskij muzej*) addressed to Dmitri Dovgiallo, chairman of the Temporary Commission for the Management of the Vilnius Public Library and Museum, in which he relayed that on July 25 (the date according to the Julian calendar), the Moscow institution had taken over for safekeeping 23 boxes and 36 bags of exhibits taken out of Vilnius (*Letter from the curator...*, 51).

Archives and libraries belonging to the Orthodox Church were also evacuated during the period. The archives of the Orthodox Lithuanian Spiritual Consistory (*Litovskaja duhovnaja konsistorija*), housed in the so-called Arhierejskij dom (Archipastor's House) next to the ortodox cathedral, were taken away (almost in their entirety). The collection contained objects dating back to the 17th century (protocols, diaries, consistory registers, metrical books, financial records of parishes and religious orders, church visitation

documents, extracts from court records, and materials relating to the construction of religious buildings). These documents are valuable source material as they illustrate, among other things, the religious policy of the tsarist authorities in the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Sprogis, 1902; Chwalewik, 1927).

Also taken was the entire book collection of the library of the Orthodox Lithuanian Theological Seminary (*Litovskaja duhovnaja seminarija*) (Rygiel, 1924), which was housed within the walls of the former Basilian monastery. The library contained valuable prints that once belonged to Greek-Catholic monks from Vilnius and Zhyrovichi (Grodno Governorate). Among the adornments of these collections was an "almost complete" copy of the 1491 Cyrillic incunabulum, *Chasoslov*, from the Krakow printing house of Szwajpolt Fiol (Chwalewik, 1927). The private book collection of Metropolitan Yosyf Semashko (Kotovich, 1878) was also stored there.

Archives and libraries belonging to other religious associations were exported. By order of the tsarist authorities, some documents pertaining to the Catholic diocese of Vilnius, mainly church inventories, were evacuated to Mogilyov (present-day Belarus) (Chwalewik, 1927). The evacuation was carried out in the library and archives of the Vilnius Evangelical Reformed Synod: incunabula and a number of other valuable prints, as well as archives, were transported to Slutsk (Minsk Governorate). During the German occupation, however, they were happily returned to Vilnius (Gizbert-Studnicki, 1932), as Slutsk came under the administration of the German authorities.

The evacuation included movable religious objects (Rygiel, 1924). The most valuable icons, crucifixes, books, vessels, and liturgical textiles were taken out of Orthodox churches. For example, an extremely valuable icon of Mary Hodegetria was sent to Moscow from the Church of the Holy Trinity. The fate of the painting and its current location remain unknown (Piskun, 2004). In addition, a reliquary with the relics of the Vilnius Orthodox martyrs St. Anthony, St. Joan, and St. Eustace was taken (Jankowski 1923; Rygiel, 1924). Objects from the Great Synagogue in Vilnius, including brass candlesticks from the 17th and 18th centuries, were also selected for evacuation (Kłos, 1929).

During the evacuation, the most valuable equipment of government facilities that were not cultural institutions was taken away. Thus, for example, the evacuation list included the following property from the former seat of the governor-general, officially called the Vilnius Imperial Palace (*Vilenskij imperatorskij dvorec*): antique clocks, sconces, candelabras, table silver, crystals, paintings, some chandeliers, and a "Napoleonic table" – a memorabilia of the French emperor's stay in that building in 1812 (*Priblizitel'nyj perechen'...*, 9–9v). Valuable icons and liturgical paraphernalia from the palace's Alexander Nevsky Orthodox Church were also earmarked for removal (*Priblizitel'nyj perechen'...*, 9v). However, items were excluded if, in the opinion of the decision-makers, they were of lower value or were too large for transportation: cabinetry and living room furniture made of rosewood, dressing tables, mirrors, and multi-volume encyclopedic publications (*Priblizitel'nyj perechen'...*, 9–9v).

It is appropriate to mention the evacuation of the population. According to some estimates, about 90,000 people left Vilnius during the period in question (Stravinskienė, 2023) under both voluntary and forced evacuations. The order for mandatory departure from the city was handed down to government officials, employees of strategically important organizational units, reservists, education workers, and military personnel. One of the last to leave the city was Governor Pyotr Veriovkin, who addressed members of the local elite with these words as a farewell: "Don't forget, gentlemen, not for a moment, that we will be back!" (*Dziennik...*, vol. 1, 21). Indeed, after less than four years, the Russians invaded Vilnius again. However, these were not the tsarist army, but Bolshevik troops.

The departing Vilnius residents took with them their most valuable belongings, including works of art and historic or commemorative objects. One witness to the events of that time described the sight of the crowds fleeing the city as follows:

> Along the streets ... there are long rows of numerous carts loaded with equipment and goods.... trains are overflowing with refugees who, in the absence of seats in the cars, travel standing up, sitting on their own bags, or crammed into train cars outside the compartments (*Dziennik...*, vol. 1, 4v).

Mainly employees of strategic units, high-ranking officials, and officers were allowed to bring more items. Several well-known Vilnius collectors fell into this category: the aforementioned General Zhirkevich and Antoni Brodowski, an employee of the Engineering Department of the Vilnius Military District (*Inzhenernoe upravlenie Vilenskogo voennogo okruga*) and owner of a private museum.

Zhirkevich was the owner of an extremely valuable collection, which included works of art, old prints, and historical memorabilia. A large part of these items referred to the history of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The collector kept manuscripts of Antoni Edward Odyniec, Stanisław Moniuszko, Joachim Lelewel, and other well-known people, among others (Brensztejn, 1911). In addition, he had a very interesting collection of ancient weapons and instruments of torture used by policemen and Cossacks (*Po zgonie twórcy…*, 1v), 29 poods (with a total weight of over 475 kg) which went to the Rumyantsev Museum after the war. It became dispersed and forgotten (Zhirkevich-Podlesskih, 2020).

Brodowski took with him a rich collection of clocks, numismatic items, manuscripts, old prints, paintings, textiles, porcelain, and Judaica objects. These ended up in Vitebsk, Belarus (Breżgo, 1926).

Some items from private collections, due to their weight and size (e.g., furniture, clocks, and large paintings), as well as items that were categorized as less valuable by their owners (e.g., incomplete books and magazines, specimens that were damaged or in need of thorough restoration) were left in Vilnius. Thus, for example, Brodowski left some specimens which were part of a private museum in his apartment on Poplavskaja Street, such as excavation artifacts, cabinet clocks, books, engravings, plans, natural history specimens, and arts and crafts exhibits (huge ancient padlocks). In addition, he left dozens of museum display cases. The remnants of the collection were accepted for safekeeping (for fear of possible looting) as a deposit by the Society of Friends of Science (*Dziennik…*, vol. 2, 62v–63; *Sprawozdanie ze stanu muzeum…*, 32v).

Abandoned items, if not in the care of family, friends, servants, or kind neighbors, often fell into the hands of traders (especially during the German occupation) and over time became the property of other collectors or ended up in public collections. In the realities

of the time, a number of advertisements appeared in the local press offering to take care of abandoned properties and leftover movables in exchange for remuneration or the opportunity to use the apartments free of charge (*Ogłoszenia drobne…*, 1915). Reacting to the situation, the tsarist authorities issued a decree under which plundering abandoned apartments was punishable even by death (Tumanov, 1915).

It should be noted that for many collectors the period of the First World War provided an opportunity to enlarge their collections, as those leaving areas threatened by military action (in later periods also members of their families and other people who took care of the property left behind) often sold a variety of items – including antiques – for a song. During the absence of the aforementioned Zhirkevich in Vilnius, the movable property belonging to him was sold by the collector's family, which remained in the city. According to Aleksander Śnieżko, an expert in the history of Vilnius, after returning to his own apartment in 1927, the tsarist general "found nothing left" (Śnieżko, p. 132).

During the war, valuable items from government facilities abandoned by the tsarist authorities often found their way into private collections. Count Hipolit Korwin-Milewski – a social and political activist – mentioned that antique furniture from the reign of Tsar Alexander I in the former governor-general's palace, which had been turned into a hospital, was sold by the Russian Sister of Mercy in charge of the building to his nephew and then to the socialite and collector Count Antoni Tyszkiewicz, as well as to the Germans (Korwin-Milewski, 1930).

Archives left unattended or in the care of incompetent people were dispersed and sometimes completely destroyed. They became objects of interest to bribers and paper traders, who seized for example, valuable post-Unite and Orthodox church manuscripts from the archives of the Orthodox consistory and the files of the former Noble Institute (*Dvorjanskij institut*) and former Vilnius schools, which were kept in the resources of Russian educational institutions. Thanks to the efforts of the local Polish intelligentsia, the aforementioned documents were acquired and included in the archives of the Vilnius Society of Friends of Science (*Sprawozdanie ze stanu zbiorów…*, 156–156v).

Despite the fact that the Municipal Board city, headed by Mayor Michał Węsławski, carefully organized the protection of former government facilities and residential buildings after the withdrawal of the tsarist authorities, there were frequent cases of illegal seizure of abandoned property by dishonest neighbors and watchmen who took "expensive stylish furniture, padded with expensive material, beautiful and valuable beds, bronze clocks, oil paintings and so on" (*Dziennik…*, vol. 2, 62–62v). We should add, however, that these were dwellings (houses and apartments) to which their former Russian owners, as a result of historical conditions, usually never returned.

During the German occupation, large-scale forcible seizures of public and private property were also carried out by the German occupation authorities (*Dziennik…*, vol. 2, 4v, 41–41v; Buika, 2009). An incident at the Museum of Antiquities at the Vilnius Public Library, abandoned by the Russians, was described as follows:

> To the government museum, which was taken care of and sealed with its seals by the Municipal Board, was came the German Baurath (architect) who, disregarding protests, tore off the seals and took 12 paintings, supposedly to decorate the apartment of Governor [Adalbert] Wegner and Gen[eral Hermann von] Eichhorn (*Dziennik…*, vol. 2, 4v).

Great damage was done to the facilities (along with the equipment there), which had been converted into military hospitals and quarters for soldiers. In 1916, this is how the interior of the former Real School (*Real'noe uchilishche*) looked:

> All of this has turned out to be in the most terrible condition, because since the evacuation the school housed Russian and German lazarets…. The physics and chemistry cabinets have suffered the most, here almost none of the items are intact; books were burned in the ovens, therefore a significant part of … the library does not exist (Szklennik, 2018, p. 334).

The interiors of the building of the former Piarist Nobilium Collegium looked similar. After the January Uprising, the Russian Mariinsky

Higher School for Ladies (*Mariinskoe vyshee zhenskoe uchilishche*) was located here. "Today it is a hovel: cabinets opened, in some doors hanging on a single hinge, broken glass in empty display cases, and in the assembly hall on the floor piles of ragged books, sheet music, notebooks, diplomas and letters of commendation" – this is that the diarist wrote (*Dziennik…*, vol. 2, 46–46v).

As we discuss the loss of movable cultural heritage during the First World War, the question arises: Were absolutely all valuable objects indeed taken out of Vilnius at that time? Or was perhaps something saved from the forced evacuation, looting, and destruction? Due to the extremely tense situation, the evacuation rush, the lack of sufficient logistical capabilities, and the chaos and panic that prevailed in Vilnius in late August and early September 1915 amid the rapid approach of the German army, part of the movable property of a historical nature was fortunately saved.

It is worth citing here some telling quotes that perfectly illustrate the realities and the drama of the time at the end of tsarist rule. As a diarist of the time reported,

> meanwhile, cannon sounds could be heard more and more clearly in the city, at first far away, then closer and closer and more distinct. … All sorts of news circulated in Vilnius, one story beating the other. A complete panic arose among the Russians, they fled taking their possessions or abandoning their apartments to the mercy of fate … German airplanes began to appear more and more frequently over the city, occasionally dropping bombs, mostly in the vicinity of the … railroad station (*Dziennik…*,, vol. 1,10–11v).

As for the question of the tsarist officials overlooking or failing to take into account certain antiquities during the evacuation, it is worth citing the example of the fate of one of the prints stored in the Vilnius Public Library (in the interwar period, this was the library of Stephen Batory University). As Michał Eustachy Brensztejn – an active employee of the university library – wrote, "by some miraculous accident before all the evacuations and robberies" (Brensztejn, 1922, p. 7) a valuable old print from 1555 with an embossed superexibrium of King Sigismund Augustus – an avid collector and great

lover of Vilnius – was saved. Other valuable objects of printing art, which were bypassed by the Russian evacuation campaign, were also discovered over time in that library (Lisowski, 1932).

Quite a few items that fall into the category of cultural property were saved thanks to the involvement of the local multinational community of Vilnius. Because the armaments industry (both Russian and German) needed a vast supply of raw materials such as nonferrous metals for the manufacture of weapons and munitions, the tsarist authorities decided to export all objects made of copper, aluminum, lead, zinc, and tin. The requisition even included everyday items: saucepans, pots, cauldrons, tools, candelabra, etc. (*Dziennik…*, vol. 1, 11v; Jankowski, 1923). Given that quite a few monuments were made of just this type of metal, fears about the fate of these items as well were not unreasonable. However, as witnesses to the events of the time note, the ordinance was ignored by the city's residents (*Dziennik…*, 11v; Jankowski, 1923). Vilnius residents tried every possible way to hide their most valuable items, by burying them in basements and gardens (*Dziennik…*., vol. 1, 9).

However, the forced evacuation of the bells of Vilnius churches was successful, despite numerous protests, requests, and appeals by the faithful and clergy members to civil and military authorities. The outrage of the city's residents was so great that clashes with the tsarist police nearly ensued. Leaflets were distributed around the city, printed on a hectograph and entitled "Ratujmy dzwony nasze" [Save Our Bells]. Their author was probably Wacław Gizbert-Studnicki – a city archivist, ardent lover of monuments, and otherwise a person of Protestant faith (*Dziennik…*, vol. 1, 2). We should add that some objects of sacral heritage thanks to the commitment of priests and laymen, were nonetheless secretly saved from export to the empire (Buika, 2009).

Tsarist authorities also made appeals encouraging the evacuation of objects in private collections (Kuntze, 1937). Such an offer was given to Ivan Luckievich – a Belarusian socio-cultural activist and owner of extremely valuable collections concerning the lands of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania (*Pamjaci Ivana Lucikevicha …*, 1920). However, collectors shunned this opportunity, with few exceptions (those who were subject to forced evacuation).

Some decided to deposit valuables and the most valuable exhibits in the vault of the Vilnius Private Commercial Bank (*Vilenskij chastnyj kommercheskij bank*) (*Dziennik…*, vol. 1, 9). The Society of Friends of Science took advantage of this opportunity. At a meeting on August 19, 1915, the board members of this organization (Fr. Jan Kurczewski, Władysław Zahorski, Stanisław Kościałkowski, Count Tadeusz Roztworowski, and Aleksander Burhardt), fearing that the collections would be destroyed or looted, decided to deposit the most valuable museum, library, and archival objects in the bank's vault. In addition, it was resolved to use a special locker "halfway down the stairs" and to organize a 24-hour on-call service (*Protokoły posiedzeń…*, 27v). Among the hidden items were manuscripts, incunabula, and artifacts made of precious metals: jewelry, numismatic items, and Eliza Orzeszkowa's table silverware and guild cups. The specimens secured also included manuscript memorabilia of Adam Mickiewicz, Władysław Syrokomla, and Tadeusz Kościuszko (*Spis eksponatów…*, 2v–7).

Concern for the fate of cultural property was also shared by the members of the Lithuanian Scientific Society (*Lietuvių mokslo draugija*). Its president, Jonas Basanavičius, noted in his memoirs that on August 24, 1915, he decided to leave his place of residence and move to the society's museum premises in order to personally supervise the collections stored there (Basanavičius, 1936). Thanks to his efforts, books, manuscripts, and other valuable items were hidden in the basement of the Franciscan monastery in order to be protected from the approaching German army (Nezabitauskis, 1938).

It is also worth mentioning the merits of W. Studnicki. He was instrumental in rescuing documents from the City Archive, which was located in the building of the former Franciscan monastery, from being transported to the empire. It contained manuscript monuments dating back to the 15th century, including city records, craft guild records (*Rachunki miasta Wilna…*, 1914; Radkiewiczówna, 1929). After the tsarist authorities left Vilnius, he and his wife, Janina Kozłowska-Studnicka, also took care of other Vilnius archives as much as possible (Gizbert-Studnicki, 1922; Mienicki, 1937).

Thanks to the activists of the Association of Technicians in Vilnius, the remains of the aforementioned library of the Real School were

secured. After being temporarily housed in the City Pump Station, for fear of the negative effects of the humidity there and the lack of proper supervision, they were directed to the Society of Friends of Sciences (*Protokoły posiedzeń…*, 32v–33).

The evacuation of cultural assets in 1915 also had a positive effect. For example, tsarist monuments to M. Muravyov, Catherine II, and Alexander Pushkin were dismantled, to the joy of Vilnius residents (*Porozbiorowy kalendarz…*, p. 403). It was most gratifying to see the removal of a monument to a former governor-general nicknamed "Veshatiel" [Hangman], which during the period of tsarist rule was surrounded by a fence and guarded by a policeman, out of fear of possible destruction. The event was captured by prominent Vilnius photographer Jan Bułhak, who, hiding behind the roller blinds of the windows of the apartment of Tadeusz Wróblewski – a lawyer and bibliophile – took some interesting snapshots (Bułhak, 1939). "A scaffolding that looked like a gallows was arranged at the monument, and with ropes tied around his neck, the figure of Muravyov was raised and hung from the gallows to the delight of the crowd of spectators and even the soldiers, who spared no jokes and pranks" (*Dziennik…*, vol. 1, 3), as noted in his diary by the oft-quoted historian and social activist Władysław Zahorski.

The pedestals of the aforementioned monuments survived throughout World War I. They were an eyewitness testimony to the collapse of tsarist rule in the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania. They were removed only during the interwar period. The tsarist monuments never returned to the city, while one of the pedestals has survived to the present day and can now be seen in the square at Vilnius's St. Catherine's Church. However, it is not decorated with a sculpture of the famous Russian poet, but a bust of the prominent Polish composer Stanisław Moniuszko, which was set up in the interwar period.

In summary, it should be said that the evacuation carried out by the tsarist authorities had an extremely negative impact on the state of preservation of cultural property. Most of the objects have never again returned to their original locations. The lost historical monuments and memorabilia became the property of foreign cultural institutions, were damaged during transportation, or were destroyed as a result of unfavorable historical conditions (wars and revolutions).

The attitude of a number of the local intelligentsia in Vilnius at the time who made every effort to protect the material cultural heritage from forced evacuation and looting was of fundamental importance. Thanks to their efforts, quite a few valuable items were preserved, which now adorn Lithuanian archives, libraries, and museums.

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"Lament" Which Was Written by Dominika Morska of the Lviv Convent or a Few Remarks on the Adnotationes by Wawrzyniec Teleżyński, OP

Abstract

The objective of this essay is to show a still untapped source for the history of the Polish Dominican Order and the history of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, which is the work of Wawrzyniec Teleżyński entitled *Adnotationes*. The article presents a brief biography of this outstanding Dominican historian and discusses his other works, both published in print and in manuscript. *Adnotationes* provides a wealth of unknown and otherwise unused information on the history of the Dominicans in the modern era. This study also discusses a unique literary text that Teleżyński included in his book, namely a poem by a Dominican nun written after her monastery in Lviv had been closed down in the wake of Joseph II's policies against the Church.

Keywords

Wawrzyniec Teleżyński OP, Dominicans, historiography, monastery closures, Lviv, Dominican sisters

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The historiography related to the Dominican Order is a topic that constantly attracts the attention of researchers, and understandably their research is largely focused on the oldest source accounts.[1] Of exceptional importance are the erudite studies of Fr. Tomasz Gałuszka OP, in which he analyzed a source recently discovered in the collection of the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg, containing passages, as the author of the manuscript mentions, drawn *ex cronicis fratrum*. On this basis, Tomasz Gałuszka made very important observations about the oldest history of the congregation in Poland (Gałuszka, 2022; Gałuszka, 2021). Both monastic historiography (see, for example, Zonenberg, 2008; Mrozowicz, 2008; Wenta, 2003; Brzozecki, 2007; Pietrzkiewicz, 2016, Spież, 2000) and biographies of monastic historians and historiographers have been analyzed by scholars. Thus, studies have repeatedly mentioned themes associated with Dominican friars who were very important for Church history, as well as the history of the Order, such as modern chroniclers and historians, for example, Abraham Bzowski, Szymon Okolski, Felicjan Nowowiejski, and Michał Siejkowski, Klemens Chodykiewicz (see Brzozecki, 2007; Szymborski, 2018; Zdanek, 2020). A separate mention should be made of an especially significant work by Martin Gruneweg, a Gdansk resident. This chronicler was born into a Lutheran family living in Gdansk, then joined the Dominican order, and eventually settled in Plock. His work is an intriguing combination of annals, family chronicles, memoirs and travel records. For these reasons, the work abounds in valuable information on, for example, selected places, hence it is heavily used by historians (see, for example, the description of Gdansk in Kaczor, 2003; Bues, 2009; Skoczyński, 2020). When discussing selected aspects of Dominican historiography, it is also worth mentioning the works of friars who wrote important works for the history of culture and history, such as the memoirs of Faustin Ciecierski that describe his exile to Siberia (cf. Pietrzkiewicz, 2013; Ewertowski, 2020; Miławicki, 2014; Brzozecki, 2007), Ignacy Klimowicz (Niebelski, 2020), as well as works of importance for

1 Separately, mention should be made of the research trend analyzing the *Lives of St. Jacek*. In particular, see Gałuszka, T. (2020), Gałuszka, T. (2022); Gałuszka, T. (2023). There is also an extensive literature on inquisitorial treatises and the role of Dominicans as inquisitors; see, for example, Gałuszka, T. (2015).

monastic history by Cyril Markiewicz (Mattyja, 2022) or crucial memoirs depicting, for example, the times of World War II by Józef Bocheński (Bocheński, 1994) and Adam Studziński (Studziński, 1998).

As with modern historiographers, the literature on the subject discusses historians living in the 19th and 20th centuries who were important to the history of the congregation. We should mention here works that introduce the figure of Father Sadok Barącz, whose works, those published in print as well as those still in manuscript, especially *Catalogus Fratrum*, are still used by researchers (see the erudite studies by Miławicki, 2013; Miławicki, 2020; see also Brzozecki, 2007). Regarding 20th century historians, it is worth mentioning Fathers Jacek Woroniecki (Szymborski, 2018), Robert Świętochowski (Szymborski, 2018), Paweł Kielar (Szymborski, 2018; Szymborski, 2019), Roman Fabian Madura (Szymborski, 2017 a; Szymborski, 2017 b; Szymborski, 2018) and Bruno Mazur (Szymborski, 2018).

It is curious that the body of literature on one of the most significant modern historians of the Polish Dominican congregation, Father Wawrzyniec Teleżyński, is so scarce. His work *De rebus Provincie Poloniae S. Hiacynthii Ordinis Praedicatorum*, the manuscript of which is kept in the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kórnik, is considered one of the most important sources for the history of the Dominicans (see Szymborski, 2018; Szymborski, 2020). In 2019, Father Ireneusz Wysokiński published a printed biography of Teleżyński, in which he not only portrayed his religious career but also, very importantly, described the significance of his works (Wysokiński, 2019; see also brief remarks by Brzozecki, 2007).

Using Fr. Wysokiński's findings, it is worth briefly sketching the biography of this outstanding monastic historian. Prior to entering the Order (1759), Teleżyński attended schools in his hometown of Piotrków, did his novitiate in Krakow, where he also continued studying at the Dominican General College, as well as later in Rome. He then resided in Warsaw where he began work on compiling a history of the province by making notes – *Adnotationes* – since 1731. He pursued his interest in history in Poznan and in Krakow where he was given the task of organizing the monastery library. As a promoter of the Rosary Brotherhood operating at the Krakow

monastery, he wrote *Rozważania Dominikanina Wawrzyńca Teleżyńskiego* [Meditations of the Dominican Wawrzyniec Teleżyński] on the history and practice of rosary prayer, where he devoted a great deal of attention to history. Issues related to history often recurred in his writings, for example, in his hagiographic works. In addition, he was involved in the work of the Religious General College in Krakow. When King Stanislaw August Poniatowski visited the Dominican monastery, it was Fr. Teleżyński who showed the monarch the most valuable relics of the monastery's library. Teleżyński's work, in which he recorded inscriptions from tomb monuments, was used as a guide to the Dominican church during the royal visit (Wysokiński, 2019). The work *Epitaphia in ecclesia ss. Trinitatis ff. Praedicatorum Cracoviae* (Teleżyński, 1790) deserves special recognition because it gives a picture of the temple before the destruction wrought by the fire of 1850, and as Tomasz Gałuszka points out, it was Teleżyński who recorded the inscriptions of more than 141 tombstones (Gałuszka, 2013, p. 424). This publication demonstrates how much value Teleżyński placed on documenting and saving the monuments of the past. He copied the text from the epitaphs when work began on moving the monuments in the temple while the church was being restored in Baroque style. In the book, Teleżyński criticized the Krakow Prior who was in charge of these works (Wysokiński, 2019; see Daranowska-Lukaszewska, 2013, for more details). Teleżyński was involved in the efforts to stop the dissolution of the Dominican Sisters in Krakow. Unfortunately, he was unable to prevent the theft of valuable manuscripts during the visit of the famous books thief Tadeusz Czacki, who was in fact granted permission to take numerous works by the then Prior (Pietrzkiewicz, 2003; Wysokiński, 2019). Prior Jukund Trąbski, counting on Czacki's help in restoring the monastery's estate, allegedly spoke the following words to Teleżyński: Dey Wać, dey Wać, iaki iest [codex] dey Wać [give, Sir] (Świętochowski, 1976, p. 305). Teleżynski's other historical works include a short history of the Dominican monastery in Płock. His single most notable historical work is unquestionably *De rebus Provinciae Poloniae*, drawing on the extensive collections of the library and archives of both the convent and the province. He probably began work on it in 1780 when he arrived in Krakow again,

and completed it in 1792. As Fr. Wysokiński mentions, Teleżyński's significant works also include *Adnotationes rerum in provincia Poloniae…*, begun in Warsaw, in which he covered contemporary facts of public life alongside the history of the order. He dedicated much space to the Bar Confederation, and, for example, researched and described the issue of the implication of the Dominican monastery of St. Jacek in Warsaw in the kidnapping of King Stanislaw August by confederates on November 3, 1771. He was a sharp critic of Emperor Joseph II's church reforms (Wysokiński, 2019, p. 109).

Given the significance of Teleżyński's works, it is surprising that while *De rebus* has been widely used over the years by researchers studying the past of the Dominican Order, *Adnotationes* (Archives of the Polish Dominican Order in Krakow, 221 Adnotationes variae ab Anno 1759 ad 1787 see description of the manuscript by Markiewicz, 2013) has been almost absent from research. Yet it is precisely this manuscript that contributes so much valuable new information, if only when it comes to the assassination attempt on King Stanislaw August Poniatowski (Szymborski, 2020). It is worth noting that *Adnotationes*, besides providing information that is invaluable for Dominicans about the fate of the Order itself (for example, mentions of friars who died of rampant epidemics), the intellectual life of the friars (references to literary works by Dominicans), contains valuable additions to the history of Krakow, e.g. during the tumultuous Bar Confederation, as well as matters related to the Krakow university. Political history in the *Adnotationes* would not be complete without an account of Emperor Joseph II's policy on monasteries, namely the suppression of convents which, according to the ideas of Enlightenment absolutism and Josephinism, were superfluous (the dissolution of Dominican monasteries has recently been discussed by Marek Miławicki OP, who showed both the theoretical premises of Joseph II's policy and the subsequent fate of monastery buildings and estates [Miławicki, 2016; see also Miławicki, 2020; Miławicki, 2008; Ploch, 2021, Gach, 1984]. Teleżynski's work contains one miniature, which, importantly, shows Emperor Joseph II on horseback with a sword, and is signed Persector Ecclesie (*Adnotationes*, 234).

The last page of the manuscript bears a remarkable testimony and, notably, one written in Polish. This fact is significant because

Teleżyński characteristically used highly difficult Latin, which makes it very difficult to read his works. Teleżyński included a unique message, a poem by one of the nuns[2] of a Dominican convent in Lviv. Unfortunately, it is unfinished, interrupted, so to speak. It is impossible to decide whether the missing page was lost when the manuscript was being bound or under other circumstances. It should be added that the legacy of Teleżyński's manuscripts is scattered: *De rebus* is kept in the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kórnik and *Adnotationes* in the Archives of the Polish Dominican Province in Krakow. The poem was included only in the *Adnotationes*, which is relevant because some parts of the *Adnotationes* and *De rebus* coincide or are very similar. The poem called "Lament" has not been widely analyzed so far; only Anna Markiewicz, while compiling a catalog of manuscripts, included information about it in the table of contents of *Adnotationes* (Markiewicz, 2013). The poem deserves attention because it recounts the turbulent times of the dissolution of monasteries, and Teleżyński himself was, after all, involved in attempts to stop this from happening.

"Lament" is believed to have been written by one of the nuns of the dissolved Dominican monastery in Lviv. Before citing the poem, it is worth pointing out that the Dominican nuns in Lviv had a long history, having originated from a community of Tertiaries[3] that had been present in the city since the end of the 14th century (Stefaniak, 2007 a; Borkowska, 1999; Borkowska, 2010; see the list of sources and literature devoted to the monastery and nuns in Borkowska, 2008; see also a brief historical sketch of the process of founding Dominican nunneries in Markiewicz, 2007). The Dominican convent was reconstructed a number of times, especially after the fire of 1627, the destruction from the Khmelnytsky uprising or the subsequent fires in 1732 and 1778. The 18th century saw the development of the convent, a visible sign of which was the construction of a Baroque temple dedicated in 1729 to St. Catherine of Siena (Stefaniak, 2007 a; Stefaniak, 2022). One must note that this center played an important

2 Issues of the presence of nuns in the consciousness of the societies of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth are discussed in Borkowska, M. (2002).

3 On the history of the Dominican Tertiaries in Lviv, see Stefaniak, P. (2014); Borkowska, M. (2010); Borkowska, M. (1999).

role on the religious map of Lviv at the time. Many of the nuns came from aristocratic families: the Czetwertyńskis, Oginskis, Potockis, Szołajskis, Rzewuskis, Zamoyski, and Poniatowskis (Stefaniak, 2007 and on the personal structure of the convent, see Borkowska, 2008). In the second half of the 18th century, the convent numbered 51 nuns, was one of the larger women's monasteries, and, importantly, was being rebuilt from war damage both from the previous century and from 1704, when Swedish troops plundered Lviv's monasteries (Stefaniak, 2007 a; see also Stefaniak, 2022). In 1779, it housed 47 nuns (Borkowska, 2010; Borkowska, 2008). When the Dominican nunnery in Lviv was dissolved[4] (the decree of June 24, 1782 was handed over to the nuns on August 1, 1782), 25 nuns resided there, and they were later sent to other religious congregations. Some of them were transferred to the Brigidine Sisters in Lutsk, some to the Latin Benedictines in Lviv, some to the Daughters of Charity in Lviv, and some to the Dominican nuns in Sochaczow. As Piotr Stefaniak mentions, the fate of 11 of the nuns is unknown because the archives are missing (Stefaniak, 2007 a; Stefaniak, 2007 b; see also Stefaniak, Karolak, 2013; Stefaniak, 2021; Barącz, 1861; Janicka-Olczakowa, 1975). By imperial order, the convent building was to be used as a Seminary, with plans to place the Medical Faculty's botanical garden in the cloister garden. As Chotkowski points out, this order was not fully carried out because in addition to the seminary, German industrialists brought to Galicia were placed in the nearby Dominican buildings, and the botanical garden as such was ultimately not created because the land had been sold (Chotkowski, 1905, p. 118; Miławicki, 2016).

The poem:

Archives of the Polish Dominican Order in Krakow, 221 Teleżyński *Adnotationes variae ab Anno 1759 ad 1787*, p. 332.
Lament which was written by Dominika Morska of the Lviv convent when Joseph II the Emperor abolished the monastery in the year 1787,[5] and dismissed the Nuns, but the maiden is said to have fabricated her grievances, because she got married. A dog's bitch.

4 See Chotkowski, 1905, for further discussion.
5 Sic, the events took place in 1782.

I became the plaything of a terrible fate
Touched by the bullet of eternal judgments.
What I was I am not, Oh! harsh change!
I fall asleep and wake up in the morning with this thought.
My life's state has been taken despite my will.
This cruel fate pains my heart
It was taken by the one who didn't give, Taken by brute violence
He forced me out, banished me and sent me down a wretched road
[in disgrace
I am uprooted from my state I am expelled from my dwelling
I am deprived of the way of free choice.
I have been punished without blame or charge
Does anyone know such a court? I know it from experience.
When I remember where I am, and where I was before
Where I lived in freedom, where I lived peacefully
Wherever I turn my mind or eye
Day and night I always hum this song
Oh! these are not the valleys, these are not the hills.
Not these lambs, not these mothers' daughters.
Not this serenity, not this sweetness of soul.
Not this calmness that no noise can stir
Not this

Here the poem as well as the manuscript of the *Adnotationes* breaks off. Trying to identify the nun, we are fortunate to have the publications of Sister Małgorzata Borkowska OSB. Thanks to her painstaking work, we know the fate of the vast majority of nuns living in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. She collected their life stories in a monumental several-volume *Leksykon zakonnic polskich epoki przedrozbiorowej* [Lexicon of Polish Nuns of the Pre-Partition Era]. When listing the nuns of the Lviv convent, Borkowska identified two nuns, birth sisters Karolina Morska and another unknown by name. Describing their further paths in life after the dissolution, she mentioned that Karolina Morska most likely went to the Sandomierz Benedictine convent even before the Lviv convent was closed. As for the other Morska nun, unknown by name, the author mentions that

"she left with a Prior's assistant to Kamianets-Podilskyi but ended up wandering for a long time… In 1791 she went from Vienna to Rome, but it is not clear for what purpose" (Borkowska, 2008, pp. 277–278). Bearing in mind the disparaging epithet that Teleżyński used to describe Dominika Morska, it is certainly not possible to claim that she was the nun who went to Sandomierz; whether it is possible, however, to identify her as the second nun, unknown by name, who went to Kamianets-Podilskyi, is, unfortunately, far from clear.

The above remarks were intended to highlight the importance of Wawrzyniec Teleżyński's works, especially his work entitled *Adnotationes*. These notes for later treatises certainly deserve a thorough examination. In the future, it would be useful to make a detailed comparison between this work and *De rebus*. It is also worth mentioning one of the scholarly postulates made that Fr. Ireneusz Wysokiński made at a meeting of the Program Council of the Dominican Historical Institute in Krakow, namely that a critical edition of Wawrzyniec Teleżyński's works be made.

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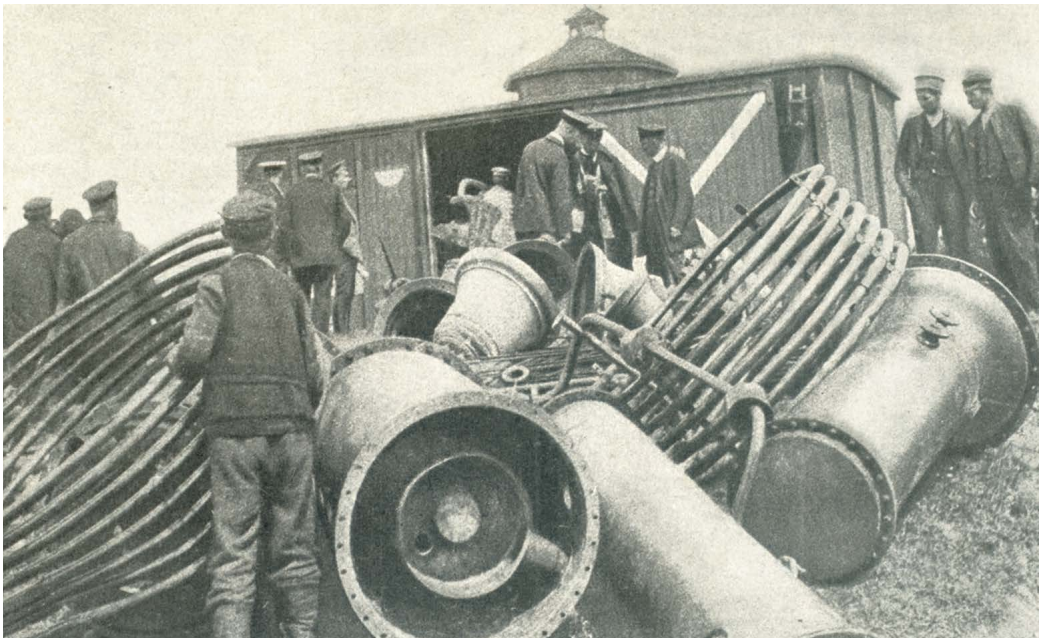


Fig. 1
Evacuation of Bells and Industrial Equipment From Vilnius
Source: *Letopis' vojny*, no. 60, 1915.

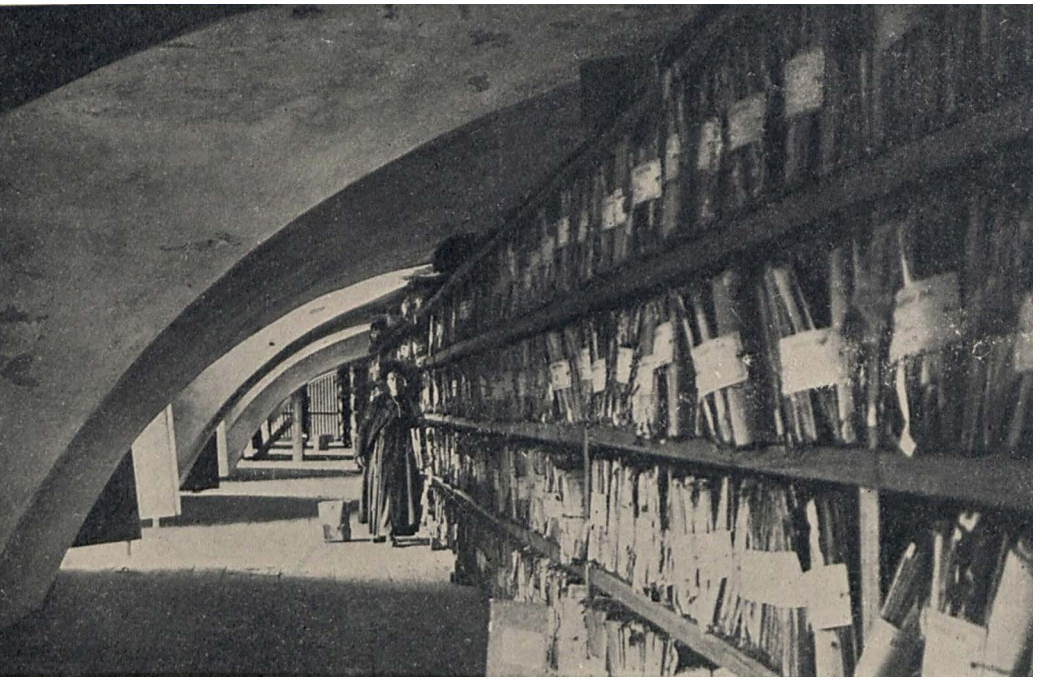
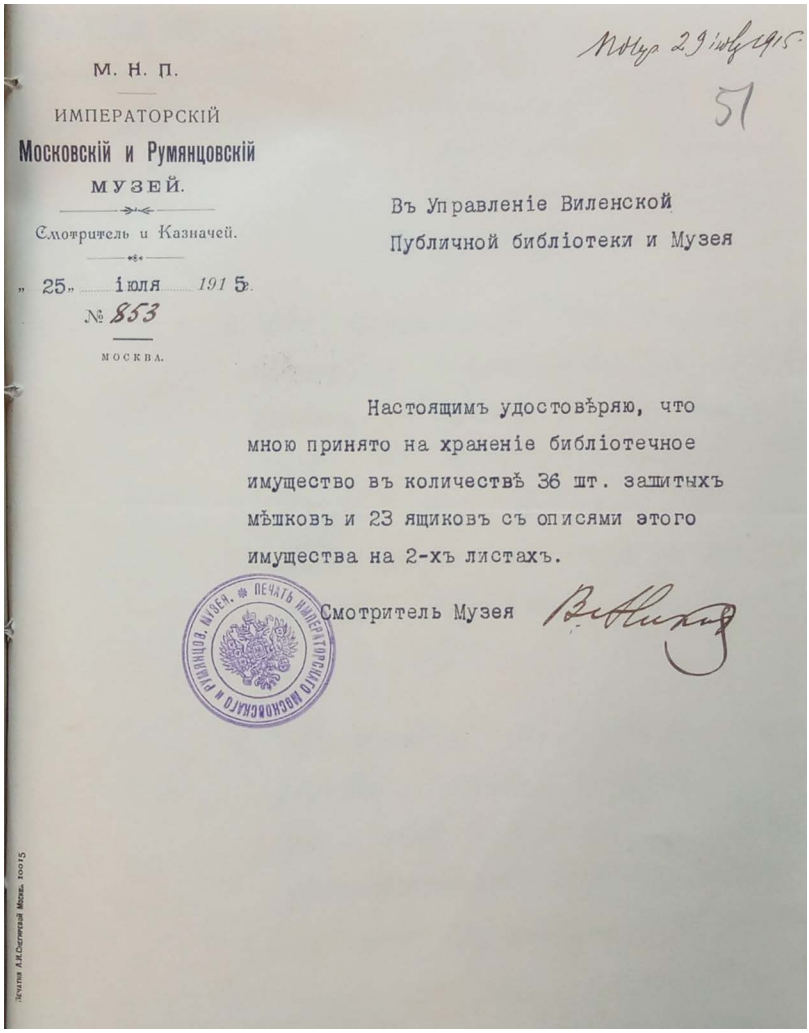


Fig. 2
Postcard From the Interwar Period (Archives in the Post-Franciscan Church)
Source: National Library in Warsaw, ref. 6021.



М. Н. П.

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Смотритель и Казначей.

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Fig. 3
Letter From the Curator of the Imperial Moscow and the Rumyantsev Museum, Confirming Acceptance of Exhibits From Vilnius
Source: Lithuanian State Historical Archives, f. 597, ap. 1, b. 3.

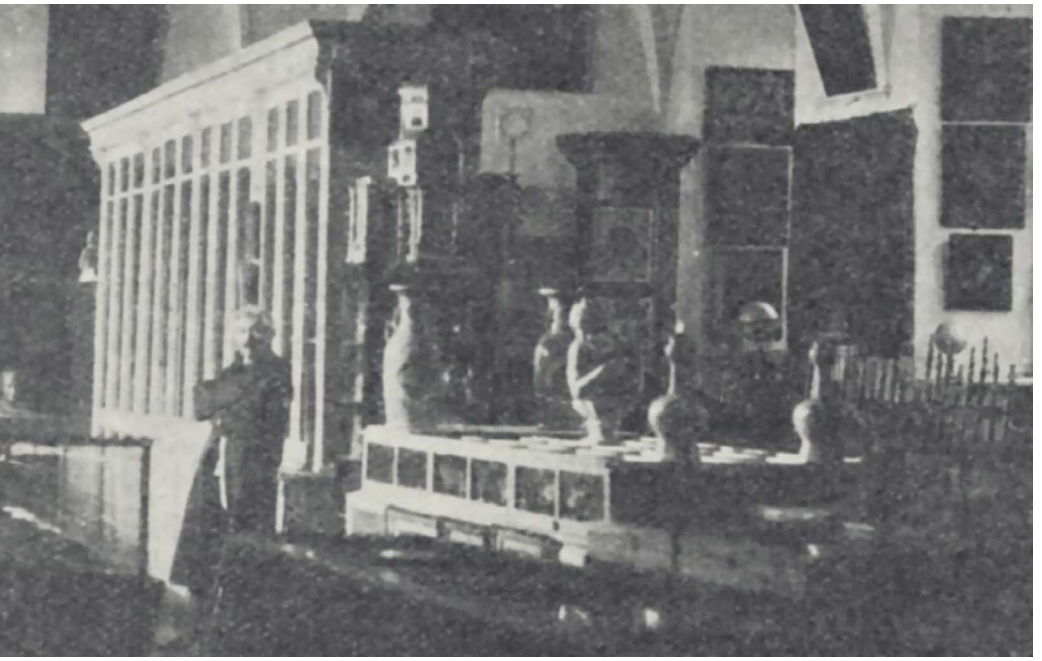
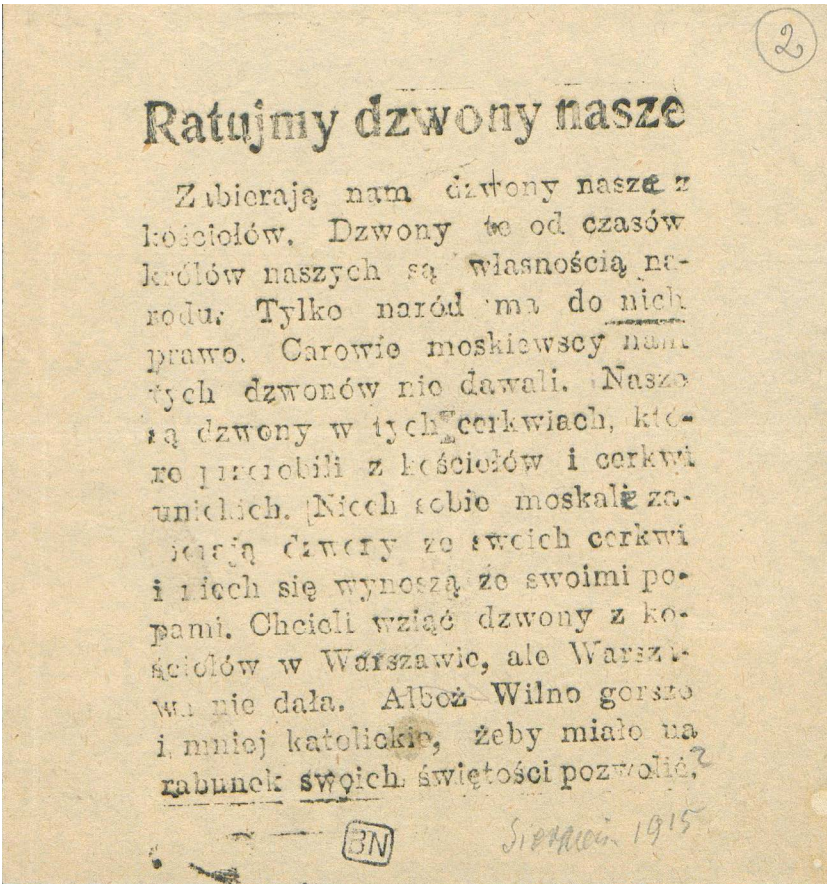


Fig. 4.
The Collection of Antoni Brodowski in Vitebsk
Source: *Ziemia*, no. 15–16, 1926.



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Styczeń 1915

Fig. 5
Leaflet (*Ratujmy dzwony nasze*)
Source: National Library in Warsaw, ref. 10457.

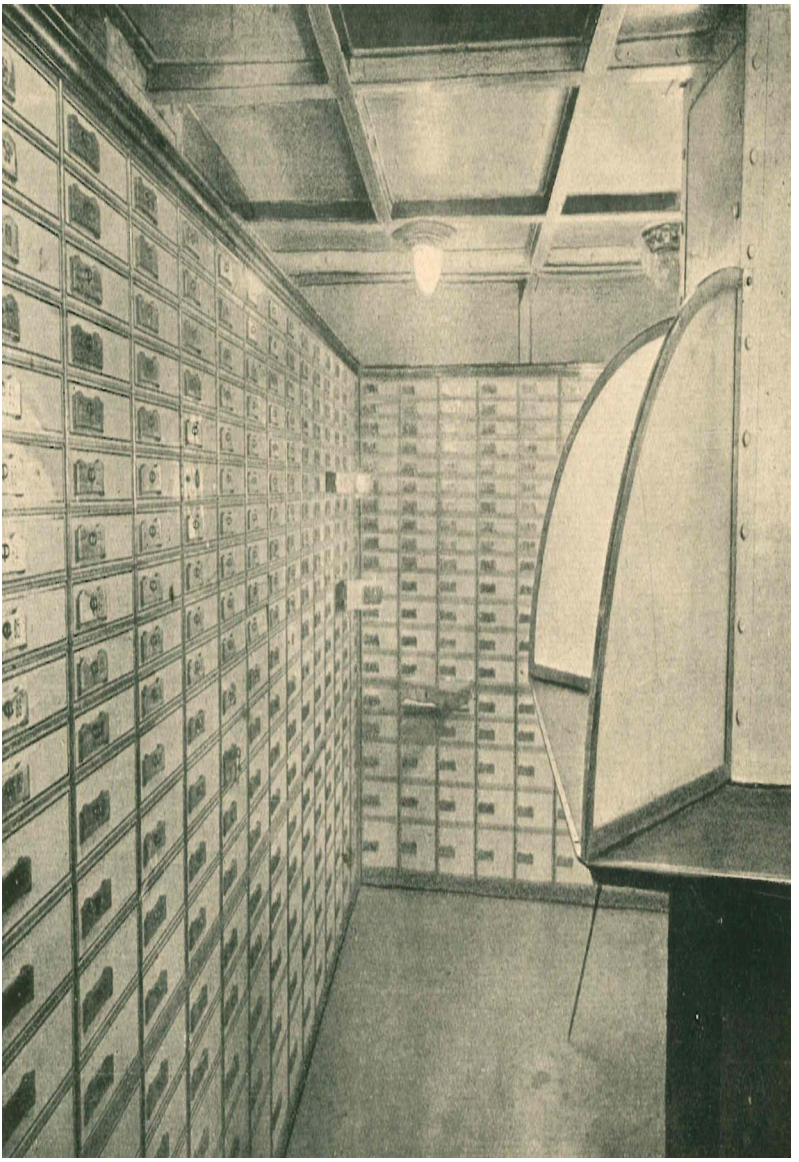

Fig. 6
Treasury of the Vilnius Private Commercial Bank
Source: L. Kuczewski, *Wileński Prywatny Bank Handlowy 1873–1923* [Vilnius Private Commercial Bank 1873–1923], Vilnius, 1924.

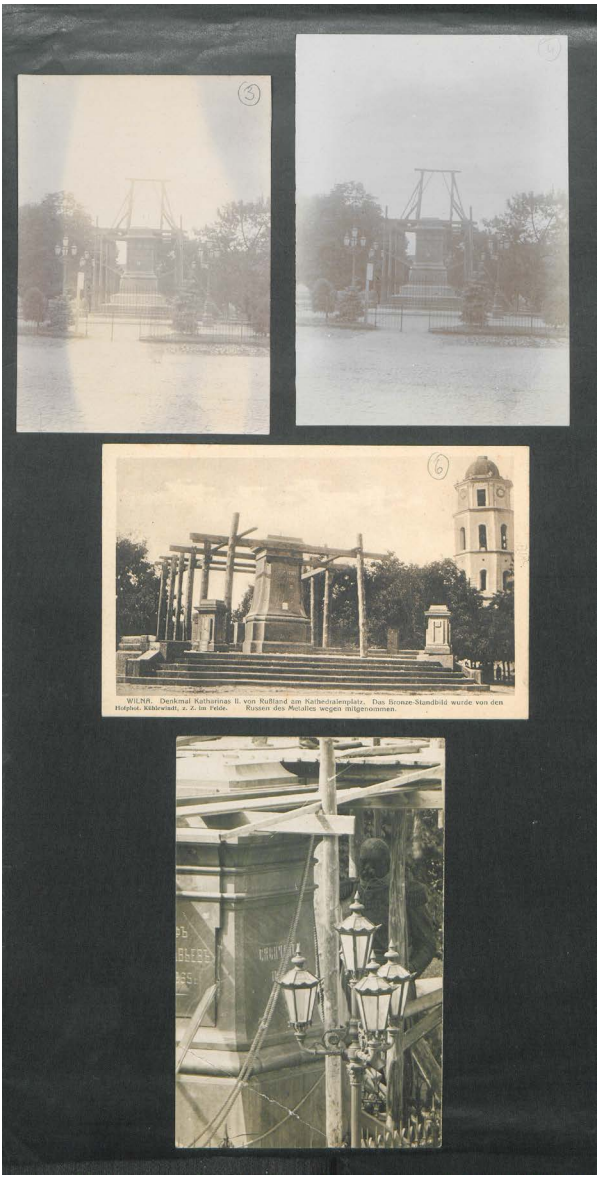

Fig. 7
Russian Monuments in Vilnius During World War I (Pedestal of Muravev Monument with Scaffolding in the Form of a Gallows; Pedestal of Catherine II Monument; Dismantling of Muravev Statue)
Source: National Library in Warsaw, ref. 10457.

Fig. 8
Postcard From the Interwar Period (Monument to Moniuszko)
Source: National Library in Warsaw, ref. 7015.