

Bogdan B u r d z i e j – “ACCORDING
TO THE CHANGING CALENDAR”.
NORWID “RETHOUGHT”

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Kalendarz życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida [Norwid's life and work calendar] was published under the imprint of Wydawnictwo Poznańskie in 2007. The extensive work, comprising three volumes - 141 publishing sheets and 1816 pages in print (vol. I - pp. 800, vol. II - pp. 800, vol. III - pp. 216), is a great achievement of the Polish Studies centre from Poznan, a collective work of a team led by Prof. Zofia Trojanowiczowa who is also the co-author of the whole edition, and each of the volumes. The co-author of Volume I, covering the years 1821-1860 (in fact, the first record in the calendar is dated 25 April 1818, which is the wedding date of Norwid's parents) is Zofia Dambek, while the contribution of Jolanta Czarnomorska is defined by the formula “with contribution by”. The co-author of Volume II covering the years 1861-1883 (in fact, the end date is 1884, when the last obituaries and the first posthumous extensive descriptions of the poet's figure appear) is Elżbieta Lijewska, “with contribution by” Małgorzata Pluta. The authors of Volume III, containing the “Annex, Bibliography, Indices” are Z. Trojanowiczowa, Zofia Dambek and Iwona Grzeszczak. The contribution of other people supporting the authors by different means: disinterested advice, query of the source material conducted by specific teams, immediate critical opinion or summary review of certain stages of the research was acknowledged with great appreciation in “Introduction” to the publication. The work on *Kalendarz* had been being conducted uninterruptedly for nearly two decades, “from the late 1980s”. For this type of work (for comparison we may refer to *Kronika życia i twórczości Mickiewicza* [Mickiewicz's life and work chronicle] begun in 1957 and still not completed) such a measure of time needed to proceed with the project is, as it were, natural, because it is closely related to the specificity of the subject under consideration. Time, calculated precisely in decades rather than in years, was also the resource required by this particular artist – Norwid, underestimated during his lifetime and much less than, for example Mickiewicz, recorded in the documents of his era, “forgotten” after his death and still “discovered” by successive generations of his enthusiasts, scholars, biographers and editors – from Zenon

Miriam Przesmycki to Juliusz Wiktor Gomulicki. The authors of *Kalendarz* from Poznań followed the path blazed so long ago, a well-marked and wide one, but with the aim of maximally expanding the source and verified knowledge about Norwid. This objective was achieved with a degree deserving the highest praise, they created a perhaps complete chronicle, summarising at the time of its closing (in 2007, the year of the publication of the work) all the accumulated knowledge of the researchers; a chronicle composed (in line with the overarching principle of chronological succession) carefully, thoroughly and transparently (also in the area of detailed editorial solutions applied) from content-related ingredients such as information about the fact, quoting a source text, explanations, comments, internal (within the calendar) and external references (to other sources and studies); a chronicle that richly and reliably (or with a certain degree of probability, usually attested by an appropriate lexical quantifier) documents day after day and year after year the *curriculum vitae* of the hero, the genesis of his works (literature and painting), identities and other details concerning people met by Norwid, allusions in quotes and other intertextual references, current events in the close and distant environment and the historical facts of the poet's lifetime, which now belong to the broader plan of history.

Since its publication, *Kalendarz* has become a very useful, necessary and indispensable tool to probably anyone interested in any topic "related to Norwid". However, it is obvious that as the research continues, the *summa* of knowledge about the poet will require further additions, corrections and clarifications. Certainly, some users of *Kalendarz* have encountered in it places that raise doubt as to the strength or the scale of the source credibility of the established facts, formulated hypotheses or suggested explanations. Taken together, all these observations (not only alleged here, but actually heard during various *colloquia* devoted to Norwid) could be treated as a kind of collective review of work by the authors from Poznań. Meanwhile, despite seven years have passed since the introduction of this work to the readers, no extensive critical review addressed this publication. These notes written by a "casual" Norwid expert, do not claim to constitute a scholarly review in the strict sense. These are rather an attempt at a report from reading the three volumes, the whole text *in extenso* and in every content-related and compositional component. This report identifies some places (along with assertions, facts, issues, claims or lack thereof) that are wrong, uncertain, disputed or not recognised as significant or not decoded in their meanings conveyed by these or other details.

The comments and remarks collected here are of different rank (scientific content-related, polemical, other). All these can be arranged either according to their rank or the thematic categories, or – as I finally decided to do – in a linear order of the text as it follows the "calendar" in the consecutive three volumes of the work.

For easier reading, I will start the discussion of each one with the indication of the page (for paragraph opening I will use the abbreviation: Pg.; while within the paragraph I will use a more economical abbreviation: p.).

VOLUME I

List of abbreviations. In the case of the Roman Archive of the Congregation of the Resurrection (p. XIII) a full Italian name of this institution should be given, which would justify the adopted abbreviation: ACRR (Archivio della Congregazione della Risurrezione di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo, Roma). The following abbreviations are used inconsistently (albeit on a small scale; without a space or with a space, without a full stop or with it after the first letter): b.d., jw., n. s., s. s. The names of Edyta Chlebowska and Jolanta Czarnomorska were omitted (p. XIV). Unlike most other cases of acknowledging an abbreviation with the name of the compilation author, *Czasopisma literackie* [Literary magazines] by Maria Straszewska are marked with the title. On the other hand, the title *Epoka paskiewiczowska* [Paskiewicz's epoch] would better identify the book by Jan Kucharzewski than its subtitle *Losy oświaty* [Fate of education].

Pg. 3. (1 December 1821). In the reprint of the baptismal certificate of Cyprian Norwid there is probably a mistake: instead of the incorrect form of the verb “Ego [...] bapītisavi” there should be: baptisavi. In the same word, there is a wrong reading (or rather, an error in the reprint) of the citation of Ksawery Norwid's baptismal certificate: “*de sola aque baptistavi*” instead of “*sola de aquae baptisavi*” (p. 7). If the wrong forms actually do appear in the source, a comment indicating this issue should be added. One can also doubt whether the family name of Karol Jansach was deciphered correctly (p. 3). This form is not present in the repository of Polish names used today. Perhaps it rather refers to the historically and contemporary registered form: Jasnach. However, only the scrutiny of the manuscript (which in some places, as the authors indicate, is illegible) could resolve this issue.

Pg. 4. Damazy Dzierożyński (1783-after 1835) was lawyer, judge, defender of the freedom of speech, the author of a pamphlet *Rzecz o wolności druku pod względem prawnym* [On the freedom of press from a legal perspective] issued on 3 May 1831 in Warsaw. See *Encyklopedia powszechna kieszonkowa* [Universal pocket encyclopaedia] 1891, p. 346.

Pg. 26. 25 July 1835. The death certificate of the poet's father, Jan Norwid, was submitted to St. Andrew Parish in Warsaw by “the former major” Józef Bubnowski and the private tutor Ferdynand Saling. *Kalendarz* refers to Bubnowski as “an unknown person”. Meanwhile, in the study by Robert Kostecki (*Kosteccy na*

przestrzeni wieków. Szkic heraldyczno-genealogiczny [The Kostecki family over the centuries. A heraldic and genealogical sketch], MS, p. 8; <http://www.kostecy.pl/kostecki/leszcz.html>) Józef Bubnowski is presented as an ex-major of the Polish Army, together with Tekla Pellegrini née Kostecka, Antoni Onufry Jan Kostecki's sister, he had an illegitimate son – Antoni Karol Jan, born in Kraków in 1825 and adopted by his paternal uncle in 1845). As for the other person, we can only state that the polonised form of the family name of Ferdynand Saling is not recorded in “Index of names” as a separate entry, but it is given as a variant under the entry Sahling (vol. III, p. 125).

Pg. 34ff. In 1838 there should be noted – unnoticed in *Kalendarz* – the presence of Ludwik Norwid on the list of subscribers of Felicjan Antoni Kozłowski's book *Rys statystyki ogólnej porównawczej pod względem darów przyrodzenia, ludności, przemysłu pierwotnego, rękodzielczego, fabrycznego, handlu i kultury państw Europy* [An outline of general comparative statistics concerning gifts of nature, population, primary, handicraft and factory-based industry, trade and culture of European countries] (Warsaw 1838, p. 5 unnumbered). Next to Norwid's surname there stands the abbreviation U. In. Agr. which identifies him as a student of the Institute of Agronomy (Institute of Agriculture and Forestry in Marymont). *Kalendarz* lists Kozłowski only once (vol. I, p. 21) among the teachers of Provincial Gymnasium [junior high school] in Warsaw, where brothers Cyprian and Ludwik Norwid resumed their education in the third grade – after a year's break – in 1833. It is worth noting at this point that Kozłowski (1805-1870) deserves the attention of Norwid Studies experts also as, among others, the author of an essay *O początkowej cywilizacji Grecji do wojny trojańskiej* [On the early civilisation of Greece until the Trojan War] (Warsaw 1829) and, in particular, the fundamental synthesis *Początki filozofii chrześcijańskiej włącznie z krytyką filozofii Bronisława Ferd. Trentowskiego* [The beginnings of Christian philosophy including the criticism of the philosophy of Bronisław Ferd. Trentowski] (vol. I: *Filozofia ludzka* [Human philosophy], vol. II: *Filozofia boska i filozofia życia* [Divine and life philosophy], Poznań 1845) as well as the translator of Plato's works. The list encompassing several hundred names of subscribers of *Rys statystyki* [An outline of statistics] features also Wacław Szymanowski, later the author of *Wspomnienia o Cyganerii warszawskiej* [Memoirs of the Warsaw bohemia], back then – student of Warsaw Gymnasium, and from September 1839 – editor of the satirical magazine “Humorysta Warszawski” [Warsaw Humorist], which was criticised by Ludwik N. (probably Ludwik Norwid himself) in “Pismo Dodatkowe” [Additional writing] to “Gazeta Poranna” [Morning Paper] (see *Kalendarz*, vol. I, p. 42).

P. 39. The information on the execution of Szymon Konarski in Vilnius, entered under the date of 27 February 1839, is accompanied by a fragment from

Norwid's *Z pamiętnika [o zemście]* [From a diary [on revenge]] of 1850. The reader of *Kalendarz* could expect here rather an account (e.g. from Warsaw press of 1839) of the Vilnius tragedy as a possible or hypothetical source of the poet's knowledge of the subject. Of course, the indication itself in his subsequent reflection on the person and the action of the national martyr is a valuable interpretive hint. This quotation could fit the formula of *Kalendarz* (however, entered under the year 1850 instead of 1839) if a possible inspiration could be indicated in the "astronomical" imagery ("Zawisza's aerolite, then Konarski's bloody meteor [...]", p. 39). It turns out that there exists a likely source, which is – probably – *Przedburza polityczne* [Political prestorms] by Bronisław Trentowski. Perhaps the mentioned motifs are a reminiscence of the following passage: "Poland shattered like an old planet. Its great fragments fell on German and Moscow soil. A little bite is what remained of it, with notes to freely sail the aethers. But it has no centre of weight required for that. Thus, it will certainly fall on the Moscow soil as aerolite or air stone, and it will be a reward for the Tsar in exchange of Kraków" (B.F. Trentowski, *Przedburza polityczne*, Freiburg in Breisgau 1848, p. 123).

P. 47. Julian Statkowski (on whom there are "no further details"), an unknown correspondent of "Tygodnik Petersburski" [Petersburg Weekly] from Płock, the author of a review of Norwid's poetry, appears on the list of subscribers of Kraszewski's *Witoloranda* (Vilnius 1840, p. 256). Perhaps it was the same Julian Statkowski (1814-1874), economist, from 14 March 1871 main editor of "Kurier Warszawski" [Warsaw Herald], who after a disagreement with Szymanowski stopped signing "Kurier" on 21 November 1872 which resulted in the daily newspaper's suspension (see *Archiwum literackie* [Literary archives], vol. III, 1957, p. 133). In 1854 there was a record on an official in Warsaw named Julian Statkowski (see *Skorowidz mieszkańców miasta Warszawy z przedmieściami na rok 1854* [Index of residents of Warsaw with suburbs in the year 1854], p. 310).

Pg. 49. The information on Ignacy Wasiłowski, whose apartment in Warsaw at Mylna Street was frequented by Cyprian Norwid in 1840 and 1841, could be supplemented by identifying him as the paternal uncle of Maria Konopnicka née Wasiłowska (NB: born in 1842.). The poet made his arrest and deportation to Siberia and his later return to the country an essential component of the self-reflection on exiles.

Pg. 58. In the family name of Laura Czosnowska née Górską, *secundo voto* Laborde, there is a mistake in her husband's family name: Labrode (Labarthe?). The correct form is given, however, in the "Index of names" (vol. III, p. 103). The identity of M. Minter, in whose house in Warsaw "opposite the the Infant Jesus Hospital" January Suchodolski had his painting workshop, remained unexplained. Probably it is Karol Fryderyk Minter or his son, Karol Juliusz Minter, artists and

entrepreneurs from Warsaw, polonised Germans. In the Minter family there is no person by the name starting with the letter M.

Pg. 59. The identity of Amurat Tuhan Stanisław Mirza Baranowski, a convert from Islam to Christianity, poet's acquaintance before 1840 requires further clarification.

Pg. 79. *Lapsus calami*: “[...] Potocki mógł otrzymał” [could have receive] instead of otrzymać [received].

Pg. 90. The exact day of death of Karol Levittoux is unknown. Encyclopaedic sources mention 7 July 1841.

Pg. 103. It could be mentioned about Alojzy Kuczyński (life dates unknown), who like Norwid stayed with Ludwik Podbereski in Warsaw, that a writer of this name is listed in the era, among others, as the author of a comprehensive book published at his expenditure *O przyjaźni* [On friendship] (Warsaw 1860 in the printing house of Jan Jaworski) and a sketch *Puławy (Nowa Aleksandria) i ich okolice* [Puławy (New Alexandria) and its surroundings] (“Tygodnik Ilustrowany” [Illustrated Weekly] 1877, issues 89-91; author's name: issue 91, p. 179) as well as the translator of Alexandre Dumas's *The Life of Italian Painters. Michelangelo and Titian Vecelli* (Warsaw 1845) and *Myśli o śpiewie słowiańskim* [Thoughts on Slavic singing] by Ludwik Raiter. Kuczyński was also editor of the magazine “Opiekun Domowy” [Home Carer] (from 1865). In the years 1841-1846, “he served as translator at the Medical Council Office of the Government Commission for Internal Affairs” (Alicja Kulecka, *Między słowianofilstwem a słowianoznawstwem. Idee słowiańskie w życiu intelektualnym Warszawy lat 1832-1856* [Between slavophilism and Slavic studies. Slavic ideas in the intellectual life of Warsaw in the years 1832-1856], Warsaw 1997, p. 156; Helena Mącznik, Jan Mącznik, *Puławski Słownik Biograficzny* [Biographical Dictionary of Puławy], vol. I: *Puławy A-K*, 1994, p. 252).

Pg. 109. The poet mentioned – along with Norwid and others – in 1842 in “Dziennik Narodowy” [National Newspaper] is Józefa Prusiecka (ca 1815-1887), not Przesiecka as it is written (and repeated in “Index of names” with changed name Józefina, see vol. III, p. 121). She published, among others, *Poezje* [Poetries] (1841), *Powieści moralne* [Moral novels] (1843) and *Nowe Powiastki dla dzieci* [New tales for children] (1845). In 1841, in “Biblioteka Warszawska” [Warsaw Library] A. J. S. wrote quite favourably about her poems (*Noworocznik na 1842 rok* [New Year volume for 1842], p. 219). Prusiecka frequented the salon of the Łuszczewski family. In 1846 Edward Dembowski wrote about Prusiecka next to a mention about Norwid (*Piśmiennictwo polskie w zarysie* [Polish Literature in outline], Poznań 1845, pp. 369-370).

Pg. 109. The dates of life of Wiktoryn Zieliński (1810 or 1811-1866) are not, as *Kalendarz* writes “unknown”; these are given by, among others, Paweł Hertz in

Zbiór poetów polskich XIX wieku [A collection of Polish poets of the 19th century], vol. II, Warsaw 1959, p. 537.

Pg. 116. Wawrzecki, a sculptor from Krakow not fully identified with his name, probably Aleksander Wawrzecki (b. 1819) (see Sobiesław Mieroszewski, Stanisław Mieroszewski, *Wspomnienia lat ubiegłych* [Memories of the years past], Kraków 1964, p. 253).

Pg. 134. The source confirmation of Norwid's trip to the island of Lido (Venice) in March 1843 is a fragment of a letter to K. Górską of 1882. A commentary to the initial fragment of the quote would be required, in which details of poet's wandering among the graves of the Jewish cemetery would be given: "Ja znam każdy kamień zapadły już w ziemię z napisami hebrajskimi na tej wyspie i wszystkie okoliczności położenia" [I know each stone on this island, already sunk into the ground with Hebrew inscriptions and all the circumstances of their location] (PWsz X, 185). Today, the Internet allows for taking a virtual stroll through the cemetery located on Lido di Venezia (Riviera San Nicolò), one of the oldest in Europe (14th-18th century); in some sense following Norwid's footsteps (see <http://www.veneziadavivere.com/city-guide/antico-cimitero-ebraico>; <http://www.venezia.net/cimitero-ebraico.html>). "All the circumstances of their location" mentioned by the poet are – at least in part – elucidated in the book by Riccardo Calimani *The Venetian Ghetto: The History of a Persecuted Community* (Polish transl. by Teresa Jokielowa, Warsaw 2002).

Pg. 136. Among the cities visited by Norwid was Vicenza (not Vincenza; NB: this erroneous form was repeated in "Index of geographical names", vol. III, p. 207).

Pg. 137. In the quotation from an article by Xavier Marmier there is a typographical error: instead of the correct form *recueil*, there is *receuil*. NB: the author reprinted the article from "Revue des Deux Mondes" (which *Kalendarz* used as its source) in his book *Lettres sur la Russie, la Finlande et la Pologne*, Paris 1843, vol. II, p. 273.

Pg. 142. *Kalendarz* does not give any information on Jan Sowiński, the author of critical remarks about Norwid's poem *Pożegnanie* [Farewell] presented in "Biblioteka Warszawska" [Warsaw Library]. He probably belonged to an older generation, since already in 1821 in Krzemieniec and Warsaw he published a book *O uczonych Polkach* [On Polish female scientists], and in the 1840s he was writing in "Biblioteka Warszawska", which in 1846 in "Literary reports" (on p. 449, a report by K.W. Kazimierz Wójcicki) it was informed about his completion of the draft of *Historia Polski* [History of Poland].

Pg. 143. A mistake crept into the name of a Florentine chef, Giovanni (not Giovanni) Corsi, from whom Norwid rented an apartment.

Pg. 147. A mistake in the name of an Italian poet Niccolò (not Nicolo) Tommaseo.

Pg. 154. A mistake in the name: instead of Musée Bourbon, there should stand Musée Bourbon.

Pg. 158. From among the people whom Norwid met in Florence, the author probably rightly recognised the painter Bernardo Amiconi (who died in 1879, i.e. indeed before 1880 as reported by the authors). The person unidentified in *Kalendarz* is, however, a certain Faldi. Here, hypothetically, we can identify R. Faldi (b. 1820?), a Florentine painter whose two works (*Poacher*, 1856; *Floral still life*, 1854) are listed in auction catalogues: Arcadja (http://www.arcadja.com/auctions/it/faldi_r_/prezzi-opere/360893/) and Artnet (<http://www.artnet.com/artists/r-faldi/past-auction-results>). An Italian (Tuscan) painter born in Florence, Arturo Faldi (1856-1911) bears the same name, although sources say nothing about any blood ties between the two.

Pg. 160. Upon commenting on Norwid's letter to A. Zaleski of 2 November 1844, *Kalendarz* did not identify the bearer of the name Freccia. Most likely, this person was a sculptor Pietro Freccia (1814-1856), already well known at that time, whose works such as the allegorical marble sculpture *Love and fidelity* (*Amore e fedeltà* 1840), today exhibited in Florence in Pitti Gallery, aroused in the poet only "perfumowane sentymenta" [perfumed sentiments] (PWsz VIII, 13; *Kalendarz*, I, 160).

Pg. 181. The correct name of the Italian town in the province of Ancona on the Adriatic Sea is Senigallia (not Sinigaglia).

Pg. 217-218. Available sources allow to slightly expand our knowledge about Feliks Fonton, a "referendary of the Russian Embassy" in Berlin, to whom Norwid spoke in June 1846 about the passport, the conversation is known from the account given by Zygmunt Krasiński in a letter to Potocka. He was the son of Piotr Antonowicz Fonton, a Frenchman (not a Greek according to *Kalendarz*) in the Russian service, who for his merits for Russia received the Russian citizenship. Feliks Fonton was born in 1801, in 1819 he began to work as diplomat, in the years 1828-1829 he served in the headquarters of the Russian Army during the Turkish War, and in 1842 he was appointed as advisor of the Russian mission in the Prussian state in Berlin, and in 1846 he was appointed as counsellor of the Embassy in Vienna as the actual state counselor. Due to health issues he concluded his mission in 1860. In 1840 he published in Paris a book *La Russie dans l'Asie-Mineure ou Campagnes du Maréchal Paskévitch en 1828 et 1829*, in 1846 in Berlin appeared its German translation). In 1862 in Leipzig 2 volumes of his memories of the Russian-Turkish War 1828-1829 were published (*Воспоминания. Юмористические, политические и военные письма*). None of these works con-

cerns Fonton's stay in Berlin, and thus Norwid's case. The Berlin episode in the biography of the Polish poet has not been fully explored yet and requires further investigation, for example, in St. Petersburg archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where papers documenting Fonton's service are stored (see <http://www.biografija.ru/biography/fonton-feliks-petrovich.htm>). In addition, the name (given in the footnote on p. 217) and details concerning the identity of Fonton's wife should be corrected. Her name was Leonia Maria Anna Mohrenheim (not Morenheim; b. approx. 1830? – d. 1856). Their wedding took place in St. John church in Warsaw in 1843 (see <http://www.sejm-wielki.pl/b/sw.256281>).

Pg. 220-221. Among those who in July 1846 were seeking to release the poet from the prison in Berlin, Norwid mentions a strange woman “who was taking a stroll in the garden – and Ms I. Breza”. The latter is described as unknown in *Kalendarz* (vol. I, p. 221). Could it have been someone from the family, the wife or daughter of Eugeniusz Breza (1802-1860), author of religious and political books exposing Russian despotism and the activities of its supporters in the West, also in the Prussian state and in Berlin? (*Medytacje Panny Dziubińskiej zawsze i jedynie wygodzie panienek wielkopolskich poświęcone* [Meditations of Miss Dziubińska always and only for the convenience of young ladies from Wielkopolska], 1841; *De la Russomanie dans le grand duché de Posen*, Berlin 1846; cf. Auguste Hatzfeld, *Réponse à la Brochure de monsieur de Breza sur la russomanie dans le Duché de Posen*, Posen 1846). Breza's journalistic activity (see Stefan Kieniewicz, *Spółeczeństwo polskie w powstaniu poznańskim 1848 r.* [Polish society in Poznań Uprising 1848], Warsaw, 1960, p. 91) allows to place him in a circle of people working for the release of Norwid from prison.

Pg. 227. In the commentary to the sentence: “After deliberation it was agreed that [Norwid] will go to P. Bod[elschwingha] and will try to stay there [...]” from a letter by J. Koźmian to Plater on the actions of the poet after the release from prison, and later from hospital, the identity of the person mentioned was established as Ernest or Karol Bodelschwingh, but no further details were given. Meanwhile, the key fact necessary to understand the circumstances mentioned in the letter is that this person was the Minister of Home Affairs of the Prussian government, Ernst von Bodelschwingh-Velmede (1794-1854), whom Norwid had to beg for permission to stay in Berlin. See *Berliner Revolutions-Chronik. Darstellung der Berliner Bewegungen im Jahre 1848 nach politischen, sozialen und literarischen Beziehungen*, vol. I, Berlin 1849, pp. 38, 76 and *passim*.

Pg. 230. Verse 3 from the bottom – a mistake in the name of the street in Brussels: rue des Cerfs (not de Cerfs).

Pg. 271. In the entry for 3 August 1847 the name Speza was given name without explaining that it is the local name of the town La Spezia (Spèza) in the prin-

city of Lucca. Further, it was not included in “Index of geographical names” (vol. III, p. 206).

Pg. 310. Incorrect name of a French thinker Charles Fourrière instead of Fourier (another erroneous form: Fourrier can be also found in “Index”, vol. III, p. 88).

Pg. 317-318, fn. 2. The Italian writer, from whom Norwid drew his first epigraph in *Zwolon*, was Giovanni Maria (Gianmaria) Cecchi (thus the Genitive form is wrong in Polish: *Mariego*). The epigraph („...e poi chiamarle / O tragedie, o commedie... / <che bisognino / Le grucce, o le carrette a farle andare. > / E se le s’useranno dugent’anni / Le non saranno cose nuove a quelli / Che questo tempo chiameranno antico”) comes from the prologue to a farce *La Romanesca*, written in 1585. A possible source used by Norwid could be the Florentine edition *Le Maschere e Il Samaritano. Commedie di Gio. Maria Cecchi, ora per la prima volta pubblicate per cura d’un accademico della Crusca*, Firenze 1818, pp. XXV-XXVI). The author of the biography of Cecchi that opens this edition, Luigi Fiacchi cites an extensive fragment of that prologue, in which – in the context of author’s long deliberations on farce as an intermediate form between tragedy and comedy – there are words cited by Norwid (without the phrase supplemented above). Let us also note that Norwid changed the archaic form: *dugent’anni* for a modernized one: *ducent’anni*. (*dugento* = *ducento*, *duecento*). An incorrect form of the middle name of Cecchi is listed in “Index”: Mario (vol. III, p. 79) instead of Maria.

Pg. 331. The drawing of St. Cecilia bears the caption: “The inscription in the picture: «Catacomby – Sca Cecilia»”. There appears – left without a comment in *Kalendarz* – an incorrect form of the abbreviation: Sca – instead of Sta (Santa). It is doubtful that Norwid used such a form.

Pg. 332. Two “Jewish” figures in Norwid’s drawing form a series *Awantury arabskie* [Arabic adventures] (1848-1849) were defined by the artist as “Jankiel 1848 Rome” and “Schylok (of Schakespeare)”. We would need here a “genetic” and contextual commentary, the peculiar form of the name: Schylok (cf. orig.: Shylock) was not explained either. The form used by Norwid is identical to the form we can encounter in contemporary German literature (see e.g. Heinrich Theodor Rötcher, *Jahrbücher für dramatische Kunst und Literatur*, Berlin 1848, vol. I, p. 212). Circumstantial evidence for the German origin delivers the wrong germanised form of the name Stratfordczyk [of Statford]. Of course, one cannot exclude an unidentified Polish source.

Pg. 336. The correct form of first part of the family name of the Swiss thinker is: Jean Charles Léonard Simonde (not: Simone) de Sismondi.

Pg. 339. “The old, noble Drogoń”, with whom Norwid and his brother Ksawery visited Aleksander Niewiarowski in a Parisian hotel (between late January

and early March 1849), was recognised hypothetically as Innocenty Drogoń, but with a reference to Seweryn Goszczyński's records where he appears as Dragoń. Michał Czajkowski sheds additional light on this figure by mentioning Innocenty Drogoń in a sketch on Henryk Służalski (Adam Mickiewicz's servant during the last years of the poet's life). He writes about him: "Then came the Savoy or Swiss expedition, where Inocenty [!] Drogoń was the first grenadier, and Heniek Służalski his Fligielman – Drogoń should be parading in front of Służalski, as once ships had been parading in front of the Colossus of Rhodes [...]" (M. Czajkowski, *Dziwne życia Polaków i Polek* [A strange Life of Polish Men and Women], Leipzig, 1862, p. 181). The mysteriousness of this person is augmented by the fact that the figure of Innocenty Drogoń, fictional or real – appears also in the historical novel by Michał Czajkowski *Stefan Czarniecki* (1840, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1863, p. 66 and *passim*).

Pg. 349. Antoni Czarkowski, a landowner from the Kiev Governorate, persecuted by the Tsarist regime in relation to the Decembrist revolt and for other patriotic activities. Norwid maintained contact with him in Paris in 1849. Wiktoria Śliwowska devoted him a biographical entry in her dictionary *Zesłańcy polscy w Imperium Rosyjskim w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku* [Polish exiles in the Russian Empire in the first half of the 19th century] (Warsaw 1998, p.112). Joachim Lelewel mentions him among the condemned "for various repentance" (*Polska. Rzeczy i dzieje jej rozpatrywane przez...* [Poland. Its history examined from...], vol. VII: *Polska odradzająca się, czyli dzieje polskie od roku 1795* [Poland in revival, or Polish history since 1795], 3rd ed., Poznań 1859, p. 52).

Pg. 349-350. "Count Skórzewski", the addressee of the dedication written by Norwid himself on a two-page print of the poem *Jeszcze słowo (Czyniącym pokój przypisane)* [A word (Ascribed to peacemakers)] was identified in *Kalendarz* hypothetically (without any justification) as Arnold Skórzewski. Meanwhile, the contents of the poem, a religious and moralistic meditation on historical limitations of the Kingdom of God on earth, could point to another person – Arnold's brother, Heliodor Jan Stanisław Count Skórzewski (1792-1858), activist of the Great Emigration, from 1841 national parliament deputy in Berlin, author of a number of feature works (inter alia, *Wyznanie wiary wychodźca z nad Sekwany* [...] [Credo of the emigrant upon Seine], Paryż 1838; *Zjednoczenie emigracji oraz uwagi nad projektami do tegoż zjednoczenia* [Emigrants' union and remarks on projects for such a union], 1839; *Wiara, nadzieja i miłość, czyli Polacy na tułactwie w roku 1840* [Faith, hope and love, or wandering Poles in 1840], Paryż 1840; *Pięćset razy czemu* [Five hundred times why], Poznań 1846; *Spółczeństwo, które siebie nie rozumie, jest w anarchii, czyli Urywek z dziejów zaszłych w W. Ks. Poznańskim* [A society that does not understand itself is in anarchy, or a fragment of the history

of Grand Duchy of Posen], Poznań 1848). In addition to that, together with his brother Arnold he published a polemic pamphlet *Tentui, cel, pal! czyli Odpowiedź na atak swoich przeciwników* [Thisonehere, aim, fire! or a reply to the opponents' attack], 1848. The biography of Heliodor Skórzewski (and mention of Arnold) is given by Leopold von Zedlitz-Neukirch in *Neues preussisches Adels-Lexicon, oder Genealogische und diplomatische Nachrichten*, vol. IV, Leipzig 1837, pp. 218-219. The reasons given here do not determine the matter discussed, but indicate a person more active in the disputes over Polish affairs, which was so important to Norwid.

Pg. 351. The correct form of the Christian philosopher's name from the 2nd century is Athenagoras (not Antenagoras). "Index of names" (vol. III, p. 73, 74) refers from the wrong to the correct form. The commentary to the mention in Norwid's letter, however, does not inform that the poet read the work by Atenagoras. It was (we do not know which edition was available) *Apologia, czyli poselstwo za chrześcijanami* [Apologia, or a mission for Christians] which the author, a pagan philosopher converted to Christianity, "had given to Mark Aurelius and his son, Lucius Aurelius Commodus, the emperors. He demands that Christians be judged by the same rights as criminals (i.e. first, their crime must be proven, and they cannot be punished for their confession solely), and refutes false lies told against them. He is characterised by a quiet and moderate tone (*Encyklopedia kościelna* [...] [Church encyclopedia] edited by Priest Michał Nowodworski, vol. I, Warsaw 1873, p. 461). See Athenagoras of Athens, *A Plea for the Christians, On the Resurrection of the Dead*, (Polish transl. by Stanisław Kalinkowski, Warsaw 1985).

Pg. 361, 363. The correct name of the abbey at which stayed Fr. Semenenko is Solesmes (Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, not Solemes). The incorrect form was repeated in "Index of geographical names" (vol. III, p. 206).

Pg. 363. The Parisian address of Ksawery Norwid, the author of a letter to Lenartowicz, is probably rue d'Ulm no. 12 (not d'Ullin, as given in *Kalendarz*; NB: there is no such street name in Paris), the street is situated near the Pantheon.

Pg. 364. A typographical error: there should stand: Dorpatczycy [transl. note: Dorpatians – residents of Dorpat (present Tartu)] (not: dorpatyczycy).

Pg. 403. A commentary should be added to Władysław Bentkowski's opinion about "Norwid's flaw" (expressed in a letter to August Cieszkowski) on the margin of his *Psalmów-psalm*: "When you see him, try to influence him so that he does not speak like Pythonissa on a tripod, but like a Polish bard [...]". Detailed information on the mythological Greek seer Pythia, also called Pythonissa (and often identified with Sybilla), at the temple of Apollo in Delphi is provided under the entry *Delphi* in *Encyklopedia powszechna* [Universal Encyclopedia] by S. Orgelbrand (Warsaw 1861, vol. VI, 925-927). NB: this comparison allows to contextually point to Norwid's two etchings: *Pythia (Pythonissa)* and *Sibylla*.

Pg. 451. A typographical error: unguibus et rostro instead of unuguibus [...].

Pg. 480-528. In 1852 *Kalendarz* did not take a note of placing Norwid's small work *Pieśni społecznej cztery stron* [The four-page of a social song] (Poznań 1849, [W.] Stefański) in *Katalog książek polskich drukowanych od roku 1830. do 1850., czyli za lat dwadzieścia jeden. Z oznaczeniem formatu, miejsca i roku wyjścia, nakładcy, ceny pierwotnej oraz z dodaniem Podziału Naukowego książek niniejszym spisem objętych* [The Catalogue of Polish books printed between 1830 and 1850, i.e. in the period of twenty-one years. With stipulation of the format, place and year of publishing, publisher, original price and with the addition of the Scientific Division of books herein included]. Collected and published by W. R., Leipzig, 1852. In the commission of F. A. Brockhaus, p. 152. The author of this bibliography is Walenty Rafalski (1824? -1894). See his biographical note prepared by Jan Bujak: <http://ipsb.nina.gov.pl/index.php/a/walenty-rafalski>.

Pg. 495 (and *passim*, according to "Index of names"). Władysław Dzwonkowski (1817-1880), to whom Norwid gave shelter in Paris after his political expulsion from Poznań, should be presented in more detail. The note on p. 49 does not contain any information about his journalistic publications. Meanwhile, a particularly clear ideological connection between Norwid and Dzwonkowski can be observed in the period before the January Uprising, when after 8 April 1861 *Żydowie polscy. 1861* [Polish Jews. 1861] appears in Paris and a bit later, a journalistic morality work written by the other one: *Uwagi w kwestii włościańskiej, ruskiej i żydowskiej z powodu obecnych wypadków* [Remarks on the peasant, Ruthenian and Jewish questions with regard to the present circumstances] (Paris 1862, see comments on Jews pp. 63-70).

Pg. 504. In the title of Norwid's essay, which polemicalises with F. Overbeck's pamphlet (of 1840, explaining the content of his great painting *Der Triumph der Religion in den Künsten*, 1831-1840, also called *Das Magnificat der Kunst*) there is a typographical error: there should be *osservazione* instead of *osservazione*. Perhaps also capital letters should have been adopted in the title: *Illustre Autore* instead of *illustre autore*. However, this issue may not be the subject of *Kalendarz* (and therefore this review). Norwid (if we can believe Przesmycki's account, since the manuscript has not been preserved) gave the Italian title of the painting generally adopted at that time *Magnificat delle arti* instead of *dell'arte* (singular, not plural, as in the German title). See <http://www.goethezeitportal.de/digitale-bibliothek/forschungsbeitraege/autoren-kuenstler-denker/overbeck-friedrich/jutta-assel-und-georg-jaeger-friedrich-overbeck-der-triumph-der-religion-in-den-kuensten-teil-i.html>.

Pg. 511. In the explanatory note to the report of a Prussian police spy, Jan Szultz, about Norwid and the heroes of the works planned by him: General Józef

Bem and Shamil – a commentary would be needed on the former and a reference to the poet's earlier poem *Bema pamięci żałobny rapsod* [A mournful rhapsody in memoriam of Bem]. On the other hand, information on Shamil (1797-1871), imam, leader of Caucasian Islamic peoples of Dagestan and Chechnya fighting for independence from Russia is necessary. He became an extremely popular figure in the West, in journalism and in literature. Also in Poland, in the country and on emigration, Shamil was one of the protagonists of the national liberation struggle, with which many Polish recruits in the Tsarist army, who participated (as part of normal enlistment or as punishment) in the battle against him, and the deserters of the Tsarist army, sympathised. Among the literary testimonies after 1852, a historical novel by Jakub Gordon (Maksymilian Jatowt) *Kaukaz, czyli Ostatnie dni Szamyla* [The Caucasus or the last days of Shamil] (Leipzig 1865), and a poem by Gedeon Giedrojc (*Kilka wspomnień z kaukaskiego wygnania 1867 roku* [Several memories of the Caucasian exile in 1867], Lviv 1867) could be given as examples.

Pg. 520. Small but important pieces of information that can broaden the knowledge on Norwid's trip to America and on Wiktor Sidorowicz, who accompanied the poet on his trip, and on Franciszek Ołaj (Ołaj), who at the request of the Congregation of the Resurrectionists helped the poet prepare for the journey, can be found in the correspondence of Fr. Piotr Semenenko, which was not used by the authors of *Kalendarz* (see id., *Listy* [Letters], vol. VIII: 1846-1856, ed. L. Drózdź, Rome 2002, p. 202, 204, 258, 259). In a letter to Jan Koźmian (from Passy, 25 October 1852, MS ACRR 1479), Semenenko wrote: "I immediately recommended notes on Norwid and Niewęglowski to Father Karol, because I am still in Passy" (ibid. p. 202-203). It is worth noting the mentions of Fr. Semenenko (in a letter to Fr. A. Jełowicki, from Rome, 4 December 1852) about Fr. Ołaj (called Ołaj) to Fr. Karol Kaczanowski and Wiktor Sidorowicz, Norwid's companion on his journey across the ocean, i.e. people from December 1852 who may have an indirect connection with Norwid's departure and help for the poet on the part of the Resurrectionists (pp. 202-203).

Pg. 537. Probably there is a typographical error in the form of Griswold's name: Jeo (instead of: Joe?).

Pg. 550. Another typographical error can be found in the name of one of the Fox sisters: Marquerite instead of the correct form Marguerite.

Pg. 551. A spelling error in the French title of the work by Cicero: *Sur la nature* [not: *natur*] *des dieux*.

Pg. 563. Information about the tomb of Franciszek Hankowski in the cemetery in London is given by Karolina Grodziska, *Polskie groby na cmentarzach Londynu* [Polish graves in the cemeteries of London], vol. I, Kraków 1995.

Pg. 566. *Kalendarz* leaves no comment on Norwid's plan to make a pilgrimage to "S[aint] James to Compostella" mentioned in a letter to Fr. Piotr Semenenko (of 12 September 1852). The circumstances of this plan (relation to Semenenko) and the wider European context of the revival of the *camino* should be elucidated.

Pg. 567. The letter by Stanisław Roman Lanckoroński (aka Roman Pracki) to Teofil Lenartowicz (from New York, 28 September 1854) mentions not only Norwid's arrival to the "New World" but also "M[r] Jan L. [...] Jew[transl. note: In Polish offensive form "Żydziak"]-Bookbinder" who, unlike the poet living in poverty, "is an entrepreneur of various commercial speculation, has a beautiful equipage and a pretty girlfriend". *Kalendarz* defines this second character as "a largely unknown person". The information given by the sender of the letter allows us to carry out a circumstantial (hypothetical) attempt to identify the identity of the "Jew-Bookbinder". The Polish (and at the same time "Christian") name Jan would indicate an assimilated person, and perhaps even a neophyte. Bookbinder was a profession often practiced by Jews. Among the Jewish converts who were baptized at the time of the Atlantic journey, church sources list Jan Krystian Lebowicz (Lejbowicz) - "bookbinder" in Warsaw, aged 29, son of Lejba Ickowicz and Szyfa Kaszriel from Kroża in Kaunas Governorate, in 1853" (T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neoficy polscy. Materiały historyczne* [Polish neophytes. Historical materials], Warsaw 1904, p. 257). The trip to America started in December 1852, thus Lebowicz's baptismal date (1853) in principle excludes his identity as the "Jew-bookbinder". "In principle," because we cannot exclude a mistake in the date of the conversion act (probably not to Catholicism but Protestantism, ("It was not the Roman Catholic Church that attracted progressive Jews. Those who were actually enlightened or considered themselves enlightened mostly felt drawn to Protestant denominations - to Evangelical-Augsburg and Evangelical-Reformed Church" - T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neoficy polscy*, p.173), that date might also have been postponed (due to departure or circumstance related to it, e.g. passport issues). Jan Krystian Lejbowicz is not listed on the list of residents of Warsaw in 1854 (see *Skorowidz mieszkańców miasta Warszawy z przedmieściami na rok 1854 ułożony pod kierunkiem Zarządu Policji* [Index of the residents of the city of Warsaw with suburbs in the year 1854 compiled under the supervision of the Police Board], Warsaw 1854).

Pg. 583. The Russian phrase read from the official manuscript is most likely incorrect (because it does not correspond to the correct Russian spelling of both words). The correct form is "польских выходцов и бегельцов". If the wrong form appeared in the source (which can be doubted), a commentary should have indicated this error and given the correct version.

Pg. 613. A typographical error: there is *defensor fideia* instead of *defensor fidei*.

Pg. 627. The correct form of Empress Eugenie's surname is Montijo, not Montjio.

Pg. 648. In the author's description of *Studium męskiego aktu* [The study of the male act]: "Drawn from the ana [?] by Michelangelo Cyprian Norwid 1856" the incomprehensible abbreviation "ana" was marked in *Kalendarz* with a question mark. It can be said with almost absolute certainty that the artist made this abbreviation from the word anaglyph (or the Italian form *anaglifo*). "A term that is not explicitly defined, referring to reliefs (e.g. bas-reliefs decorations of vessels, chiaroscuro imitating a relief)" (*Słownik terminologiczny sztuk pięknych* [Terminological dictionary of fine arts], ed. S. Kozakiewicz, Warsaw 1976, pp. 22-23) in Norwid's lifetime was used relatively often (Polish: *anaglif*, Italian: *anaglifo*) in writings devoted to Egyptian hieroglyphs, in metaphorical applications in belles-lettres (e.g. in works by Bulwer-Lytton), as well as in the works on Michelangelo and his anaglyphs used in medallions (see "E se è vero che in un Anaglifo messo in luce dal Buonarroti ne'suoi Medaglioni [...] si vede realmente il Nilo con corno vuoto. [...] un altro anaglifo da lui prodotto [...]") – *Il Progresso delle scienze, lettere ed arti*, Napoli 1837, p. 106).

Pg. 685. The variant spelling of the name of Ludwik Bujno – Buyno should be noted. This form appears (in plural - Buynowie) in *PWsz* XI, 36.

Pg. 709. It is worth adding that "the first edition in a two-page leaflet of Norwid's poem *Na zgon śp. Jana Gajewskiego* [On the death of the late Jan Gajewski] [...]" was recorded in two French bibliographic periodicals. The first one is "Bibliographie de la France, ou journal général de l'imprimerie et de la librairie", series 2, vol. II, no. 33 of 14 August, Paris 1858, p. 430. There, the bibliographic description (under number 8043) contains a wrong date of Gajewski's death: 1828 (instead of 1858). Print format: in-8°, number of pages: 4. In the annotation: "Vers en langue polonaise. Signé: Cyprian Kamil Norwid". The other one is "Courier de la librairie" (1858, no. 33 of 14 August, p. 730, item no. 7796). The date of death was given there correctly; the format is consistent with the previous description, but the number of pages is 3. The formula of annotation is the same.

Pg. 723. The name of Paulina Zbyszewska, whom Norwid, according to J.W. Gomulicki, offered a copy of *O sztuce* [On the art] (see *PWsz* VII, 572), is listed among the subscribers of a book published by Aleksander Przeddziecki and Edward Rastawiecki *Wzory sztuki średniowiecznej i z epoki odrodzenia pod koniec wieku XVII w Polsce* [Patterns of Medieval and Renaissance art at the end of the 17th century in Poland], vol. I, Paris 1853-1855, p. 39. On the other hand, in 1870 she was listed in the census of Warsaw residents and reported to live at Mazowiecka Street 8 (see *Przewodnik warszawski informacyjno-adresowy na rok 1870* [Warsaw information and address guide for the year 1870], p. 425).

Pg. 772. In Norwid's letter to Teofil Lenartowicz (probably of February 1860) there is a sentence: „[...] a wsie pana Jana Sobieskiego posiada Żyd, który się nazywa Imbryczek [...]” [and the villages of Jan Sobieski are in possession of a Jew named Imbryczek] (PWsz VIII, 409). *Kalendarz* identifies the person in the following way: “Imbryczek - such a person is mentioned in ‘Dzien. Warsz.’ [transl. note: probably an abbreviation for ‘Warsaw Daily’]. 1853 of 11 February”. In 1854, three persons of the same name were reported to live in Warsaw: Icek Imbryczek (“veneer tradesman”), Moszek Imbryczek (“maintains a furniture warehouse”) and Frejdl Imbryczek (“maintains a furniture warehouse”) – all three living in the same street – Św. Jerzego, but as tenants in three different houses belonging to different owners (see *Skorowidz mieszkańców miasta Warszawy z przedmieściami na rok 1854* [Index of residents of Warsaw with suburbs in the year 1854]). The Jewish owner of the Polish land (belonging to the relatives of the poet) mentioned by the poet was probably one of the above entrepreneurs. In the same letter Norwid also mentions a tailer named Dziekciński, who owns “Głuchy i Wsebory, i Niegów” [transl. note: villages near Warsaw]. *Kalendarz* recognizes this person as Stanisław Dziechciński, owner of the “fashion warehouse”. *Skorowidz* cited above mentions this person in 1854 as “tailor master”, residing at ul. Miodowa 486a together with Błażej and Jan, tailor journeymen (most probably his sons). However, one could doubt whether a tailor master, even having the best prospering enterprise with two journeymen, would have been able to acquire as many as three villages (more precisely: land in three villages). We are not sure whether Norwid was well informed about the new owner of the mentioned goods. He gave the name Dziekciński, perhaps – in the context of the remark about the Jew Imbryczek - with the intention of “de-resembling” the authentic name (Dziechciński) through the connotation of commonality or to make it distinct from the nobility name at that time. An alternative hypothesis could be the namesake of the person indicated by *Kalendarz*, Stanisław Dziechciński of the Lubicz coat of arms (ca. 1824-1904). Here I am only signaling the direction of the search, but I have no source that could support this conjecture.

Pg. 776. In a letter to Norwid written from Warsaw on 3 April 1860 by his aunt Teresa Sobieska, she writes about her brother: “My brother told me that he had spent many pleasant moments with you”. Upon commenting on the passage quoted here and the following greetings from both of them, *Kalendarz* identifies the brother as Józef Czarnowski, to whom it refers a note of “Gazeta Codzienna” [Daily Newspaper] of 12 March announcing the arrival from Paris of a “justice of the peace” bearing the same name. This date is a reference point for the question about the time and circumstances of Norwid's meeting or meetings with Czarnowski in Paris. Probably it is the same person sentenced in absentia for

confiscation of property by Tsarist authorities in the Kingdom of Poland, listed in the Official Journal of Laws in 1852: “Józef Czarnowski, who committed political crimes, and was taking active part in revolutionary activities abroad, exiled from the country, the court orders the confiscation of property, whether already seized in sequestration, or to be detected subsequently [...]. The property titles to immovables or capital and mortgage owned by Józef Czarnowski shall be, pursuant to this order, transferred in the relevant land and mortgage registers to the Treasury of the Kingdom. This was ordered in Warsaw, during the proceedings of the Administrative Council, on 2 (14) June 1852. Governor General-Field Marshal, (signed) *Xiąże Warszawski* [Ivan Paskiewicz]. »Dziennik Zakonow. Dziennik Praw«, vol. XLV, no. 173, 1852, p. 141. (text in Russian and Polish). Józef Czarnowski, “justice of the peace”, is also on the list of subscribers of the posthumous edition of *Historia prawa polskiego* [The history of the Polish law] by J.W. Bandtkie Stężyński (Warsaw 1850, p. XVII unnumbered, at the end of the book).

VOLUME II

Pg. 19. The author of the cited account of the discussions in Paris on the chances of an armed uprising in the Kingdom of Poland is Bolesław (not Bronisław) Limanowski.

Pg. 30-31. In his letter to Norwid (10 July 1861), Marian Sokołowski compared certain characteristics of the style and philosophy of the poet in his lectures *O Juliuszu Słowackim* [On Juliusz Słowacki] with texts by Thomas Carlyle and Percy Bysshe Shelley. *Kalendarz* only briefly and laconically explains the identity of the first author, whereas the author of *Queen Mab* was totally ignored. It seems that we are dealing here with an issue requiring a broader, more insightful and analytical commentary. The way in which Sokołowski formulates his opinion (“Your writing resembles then some abstract fragments of Thomas Carlyle [...]”), testifies to his belief that Norwid has sufficient knowledge of the works of the two English authors to fully understand the comparison made by the author of the letter. Norwid might have come into contact with Carlyle as the author of the introduction to the essays by R. W. Emerson, whose writings he probably knew (see *Essays*, with Preface by T. Carlyle, London 1841).

Pg. 52. The cited author of the work *Z tajemnic redakcyjnych księgi „Po ziarnie”* [From the editorial secrets of the book “After the seed”] is Cecilia (not Celina) Gajkowska.

Pg. 53. In the commentary to the whole 1861 F there appears an incorrect lexical form *antydatowany* [antidated] instead of the correct *antedatowany* [ante-

dated] (lat. *ante* - before). *Antedating* is a term used in text linguistics and editing; unfortunately, often distorted.

Pg. 67. Upon commenting on the issue of emigration tax mentioned in a letter of J.B. Zaleski to Bronisław Zaleski (and paid also by Norwid), *Kalendarz* left the following passage without explanation: “Feeling obliged by Emigration to pay the tax to the Homeland and to Israeli-style solidarity among themselves, among the Polish diaspora, may have incalculable consequences for the reunification” (p. 67). The conviction of the special relationship or solidarity of Jews (that was historically established, among other through the payment of the temple tax until the fall of Jerusalem in 70 AD) is a quite common fact in the collective consciousness of both the Polish emigrants after the November Uprising and the Jews themselves, whether in Poland, in Europe or around the world. As a way of example, let us refer to a statement by a Polish Israelite in this period, a supporter of assimilation and reconciliation between Poles and Jews: “These are the apparent effects of the historical base of our prayers: solidarity of interests, unlimited love and striving for superiority!” (Daniel Neufeld, *Syfse Jeszenim, czyli Modły starożytne Izraelitów na cały rok [...]* [Syfse Jeszenim, or the ancient prayers of Israelites for the whole year], Warsaw 1865, p. 52). The positive aspect of the Jewish solidarity as a model for the Polish exiles appears in the letters and journalistic texts of many Romantic writers, in Mickiewicz, even Krasiński. But, of course, critical evaluation prevails, as in the following statement by an anonymous author, probably from the circle of the Great Emigration: “One for all and all for one; bound by a chain of solidarity, even more dangerous than against this association [...] there is no counter-association between Christians” (*Galicja i Kraków pod panowaniem austriackim* [Galicia and Kraków under Austrian rule], Paris 1853, p. 66). While writing about “Israeli” solidarity (not Jewish), through the use of this adjective, Norwid tries to restore to this trait and old, biblical value historically justified by grievances of the chosen people enslaved by the invaders.

Pg. 75. The name of Anna K. Bałaszowa’s brother was Bałaszow, not Bałasz. Meanwhile, the correct form can be found in “Index of names” (vol. III, p. 74; NB: the alphabetical order of entries in this fragment of “Index” – from *Bałaszow* to *Balzac* – is violated).

Pg. 82. *Kalendarz* leaves no comment in two places, two important phrases in Norwid’s letter to Konstancja Górską (19 May 1862).

The first phrase reads: “,[...] – Rotschild gra w bursę – [...]” [Rotschild is playing the market] (PWSz IX, 36). Indeed, “Index” recognises this character as the banker James Rothschild (vol. III, p. 124), also mentioned by the poet in a letter to M. Sokołowski (after 14 November 1865; PWSz IX, 200), and additionally, in an account of “Dziennik Poznański” [Poznań Daily] from the painting auction in

Paris with the participation of the “old [Baron] Rothschild” (p. 342). This identification of the person is not sufficient and ambiguous. The name James was used by at least three Parisian representatives of this family: James Mayer de Rothschild (Jakob Mayer Rothschild) (1792-1868), his son Salomon James de Rothschild (1835-1864) and Alphonse James de Rothschild (1827-1905), known by his first name. Norwid could have meant either one of these, but also a “symbolic” Rothschild, as the name had become in all Europe the epitome of the financial power of the Jewish family. All three are linked by their banking profession, part of which was investing in the stock market, i.e. [in Polish] “gra w bursę”, from French (*la bourse*, Bourse de Paris) as it was put by Norwid (NB: “bursa” was explained previously, in the commentary to Norwid’s letter to M. Sokołowski of 186; see *Kalendarz*, vol. II, p. 39). Of the three above, the most likely “hero” of the poet’s speech is the last of these, Alphonse James, considered at that time the most influential Rothschild in France, and perhaps even in the entire world.

The second phrase is: “[...] pani Kalergi jeździ po bruku warszawskim z kacapem na koźle [...]” [Mrs Kalergi is riding Warsaw cobblestone streets with a Russki on the coachman’s box]. The future author of *Fortepian Szopena* [Chopin’s piano] (1863-1864), in which there would appear the motif of cobblestone [transl. note: in Polish this concept is polysemous, it may also indicate reaching the lowest or worst point] (“the ideal hit bottom” [transl. note: in Polish, literally: the ideal reached the cobblestone) paints a bitter and ironic picture of the recent love interest Maria Kalergis, who travels around Warsaw in a carriage driven by a Russian coachman (or a person serving the Russians), as contemptuously described by Norwid using a Ruthenian word *kacap*, this word domesticated well in the Polish language.

Pg. 84. Józef Hornowski (the Younger), the son of Norwid’s uncle, after his return from Siberia in 1869 worked in the office of Jan Gotlib Bloch (1836-1902), not Blach, as indicated in *Kalendarz* (which later does not include the name in either the correct or incorrect form in “Index of names”). Józef Hornowski (the Elder) sold in 1858 a part of land near Łochów for the construction of the Warsaw-St. Petersburg railway to Bloch.

Pg. 109. [*The letter of King Abgar to Jesus*] (sent by *Anianus the runner*) (also referred to as [*King Agbar’s letter*]) translated by Norwid in 1862, would require perhaps a commentary explaining the identity of the apocryphal work and the probable source of the translation. In the absence of the manuscript and the lack of the text in print (or other account), it is impossible to determine the details of this identity. I pointed to the direction of the investigation in the work on the Abgarian *Apokryf* [Apocryph] by Maria Konopnicka: „*Apokryf*” (1895) *Marii Konopnickiej – wiersz jako po-Słowię*, [in:] *Aluzja literacka. Teoria – interpretacje – konteksty*, ed. A. Stoff, A. Skubaczewska-Pniewska, Toruń: Wyd. UMK 2007, pp. 165-180.

Pg. 123. Ludwik Mierosławski suffered a defeat in the Battle of Krzywosądz (not Krzywosąd, according to *Kalendarz*) in Kujawy.

Pg. 127. On the envelope of Norwid's letter to Mieczysław Pawlikowski (of 22 February 1863, PWSz I, 375-76; PWSz II, 372-73), in the address line the poet wrote by hand "Szechinie per Medyka". The post stamp gives the first name as "Szechynie". *Kalendarz* does not explain the name of the place, nor does it list it in "Index of geographical names". Suffice to say here that in this village, lying more than ten kilometers east of Przemyśl on the railway route to Lviv and near Medyka of the Pawlikowski family, the addressee of the letter had considerable land property (see *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego* [Geographical dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland], vol. XI, Warszawa 1890, pp. 884-885).

Pg. 130. In a letter to Michał Kleczkowski (6 March 1863), while reporting on the content of the letter from his brother Ksawery, Norwid wrote: „[...] Żydek, którego u siebie trzymał przez pryncypia równości-wyznań, okradł go na trzy tysiące franków” [The Jew, who stayed with him due to the principles of equality of denominations, stole three thousand Francs from him] (PWSz IX, 83). Of course, the theft itself would require a commentary, but due to lack of source information, it is not possible to clarify the details of this case. One can comment, however, on the "principles of equality of denominations". This alludes to the growing strength, from the beginning of patriotic manifestations (from 1860), of the feeling of solidarity and community between Poles and Jews, especially those who represented the assimilationist movement.

Pg. 130. In Norwid's letter to Michał Kleczkowski (6 March 1863), a linguistic commentary is needed to a fragment containing a verb that is not used today and was rare in the poet's lifetime: „[...] czy się gniewasz i s z u r z y s z ? – czy poczciwie piszesz” [Are you angry and 'irritated'? – Or are you writing well?] (PWSz IX, 83). *Szurzyć się* – "to lose one's temper, to get angry, to get irritated" (*Słownik języka polskiego* [Dictionary of the Polish Language], ed. W. Doroszewski, vol. VIII: S-Ś, Warszawa 1966, p. 1204). Among the poet's contemporaries, Leon Zienkiewicz used this expression in a similar way: "In emulation, or mutual competition to eventually be the first or have a good position at school, the pupils will not manifest anything that could give rise to jealousy or hatred in other pupils; remembering that this competition is not allowed and ordered to brag about oneself, *szurzyć się* [get irritated] and be conceited, but to produce for the nation as many as possible useful citizens" (*Wieczory Lacha z Lachów, czyli opowiadania przy kominku starego literata polskiego* [Lach of the Lendians evenings, or stories by the fireplace of an old Polish writer], Leipzig, 1864, p. 161). This rare word does not only enrich Norwid's vocabulary, but can also be a hint in the search for his stylistic affiliations with other authors.

Pg. 133. In the name of the Parisian street rue Poissonnière, there should be *è* instead of *é*.

Pg. 135. In a letter to August Cieszkowski (after 5 April 1863), while reporting on Margrave Wielopolski's views on Russia and the need to leave it "SOME EUROPEAN CHARACTER" (PWsz VII, 130), Norwid added from himself: "[...] to push it back to Asia is to do make it a forehead of millions of the Chinese who will flood the world". A commentary is required to the second part of this opinion – concerning China. One can hear in it echoes of already vivid fears in Europe, including in France, of the growing power of the Middle Kingdom and the threat of the yellow race. In such a form: defense against the "yellow peril" (*la peril jaune*), the idea of the defense against the Chinese appears in the French press. A quarter century after Norwid's utterance, this thought is similarly (although independently of Norwid) formulated by Emil Barbé: "[...] en face du péril jaune, la civilisation blanche doit constituer une résistance permanente, un syndicat des civilisés aryens" (*Une conférence européenne des affaires l'extrême Orient*, Revue Bleue, politique et littéraire, 1900, no. 7, p. 211).

P. 163. Among Norwid's art works from the so-called Dybowski Album, there is a drawing from 1863 entitled *Niewolnicy żydowscy przy budowie* [Jewish slaves at construction work]. One can consider whether the creator of this drawing (and, at the same time, the author of Quidam), while contemplating about the topic, could have meant the Jews abducted by the Romans (Vespasian, Titus and Domitian from the Flavian dynasty) after the Judaic war in 70 AD to the capital of the Empire and employed at the construction of the Colosseum (Flavian Amphitheatre; *Amphitheatrum Flavium*). (See also *Kalendarz* III, p. 29).

P. 172. In a letter to Konstancja Górska (probably from the beginning of March 1864, he writes with irony about Poles in Parisian salons: "[...] wejda figury i przerwą, i kiwać się do siebie zaczną, bzdurząc serio o faribolach [...]" [the figures will enter and interrupt, and they will start nodding to each other, talking seriously about petty and irrelevant things] (PWsz IX, 134). The last word is left unexplained in *Kalendarz*, but it deserves a linguistic commentary. According to the Larousse Dictionary *faribole* (feminine noun, usually used in the plural) is a dialectic expression (mot dialectal, peut-être de l'ancien français *falourde*, tromperie) and means: "imagination frivoles, vaines et plaisantes." In 1856, one of the most popular comic actors in Paris, Grassot (actually Paul-Louis-Auguste Grassot, 1800-1860) published a collection of his humorous texts entitled *Grassottiana. Recueil de calembours, fariboles, jeux de mots [...]*. It is impossible to establish whether he was known to Norwid through his own writing or from indirect sources, or by co-creating the repository of jokes about Parisian everyday life, taken from vaudeville theaters to salons in circumstances such as those

mentioned in the letter. Nevertheless, it is worth noting the very use of the word, which sheds light on the relation of the poet to the French language and Parisian culture of the mid-19th century.

Pg. 174. In a letter dated 7 April 1864, M. Sokołowski asked Norwid about his opinion on Garibaldi's travel. And he added: "Dwa te pytania robię Ci obcesem. Sądzę, że tak samo bym je robił Sybilli Kumejskiej" [These two questions I do ask you unceremoniously. I think I would ask them the same way to the Cumaean Sibyl] (PWsz IX, 558). The mythological figure mentioned by the poet was left in *Kalendarz* without any commentary, while in "Index of names" she was identified as "Sybilla, wieszczka" [Sibyl, the Prophetess] (vol. III, p. 130). In another place (in A.E. Koźmian's letter, with reference to Deotyma) *Kalendarz* describes Sybil (this time without any adjective) as a "prophetess in ancient Greece" (vol. II, p. 6). Both decisions made in *Kalendarz* must be considered unsatisfactory or insufficient. With regard to the Cumaean Sibyl, known, among others, from Virgil's Aeneid and Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, a more accurate and detailed explanation is required, one that would bind her identity with Cumae near Naples and, at the same time, explain why Norwid, wondering about the consequences of Garibaldi's actions for Italy, would be willing to ask the question to the Sibyl, who foretold Aeneas the future of the Italian nation. In the second case, information about Greek and Roman Sybils with a list of the most famous ones would be pertinent. It would be also helpful to refer to Norwid's etching *Sybilla* and quite numerous Sibylline motifs in his literary works (e.g. "Sybilla dziejów" [Sibyl of history] in the poem *Sariusz. 1862*; remarks in *Notatki z mitologii* [Notes in mythology]).

Pg. 192ff. 1865. *Kalendarz* did not mention two references to Norwid in the book by Alexander N. Pypin and Włodzimierz D. Spasowicz *Obzor istorii sławianskich litieratur* (S.-Pietierburg 1865, p. 488, 489). These references can be found in the sixth chapter ("Polish literature") written by Spasowicz. These include: "„Изъ второстепенныхъ поэтовъ и прозаиковъ эмиграціи, старой и новой, заслуживаютъ быть упомянутыми: легионистъ баснописецъ Антонъ Горецкій, Стефанъ Витвицкій, другъ Красиньскаго, Константинъ Гашиньскій, Эдмундъ Хойецкій, мистикъ секты Товяньскаго Карль Балиньскій, Сигизмундъ Милковскій, Киприанъ Норвидъ. [...] Здѣсь начали въ сороковыхъ годахъ свое поприще эмигрировавшіе вполсѣдствіи Ленартовичъ, *Норвидъ*, Хойецкій, а изъ оставшихся Романъ Зморскій, Владиміръ Вольскій, Антонъ Чайковскій" [note: the original spelling was kept – BB]. Both fragments were included in the reprint of the collection (as *Obzor istorii polskoj litieratury*) in Spasowicz's book *Za mnogo let* (S.-Pietierburg 1872, p. 299). *Kalendarz* mentions this remarkable critic just once, only in the entry for

1880 as the author of a mention of one of Norwid's poems in an article published in *Książka jubileuszowa* [Jubilee book] for Kraszewski (see *Kalendarz*, vol. II, p. 719).

Pg. 200-201. The correct name of the Italian diplomat and poet is Costantino (not Constantino) Nigra. The sonnet *Impeatrice bionda* mentioned by Norwid in a letter to M. Sokołowski may be an allusion to the special favours that the French Empress Eugénie had given to the beautiful Italian ambassador in Paris.

Pg. 238. Among the Polish publishers working in Brussels there was Zygmunt Gerstmann (not Gertsman - according to *Kalendarz*, the same mistake is repeated in "Index of names", vol. III, p. 89).

Pg. 238. While reporting on the history of searching for the copies of the lost volume *Gromy i pyłki* [Thunderbolts and particles], following sources, *Kalendarz* mentions the "gymnasium [Polish middle school] professor" Sandel. Today, the surname Sandel (following *Słownik badaczy literatury polskiej* [Dictionary of researchers of Polish literature], J. Starnawski, vol. V, Łódź 2002, pp. 249-250) can be supplemented with the first name Jakub. He was the author of a dissertation *Zagadnienie patriotyzmu w „Kazaniach sejmowych” Skargi (XIV Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji C.K. Gimnazjum w Buczaczu za rok szkolny 1913* [The subject of patriotism in Skarga's "Sermons to the Diet" ...] Buchach 1913, p. 3-3. It contains the information that in the school year 1912/1913, after having been transferred from the gymnasium in Sokal, was appointed deputy teacher in the gymnasium in Buchach where he taught Polish, German and Latin, p. 35, 37.

Pg. 260-261. The "Siberian Uprising", which was the subject of Norwid's conversation with Karol Ruprecht (as we know from the poet's letter to B. Zaleski, before 10 November 1866), was at that time and later also known as Baikal Insurrection.

Pg. 263. In a letter to J. Kuczyńska, writing about his current painting work, Norwid interjected a sentence about Michelangelo, who "then sculpted the Medici tombs when he fortified San Miniato". *Kalendarz* does not explain the last proper name, the Florentine Basilica of San Miniato al Monte, which was fortified by Michelangelo during the siege of the city in 1530.

Pg. 269. A commentary should be added on the comparison used by Norwid in his reply (in July or August 1866) to the letter by Konstancja Górka: "Cała Epoka jest małpa sprzedająca wszystko za pieniądze i niktzemna ze wszech miar. [...] – oto obraz tej małpy" [The whole Epoch is like an ape selling everything for money and despicable by all means. [...] – this is the image of this ape] (PWsz IX, 254). One can hear the echo of the Darwinian treatise *On the Origin of Species* (1860), which revolutionized thinking about human as the last link in the evolu-

tion process, preceded by apes. The comparison to an ape, in particular, after the big Oxford debate of 30 June 1860, has permanently entered the arsenal of disputing worldviews of “the entire Epoch”.

Pg. 282. In his letter (probably of 1866) to Mateusz Gralewski, Norwid expressed his appreciation for his patriotic contributions: exile to the Caucasus and participation in the January Uprising (“[...] dwakroć zdobyłeś historyczną Godność!” [twice you have gained historical Dignity!]) PWSz IX, 271). Alongside the facts and dates concerning his life and activity, *Kalendarz* mentions in the commentary *Kaukaz. Wspomnienia* [Caucasus. Memories] [...], but it omits an ideological, journalistic pamphlet that was close to Norwid’s ideology: *Mysli o naszych działaniach w kraju i za granicą* [Thoughts on our actions at home and abroad] (Leipzig 1865).

Pg. 358. In a letter to Ludwik Nabelak (6 October 1866), Norwid thanks for two borrowed books: “książkę o J e r o z a l e m i e” [the book about Jerusalem” (PWSz IX, 371) and Wieland’s *Oberon* (transl. by W. Baworowski, published in Lviv in 1853). *Kalendarz* does not specify the first. Based on circumstantial evidence (concerning the place of publication and the timeframe of editing) we may probably point to *The Siege and Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans: Flavius Josephus’s Account*, published in the Lviv printing house of Kornel Piller in 1856. This hypothesis is weakened by the fact that Josephus Flavius (mainly as the author of *Antiquities of the Jews*) only rarely appears in Norwid’s writings (in *Quidam*, in *Notatki z mitologii*). Other possible candidates include *Pielgrzymka do Jerozolimy i na górę Sinai roku 1831, 1832 i 1833 odbyta przez ks. M.J. Geramba* [The pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Mount Sinai in 1831, 1832 and 1833 undertaken by Fr. M.J. Geramba], (1847). However, we should probably exclude the books devoted to the whole Holy Land such as *Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej* [Pilgrimage to the Holy Land] by Ft. Ignacy Hołowiński (1843) or Maurycy Mann’s *Podróż na Wschód* [Journey to the East] (1855).

Pg. 359. A typographical error must have crept into the word describing Norwid as “akwaforysta”. The correct form is used in other places as well as in the French equivalent.

Pg. 363. In the commented letter of Norwid to Charles Ruprecht (PWSz IX, 377-378), footnote 3 was not marked.

Pg. 437. *Kalendarz* gives an incomplete and partially (probably) wrong title of Norwid’s fourth drawing of 1869: “P...*ma assai, spera poco, nulla chiede*”. The title takes its origin in the famous phrase from Tasso (in the third, not the first person singular as in the source): “Bramo assai, poco spero, e nulla chiedo” (I desire much, expect little and ask for nothing”) T. Tasso, *Gerusalemme lib-*

erata, canto secondo, 16. (T. Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata e l'Aminta*, Torino 1857, p. 23).

Page 438. A spelling mistake can be found in the name of Parisian street: it should be rue Louis-le-Grand (instead of Luis). The correct form is unused in the further text.

Page 465. Divergent spelling in the title of the Parisian journal: there should be “Le Patriote” (not La).

Pg. 476ff. 1871. *Kalendarz* did not record Norwid’s biographical entry in Leon Rogalski’s book *Historia literatury polskiej* [History of Polish Literature], Warsaw 1871, vol. II, p. 476 (date of censorship: 26 November 1870). Here is the biographical entry in extenso: “CYPRIJAN NORWID. Poet, artist, engraver and sculptor. When in 1840 Polish literature experienced a revival in Warsaw, he belonged to that young generation of writers characterised by mental exaltation and the tendency to break all relations with the past. At that time, he wrote analyses of works and small poems published in magazines. Later, he went to France and settled in Paris, where he has been living and writing various poetry, some with true talent, others full of mysticism. These were published jointly in Leipzig in 1863, whereas separately printed are *Pieśni społecznej cztery strony* [Four sides of a social song] (Poznań, 1849); *O sztuce* [On the art] in prose (Paris, 1858); *Promethidion*, (ibid., 1851); *Autodafe i Szczęsna* [sic!], novel (St. Petersburg, 1859), *Zwolon* (1851), *Wigilija* [Christmas Eve], (1869); and many others. Illustrated editions from Poznań and Warsaw are accompanied by his drawings”. Let us add that the note about Norwid is put between the biographical entries for Karol Baliński and Edward Żeligowski.

Pg. 476ff. 1871. A small trace of Norwid’s reception in Italy can be found in a mention about the poet (left unnoticed in *Kalendarz*) in a selection of poetry by a Florentine friend of *Quidam*’s author: *Poesie polacche di Teofilo Lenartowicz, recate in versi italiani da Ettore Marcucci*, Firenze 1871. In the foreword, the translator mentions Norwid in a group of a dozen poets of the younger Romantic generation (p. XII).

Pg. 507. It is doubtful whether the proposal to identify “K. Kirkpatrick” as Katherine Aurora (Kitty) Kirkpatrick, Thomas Carlyle’s muse is justified. NB: in a commentary on p. 507 Kirkpatrick appears as a man, while on p. 564 as a woman, the already mentioned Kitty.

Pg. 510ff. 1872. “Norwid *Garstka piasku legenda*, 8 Paryż, 1859” – this is how the publication was listed in *Catalogue du Musée National polonais à Rapperswyl*. Imp. J. Kossobudzki, Zurich 1872, p. 33.

Pg. 538. Henryk Lisicki, not Lisiecki, was a member of the jury of the competition in Kraków which Norwid entered with a drama *Pierścień Wielkiej-Damy* [The ring of a great lady].

Pg. 569. The author of the treatise *Homer w Polsce* [Homer in Poland] was Professor Hugo Zathej (not Zathej). Also incorrect is the Genitive form of his first and last name in Polish (“Professora Hugo Zathej”).

Pg. 598. Norwid’s cutting remark (in a letter to Bronisław Zaleski) about Kraszewski’s novels (“[...] Kraszewski [...] niepoliczone łokcie i sta łokci s o l i t e r a - p o w i e ś c i ciągle roni w literatury naczynie” [Kraszewski [...] innumerable ells and hundred ells of t a p e w o r m - n o v e l s is constantly shedding into a literary vessel]; PWSz X, 53). *Kalendarz* explains this with information on a series of novels about the history of Poland started with *Stara baśń* [An ancient tale], but omits this *soliter* [tapeworm] intertwined in this little elegant allusion, which evokes an image of a night utensil which gathers hundreds (*sta*) of elbow-length segments of the multiplying parasite. This phrase is a rare example of Norwid using trivial equivocation.

Pg. 635. The co-publisher (together with S. Konwicki) of *Kalendarzyk paryski na rok 1877* [The Paris calendar for the year 1877] was K. Zabieha, not Zabiela (as incorrectly given in *Kalendarz*). “Index of names” also repeats the wrong form (vol. III, p. 137). In the address part of *Kalendarzyk* (p. 51) it is listed with the name (which was not mentioned in *Kalendarz*): “Mr Zabieha Konstanty with his wife, 5, rue Delambre”. It is also inaccurate to note that Norwid was mentioned in *Kalendarzyk* only “twice – as resident of rue Chaillot and writer” (p. 635). In fact, he was also listed (in the section “Artists”) as painter (p. 80). The term “a man of letters” is a mental shortcut, as the source uses a broader qualification of this professional group: “journalists, men of letters and writers” (p. 81).

Pg. 654-655. Bronisław Zaleski, writing to Norwid about the troubles with the parcel sent by him from Paris to Florence, mentions a freight forwarder named Zebaume. A source from that epoch allows to determine the identity of this entrepreneur. “Dom komisowy [commission sale house]. Zalecić możemy [we can recommend]: Jacques Zebaume, *Transports par terre et par mer*. Rue de Treviso N° 35 bis. Korespondencyja i w języku polskim [correspondance also in Polish]”. *Przewodnik dla podróżujących za granicę* [A guide for travellers abroad], Warsaw 1873, p. 269. It is worth mentioning a probable Polish trace, more strictly Polish-Jewish – Zebaume’s identity, whose name was based on the official French decision of 1872. “M. Zweigbaum (*Jacques*) est autorisé à substituer à son nom celui de *Zebaume*” (*Bulletin de lois de la République française*, ser. XII, vol. IV, no. 80, Paris 1872, p. VIII, 100). “Jacques Zébaume, commissionnaire exportateur, né le 15 Novembre 1838 à Varsovie (Pologne russe), naturalisé Français par décret du 13 octobre 1870, demeurant à Paris (Seine), est autorisé à substituer à son nom patronymique celui de Zébaume, et à s’appeler, à l’avenir, Zébaume au lieu de Zweigbaum”. Zweigbaum extends the circle of Jewish people known to Norwid and interwoven into his biography.

Pg. 656. There was no explanation of a small detail in Norwid's letter to Władysław Czartoryski (and several other addressees, PWSz X, 98-99). Upon explaining the delay in sending his collection from Italy to Paris, the author of the letter pointed to the Florentine "gara" (fr. *la gare*), i.e. the local railway station: "[...] we Florencji na garze nieco czasu paka leżała" [in Florence, the parcel was lying at the *gare* for some time]. The word – alongside *bursa* (stock exchange) – testifies to the progressing process of incorporating French words into lexis used in his everyday linguistic communication, and though not only in Norwid, but also – probably – in a large number of Polish emigrants in France.

Pg. 661. On the list of books borrowed for Norwid from the Polish Library by Bronisław Zaleski there is an edition of Ovid: *Opera*, Biponti 1783, vol. III. *Kalendarz* – no one knows why – put a question mark next to the place of editing (Bipontium, German town of Zweibrücken). In other sources, this edition, in three volumes (see *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu A.-A. Barbier*, Paris 1828, p. 32 (item no. 468)).

Pg. 665. A certain Moczydłowski in a letter to Teofil Lenartowicz, among "our common peer" next to Norwid mentions the late Mściewojewski. Perhaps he meant a former legionnaire, Lieutenant Mściewojewski (Kazimierz Władysław Wójcicki, *Cmentarz Powązkowski oraz cmentarze katolickie i innych wyznań pod Warszawą i w okolicach tegoż miasta* [Powązki cemetery and cemeteries belonging to Catholics and those of other denominations near Warsaw and in the vicinity of the city], Warsaw 1858, vol. III, Supplement, p. XXVII).

Pg. 702. Upon explaining Norwid's vivid cutting remarks on the translations of works on the Talmud by Ksawery Korczak Branicki (or inspired by him), *Kalendarz* mentions, for example, two works: *Brama pokuty* [Gate of atonement] (1879) by Herszel Schossburg and *Kol kore* (1879) by Eliasz Sołowiejczyk. The first work does not concern the Talmud; it is a literary monument from 1651, a poetic lamentation over the Jewish victims of the Cossack war of 1648. The other work indeed concerns the Talmud, as evidenced by its full title, in particular the subtitle: *Kol Kore (Vox clamantis). Biblia, Talmud i Ewangelia, przez ... Ewangelia św. Mateusza* [Kol Kore (Vox clamantis). The Bible, the Talmud and the Gospel, by ... The Gospel of St. Matthew], translated [by Antoni Waga?] under the supervision of K. Korczak Branicki, Paris 1879, Adolf Reiff's Polish Printing House.

Pg. 710. The perpetrator of the bombing assassination of Tsar Alexander II is Stiepan Chałturin, not Stafan - as given in *Kalendarz*; in "Index of names" this name was polonised in the form of *Stefan* (see *Kalendarz*, vol. III, p. 79). The authors of *Kalendarz* are right not to get involved in explaining this detail by disputing as to whether the Polish equivalent of Russian Stiepan is Stefan (or rather) Szczepan.

Pg. 730. Commenting on Norwid's letter written after the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in a bold hand, especially the sentence: "Owacje miast rosyjskich dla Cara są ku temu" [The ovation of Russian cities for the Tsar are to this] (PWsz X, 158), *Kalendarz* aptly but inaccurately refers the poet's opinion and the allusions he uses to "the riots that began around mid-July 1881 in western and southern Russia against the Jews [...]". More appropriate than the term "riot" would be the word from the epoch: pogroms. However, they started not in July, but on 15 April (in Elizavetgrad). By the way, it is worth pointing out that Norwid's entire letter deserves a separate elaboration as it constitutes one of several testimonies (journalistic and literary) of the poet's living response to the events that began a new chapter in the Jewish question not only in Russia, but also in Poland and in Europe.

Pg. 733. *Kalendarz* left no commentary on the extensive quote from Norwid's letter to Konstancja Górská about Mickiewicz. Meanwhile, at least two things should be explained in the following passage: "Jak sam [Mickiewicz] mówił, »mecheska« przybyła podzielić jego życie i wygnanie. Żydzi nawet raz w gazecie augsburskiej, wyliczając swych znakomitych ludzi, zapisali: »Mośkowicz Adam«" [As he himself [Mickiewicz] said, the »meches« came to share his life and exile. Even once, in an Augsburg newspaper, while enumerating their distinguished men, the Jews wrote: »Mośkowicz Adam«" (PWsz X, 157). The first sentence of the citation probably refers to Mickiewicz's wife Celina Szymanowska, who came from a family of Frankish Jewish converts, and therefore, in the eyes of the critics of this union, she was a *meches* [transl. note: in Hebrew – a Jewish person that converted to other religion]. In the second sentence, Norwid repeats (after unfamiliar person or written source) probably untrue information, because the query conducted for this review turned out to be futile: in the online editions of "Augsburger Zeitung" I did not find the incriminated fact.

Pg. 738. It is difficult to agree with categorising *Modlitwa* [A prayer], a short prose text of 1889, as "note". Undoubtedly, this is a literary work, but the justification for its genre qualification and a fuller explanation of its genesis and its interpretation than the one presented in *Kalendarz* goes beyond the scope of this review, thus the reviewer is forced to stop here. On the other hand, information about the Warsaw pogrom of Jews could be extended by providing the date of the event: 25-26 (and even 27) December 1881. The day of the fire of the Vienna theatre, i.e. 8 December of the same year, which coincides with the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (established on 8 December 1854, together with the proclamation by Pope Pius IX of the dogma recognising the title of the feast as the truth of the faith), is useful for the proper understanding of the "plot" details and the idea of the work. For Norwid, as was the case for

many of his contemporaries, the coincidence of fire and feast could be significant, the seriousness of the feast, in the opinion of Catholic conservative circles, was violated by the premiere of Jakub Offenbach's frivolous opera *The Tales of Hoffmann*, on 7 December 1881. The fire broke out just before the show on Christmas Day.

Pg. 753. The information on the famous Jewish philanthropist Moses Montefiore (Montefiori), mentioned by Norwid in a letter to J.I. Kraszewski (along with the enclosed article „Żydy” i „mechesy” [“Jews” and “meches”]), could be supplemented with the fact that could have been unknown to the poet (from the press or an account of a friend, painter Jan Rosen, who in 1879 painted a portrait of the philanthropist in London), i.e. in April and May 1846 Montefiore, along with his wife Judith, on the way back from Russia visited the Jewish communities in Poland, inter alia, in Vilnius, Warsaw, Kraków and Poznań. (See *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, comprising their life and works as recorded in their diaries from 1812 to 1883*, ed. Louis Loewe, Chicago 1890, vol. 1, pp. 340-357). See D. Kandel, *Montefiore w Warszawie* [Montefiore in Warsaw], “Kwartalnik Poświęcony Badaniu Przeszłości Żydów w Polsce” [Quarterly dedicated to the study of the past of the Jews in Poland] 1912, no. 1, p. 74-94. Józef Goldszmit, *Wizerunki wstawionych Żydów XIX wieku. I. Sir Moses Montefiore* [The portraits of the famous Jews of the 19th century. I. Sir Moses Montefiore], Warsaw 1867.

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Pg. 15, fn. 7. The name of a certain Mitk'evich (a more correct form would be: Mitkiewicz), to which Antoni Norwid paid a certain amount, was not listed in “Index of names”. Probably a wrong (in relation to the source) form occurs in the word *sumky* (“na sumky”); correct spelling – *sumku*.

Pg. 15, fn. 19. The name of the property *Wasilewska* is probably incorrect (NB: it was omitted in “Index of geographical names”, vol. III, p. 209); the sources list two local names: *Wasilewka* (see *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego* [A geographical dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland], vol. XIII, Warsaw 1893, p. 127) and *Wasilówka* (Belarusian: *Wasilouka*) (ibid., p. 130).

Pg. 16, fn. 25. Listed as an anonymous, *Pamiętnik anegdotyczny z czasów Stanisława Augusta* [Diary of anecdotes from the time of Stanisław August] (Poznań 1867) has an author: Ludwik Cieszkowski.

Pg. 20-21. Among the signatures of Norwid's drawings in Michalina Dziekońska's album on page 24 there are places that are either illegible or questionable in reading. One such place is “heunista”. It is difficult to agree to such

a reading, since no reference point, proper or colloquial name can be pointed to, from which this peculiar word could be made. However, one may hypothetically ask if Norwid meant “hedonist” as one of the five caricatured Gauls presented in the drawing? Without looking at the source, it is difficult to resolve this doubt in favour of the proposal presented here.

Pg. 23, 24. In the caption of the drawing (from Norwid’s *Książka pamiątek* [Book of souvenirs]): “Volodarka / Kvyra District / Kiev Governorate [...]” a mistake has been made in the district name: instead of *Kvyra* there should be *Skvyra* (this form is used in vol. I, p. 177 and in “Index of geographical names”, vol. III, p. 206). In the footnote explaining the identity of Kazimierz Podhorski (whose “dates were not established”) it was stated that he was “an amateur painter”. This information can be supplemented with his dates of life: 1831-1898 (see Marek Jerzy Minakowski, *Genealogia potomków Sejmu Wielkiego* [Genealogy of Descendants of the Great Sejm], <http://www.sejm-wielki.pl/u/7.779.146>). In 1858 (in close temporal proximity to Norwid’s “*Książka pamiątek*”), Kazimierz Podhorski was portrayed in an oil painting by Józef Simmler (https://www.podgorski.com/library/References/Portrait_Kazimierz_Podhorski.htm). It is worth noting the indirect relationship between Norwid and Kazimierz Podhorski, on the one hand, and Józef Simmler, on the other, also a hero of Wojciech Gerson’s article in *Biblioteka Warszawska* [Warsaw Library] (1868; see *Kalendarz*, vol. II, p. 345). It is also worth mentioning that the figure of Podhorski is signed in Volodarka, which was then owned by Leopold Abramowicz (Ludwik’s son). As *Kalendarz* provides, Volodarka and its owner was visited by Edward Chłopicki, who mentioned Leopold Abramowicz’s album in an article *Wędrówka po guberni kijowskiej* [Wandering around Kiev Governorate] (“*Tygodnik Ilustrowany*” [Weekly Illustrated] 1881, no. 306). He found in it several drawings by Artur Grottger and Napoleon Orda, as well as “a couple of lovely poems by Cyprian Norwid and Edmund Chojecki”. He copied from the album “a lovely” poem by Norwid - *W pamiętniku L. A.* [In L.A.’s diary] (reprinted in that article). The sequence of these facts allows to point to Leopold Abramowicz (hidden behind his initials) as the addressee of the mentioned poem.

Pg. 25-26. Among “the listeners of Norwid’s last lecture *O Juliuszu Słowackim* [On Juliusz Słowacki] signed on the copy [...] of Słowacki’s *Anhelli* given to the poet” *Kalendarz* did not establish the details of the identity of some people. Let us point out one person about whom more could be said, even if only hypothetically. Konstanty Wzdulski, brother of Bolesław, a landlord from Kalisz, was probably a future feature writer active in the Kingdom of Poland, author of numerous publications (*Szkice ekonomiczne* [Economic sketches], Warsaw 1869 – here, among others, *Chrześcijanizm i Ekonomia*

polityczna, Adam Smith [Christianity and political Economy, Adam Smith]; *Żydzi polscy w świetle prawdy* [Polish Jews in the light of truth], Warsaw 1887).

Pg. 58. The name of the author of the book about the Parisian Exposition Universelle was incorrectly included in the list of references contrary to the “order” of names – instead of “Camp Maxim du” it should be “Du Camp Maxime”

Pg. 59. In turn, the name of a Russian researcher Włodzimierz Dżakow – once written correctly is used incorrectly in the line below (Dijakov).

Pg. 61. The title of J.W. Gomulicki’s article of 1935 on Ludwik Norwid is *Zbłąkany pielgrzym* [A lost pilgrim] (not: *Zabłąkany* [stray]).

Pg. 71. The correct name of Aura (Aurelia) Wyleżyńska was given incorrectly as Anna in “Index” (vol. III, p. 137).

index of names

The authors declare that mythical characters are not included in “Index of names”. Meanwhile, contrary to this declaration, they include, for instance, the mythological prophetess Sybilla (vol. III, p. 130). For the reader, it would probably be better to include all personal names (of course, without literary figures).

Pg. 73. Akefaliński is not (as stated) a pseudonym of Ignacy Hołowiński, but a playful deformation of his actual pseudonym: Kefaliński (NB: this entry is not included in “Index”, but it was listed with the entry: Hołowiński, p. 93). It is necessary to establish the identity (name and surname) of the Prussian Ambassador in Warsaw in 1788. It is unjustified to capitalise the designations of functions. The dramatic picture by W.L. Anczyc is titled *Łobzowanie*, not *Łobozowanie*. The correct order of the entry segments is: Andriolli Michał Elwiro (not Elwiro Michał). The name of David d’Angers begins with the prefix *de* (*d’*) and not letter A, thus it should be placed in “Index” under letter *D*.

Pg. 74. There should be *Achremowiczowa* instead of *Archemowiczowa* (Wanda). Anna Bałaszowa’s patronym should be Konstantinowna, not Konstantina. Barrot’s name is Odilon, not Odilion.

Pg. 75. The title of Baudelaire’s poetry collection is *Les Fleurs du Mal*, not *Fleure de Mal*. The correct wording is given, however, in vol. II, p. 11, 27. The title of the painting by P.J. Baudry is: *Glorification de la loi* (not: *Gloryfication* [...]). Benjamin Disraeli, entered under letter B as Beaconsfield, due to his lord’s title, should have a reference to his name and be listed under letter D. The entry Beato Angelico (not Angeliko) refers to the entry Giovanni da Fiesole, but the reader is not informed about the fact that it refers to a painter called Fra Angelico, and this is this famous name that should be made the main entry. A typographical error crept into the name of a French poet Béranger (wrong form: Bérangere) as part of the title of his “last songs”. The commentator of Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, Niccolò Giosafatte Biagioli, received in “Index” a name with the initial P. Meanwhile, in the edition

of the work translated by Julian Korsak (Warsaw 1860) cited in *Kalendarz*, this abbreviated form refers to Mr [transl. note: P. is a common Polish abbreviation for Mr/Mrs]. Incorrect and incompatible with editorial and writing tradition is the polonisation of Russian names: Teodor (better: Fiodor) Berg, Mikołaj Wasilewicz (better: Nikołaj Wasiljewicz) Berg and (on p. 76) Aleksy (better: Aleksiej) Bogolubow.

Pg. 77. The French painter Bouguereau had two names: William-Adolphe. The author of *Bramy pokuty* [The gates of atonement] published in Paris (1879) under the auspices of Ksawery Korczak Branicki is a 17th-century Jewish writer with two names Gabriel ben Joshua Herschel Schosburg (see vol. III, p. 126).

Pg. 78. The name of the Italian architect is Brunelleschi, not Bruneleschi. The article in the title of Emil Burnouf's book *L'éloquence et la [not: le] liberté* was incorrectly changed. A typographical error also occurs in the title of a book by Ph. Burty.

Pg. 78. The first word in the title of Byron's poem should be: *Farewell! If ever fondest prayer.*

Pg. 79. The family name of Pope Gregory XVI is Cappellari, not Cappelari. Cecchi's first name is Filippo, not Filipo.

Pg. 81. The Italian patriot Angelo Brunetti was called Ciceruacchio, not Cicercauchio, as stated in *Kalendarz*. However, in the referred place the form used is correct (vol. III, p. 78).

Page 82. There is a grammatical error in the title of a book by Jan Bauduin de Courtenay; there should be *O drewnie-polskom* and not *O drewnie-polskim*. I omit here the question of how to transcribe Russian text. There are errors involving the contamination of Polish and French forms appearing in the name of Princess Małgorzata Adelajda Czartoryska of Orléans (*Marguerite Adélaïde d'Orléansans*) (here we give only the correct spelling).

Pg. 83. Incorrect, as both the polonised and the original Russian form, is the name of Warsaw censor Czestilin: Gawrył (should be Gawriił). A spelling mistake, in turn, is the lack of a diacritic indicating the nasal sound [a] in the name of Dąbrowski (Jarosław). Another spelling mistake, but of higher gravity, can be found in the name Dalrymple (should be Dalrympe).

Pg. 84. The literary researcher was Stefan Demby, not Dembe, as stated in *Kalendarz*.

Pg. 85. The nickname of the Italian painter is Domenichino, not Dominicchino. Donizetti's opera is titled *Lucia di Lammermoor*, not *Lammermoor*.

In Henri Dunant's book *Un souvenir de Solférino*, the name of the famous town is Solferino, not Solverino, as given in *Kalendarz*.

Pg. 87. The German writer Everbeck was named Hermann, not Herman. The secretary of state of Pope Pius IX was Cardinal Gabriel Ferretti, not Ferreti, ac-

ording to *Kalendarz* (in addition, the wrong form of the name occurs also in vol. 1, p. 279). Feyrnet, a Parisian art critic writing about art in the 1860s, was named Xavier (*Kalendarz* gives only the initial X).

Pg. 88. The French “banker of the Foreign Ministry” (see *Kalendarz*, vol. II, p. 193) Fleury-Hérard was named Paul. The Italian painter cited in Norwid’s letter to Pietro Freccia (see PWSz VIII, 13, X; 424, cf. *Kalendarz*, vol. I, p. 160), not Freccio (as given in “Index”, where his name was additionally omitted).

Pg. 89. “Index” repeats an error in the name of the emigrant publisher Zygmunt Gerstmann (not Gertsman, see *Kalendarz*, vol. II, p. 238).

Pg. 91. The German-born printer from Poznań, Gube was named Herman.

Pg. 92. Typographical errors: Habsburg instead of Habsurg; in the title of E. du Haillly’s book, in the name of Mieczysław Haiman.

Pg. 93. Horzyca was named Wilam, not William. This unfortunate mistake occurred earlier, in the commentary (see *Kalendarz*, vol. II, p. 284).

Pg. 94. The following notation is incorrect: *Jan święty, Chrzcziciel* [literally: John St., the Baptist], it should be: *Jan Chrzcziciel, św.* [John the Baptist, St.]. The same applies to St. Matthew the Evangelist.

Pg. 96. A distorted alphabetical order of entries from *Jeż* to *Jeziorański*.

Pg. 96. The figure of “Julianes, saint” identifies the person or character described in Norwid’s *Album Orbis* in the sketch [III]: “Sca Julianes”. A saint of this name is unknown; thus, this issue requires clarification, but not in this review.

Pg. 98. A distorted alphabetical order of entries from *Kleczkowski Adam* to *Kleczkowski F*.

Pg. 99. A typographical error in the title of the second book by Józef Komierowski.

Pg. 100. Zofia Kossak (Juliusz’s wife) née Gałczyńska, not Gałczeńska. The correct form is given in *Kalendarz*, vol. I, p. 630. A typographical error in the name (or rather pseudonym) of the writer Waław Koszczyc, not Koszyc. Kozakiewicz, the co-author of Norwid’s Parisian Obituary, was named Bronisław.

Pg. 101. The pages from *Psalm miłości* [A psalms of love] by Z. Krasieński were not indicated. Krasnosieński, the translator of the Indian literature was named Teofil.

Pg. 103. A disturbed alphabetical order within the name Lanckoroński.

Pg. 104. Listed as nameless, Lasocki, poet, is a Syberian exile Waław Lasocki. Boruch Lejbo Cejtlin, a follower of the Jewish religion, was listed in “Index” under his second name, which the authors of *Kalendarz* recognised as his family name (Lejbo Boruch Cejtlin). In fact, his surname is Cejtlin, and therefore should be listed under letter C.

Pg. 105. In the case of kings such as Stanisław Leszczyński, their position on the list of entries is determined by the first name, not the surname. Thus, the entry

should be listed under letter S, not L. The author of *Pamiętniki* [Diaries] quoted several times in *Kalendarz* is Bolesław, not Bronisław Limanowski.

Pg. 107. Typographical errors: in the name of literary researcher: Małgorzata Łukaszuk, not Łukaszczuk; in the first and last name: Niccolo Macchiaveli (correct spelling: Niccolò Machiavelli). In turn, Alexander of Macedon should be listed in “Index” under letter A, not M, since the appellation is not his family name. The spy in Russian service before the November Uprising is Henryk Mackrott (Makrott; the spelling Macrott as adopted in “Index” is rare).

Pg. 109. “Maria Panna (Mariam)” [Virgin Mary (Mariam)] is a very peculiar, not typical of Norwid designation for Mary, the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of Jesus. Mistakes in the titles of books by: X. Marmier – there is *pologne*, while it should be *Pologne*; Ch. De Mazade – there is *Aleksander*, should be *Alexandre*. Eustachy Marylski is left without a name, because in the quotation from F. Wrotnowski’s *Pamiętnik* [Diary] there is an improperly placed comma that distorts the understanding of the text and the identification of persons. (*Kalendarz*, vol. II, p. 470: “[...] Marylski, Eustachy z panną Leokadią [...]” [Marylski, Eustachy with Miss Leokadia] – the comma is superfluous).

Pg. 110. With the name of Józef Mejnner, the basic form should be added: Mejnner and it should be made an entry. Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy’s name requires an erratum (written incorrectly: Mendelson Barthold). The entry *Metternich, chancellor* should have a fuller form – *Metternich Clement, chancellor*. The rule of ordering *Dziady* (within the entry *Mickiewicz Adam*) is unclear.

Pg. 111. Typographical errors: in the title of Mickiewicz’s work *Mémorial de la Légion polonaise de 1848 crée en Italie* (there is *créée*, while it should be *créé*); in the title of L. Mierosławski’s work there is *dan’s*, should be *dans*; Millin’s middle name is Armand, not Armaud. In addition, the alphabetical order of three persons bearing the name of Mieroszewski is distorted.

Pg. 112. Minter’s surname was not included, in his Warsaw house January Suchodolski had his painting studio, Norwid could see his paintings in 1837 (see *Kalendarz*, vol. I, p. 58, here: the name initial – M.).

Pg. 112. The entry *Molier* contains errors in the real name (*Jena*, instead of *Jean*) of the great comedy writer. Spelling mistakes are also to be found in the French name of Montesquieu, while the entry *Moraczewski Kazimierz* should be moved two positions down the list.

Pg. 113. The correct form of the name is *Morgulec*, not *Morgulc*. Mozart was stripped of his name Wolfgang. *Erratum*: there is *Józef Muczowski*, should be *Muczowski*. The entry *Musset [...]* should have the form: *Musset Alfred de*; the Babylonian king is Nebuchadnezzar, not Nebuchadmezzar.

Pg. 118. Both painters: Henryk and Ksawery were named Pilatti, not Pillati. *Kalendarz*, vol. I, p. 675 gives correct spelling; but the incorrect one appears *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 705. The entry *Piotrowski Filip Wiator* should be supplemented and take the full form *Piotrowski Filip Jakub, monastic name Wiator* (see *Kalendarz*, vol. I, p. 14). The correct spelling of Pisani's name is *Niccolò*, not *Nicolo*.

Pg. 120. Spelling in Pope's first name: there should be Aleksander (or Alexander).

Pg. 121. The literary researcher is Maria Prussak, not Prusak.

Pg. 122. In the title of Roger Raczyński's book there should be *Le marquis* instead of *Le marguis*. The correct form of the entry *Rafaël (Raffaello Santi)* should be: *Rafaël (Raffaello Santi or Sanzio)*. "Radzki, the owner of the printing house" is the pseudonym of Józef Radomiński (see *Kalendarz*, vol. II, p. 364, 481.) (The solution of the pseudonym: *Librarium*, vol. XXVIII, 1985, p. 169).

Pg. 124. Mieczysława Romankówna received a wrong name Maria. The Warsaw banker and social activist of Jewish origin was named Mathias Rosen, not Matias Rozen. Probably the surname of Kazimierz Rumocki is wrong (see *Kalendarz*, vol. I, p. 357). Among the emigrants there was Kazimierz Romocki (1826-1879; see M.J. Minakowski, *Genealogia potomków Sejmu Wielkiego* [The genealogy of the descendants of the Great Sejm], <http://www.sejm-wielki.pl/b/10.720.223>, <http://www.sejm-wielki.pl/b/10.720.223>). It was most probably him that became a member of the New Emigration Committee in Paris.

Pg. 125. Resortarski A. is a wrong form of the surname of A. Rzeszotarski. Maria Sadowska was a descendant of the Breza family, not Brzeźny family. Sandel, the teacher from Buchach, was named Jakub.

Pg. 126. The French writer is Jean François Sarrazin, not Sarrasin. The Jewish author Schoszburg had two names: Gabriel Herschel. The third name of the French archaeologist is Louis (not the female counterpart Louise): Jean Baptiste Louis George Seroux D'Agincourt. The last element is the surname proper; the entry should be listed under letter D. The name of the French author Sénac was August.

Pg. 127. Sismondi's name is incomplete.

Pg. 129. Schouvaloff's first name (Shuvalov) is Grigorij, not Griegorij. This entry (listed with violation of alphabetical order) should refer to the entry that duplicates it – *Szuwałow* (see p. 131). Sterbini, a participant of the patriotic manifestation in Italy in 1847, was named Pietro. Strojnowski, the translator of Dante's works, was named Stanisław.

Pg. 132. Typographical errors: in the title of A. Thiers's work - *Histoire* instead of *Historie*; Thurneyssen Georg, not George; Tommaseo Niccolò, not Nicolo. Teniers's (both the Elder and the Younger) name was David.

Pg. 133. Spelling mistake in the name of St. Trofimus (Trofim), not Trfimus (the same mistake can be found in *Kalendarz*, vol. I, p. 322).

Pg. 134. Mistakes: in the title of G. Verdi's opera - *I Lombardi alla prima crociata* instead of *Lombradi alla prima crociata*; in Volney's name – Constantin-François, not Constantin-Françoise. French author Verneur had two names: Jacques-Thomas.

Pg. 135. King Henryk Walezy should be listed in "Index" under letter *H*, not *W*. Wawrzecki, a sculptor from Kraków, was named Aleksander.

Pg. 136. Wilczewski, Dante's translator, was named Karol. *Kalendarz* (vol. II, p. 297) does not provide further details on him, in particular, in the context of Kraszewski's remarks on the translations of *Divine Comedy*. King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki should be listed in "Index" under letter *M*, not *W*.

Pg. 137. The entry *Wolter* gives wrong surname of the philosopher: Aronet instead of Arouet. A typographical error distorts Konstanty Wzdulski's surname. Insetad of *Zabiela* there should stand *Zabieha*.

Pg. 140. Hugo Zathej, not Zathej. The two entries for *Zawadzki* should be arranged alphabetically, according to the first names of their holders. Zbrożek's name was Piotr.

Pg. 148. In "Index of Norwid's literary works", his prose work *Modlitwa* [A prayer] was incorrectly classified as "notes". In the title of the poem *Nad grobem Julii Capulletti w Weronie* [At the tomb of Julia Capulletti in Verona] the spelling of Julia's family name is incorrect: in the text the polonised form is used: Kapuleti. The form Capulletti (and other variants, also incorrect: Capulleti, Capuletti) is provided in *Kalendarz*, passim (numerous pages listed in "Index of works"). In turn, in "Addenda [...]" there appears, corrected by the authors, the form which hyphenates the heroine's first and last name: *Julia-Capulleti*.

Two general remarks are pertinent in the context of "Index of Norwid's fine art works". Unlike the titles of literary works written in italics, the authors decided to write the titles of fine art works in plain print. Meanwhile, in the main text of *Kalendarz* (vols. I-II), the vast majority of these titles were written in italics. Another problem, here only signaled as the subject of a possible discussion, is the way of distinguishing the original author's titles from the conventional ones, proposed by editors and researchers of Norwid's artistic heritage. The problem is complex and cannot be addressed here. I will provide detailed remarks in the review of subsequent pages.

Pg. 161. In "Index of Norwid's fine art works" the authors provide a wrong title *Confinance* instead of *Confidance*; In addition, the page(s) is/are not indicated – this is also true for works: *Faust w pracowni* [Faust in the studio] and *Femme devant l'âtre*.

Pg. 162. No pages were provided for the works: *Jankiel i Shylock* [Jankiel and Shylock] and *Krakus. Portret żołnierza* [Krakus. A portrait of a soldier].

Pg. 163. The entry concerning the work titled *Marii Kalergis szkic postaci* [Maria Kalergis's sketch of the figure] is controversial. Perhaps the title was influenced the neighborhood with another work representing the same person. No pages were provided for the works: *Norwid rysownik* [Norwid the cartoonist] and *Norwid "z papierosem"* [Norwid "with a cigarette"]. A typographical error (there is: *dla nic* [for nothing] where it should be: *dla nich* [for them]) distorted the title of the etching: *Nie było dla nich miejsca w gospodzie* [There was no room for them in the inn]. If one accepts the above proposal that is different from the reading of the Italian inscription on Norwid's painting as provided in *Kalendarz* (see above for the reviewer's remarks to vol. II, p. 437), the conventional title of this painting (In "Index": "P... ma assai, spera poco, nulla chiede") could be close to that quotation (from Tasso, with the change of the first person singular to a third person and a slightly different word order): *Brama assai, spera poco, nulla chiede*. Consequently, this title would have to be listed under letter *B*, not *P*.

Pg. 164. In the title of the drawing *Penelopa [...]*, Laertes's name is misspelled. On the other hand, *Prissonier* should have the correct form: *Prisonnier*; the incorrect form was repeated on p. 165 after the entry/title *Sforza w więzieniu* [Sforza in prison].

Pg. 165. The entries *Samotność* [Loneliness] and *Salon [...]* require alphabetical ordering. The correct title of the watercolour is *Zdjęcie z krzyża* [Taking down from the cross], not *Zdjęcia z krzyża* [Takings down from the cross] (for correct form, see *Kalendarz*, vol. II, p. 51).

In "Index of journals [...]", the adjacent entries "Le Monde Illustré" and "Le Monde" (p. 172) should be arranged in alphabetical order. The title of the Russian journal should be better transcribed as "Wpierod" rather than "Wpierod" (p. 176).

There are several mistakes in "Index of institutions and journals". The name: Compagne Collins de la is probably incomplete (p. 178). There should be: Księgarnia Orgelbranda [Orgelbrand's bookshop] (not: Olgebranda, p. 182); Salon Wiktorii [Victoria's Salon], not Woktorii (p. 184); Segretaria della (not: dello) S^a Consulta (p. 184); Stowarzyszenie [...] Szkoły Polskiej [Polish School Association in] Batignolles [not: in Batignolska] (p. 185); Szkoła Wojska [Military School] does not appear in vol. III, p. 25; in the name of Zakon Miłosierdzia Wincentego [Company of the Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent] (not: Vincentego) (p. 189).

"Index of geographical and local names" contains quite a number of errors. Below I am only listing and correcting those that might confuse the reader

of *Kalendarz*. The river flowing through Florence is Arno, not Arna (p. 190; although K. Hoffmanowa née Tańska, quoted in vol. I, p. 163, writes about “wylew Army” [Arna’s/ Arno’s flood – transl. note: the Genitive suffix -y usually indicates feminine nouns in Polish, which in turn often end with the letter -a]). “Index” could provide this peculiar form as well, but not as the main entry. In the entry *Berlin*, instead of Branderburska [Brandenburg Gate] (191), there should be Brandenburg (this form is used in vol. I, p. 199, 202); Bischofswerda instead of Bischofswerd (p. 191); in the entry *Brussels*, there should be rue des Cerfs (not: rue de Cerfs, p. 191). In the entry *Florence* - instead of Piazza del Duono (p. 193) there should be Piazza del Duomo. Instead of Góra Kalwarii [Clavary’s mountain] (p. 194) there should be: Góra Kalwaria [Mount Calvary]. In the entry *Rome*, one of Norwid’s addresses is Via Quattro (not Quatro) Fontane (p. 204); on p. 205 the same error occurs in the name of the church S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (and Piazza). The correct name of the church is S. Paolo fuori le mura (not [...] fiori le murie, p. 205). Instead of “grób Cecylii i Metelii” [tomb of Caecylia Metella] (page 205) there should be: “Metelli”. Instead of “Karakali termy” [Caracala’s baths] (p. 205) there should be: “Karakalli termy” [Caracalla]. Instead of “Scala Santa Sanctorum” (p. 205) there should be “Scala Santa, Scala Sancta Sanctorum”. Instead of “Solemes” (p. 206) there should be “Solesmes”. Instead St. Mandé (p. 206) there should be St. (Saint)-Mandé. Instead of Vincenza (p. 207), there should be Vicenza. There is no entry for *Wasilewska* (p. 209, see vol. III, p. 15) (which, although incorrect – as I pointed out in the commentary – should be listed in “Index”). In the entry *Venice*, instead of Monte di Chilato (p. 209), there should be Monte di Pilato; instead of Piazzetta – Piazzetta; instead of Rivia - Riva.

Also in “Addenda et corrigenda” there was a mistake: instead of Cordier, there is Corodier (p. 212). In “Index of names” (vol. III, p. 81) the correct name of the author of the book about China was given: Henri Cordier; the same is to be found in the calendar part (vol. I, p. 613, 643 – but there, in the title of the book, the article was changed to incorrect: *Le*). In addition, the title of the book is incomplete (abbreviated to *La Chine*, Paris 1921); full title reads *Histoire générale de la Chine et de ses relations avec les pays étrangers*.

Out of concern for the reader’s comfort, the authors rightly provided volume III with the Table of Contents covering the whole work, however, they did not do it in both volumes containing the Calendar.

Volume III contains three genealogical tables (p. 8, 11, 13). Unfortunately, the pages with “personal” content of these tables, relating to the entries in which the persons were discussed, were not taken into account in “Index of names”.

*

In their work, the authors of *Kalendarz* were guided by the wise thought from *Assunta*: “Kto nazbyt odkrył, pewnie gdzieś zasłoni” [Who has discovered too much, will probably hide something somewhere]. Despite the polemical remarks listed above, the reviewer would like to express his conviction that, owing to their efforts, Norwid “przemyślony” [rethought] (*Quidam*, PWsz III, 184) so systematically and thoroughly, with such great historical and literary akribeia “wedle rozmaitości zmiennej kalendarza” [according to the changing calendar] (*Skala-Bolmirowej*, PWsz II, 235) has unveiled to readers much more truth about himself and his work than we knew before 2007.

Translated by Rafał Augustyn

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“ACCORDING TO THE CHANGING CALENDAR”.
NORWID “RETHOUGHT”

S u m m a r y

The article is a critical appraisal of one of the most vital publications concerning Norwid and his biography: *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida* [Norwid's life and work calendar], published by Wydawnictwo Poznańskie in 2007. This ample publication has 141 publication sheets that is 1816 printed pages (vol. 1 – pp. 800, vol. 2 – pp. 800, vol. 3 – pp. 216). It constitutes an enormous achievement of the Poznan-based Polish Studies milieu. It is a collective publication, developed by a research team headed by Professor Zofia Trojanowiczowa (co-authors being as follows: Elżbieta Lijewska, Zofia Dambek and Małgorzata Pluty, Jolanta Czarnomorska and Iwona Grzeszczak). The author of the review makes a number of corrections as regards dates and facts, yet he approaches the results of the huge collective research effort with a great deal of researcher's humility, indispensable in pursuit of historical facts. In his analyses, the author employs the contextual apparatus: historical and philological. The author proves that *Norwid's Calendar* is an undeniable source of invaluable knowledge, yet he shows that in this kind of research there is always “endless work of History” waiting ahead..

Key words: calendar; Norwid; commentary; date; Paris; Warsaw; volume.

Słowa kluczowe: Kalendarz; Norwid; komentarz; data; Paryż; Warszawa; książka.

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