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NORWID'S TRANSLATION OF A LETTER BY PIUS IX,
THE MYSTERY OF THE POET'S GIFT TO THE POPE
AND THE FORTRESS OF BOMARSUND

KNOWN PUBLICATIONS. MIRIAM

The Latin original of Pope Pius IX's letter to Cyprian Norwid of 27 March 1861 has been known to experts in Norwid Studies since 1911, when it was published in the footnotes to the second part of Volume A of Miriam's edition of *Pisma zebrane* [*Collected Works*]. In his commentary to the poem *Do władcy Rzymu* [*To the Ruler of Rome*], Zenon Przesmycki drew attention to the "unusually cordial tone of the pope's private letter,"¹ and with regard to the circumstances of its composition he wrote that the poet received it "in 1861 because of a probably small amount of Peter's Pence bestowed by someone,"² adding that the original letter "was kept by Miss Anna Dybowska."³ Following these words, Miriam published the text of the papal letter, "in full, according to the copy made by Mr. L[eopold] Wellisch."⁴

Following the text of the letter, Przesmycki listed Norwid's later poetic traces of his reverence for Pius IX (ode *Encyklika-Oblężonego* [*Encyclical of the Besieged*], 1867, poem *Na smętne wieści z Watykanu...* [*On the Sad News from the Vatican...*], 1877) and quoted a passage from a letter to Józef Bohdan Wagner of

¹ C. NORWID, *Pisma zebrane* [*Collected Works*], ed. Z. Przesmycki, Vol. A, Part II. Warszawa-Kraków 1911, p. 863.

² C. NORWID, *Pisma zebrane*, Vol. A, Part II, p. 863.

³ C. NORWID, *Pisma zebrane*, Vol. A, Part II, p. 863.

⁴ C. NORWID, *Pisma zebrane*, Vol. A, Part II, p. 863; the text of the letter on pp. 863-864.

1878 addressing the Pope's death and his role for the Polish cause, closing with the rhetorical question "Will the Nation be mourning at least for 3 days," adding from himself: "The poet himself has supposedly mourned until his death."⁵

KNOWN PUBLICATIONS. GOMULICKI

Subsequently, the pope's letter (the Latin original) was published in the Vol. 8 of *Pisma wszystkie* [*Complete Works*] edited by Juliusz W. Gomulicki, in a commentary on the poet's letter to Marian Sokołowski, according to the postmark sent on 1 June 1861. Let us first recall a fragment of an annotation to this letter, placed on the address page (thus, paradoxically, placed at the head of the letter):

Zapewne wiesz, że Jego Świątobliwość Pius IX zaszczycił mię listem osobnym z Bazyliki Piotrowej datowanym, który doręczono mi w tych dniach. Wyjątkowa ta ojcowiska łaska rozrzewniała głęboko serce moje, pocieszeniem się stając w epoce, w której więcej niż kiedykolwiek nie jest prorok miłym wpośród swoich i bliskich (PWsz VIII, 443).

You probably know that His Holiness Pius IX honoured me with a separate letter from St. Peter's Basilica, which was delivered to me these days. This exceptional fatherly grace has deeply fondled my heart, becoming a consolation in an age in which more than ever a prophet is not welcome among his own and those close to him.

In his commentary on the letter, Gomulicki outlines, much more extensively than Przesmycki could, the circumstances and origin of this letter. He says that on 16 December 1860 the poet was invited to participate in a collection for the pope and presented the Resurrectionists with: "a. stary (siedemnastowieczny) medalik z wizerunkiem Matki Boskiej i napisem: 'Przeciw Turka szturmom'; b. 5 franków w złocie z roku szturm na Sewastopol (1855) – dary te opatrzył zaś uwagą: 'Co Polska gromiła to Francja broniła'" [a. an old (17th-century) medal with the image of the Virgin Mary and the inscription: 'Against Turk's Assaults'; b. 5 francs in gold from the year of the siege of Sevastopol (1855) – he annotated these gifts with the note: 'What Poland was crushing, France was defending'] (PWsz VIII, 571). He also quotes excerpts from the correspondence of the Resurrectionist priests on this issue, of which this extract from a letter by Fr. Aleksander Jełowicki to Fr. Piotr Semenenko seems to be the most relevant:

⁵ C. NORWID, *Pisma zebrane*, Vol. A, Part II, p. 864.

Norwid's donation is symbolic and mystical in that he wished to visually put two spirits in view: Sobieski and Napoleon [III], sending a medal from the time of the Polish assaults against the Turks and a coin from the year of the siege of Sevastopol in defence of the Turks. The medal is very beautiful. (PWsz VIII, 571)

At the end of his commentary, Gomulicki included a reprint, after Przesmycki, of the Latin text of the pope's letter to Norwid.

KNOWN PUBLICATIONS. *KALENDARZ*

Another publication of the Latin original of the letter appeared in the journal *Studia Norwidiana* as part of an article by Zofia Trojanowiczowa and Elżbieta Lijewska, entitled "Z prac nad 'Kalendarzem życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida.'" The reprint of an excerpt from *Kalendarz*, covering the years 1861-62, first included a conversation between Norwid and Fr. A. Jełowicki, dated at the turn of 1860/61, concerning Pius IX's approval of the activities of the Congregation of the Resurrectionists (expressed in a *breve* of 14 September 1860) and Norwid's distant cousin, Michał Kleczkowski, a French diplomat in Beijing at that time, whose activities Jełowicki intended to mention in his letter to the pope, written on 25 January 1861. The next piece of information, dated Saturday, 16 February, is a familiar extract from Jełowicki's letter to Semenenko about the symbolic significance of Norwid's gift to the pope, supplemented with information on how the gift was transferred from Paris to Rome: "The medal will be carried by Fr. Canon Szrajter who is leaving today."⁶ The creation of the pope's letter is dated 27 March ("Rome. Private letter of Pope Pius IX to Norwid"⁷), while the text itself, in Latin, was printed under the date "late May," which is when Norwid most likely received the papal message. In the commentary, the authors of *Kalendarz* further inform:

According to J. W. Gomulicki, the letter was delivered to Norwid by three Resurrectionists (PWsz X 375). Fr. A. Jełowicki and Fr. K. Kaczanowski were in Paris at the time. Norwid was greatly impressed by the papal letter, of which he writes to M. Sokołowski on 1 June: [...].

⁶ Z. TROJANOWICZOWA, E. LIJEWSKA, "Z prac nad 'Kalendarzem życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida,'" *Studia Norwidiana*, 17-18: 1999-2000, p. 149. Fr. Atanazy Szejter in 1877 spoke at a memorial service for Fr. Aleksander Jełowicki (deceased in Rome) at the Church of the Assumption in Paris. He was also a poet; his works are part of the legacy of Bohdan Zaleski. Cf. *Wiadomości Kościelne* 1877, Issue 10 of 12 May, p. 79; *Inwentarz rękopisów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, Kraków 1977, p. 195.

⁷ Z. TROJANOWICZOWA, E. LIJEWSKA, "Z prac nad 'Kalendarzem życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida,'" p. 159.

Also in his letters to A. Cieszkowski and J. I. Kraszewski (see 18 June, [June?] C) and in a conversation with J. B. Zaleski (see 11 June), he boasts of the papal blessing. When asked by Fr. Karol Kaczanowski to whom he would leave and what he would do with the Holy Father's blessing, he replies: "Oto uchowa mi ono serca resztkę..." [It will save the remnant of my heart...] (Norwid to A. Jełowicki, Paris [late October] 1861. PWSz VIII 451). Fr. A. Jełowicki writes to Rome: "Norwid was blessed by the Holy Father's letter [...]" (Letter to H. Kajsiewicz, Paris 11 June 1861, MS, Archive CR 49768).

It is worth elaborating on that for the sake of a complete picture. In a letter to Cieszkowski, Norwid wrote on 18 June 1861: "Ojciec Ś[wię]ty Pius IX był łaskaw przesłać mi zapieczętowanym listem swoim błogosławieństwo dla mnie" [The Holy Father Pius IX was kind enough to send me by sealed letter his blessing for me] (DW XI, 488). A letter to Kraszewski in 1861, delivered by Xavier Norwid, who was returning to the country in the spring of that year, contained the following postscript:

P. S. pominąć nie godzi mi się, iż Ojciec Świąty Pius IX w wielkiej hojności Swojej raczył pisać do mnie osobnym listem Swoim. Kładę to tu w dopisku, bo czas mi nie pozwalał oddzielnie udzielić wiadomości. Głowy często nie wiem, gdzie oprzeć dla spoczynku! tyle jest teraz zajęcia –" (DW XI, 498)⁸.

P.S. I cannot fail to mention that the Holy Father, Pius IX, in His great generosity, deigned to write to me in a separate letter of His own. I put it here in a postscript, because time did not allow me to share this news separately. I often do not know where to rest my head! there is so much to occupy me now –"

Another testimony to Norwid's reaction to the letter he received is provided by an entry in Józef Bohdan Zaleski's diary concerning a visit Norwid paid to him on 11 June:

A visitor not seen for a long time turned up: Cyprian Norwid, and what is even rarer: in excellent humour. Cheered up, both in his soul and his heart, because he had received a letter of blessing from the Holy Father. Indeed, a very great honour. Norwid told me about solemn and profound subjects with a strange shrewdness and verve. (PWSz IX, 472)

In *Kalendarz* we can also find information about Norwid's letter to Michał Kleczkowski from the end of December 1861, which includes a postscript:

⁸ It is worth noting the peculiar mixture of modesty and pride in this addendum. On the one hand, Norwid seems to minimise the significance of the papal letter, since he supposedly had no time to write about it separately; on the other, writing about himself, he paraphrases Jesus' words about the Son of Man who has no place to rest his head.

P. S. Myślę, iż p. Ketty pisała Ci, że Ojciec Ś[wię]ty Pius IX w wielkiej hojności swojej *raczył pisać do mnie osobnym zapieczętowanym listem do Paryża*. (DW XI, 525)⁹

P.S. I think Mrs. Ketty wrote you that the Holy Father Pius IX in his great generosity *deigned to write to me in a separately sealed letter to Paris*.

Furthermore, in the dispute over the dating of the poem *Do władcy Rzymu* [*To the Ruler of Rome*], which Miriam associated with the year 1848 and the text *Zarysy z Rzymu* [*Sketches from Rome*] as well as with Norwid's correspondence with Zygmunt Krasiński from that time, the authors of the preliminary version of *Kalendarz* tend to favour Gomulicki, leaning towards the year 1861, and provide the following information as an additional argument:

[...] the naming of Pius IX as "Ruler of Rome" was particularly topical from the end of 1860, when, after the defeat of the papal armies at Castelfidardo, Pius IX had authority only over Rome, the rest of the Church State was controlled by the Kingdom of Italy, which was established in 1861¹⁰.

In the book edition of *Kalendarz*, the information on the pope's letter to Norwid has been primarily supplemented by a contemporary Polish translation, commissioned from the Poznań-based Romance scholar Monika Szczot. I cite it here despite some reservations concerning certain fragments and its general stylistic tone:

Drogiemu Synowi Cyprianowi Norwidowi – Paryż

Drogi Synu, pozdrawiamy Cię i przesyłamy Apostolskie Błogosławieństwo. Gdy codziennie dotykają Nas i tę świętą stolicę Piotra liczne zmartwienia i smutki, najmiłościwszy Pan pociesza nas dobrocią, wiarą i gorliwością tych wiernych w Chrystusie, którzy w tym bardzo smutnym czasie stają się dla siebie i dla Nas powodem do honoru i chwały i sami przez to wydają się bardziej oddani i lojalni. Świadcstwo tej synowskiej gorliwości i Ty, Drogi Synu, zechciałeś nam ofiarować przez dar pieniędzy i monet, dostarczonych nam w Twoim imieniu. To bardzo chętnie przyjęliśmy dla ulżenia w kłopotach Naszego biednego skarbcza i dlatego składamy Tobie podziękowania i jesteśmy wdzięczni.

Tymczasem wzywamy ku pomocy licznymi prośbami i modlitwami Pana – rozdawcę wszelkich dóbr, aby radował Cię wszelkim szczęściem duszy i ciała. I tego tak wielkiego dobra i dołączamy jednocześnie zapewnienie o Naszej szczególnej miłości i udzielamy Tobie,

⁹ What is striking here is the contrast between the modest placing of this information in the letter and the emphasis of the most important part.

¹⁰ Z. TROJANOWICZOWA, E. LIJEWSKA, "Z prac nad 'Kalendarzem życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida,'" pp. 209-210. The authors link the genesis of this poem to Norwid's letter to the Resurrectionists, in which he proposed: "abyśmy mieli publiczne modły na rzecz siedzącego na Stolicy Apostolskiej Piusa IX-o, Władcy Rzymu" [to have public prayers in favour of Pius IX, sitting on Peter's Throne, the Ruler of Rome] (DW XII, 30).

Drogi Synu, Apostolskiego Błogosławieństwa serdecznie z wielką życzliwością [!] ojcowskiego serca. Rzym, Stolica Piotra, dnia 27 marca 1861 r, za Naszego Pontyfikatu roku XV, Pius IX. (Kal II 24)¹¹

To Our Dear Son Cyprian Norwid – Paris

Dear Son, We greet you and send you the Apostolic Blessing. When many worries and sorrows afflict Us and this Holy See of Peter every day, the most merciful Lord consoles Us with the goodness, faith and zeal of those faithful in Christ who, in this very sad time, become a cause of honour and glory for themselves and for Us, and who themselves thereby appear more devoted and loyal. You too, Dear Son, wished to offer Us a testimony of this filial zeal by the gift of money and coins, delivered to Us in your name. This We gladly accepted for the relief of the troubles of Our poor treasury, and therefore We extend Our thanks and are grateful to you.

In the meantime, with many petitions and prayers, We call upon the help of the Lord, the Giver of all good things, that He may rejoice you with all happiness of soul and body. And with this so great good, We enclose the assurance of Our special love, and we impart to you, Dear Son, the Apostolic Blessing with great benevolence [!] of fatherly heart. Rome, Petrine See, 27 March 1861, in the 15th year of Our Pontificate, Pius IX. (Kal II 24)¹²

The commentary on the letter has been expanded in relation to the preliminary version published in the Lublin journal.

Firstly, the theme of the two or three Resurrectionists who, according to Gomułicki, were to deliver the pope's letter to Norwid has now been replaced by a quotation from Norwid's letter to Michał Kleczkowski, written in French on 18 July 1868, from which it appears that Jełowicki was one of the three priests (without specifying their religious affiliation) who delivered the letter to Norwid: "Il est aussi un de trois Ecclésiastiques qui ont eu la bienveillance de me présenter la lettre Pontificale quand Sa Sainteté me l'a écrite" (PWsz IX, 354; Kal II, 23).

Secondly, *Kalendarz* includes a reference to Norwid's [*Autobiografia artystyczna*] [*Artistic Autobiography*] of 1872, in which he wrote about himself – in the third person:

Był przytomnym atakowi na Kwirynał w Rzymie, a zachowanie się jego owdzie zjednało mu, iż J. Ś. Pius IX w pokorze swej raczył pisać do Norwida apostolski zapieczętowany list (PWsz VI, 556).

¹¹ Quotes after the edition: Z. TROJANOWICZOWA, Z. DAMBEK in collaboration with J. CZARNOMORSKA, *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida*, Poznań 2007. Quotes from this source are cited with the abbreviation Kal, followed by the volume and page number.

¹² Quotes after the edition: Z. TROJANOWICZOWA, Z. DAMBEK in collaboration with J. CZARNOMORSKA, *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida*, Poznań 2007. Quotes from this source are cited with the abbreviation Kal, followed by the volume and page number.

He was aware of the attack on the Quirinal in Rome, and his behaviour brought this about that His Holiness Pius IX, in his humility, deigned to write Norwid an apostolic sealed letter.

The last information in *Kalendarz* (II, 26) on this subject, placed under the date 19 June, relates to a mention in "Dziennik Poznański" of that day (Issue 139) and reads:

In correspondence from Paris on 12 June, it was written: 'The Polish poet and draughtsman Cyprian Norwid, who lectured last year at a public course on what the duties of poets are, sent his offering to Rome at the time when Peter's Pence was collected, in a form which was intended to express the thought and feeling of his homeland in view of the present situation of the Holy See. Following this step, the Holy Father bestowed upon Mr. Norwid a thanksgiving response and an apostolic blessing. The papal letter referred to here is written in Latin and dated 27 March this year'.

This is in essence the approximate editorial history of Pope Pius IX's letter to Norwid of 27 March 1861¹³.

UNKNOWN FIRST PRINT

Meanwhile, the first print of the pope's letter, together with Norwid's translation into Polish, appeared two days after the short note in *Dziennik Poznański* and half a century before what is still regarded as its first publication on Friday, 21 June 1861, in the modest provincial weekly *Tygodnik Katolicki*, published in Grodzisk Wielkopolski (or as it was known then: Grodzisk Poznański) by Fr. Aleksy Prusinowski¹⁴. This publication, included in the regular column *Polskie*

¹³ I omit here the secondary citations of the pope's letter in the works of Norwid experts, e.g.: J. ARCAB, "Norwid wobec Kościoła i Stolicy Apostolskiej," *Nasza Przeszłość. Studia z Dziejów Kościoła i Kultury Katolickiej w Polsce*, IX: 1959, p. 385.

¹⁴ Fr. Prusinowski also printed in the magazine his translation of Montalembert's pamphlet on Poland. In this text there is a footnote by the translator, which could serve as a footnote to Norwid's drawing of Angel Brunetti, called Ciceruacchio, contained in his letter to Józef Bohdan Zaleski of 9 February 1848 and to his letter to Bronisław Zaleski of 25 September 1870: "Ciceruacchi wyrażenie używano we Włoszech od 1848. r. Samo przez się nic nie znaczy, ale przy nazwisku osoby oznacza dowódcę republiki złożonej z urwizów. Pierwszy ciceruacchio romano, był w Rzymie w r. 1848" [Ciceruacchi – an expression used in Italy since 1848. By itself it means nothing, but used next to a person's name it denotes the commander of a republic composed of urchins. The first ciceruacchio romano, was in Rome in 1848]. K. MONTALEMBERT, "Naród w żałobie," *Tygodnik Katolicki*, (Grodzisk) 1861, Issue. 40, p. 336. From the rich literature on the subject, it is worth quoting here an excerpt from a lecture by Bronisław Biliński, in which he

misje [*Polish Missions*], is unsigned and consists of three parts: information about the letter, the Latin text of the pope's letter and the Polish translation placed in a footnote.

Paryż 15. Czerwca. Poeta polski Cyprian Norwid, który roku zeszłego publicznie na kursie swym wykladał „*jakie są poetów obowiązki*,” i treść tę przez nikogo pierwiej niepodjęmowaną rozwijał; uznał był za powinne, w czasie, kiedy grosz piotrowy składano, ofiarować onyż pod taką formą, która by myśl i uczucie ojczyzny, wobec położenia obecnego Stolicy Apostolskiej wyrażała. W następstwie tego to kroku, podobało się siedzącemu na Stolicy Apostolskiej, następującym listem poecie polskiemu odpowiedzieć:

“Dilecto Filio Cypriano Norwid Lutecium, Parisiorum.

PIUS P. P. IX.

Dilecte Fili salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Magnis quotidie in Nos sanctam que hanc Petri Sedem afflictionibus et calamitatibus ingruentibus consolatur Nos misericordissimus Dominus pietate, fide, et alacritate eorū fidelium qui tristissimo hoc tempore *honori sibi ducunt et gloriae adesse Nobis segue magis addictos et devinctos exhibere*. Cujus *filialis sane studii testimonium et Tu Dilecte Fili mox nobis probare voluisti* eo pecuniae et numismatis munere quod Nobis tuo nomine allatum fuit. Illud pellifenter ad sublevatas agentis¹⁵ aerarii Nostri angustias accepimus Tibiquae propterea meritas agimus et habemus gratias. Summis interim votis ac precibus largitorem bonorum omnium Dominum obfectamur¹⁶ ut Te omni et animi et corporis prosperitate laetificat. Ac tanti hujus boni auspitem simulque praecipue Nostre in Te catitatis pignus adjungimus Apostolicam Benedictionem quam ipsi Tibi Dilecte Fili effuso paterni cordis affectu permanenter impertimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 27. Martii 1861.

Pontificatus Nostri Anno XV.

*Pius P. P. IX.)**

*) Ukochanemu Synowi Cyprianowi Norwidowi w Paryżu.

PIUS P. P. IX.

Kochany Synu! Pozdrowienie i Apostolskie Błogosławieństwo.

Kiedy wielkie co dnia na Nas i świętą tę Piotra Stolicę klęski i dolegliwości uderzają, pociesza Nas najmiłosierniejszy Pan, oddaniem wiarą i zapalem wiernych, co w najsmutniejszym tym czasie *za zaszczyt sobie znają i chwałę, przybywać Nam w pomoc a rósć w wier-*

spoke of Ciceruacchio as “the first citizen of Rome:” “La marchesa Arconati Visconti scriveva a Margaret Fuller: ‘I believe truly with Mickiewicz that the first man of Rome is Ciceruacchio’ (J. J. DEISS, *The Roman Years of Margaret Fuller*, New York, 1969, p. 138) e Massimo d’Azeglio nella lettera del 6 luglio 1847 confermava: ‘Ciceruacchio in questi giorni fu il primo cittadino di Roma, incoraggiava, teneva discorsi e si duplicava e triplicava per mantenere l’ordine’.” B. BILIŃSKI, *Gli anni romani di Cyprian Norwid (1847-48). Nell 150° anniversario della nascita del poeta*, Wrocław 1973, p. 22.

¹⁵ In Przesmycki's edition, there is a different reading of the sentence beginning.

¹⁶ The print version. It should probably read: oblectamur. In Przesmycki's edition: obtestamur.

ność i przywiązanie. Takiego iście synowskiego serca zadatek i Tyś, kochany synu, co dopiero Nam dać chciał, darem tej summy i pieniądza tego, które Nam twym imieniem oddano. Przyjęliśmy to na poparcie dogorywającego w ścisku skarbu naszego, a Tobie za to słuszne czynimy i znamy dzięki. Z głębokości serca modłami błagamy Dawcę wszech dóbr i Pana, aby Cię wszelką i ducha i ciała pomyślnością pocieszał. A w zadatek tego i takiego dobra równie jak na szczególny znak Naszej ku Tobie miłości, dołączamy Apostolskie Błogosławieństwo, którego Tobie, kochany synu, wylanym uczuciem ojcowskiego serca na wszystkie czasy udzielamy.

Dan w Rzymie u Piotra św. dnia 27. Marca 1861.

Rządów Naszych XV. roku.

*Pius P. P. IX*¹⁷

Paris, 15. June. The Polish poet Cyprian Norwid, who the previous year had publicly lectured as part of his course on “*what the duties of poets are,*” and elaborated on a subject never before touched upon by anyone; felt it necessary, at the time when Peter’s Pence was collected, to offer it in such a form that would express the thought and feeling of his homeland, in view of the present situation of the Holy See. Following this step, it pleased the one sitting on the Apostolic See to reply with the following letter:

“Dilecto Filio Cypriano Norwid Lutecium, Parisiorum.

PIUS P. P. IX.

Dilecte Fili salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Magnis quotidie in Nos sanctam que hanc Petri Sedem afflictionibus et calamitatibus ingruentibus consolatur Nos misericordissimus Dominus pietate, fide, et alacritate eorū fidelium qui tristissimo hoc tempore *honori sibi ducunt et gloriae adesse Nobis segue magis addictos et devinctos exhibere. Cujus filialis sane studii testimonium et Tu Dilecte Fili mox nobis probare voluisti* eo pecuniae et numismatis munere quod Nobis tuo nomine allatum fuit. Illud pellifenter ad sublevatas agentis aerarii Nostri angustias accepimus Tibique propterea meritas agimus et habemus gratias. Summis interim votis ac precibus largitorem bonorum omnium Dominum obsecramur ut Te omni et animi et corporis prosperitate laetificat. Ac tanti hujus boni auspiciem simulque praecipue Nostre in Te caritatis pignus adjungimus Apostolicam Benedictionem quam ipsi Tibi Dilecte Fili effuso paterni cordis affectu permanenter impertimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 27. Martii 1861.

Pontificatus Nostri Anno XV.

Pius P. P. IX. ”)*

*) To Our Beloved Son Cyprian Norwid in Paris.

PIUS P. P. IX.

Dear Son! Greetings and Apostolic Blessing.

When every day calamities and afflictions strike Us and the Holy See of Peter, We are comforted by the most merciful Lord, through the devotion of faith and the zeal of the faithful, who in this saddest of times *know it as their honour and glory to come to Our assistance and to grow in fidelity and devotion. Such a truly filial heart was given to Us by you, dear son,* with the gift of this summa and the money that was given to us in your name. We have accepted this

¹⁷ “Polskie misje,” *Tygodnik Katolicki*, 1861, Issue 25, p. 232 of the general collection.

in support of Our treasure, which is dying in the oppression, and for this We rightly extend Our thanks to you. From the depths of Our heart we pray to the Giver of all goods and to the Lord, that He may comfort you with all wellbeing of body and soul. As a special token of Our love for you, we attach the Apostolic Blessing, which we impart to you, Our dear son, with the outpouring of a fatherly heart for all time.

Bestowed in Rome at Petrine See on 27 March 1861.

In the 15th year of Our Pontificate,

Pius P. P. IX.

AUTHORSHIP

As mentioned above, the material in *Tygodnik Katolicki* was unsigned. Above all, the authorship of the note preceding the pope's letter needs to be clarified.

There are two possible authors: Fr. Aleksander Jełowicki or Norwid himself. The authorship of the former would seem to be supported by the fact that the entire material appeared in the column *Polish Missions*, where, as a rule, information sent by the Resurrectionists was published in the Grodzisk weekly: from Rome by Fr. Hieronim Kajsiewicz, and from Paris by Fr. Jełowicki. Frequent correspondence from Canadian missionaries in 1861 reached Grodzisk via Rome. In general, it can be said that *Tygodnik Katolicki* was the tribune of the Resurrectionists at that time. The 1861 issue published Fr. Kajsiewicz's letters ("O dyrekcji albo kierownictwie dusz" ["On the Direction or Guiding of Souls"], Issue 5) and those by Fr. Jełowicki ("List duchowny" ["Clerical Letter"]¹⁸, Issues 8 and 43); the latter reported on the events that took place in the Church of Our Lady of the Assumption in Paris after his sermon in honour of St. John Cantius and announced his version of the hymn *Boże coś Polskę* [*God Save Poland*] (Issues 44, 49). In Issue 50, a speech delivered by Fr. Kajsiewicz on 29 November in Paris was published,

¹⁸ Addressed to his brother, it includes a fierce attack against dolls ("I consider dolls a satanic invention") and a telling recollection of childhood games: "You remember, my dear brother, our sticks, those padded sticks with the cross handle, with which we used to fence in front of our parents and guests so eagerly that the guests often wanted to challenge us, and more than once they were pierced lengthwise and crosswise with these swords of ours. You remember our races and jumps, on foot and on horseback, which make our tournaments pale in comparison. You remember our hunts, which, preparing us for war, kindled the war spirit in our hearts. The hunting trumpet sounded like the war trumpet for us. And the roar of gunshots in the forests and on the rocks was like a rumble of a hundred-odd canons. – And it was most urgent for us to kill the hawk and the wolf, in defence of the pure dove and the innocent sheep, for both are the spiritual image of our holy Mother..... You do remember that all. – And what was it to us? Fun. – Yet, was it not something more than just fun?" A. JEŁOWICKI, "List duchowny," *Tygodnik Katolicki*, 1861, Issue 8.

and the column *Polish Missions* printed Fr. Jełowicki's letter to Władysław Czartoryski concerning "the Monument for Prince Czartoryski"¹⁹.

Textological considerations point rather to Norwid's authorship. A comparison between the note in *Tygodnik Katolicki* and the note in *Dziennik Poznański* shows that we are dealing with a single text that has undergone certain editorial adjustments. The version printed in the weekly is the original text, the version in Poznań daily contains an edited text. One might be inclined to reconstruct the editorial modifications in the Polish text:

*Paryż 15. Czerwea.*²⁰Poeta [added: i rysownik] polski Cyprian Norwid, który roku zeszłego publicznie na [added: publicznym] kursie swym wykladał "jakie są poetów obowiązki," i treść tę przez nikogo pierwej niepodjętą rozwijał; uznał [added: przesłał] był za powinne, w czasie, kiedy grosz piotrowy [added: Piotrowy] składano, ofiarować onyż [added: swoją ofiarę] do Rzymu pod taką formą, która by [added: miała] myśl i uczucie ojczyzny; wobec położenia obecnego Stolicy Apostolskiej wyrażała [added: wyrażać]. W następstwie tego to kroku, podobało się siedzącemu na Stolicy Apostolskiej, następującym listem pocieć polskiemu odpowiedzieć: [added: obdarzył Ojciec Św. Pana Norwida dziękczynną odpowiedzią i błogosławieństwem apostolskim. List papieski, o którym tu mowa, jest po łacinie spisany i nosi datę 27 marca br.]

The modifications consisted mainly in removing Norwid's archaisms and lofty formulations ("uznał by za powinne" [he had deemed them necessary], "ofiarować onyż" [to offer these], "pod taką formą" [under such a form], "podobało się siedzącemu na Stolicy Apostolskiej" [it pleased the one sitting on the Holy See]) and replacing them with more objective, informative expressions ("przesłał" [he sent], "obdarzył" [he bestowed], "nosi datę" [dated]).

Norwid's authorship is also supported by an excerpt from the note, linking the genesis of the gift to the pope with the previous year's lecture on the duties of the poet. Of course, this refers to the lectures on Słowacki, delivered in the spring of 1860, which appeared in print only at the end of 1861. During the first lecture (7 April 1860) Norwid said: "Zajmujemy się tu obowiązkami poety, bo i jakże możemy ocenić, jak je wypełniał, skoro nie wiemy pierwej, jakie miał obowiązki?"

¹⁹ The idea was peculiar: to take the fund collected for the construction of the Polish church, to collect twice as much for Czartoryski's monument, and using both sums to erect a church of "Immaculately Conceived Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, Queen of the Polish Crown and All Polish Saints," *Tygodnik Katolicki*, 1861, Issue 50, p. 464.

²⁰ The date of 12 June, given in *Kalendarz*, appears in *Dziennik Polski* at the beginning of a whole set of news items, which need not necessarily come from a single day and from a single Paris correspondent.

[We are concerned here with the duties of the poet, for how can we judge how he fulfilled them if we do not first know what his duties were?] (PWsz VI 413). He returned to this subject in the next lecture (14 April): „Na posiedzeniu zeszłym zapytywaliśmy siebie, co jest poeta, i jakie są jego obowiązki? Ponieważ zaś nikt o to nigdy nie pytał, przeszliśmy cały tok historii” [During the last session we asked ourselves: Who is the poet and what are his duties? And since no one ever asked this, we went through the whole course of history] (PWsz VI 416). The last sentence is the counterpart of the phrase “i treść tę przez nikogo pierwiej niepodejmowaną” [and this content never touched upon by anyone], deleted by the editor of *Dziennik Poznański*, but preserved by Fr. Prusinowski in *Tygodnik Katolicki*. At the same time, it is a testimony to Norwid’s self-awareness.

The notion of the duties of the poet is not the only thing that connects the lectures on Słowacki with the gift to the pope. In the already quoted second lecture there is a reference to the same pope and his address to Mickiewicz:

Nie od rzeczy tu będzie, jeżeli przypomnę, że Jego Świątobliwość Pius IX, papież, kiedy przyjmował Mickiewicza, a poeta ukląkłszy odezwał się: „Oto jestem syn marnotrawny” („*Ecco mi il figliuol prodigo*”), odpowiedział: „Syn najukochańszy!” („*Figliuol carissimo*”). Ja zaś od Papieża większym nie jestem katolikiem. (PWsz VI, 419)

It will not be amiss here if I remind you that His Holiness Pius IX, when he received Mickiewicz and the poet knelt down and said: “Behold, I am the prodigal son” (“*Ecco mi il figliuol prodigo*”), the pope replied: “The most beloved son!” (“*Figliuol carissimo*”). I, on the other hand, am no more a Catholic than the Pope.

In the same lecture (PWsz VI, 421) and in the following one, dated 21 April, there appear flattering references to the Irishman Daniel O’Connell (“Ja nie kłaniam się nikomu, tylko źródł źródłu, i stąd to uszanowanie moje dla Mickiewicza, Kossutha, chociaż z ludzi tych O’Connell tylko sam może ma moje rzeczywiste sympatie” [I bow to no one but to the source of sources, and hence this respect of mine for Mickiewicz, Kossuth, although of these men O’Connell alone may have my real sympathies] (PWsz VI, 424). We have another, indirect, testimony to Norwid’s assessment of O’Connell, namely a letter from a fellow resident of St. Casimir’s House, Ignacy Grudziński, dated 23 May 1878. This letter, used in *Kalendarz*, is quoted here in fragments after the first print:

Jeszcze kilka słów o Dziele Twojem *O Słowackim*. [...] Od wyrazów: popalić księgi... ale sercem... aż do końca lekcji III-ej cała ta stronnica prześliczna i bogata, jak mały dukat lub diament. Onegdaj prosiłem Cię z nieśmiałością kochany Rodaku, abyś spalił pół stronnicy, a raczej kilka wierszy sercem, ze swojego skarbu – nie nazywając mnie niewdzięcznym i upartym, że powtarzam i żądam od Ciebie tego żaru ognia Wiary, Miłości i Nadziei – wybacz mi

proszę to moje zachcenie. Człowiekowi biednemu zachciewa się różnych rzeczy, tak jak dziecku, ale w dobrej woli. Bądźmy dziećmi – jak powie Zbawiciel – abyśmy mogli wejść do Królestwa Niebieskiego. Żałuję, że się o Lamartine zbyt niełagodnie wyraził – Zostawiam każdego sądowi Boga – wszakże już jest tam, wszakżem wyrzekł: Niech mu tam Bóg przebaczy. Co do Mickiewicza, Koszuta, O'Con[n]ela, któż by ich nie wielbił?²¹

A few more words about Your Work *On Słowacki*. [...] From the words: burn the books ... but with the heart... to the end of Lesson III, this whole page is as lovely and rich as a small ducat or diamond. Once I begged you with timidity, dear Compatriot, to burn half a page, or rather a few lines with your heart, of your treasure – without calling me ungrateful and stubborn for repeating and demanding from you the embers of the fire of Faith, Love and Hope – please forgive me this desire of mine. A poor man craves all sorts of things, just like a child, but in good will. Let us be children – as the Saviour says – so that we may enter the Kingdom of Heaven. I regret that I spoke too unkindly of Lamartine – I leave everyone to God's judgement – after all, he is already there, after all I have said: May God forgive him there. As for Mickiewicz, Kossuth, O'Con[n]el, who would not adore them?

TWO MEDALS

The quoted letter – through the comparison made therein of a page of Norwid's lecture to a precious coin or an expensive gem – may be a good point of transition to the next issue, namely the matter of the gift Norwid made to Pope Pius IX, a gift for which he received a letter of thanks and blessing. Apart from testimonies on this subject already quoted after Gomulicki, there is a fragment of a letter from Fr. Jełowicki to Fr. Kajsiewicz of 18 December 1860, published by Fr. Jan Arcab in an article on Norwid's works in the correspondence of the Resurrectionists:

The day before yesterday we had a collection for the Pope... There is an interesting gift from Norwid Cyprian, which I would like the Pope to get. It is a lovely gold medal, I think from the Sobieski era (and Norwid is related to the Sobieski family), a medal of the Virgin Mary with the inscription: 'Against Turk's Assaults'. In addition, under that paper, 5 gold francs from the year of the siege of Sevastopol, with the remark that 'what Poland was crushing, France was defending'. A very beautiful thought²².

²¹ Z. JASTRZĘBSKI, "List Ignacego Grudzińskiego do Cypriana Norwida," *Polonista. Czasopismo Koła Polonistów S[tudentów] KUL*, I: 1958, Issue 3 (May-June 1958), p. 37. I would like to thank Agnieszka Bielak for her help in obtaining, during the pandemic, a scan of this issue of the journal from the collection of the Library of the Catholic University of Lublin. On the basis of a handwritten correction of the initial in the signature, this allows us to restore the authorship of this publication of Norwid's letter to Zdzisław Jastrzębski.

²² J. ARCA, "Głosy o Norwidzie w korespondencji pierwszych zmartwychwstańców," *Znak*, 1960, Issue 12 (78), p. 1623.

No one has so far offered to identify both of these objects, which Jełowicki, in another (already quoted) letter, refers to as a medal and a coin. The matter is not easy. A web search for the string of characters PRZECIW TURKA SZTURMOM [against Turk's assaults] yields only texts concerning Norwid and in various ways duplicating the same information. After all, knowing Norwid's care in selecting gifts and his anticipatory politeness, one can put forward a hypothesis that the medal, albeit concerning the conflict between Poland and Turkey, did not have a Polish inscription, which would be incomprehensible to the recipient, but rather an Italian or Latin one.

A specialised work from the end of the 19th century containing a description of Polish religious medals is Teofil Rewoliński's catalogue. In it, one can find many medals connected with the Polish-Turkish wars and the figure of Jan III Sobieski. There are also many medals commemorating Pope Pius IX, e.g. on the occasion of the inauguration of his pontificate, the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception or the crowning of some Polish Marian images. A medal matching the description of Norwid's gift is found at the very end of the catalogue, in the section *Miscellaneous Commemorative Medals*. It is entitled *1683. Medal of Our Lady of Zell commemorating the Polish liberation of Vienna from the Turkish siege*. Rewoliński provides some basic information about the place of origin ("Mariazell – a town in the Styrian district of Bruck, on the Salzbach River, has a magnificent church with a miraculous image of the Blessed Virgin Mary"²³) and then provides a description of the medal, no. 1307 in his catalogue. The abbreviations "S. G." and "S. O." refer to the obverse and the reverse:

S. G. Our Lady in full figure, in richly adorned robes with child in right hand, two little angels holding crown on her head and two kneeling at her feet and holding her gown – festoons at top and sides. Circumscription on the left: PATRONA, on the right: VIENNENSIVM. In section: S[ANCTA] MARIA CEL | LENSIS.

S. O. At the top: the Holy Trinity in the clouds, inscription underneath: S.S. TRIAS REFV-GIVM VIENNENSIVM. Below: a view of Vienna and the attack by Christian troops on the Turkish camp. – In section: VIENNA AVSTRIAE AB | OBSIDIONE TVRC : LI | BERATA 12 SEPT: | 1683. – Oval, 38-46 mm, thin sheet: Fig²⁴.

²³ T. REWOLIŃSKI, *Medale religijne odnoszące się do Kościoła katolickiego we wszystkich krajach dawnej Polski w zbiorze dra med. T. Rewolińskiego*. Kraków 1887, part II p. 66.

²⁴ T. REWOLIŃSKI, *Medale religijne*, part II p. 66. Depictions of the obverse and reverse of the medal on Plate XXXV.

The wording used in the lower inscription on the reverse is, despite different word order, a fairly exact semantic equivalent of the Polish formula known to us from Jełowicki's letter:

AB OBSIDIONE TVRC[ICA]
AGAINST TURK'S ASSAULTS

This phrase, in the variant "ab obsidione Turcorum," also appears in the title of a panegyric in honour of Sobieski, written shortly after the Vienna Victory by a descendant of a well-known Tuscan aristocratic family, Antonio Malegonnellia²⁵. Norwid may have encountered this title in the book (dedicated to Władysław Zamoyski as adjutant to Grand Duke Konstantin) by Sebastiano Ciampi, describing the attempts to reform the Polish army in the light of the letters of Sobieski and his Italian secretaries²⁶. The phrase is also mentioned by the well-known Romantic orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall in his history of the Ottoman Empire²⁷.



Medal (obverse and reverse) 1683. *Medal of Our Lady of Zell commemorating the Polish liberation of Vienna from the Turkish siege*

²⁵ A. MALEGONNELLO, *Joanni III. Poloniae Regni Invictissimo ob Viennam ab Obsidione Tyrcarvm liberata Panegyricvs Romæ habitus*. Florentiae MDLXXXIII (instead of: MD-CLXXXIII, date corrected in some copies). The work was dedicated to Cardinal Carlo Barberini, since 1681 protector of the Polish monarchy at the Holy See. It had several reprints, including in Gdańsk in 1684.

²⁶ S. CIAMPI, *Lettere militari con un piano di riforma dell'esercito polacco del Re Giovanni Sobiescki et altre de' suoi secretari italiani*, Firenze 1830, p. 82.

²⁷ J. von HAMMER, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Vol. 10, Pest 1835, p. 259.

The description in Rewoliński's catalogue does not do justice to the 1683 medal, which is a true work of art. The author of the medal, Paul Seel (1642-1695) from Salzburg, was, like his father and master Peter Seel, "one of the best and most prolific medallists of the 17th century."²⁸ He also practised copperplate engraving. The gold medal from 1683 (the piece in Rewoliński's collection, pressed on a thin sheet, was probably a cheap version of this work) is striking due to its precision of drawing and accuracy of execution. Our Lady of Mariazell, the patron saint of Vienna, is depicted in a richly adorned dress, with the infant Jesus wearing a similar one. The reverse shows the Holy Trinity – on the right: God the Father, seated in a patriarchal pose; on the left: the Son of God, with his right hand embracing a diagonally standing cross, one leg bare as a reminder of the Passion; above them, in the centre: the large Holy Spirit, spreading his wings, hovering above the clouds. In the central plan: a veduta of Vienna, with dominating St. Stephen's Cathedral and the towers of the most important churches, surrounded by ramparts. Below: the clash between the Christian army (with the attacking hussars on the left) and the Turkish army, pushed to the defensive and hiding behind oriental tents. Dimensions of the medal: 44 mm high (without tag), 37 mm wide.

As for the second object gifted to the pope, most probably it was not a circulating 5 franc gold coin, but a medal, pressed in 1855 after the capture of Sevastopol. It depicts on the obverse the head of Napoleon III in profile, facing left and crowned with the laurel of victory, stylised in the profile of the Roman emperor. The circumscription reads: NAPOLEON III EMPEREUR DES FRANÇAISES. In smaller letters, the engravers' names: DESAIDE ROQUELAY f[ecerunt]. On the reverse: cannon barrels (one still smoking) protrude from under the banners. At the bottom: an Imperial eagle; at the top: a shield with a crown at the top. The inscription on the shield: PRISE | DE | SÉBASTOPOL | LE 8 | SEPTEMBRE | 1855. The medal is 46 mm in diameter, copper, weight: 51.83 g.

Louis Desaide (1820-1896) and Pierre Roquelay (1818-?) jointly ran a medal-making workshop on Rue de l'Arbre-Sec in Paris, working for Napoleon III and the Paris mint. The obverse with the crowned head of the Emperor was also used for other medals, often local, such as the medals for the farmers' convention in Nérac (1860) or for the school exhibition in the department of Tarn (1868).

²⁸ K. ROLL, "Die Medaillen-Stempel-Sammlung des Benediktiner-Stiftes St. Peter in Salzburg. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Weihepfennige," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, Vol. XLIV: 1914, p. 189.



PRISE DE SÉBASTOPOL medal (obverse and reverse)

Why did Fr. Jełowicki write about a gold 5 franc coin? The 5 franc coin of 1855 had a similar appearance to the Sevastopol medal – on the obverse: the exposed emperor's head (but without the laurel and facing right), on the reverse: the emperor's coat of arms stretched across the banners and a crown at the top. Minor differences involve the placement of the eagle (bottom – on the medal, centre on the shield – on the coin) and the absence of cannon barrels. Truly, it is easy to confuse the two objects.

The Sevastopol medal is the perfect complement to the Vienna medal. Both relate to a specific battle with an exact date (in both cases September). Both concern wars in which Turkey is one of the parties: in the 17th century as an adversary of Christian Europe, in the Crimean War as an ally of France and England. Both contain antiquating elements – the Latin inscriptions on the Vienna medal, the laurel wreath and the stylisation of Napoleon III's head as a Roman emperor on the Sevastopol medal. Both use military elements – in the first case: ramparts, fighting soldiers on horseback and foot and military tents; in the second case: banners and cannons. Finally, both are almost identical in size, allowing them to fit under the same "paper" – a disc of paper, shaped like a wafer, used to protect numismatic items.

TWO GEOPOLITICAL VISIONS: MICKIEWICZ AND NORWID

Norwid's choice of gift for the pope – critical of Napoleon III's foreign policy – contrastingly brings to mind Adam Mickiewicz's Latin ode, addressed to that ruler (dedication "*Ad Napolionem III Caesarem Augustum*"²⁹), entitled *Ode in Bomarsundum captum*, written after the French and English fleets captured the Russian fortress of Bomarsund in the archipelago of the Åland Islands in the Baltic Sea.

The Baltic campaign is a relatively lesser-known part of the Crimean War. The British navy, supported by the French troops, entered the Baltic with the intention of neutralising the Russian naval bases and crippling the Russian navy in the area. The fighting for Bomarsund began in July 1854 and ended with the capture of the fortress on 16 August that year.

There are various hypotheses as to the genesis of Mickiewicz's poem, based on the partially contradictory recollections of the poet's son, Władysław. According to one version, the poem was written soon after the news of the capture of the fortress reached Paris; according to another, it was written in autumn, after the Battle of Sevastopol (under the autograph the date reads: "21 Novembre 1854. Paris"³⁰). Apparently Sainte-Beuve, having read the poem, wanted to publish it in the press; Mickiewicz was said to have agreed to print it anonymously, in a few dozen copies, in the form of a pamphlet.

This was not the only such pamphlet poem following the capture of the Baltic fortress. In his song *Bomarsund*, written on 1 September 1854, Henri Compagnion praised Napoleon, who had shone a star of glory on his soldiers; the Baltic campaign, which was to bring liberation to the peoples of the north, also sealed the French alliance with their old enemy England³¹. Adrien Fourdain, in a print of a few pages, *La Prise de Bomarsund*, dedicated to the allied armies of Great Britain and France, compares Europe to a tortoise and Tsar Nicholas to a sly hare who, under pressure from the allies, will have to retreat to his capital. The poem

²⁹ Here I accept the argument of the Swedish Slavist and translator Lennart Kjellberg, who drew attention to the ornamental line separating the dedication from the title in the poem's first print, an anonymously published pamphlet of 1854. See L. KJELLBERG, "Quand Mickiewicz a-t-il écrit son ode à Napoléon III ?" *Scando-Slavica*, 15: 1969, Issue 1, p. 85 and a likeness of the pamphlet on p. 84.

³⁰ In reconstructing the circumstances of the poem's composition, I rely on Kjellberg's article cited above and on the editorial notes in: A. MICKIEWICZ, *Dziela wszystkie. Wiersze. 1829-1855*, ed. Cz. Zgorzelski, Wrocław 1981, pp. 343-348. Quoted from p. 343.

³¹ H. COMPAGNION, "Bomarsund," in: H. COMPAGNION, *L'Orient: chants guerriers*, Lille 1855, pp. 11-12.

ends with an exclamation in honour of Napoleon III: “et vive l’Empereur!!!”³². In his song *Le cri du jour*, written in July 1855, Louis Vautier advises Alexander II (the new Tsar of Russia from 2 March 1855) to learn the lesson from the capture of Sevastopol, and before that – Bomarsund, that it is safer to get rid of pride and greed and stay on the indigenous Russian lands³³. These literary testimonies should be supplemented with a caricature by the cartoonist Amedée de Noé, better known by his pseudonym Cham. The drawing depicts a fat Nicholas I standing with an exasperated face over a skinny Napoleon III sitting at a table, eating a sausage with the inscription “BOMARDSUND” (sic!), while behind the tsar we can see a model of the fortress of Sevastopol, towards which the French ruler is extending his hand. Caption: “But this rascal is voracious – he hasn’t swallowed one morsel yet and is already reaching for the next!”³⁴. In most of these pamphlets, there is a sense of direct connection between the current events in the Baltic and the Black Sea, a connection symbolised by the names Bomarsund and Sevastopol.

The pamphlet with the Latin ode on the capture of Bomarsund was printed anonymously. It was not published under the author’s name until after Mickiewicz’s death. In the Parisian magazine *Wiadomości Polskie* 1856, Issue 13 (dated 8 March), an article entitled “Oda Adama Mickiewicza na wzięcie Bomarsundu” [Adam Mickiewicz’s ode on the capture of Bomarsund], containing the Latin text and a Polish translation by Karol Sienkiewicz, is juxtaposed with (yet another) commentary on the scandalous incident on the steps of St. Magdalene’s Church during Mickiewicz’s funeral ceremony, which, as we know, is the subject of Norwid’s poem *Duch Adama i skandal* [Adam’s Spirit and Scandal]. Independently of this publication, Norwid may have read the ode in the French journal *Constitutionnel*. This is a mythical publication – there is a reference to it in the monthly supplement to the Kraków daily *Czas* of May 1856, but researchers, such as Semkowicz, Syga, Borowy, Kjellberg and Zgorzelski, have searched in vain for it. Meanwhile, in the issue of 13 March 1856, i.e. almost simultaneously with *Wiadomości Polskie*, this poem appeared in the Parisian journal, preceded by these words:

An ode in Latin, composed on the occasion of the capture of Bomarsund, was found in the papers left by the Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz. Here is the text of this learned poem [cette savante poésie]³⁵.

³² A. FOURDAIN, *La Prise de Bomarsund*, Paris 1854, p. 4.

³³ Cf: L. VAUTIER, *Le cri du jour*, Troyes 1855.

³⁴ CHAM, *Chargeons les Russes*, Paris 1854, ill. no. 31.

³⁵ A. MICKIEWICZ, “Ad Napoleonem III, Cæsarem Augustum. Ode in Bomarsundum captum,” *Le Constitutionnel*, of 13 March 1856. Meanwhile, Edmond Mainard, reprinting the ode

Already after Mickiewicz's death, the British Baltic Medal was established by Queen Victoria's decision of 6 June 1856. Awarded initially to officers and soldiers of the Royal Navy, later also to sappers, it depicted on the obverse the Queen wearing a diadem, with the Latin inscription *Victoria Regina*, and on the reverse a seated Britannia with a trident in her hand, looking down on the fortresses of Bomarsund and Sveaborg (today Suomenlinna near Helsinki) below. The latter was besieged by the Anglo-French forces in August 1855.

As for the later studies on the war in the Baltic, it is worth noting a thesis prepared in 1924 at the *École de Guerre Navale* in Paris by a frigate captain Frankowski. Its author was the later Commodore Stefan Frankowski (1887-1940)³⁶. The author begins his analysis of the Baltic campaign in 1854 with a comparison, stating as follows:

In nautical novels and voyage descriptions, an important role is attributed to a small cloud, which the Chief, who has great experience, recognises as the sign of the approaching storm, whereas the unsuspecting passengers admire the beautiful sky and the calm of the sea. This comparison can be applied to the quarrel between the Catholic and Orthodox clergy in Jerusalem, which played the role of the small cloud, while the storm, which was a consequence of this quarrel, soon engulfed almost the whole of Europe and hardly any European country was left unaffected³⁷.

A Polish naval officer perceptively pointed out the religious background of the conflict that developed into the Crimean War, fought partly in the Baltic and mainly in the Black Sea. The dispute over Russia's right to care for Christians in the Holy Land soon escalated into a question of limiting the sovereignty of the Turkish state, with consequences for the European balance. Hence the interven-

in his biography of Mickiewicz, published under a pseudonym, refers to its printing in *Revue Contemporaine*: E. FONTILLE, *Adam Mickiewicz, sa vie et sa croyance. Esquisse biographique, impressions et souvenirs*, Paris 1862, pp. 146-7. The Polish translation does not mention this, there is only the Latin text and a short commentary: "Learned Frenchmen, including Academics like Sainte-Beuve, praised this work for its Horacean qualities." E. FONTILLE, *Adam Mickiewicz: rys biograficzny, złożony ze wspomnień i wrażeń*, Kraków 1863, p. 114.

³⁶ Identification based on Frankowski's biography in: *Kadry morskie Rzeczypospolitej*. Vol. V: *Polska marynarka wojenna. Dokumentacja organizacyjna i kadrowa oficerów, podoficerów i marynarzy (1918-1947)*, ed. J.K. Sawicki, Gdynia 2011, p. 446 – it is noted there that in 1925 he graduated from the Paris Naval Academy.

³⁷ Monsieur le Capitaine de Frégate de Frankowski, *La campagne de la Baltique en 1854*, Paris 1924, typescript. The last two chapters of this conscientious work deal with the operations around Bomarsund and the situation after the capture of this fortress.

tion of the British navy, supported by French reinforcements, in the Baltic and the attack on Bomarsund, the geopolitical significance of which was recognised by Mickiewicz when he wrote the ode.

Norwid, as is well known, mentions Mickiewicz's ode in *Czarne kwiaty* [*Black Flowers*]:

Okolo to późniejszych jeszcze tego panowania [Napoleona III] miesięcy *bibliotekarz do Imperatora* napisał też Horacjusza językiem „Ode,” nieskończenie z formy przystającą do urzędu i miejsca powierzonego mu. (DW VII, 52)

Around the later months of this reign [Napoleon III], *the librarian* also wrote *to the Emperor* an “Ode” in Horace's language, in its form infinitely befitting the office and position entrusted to him.

Today, being familiar with Norwid's publication of the letter from Pope Pius IX, we recognise in the phrase underlined by the author (“*bibliotekarz do Imperatora* napisał” [*the librarian wrote to the Emperor*]) the equivalent of the words: “Poeta polski [...] uznał był za powinne [...] ofiarować [...] siedzącemu na Stolicy Apostolskiej” [The Polish poet (...) thought it necessary (...) to offer (...) to the one sitting on the Apostolic See]. Norwid situated the fact of writing this ode and offering it to the Emperor in a series of other facts concerning Mickiewicz's attitude to Napoleon, to the Napoleonic dynasty and to its current representative. At the same time, he stressed that the form of the work was “infinitely” befitting the office and position entrusted to the author. Here another parallel is drawn – to the notion of poets' duties, emphasised in the letter's introductory note.

It is worth recalling at this point how the duties of the librarian were understood at the time. A booklet on the subject was written by Stanisław Dunin-Borkowski (1782-1850), a clerk (bearing the lofty title of “the representative of posterity”) at the Ossoliński National Institute founded in 1827. The publication contains a lot of practical advice on the “technical” duties of the librarian, such as taking care of the proper conditions for storing books, eradicating insects and rodents, and cataloguing the collection, but there is also a mention of the rank of the librarian's position and the practical importance of the librarian's work and, more broadly, of literature and science. Dunin-Borkowski draws on examples from antiquity and comments on the first issue: “The ordering of books was no less valued by C a e s a r when he appointed the most learned of Romans, M a r c V a r o n, as Librarian of the newly exhibited Greek and

Latin book collections [...]”³⁸. These words correspond to a passage in *Czarne kwiaty* [*Black Flowers*]:

[...] Adam Mickiewicz mieszkał w okolicach placu Bastylji, w gmachu Biblioteki Arsenau, gdzie i bibliotekarzem był. Miejsce to przepowiedziany przez niego człowiek: z dynastji Wielkiego Napoleona (dzisiejszy Imperator francuski), ofiarował świętej i wiekopomnej pamięci Adamowi Mickiewiczowi [...]. (DW VII, 31)

[...] Adam Mickiewicz lived in the vicinity of the Place de la Bastille, in the building of the Arsenal Library, where he was also librarian. This place was offered by a man foretold by him: from the dynasty of the Great Napoleon (today’s French Emperor), to the holy and everlasting memory of Adam Mickiewicz [...].

As for the practical aspect of libraries, literature and science, Dunin-Borkowski says:

In their scientific research, the ancients always strove for the benefit that it could bring for people. Even their lyrical poetry contains practical teachings essential in the affairs of life, as evidenced by Horace’s odes³⁹.

The ideological connection between these words and Norwid’s phrase “napisał też Horacjusza językiem *Ode*”[he also wrote an *Ode* in Horace’s language] is evident – not to mention the practical aspect, so crucial to the whole concept of art of the author of *Promethidion*.

However, all this also has a wider significance, for it allows two geopolitical visions to be juxtaposed. Mickiewicz’s vision, the more pragmatic one, sought allies among Russia’s opponents while giving Napoleon III additional credit for the cult of Napoleon I. His status as a former Lausanne professor of classical literature gave the poet a reason to appeal to Latin and Roman rhetoric. Mickiewicz’s final political gesture confirmed the choice: even with the Turks, as long as it is against Russia. Norwid’s more religious vision placed the duties of a Christian before patriotic duties and made the poet feel a citizen of Rome, but not the Rome of the Caesars, but of the popes. The choice of gifts for Pius IX highlights the contrast between the two positions: Poland in 1683 was crushing the Turks and thus defending Christianity, France in the Crimean War was crushing Russia in alliance with Turkey and thus defending Turkey against the interests of Christianity. And if in 1861 the poet translated from Latin and prepared for print a letter received from the pope, it was

³⁸ S. Dunin-Borkowski, *O obowiązki bibliotekarza. Rzecz napisana w roku 1827 z powodu uporządkować i otwierać się mającej biblioteki imienia Ossolińskich*, Lwów 1829, p. 11. A reprint was published on the centenary of this publication, edited by Zygmunt Mocarski (Poznań 1929).

³⁹ S. Dunin-Borkowski, *O obowiązki bibliotekarza*, pp. 12-13.

to manifest Poland's solidarity with the Holy See. These two geopolitical visions are not compatible because they are based on a different hierarchy of priorities.

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NORWIDOWSKI PRZEKŁAD LISTU OD PIUSA IX, ZAGADKA DARU POETY DLA PAPIEŻA I TWIERDZA BOMARSUND

Streszczenie

Artykuł omawia nieznaną dotąd pierwodruk listu papieża Piusa IX do Norwida, zamieszczony w lokalnym *Tygodniku Katolickim* (Grodzisk Wielkopolski pod Poznaniem) 21 czerwca 1861 r. Autor udowadnia, że zarówno przekład łacińskiego listu jak i tekst wprowadzający wyszły spod pióra Norwida. Następnie autor identyfikuje złożone przez Norwida papieżowi dary jako austriacki medal Madonny z Mariazell z roku 1683 (dzieło Paula Seela) oraz francuski medal z okazji zdobycia Sewastopola (1855, autorzy: Louis Desaide i Pierre Roquelay). W zakończeniu ten ostatni medal przeciwstawiony jest łacińskiej odzie Mickiewicza na zdobycie Bomarsundu jako znaki dwóch skrajnie odmiennych wizji historiozoficznych: Polska przeciw Imperium Osmańskiemu w obronie chrześcijaństwa (1683) i Francja w sojuszu z Imperium Osmańskim przeciw Rosji w wojnie krymskiej (1853-56).

Słowa kluczowe: list papieski; madonna z Mariazell; Medal Bałtycki 1856; Pius IX; wojna krymska.

NORWID'S TRANSLATION OF A LETTER BY PIUS IX, THE MYSTERY OF THE POET'S GIFT TO THE POPE AND THE FORTRESS OF BOMARSUND

Summary

The article discusses a previously unknown first publication of Pope Pius IX's letter to Norwid in a local weekly *Tygodnik Katolicki* in Grodzisk Wielkopolski near Poznań on 21 June 1861. The author proves that both the Polish translation of this Latin letter and an introductory note were written by Norwid himself. The author also identifies Norwid's two gifts to the pope as a 1683 Austrian medal of Our Lady of Mariazell (by Paul Seel) and a French medal commemorating the siege of Sevastopol (1855, a work by Louis Desaide and Pierre Roquelay). In the final part of the article the latter is contrasted with the Latin ode written by Mickiewicz on the occasion of the capture of Bomarsund, interpreted as signs of two contrary historiosophical visions: that of Poland versus the Ottoman Empire in the defence of Christianity in 1683 and that of France allied with the Ottoman Empire against Russia during the Crimean War (1853-56).

Keywords: pope's letter; Our Lady of Mariazell; the Baltic Medal 1856; Pope Pius IX; Crimean War.

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