

TOMASZ CHACHULSKI

MARBLE TOMBSTONE
ON TWO POEMS
TO STANISŁAWA HORNOWSKA

1.

At first some procedural issues, or in other words: philological ones. There are two poems which Zenon Przesmycki was able to get from Maria Hornowska in 1909: [*“A Pani cóż ja powiem?... oto, że w tym życiu...”*] and [*“W komnacie, gdzie Stanisław święty zasnął w Bogu...”*]¹. Both were published by Przesmycki based on autograph manuscripts, lost today, both were signed by the author with his full name, both bore the same date – 1857. Neither of them had a title (Przesmycki used the incipits) and if we want to read Norwid and not Gomulicki, it is better to leave them that way, particularly as Gomulicki accepts the incipits as rightful titles later in his comments, which is misleading. Przesmycki’s edition has the poems in reversed order (first [*“W komnacie, gdzie Stanisław święty zasnął w Bogu...”*], then the letter to Hornowska). It is not without impact on the understanding of both poems and on stating their chronology: did Norwid leave a poem addressed to Hornowska and added another, dedicated to Stanislaus Kostka, or was it the other way round: he wrote a poem describing the cell of the Saint and later supplemented it with the letter to Hornowska? Or – why did the owner of the manuscript give Przesmycki the two poems in that particular order? Below, the subject shall return...

The editor wrote:

¹ C. NORWID, *Pisma wszystkie*, collection and establishment of texts, introduction and critical remarks by J.W. Gomulicki, Warszawa 1971, vol. I: *Wiersze, część pierwsza*, p. XX; vol. II: *Wiersze, część druga*, p. 309.

W komnacie, gdzie Stanisław święty... – Autograph manuscript (on white ridged letter paper 20cm high x 13cm wide, [written] in a small, quite careful hand) was the property of Mrs. Stanisława Hornowska; currently property of Miss Marya Hornowska. It was kindly lent to us, together with an exact copy, which we could thus compare to the original. [...]

Full of both simplicity and refinement, a poetic recollection on the sculpture of St. Stanislaus Kostka by P. Legros, in the post-Jesuit monastery in Rome².

The description of the other poem is identical – letter paper, dimensions, information about the manuscript and its owners... The few deletions and additions recorded by Przesmycki prove that it was a final draft of the poem for Hornowska (“No crossed out words, only in verse 11 between the last words [...] *w* was added above (*lub w sumieniu*)”)³ and a nearly final one of the description of the room of St. Stanislaus Kostka (four small stylistic changes), but the poem was still later corrected by Norwid. Thus the poem about the room of St. Stanislaus was likely written later; the poet worked on it until the last moment before giving it to the addressee, who was just leaving Paris, and for that reason had no more time to make a clean copy. Therefore, it seems that Gomulicki was right in placing it second in the pair. That would be a logical solution, and in light of the information available today it is difficult to suggest anything else. The two poems were rarely written of – *Bibliografia interpretacji wierszy Cypriana Norwida* of 2001 only notes an essay by Ewa Wojtyło “*Msza wieczna świata*” w *historiozoficznych lirykach Cypriana Norwida*⁴, which mentions the poem/letter [“*A Pani cóż ja powiem...*”]. After the publication was issued, two other discussions were published, both meant for school purposes, but undoubtedly important for a better understanding of the poem. The authors of the second of the two publications also mention the poem about the tombstone of St. Stanislaus Kostka⁵.

Since the very beginning, texts of both poems were in the possession of the Hornowski family, relatives of Cyprian Norwid. There is little need to add to the knowledge about the family – in 2012, Małgorzata Szeja published an important article in “*Studia Norwidiana*”⁶, which added significant knowledge on the ad-

² IDEM, *Pisma zebrane*, Z. Przesmycki (ed.), vol. A, part 1: *Pisma wierszem*, section one, parts one and two (continuous pagination in both volumes), Warszawa–Kraków 1911, pp. 987-988. Next abbreviation: PZ.

³ Ibid., p. 988.

⁴ E. WOJTYŁO, “*Msza wieczna świata*” w *historiozoficznych lirykach Cypriana Norwida*, “*Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*” No. 985. “*Prace Literackie*” 28 (1987), pp. 94-95.

⁵ T. KORPYSZ, *Cyprian Norwid “Do Stanisławy Hornowskiej”*, “*Filipinka*. Wydanie specjalne. Szkoła średnia. Analizy wierszy” 2005, No. 8, pp. 68-69; S. FALKOWSKI, P. STĘPIEŃ, *Ciężkie norwidy czyli subiektywny przewodnik po literaturze polskiej*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 211-225.

⁶ M. SZEJA, *Głosa o Stanisławie Hornowskiej*, “*Studia Norwidiana*” 30: 2012, pp. 201-207.

addressee of the two poems by Norwid and at the same time disproved the suppositions of authors of *Kalendarium życia i twórczości Norwida* that Stanisława Hornowska became a Visitation Sister in Vilnius. Hornowski was and still is a rather frequently occurring name, particularly in eastern Poland and beyond its eastern border, so some concurrences and mistakes are understandable.

I thus assume in accordance with the said article that the handwritten diary of Łucja Hornowska, sister-in-law to Stanisława – Norwid’s cousin and addressee of the poems – settles the issue of identification⁷. Further search of the article’s author allowed to establish that Stanisława Hornowska was born on 22nd August 1837⁸. In *Glosa...* the author writes that in the 1870s the addressee of Norwid’s poem was still staying with her family in Warsaw, at Widok St. She later came to the Franciscan Nuns in Lviv (author of the *Glosa...* suggests this likely happened around or after 1876, due to the family’s economic crisis and Stanisława’s illness), where she died in early January 1918. She was buried in a monastery grave in the historic Lychakiv Cemetery. Łucja, Stanisława’s sister-in-law, wrote in her diaries that Hornowska spent nearly 32 years in her small rooms in Lviv, which would date her arrival for 1886. Yet she must have come earlier to the monastery, because at the same time Szeja states that Józef, Stanisława’s brother, had been recovering from a nervous breakdown after bankruptcy in the very same Franciscan monastery since 1884, and his wife Łucja placed him there because Stanisława had already been living here for a few years⁹. It is likely that Łucja visited Stanisława earlier, then as her husband was recovering, possibly also later. This much we learn from the article.

The order of Franciscan nuns (more precisely: Poor Clares of Perpetual Adoration, earlier known as the Franciscan Nuns of the Blessed Sacrament) was established in 8th December 1854 in Paris, and settled in Lviv in 1873¹⁰. How and why Stanisława Hornowska came to stay there, remains to be guessed.

⁷ Łucja Hornowska, born Dunin Borkowska, *Wspomnienia*, manuscript in the National Library in Warsaw, sign. II 10.423.

⁸ From a letter by Ms. Małgorzata Szeja to the author of this paper of 19th October 2015: “The State Archive in Płock has a *Book of births* from the parish of Drobin of 1839, where at No. 13 stands the date 6/18 February and the name Stanisława Józefa Kornelia Marianna Hornowska «born in the village of Łochów in the Stanisławów district on the twenty-second day of August, AD eighteen hundred thirty seven, at six in the morning». The document was signed by: Ignacy Sobieski (witness), Józef Hornowski (father), Józef Turowski (godfather). Stanisława’s godmother was Kornelia Schaaff (sister to Maria Schaaff-Hornowska)”.

⁹ M. SZEJA, *Glosa o Stanisławie Hornowskiej*, p. 203.

¹⁰ M.R. RAPACZ OCPA, *Lwowskie ślady w keckim klasztorze Klarysek od Wieczystej Adoracji*, after: <http://kety.klaryski.org/doc/lwowskie-slady.pdf> (accessed: 5.10.2015).

The community established by them [order founders – T.Ch.] began in 1856 to follow the traditional form of devotion of the Eucharist: adoration of the Holy Sacrament. In the beginning, it was a day and night adoration of Christ hidden in the tabernacle. On 15th July 1856, the community of 18 nuns moved [from Paris – T.Ch.] to Troyes. It was there, on 1st August 1856, in the new monastery that continuous adoration of Christ in the Host exposed in a monstrance was started¹¹.

When the Hornowskis first came to Paris – which is discussed below – the new community was celebrating the first anniversary of continuous adoration, and it is possible that the occasion was known in Paris communities, mentioned e.g. in church announcements, or that Norwid happened to know that from elsewhere, and a conversation with his relatives or Stanisława Hornowska herself included that topic soon after their arrival. That we do not know for certain, and the information is unlikely to be found.

Unfortunately, on leaving Lviv after World War II – on 14th and 15th May 1946, to be precise¹² – the nuns had to leave behind everything that did not fit in the permissible luggage, including part of their archives. The archives which survive until today give the information that Hornowska, a very pious person, but not intent on joining the convent, stayed as a resident in the Lviv monastery, with a suitable one-time endowment paid by her brother and a sustainable income which allowed her upkeep with the nuns¹³. In the winter of 1894, she tried to stay in postulancy for a time, but finally she quit it and joined the Third Order of St Francis, the tertiaries, and donned a grey habit with a cord, cap and a cape similar to those worn by postulants¹⁴. At the clothing ceremony she took the name of sister Kunegunda. She stayed thus in the convent, living there on special rights. Below is her image in a picture taken at an already elderly age¹⁵.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 1.

¹² I. ŻYDUCH, *Zakon Franciszkanek Najświętszego Sakramentu w Polsce w latach 1871-1939*, Lublin 1981, p. 177.

¹³ S.M. Antonina od Stygmatów św. O.N. Franciszka (S. Mary Antonina of St. Francis' Stigmata), *Kronika, tom II od roku 1890-1914*, mps., pp. 1-7. Archive of the Franciscan nuns in Ząbkowice Śląskie.

¹⁴ The above quoted chronicle states that Hornowska wore a black habit. S.M. Barbara od Baranka Bożego (S. Mary Barbara of the Lamb of God) corrected: "Another detail was the colour of the tertiary habit: it was grey, while the veil was black" (from a letter to the author of 22nd December 2015). Indeed, in the picture, Hornowska is wearing a dark grey habit and a black veil.

¹⁵ Stanisława Hornowska. Picture from the Lviv monastery, kept in the archive of the Franciscan nuns in Ząbkowice Śląskie.



Stanisława Hornowska. Picture from the Lviv monastery, kept in the Archives of Poor Clares of Perpetual Adoration in Kłodzko. I should like to thank the Sisters most graciously for their kind consent to publish the picture. T.Ch.

That representative of a wealthy gentry family, well educated, with contacts within European elites, and experience of several journeys in Europe, turned out to be of invaluable assistance to the still fresh monastic house. She travelled abroad a few times, helping the mother superior, representing the interests of the order, managing numerous affairs in the outside world, in particular in Vienna – the capital of Galicia and, obviously, Austria. Notes in the convent chronicles present Stanisława Hornowska as a delicate person of exquisite manners and fondness for singing (she sang second voice), which perfectly reflects the description

from the diaries of her sister-in-law, Łucja. She died on 9th January 1918¹⁶. The plans kept in the convent archives indicate that her coffin was never identified, but the body remains in the Lychakiv monastery tomb, in one of the anonymous coffins or – in the worst case – in a common grave in the tomb, together with the earthly remnants of other tertiaries and nuns. Yet all that happened much later and is of significance for the discussed poems only as context. There is only one uncertain point – when the nuns mentioned Miss Hornowska in 1938, they claimed she came from Volhynia gentry. Was that information merely a mistake, or perhaps a derivative of the fact that Hornowska’s brother and financial supporter, Józef, was married to the daughter of a January insurrectionist from Volhynia, Łucja Dunin-Borkowska, with whom he had four children? It is the diary of Łucja Hornowska, a Volhynian, who visited the Franciscan convent the most often, that gives most biographical details concerning Stanisława. That could explain the presumption of “Volhynian” roots of Norwid’s cousin.

2.

The circumstances of writing the two poems should likely be reconstructed as follows. In late July 1857, Józef Hornowski (1801-1870), owner of Łochów – an estate back then, now a town of the same name in what is currently the Mazovia region, Węgrów *powiat* – located a dozen kilometres from Wyszaków, came to Paris. Gomulicki’s explanation that it was the former Stanisławów district, while true, does not say much to today’s reader¹⁷. Norwid thus wrote to Michał Kleczkowski: “Wuj Hornowski jest tu z żoną i córkami trzema na jakiś czas w podróży” (PWsz VIII, 313) [Uncle Hornowski came here with his wife and three daughters for a while in his journey]. Józef was accompanied by Maria nee Schaaff (1808-1887), his wife, and three daughters out of seven children: Stefania, Stanisława and Halina. When reconstructing the course of events based on letters, authors of *Kalendarza życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida* wrote that the Hornowskis stayed in Paris probably for a month or little longer¹⁸. In late August, Norwid already wrote to Piotr Semenenko that:

¹⁶ W.M. Maria Izabela od Przenajśw. Sakramentu (Rev. Mo. Mary Isabel of the Holy Sacrament), S.M. Antonina od Stygmatów św. O.N. Franciszka (S. Mary Antonina of St. Francis’ Stigmata), S.M. Klara od Baranka Bożego (S. Mary Clare of the Lamb of God), *Kroniki tom III od roku 1914-1925*, TS, p. 14. Archive of the Franciscan nuns in Ząbkowice Śląskie.

¹⁷ PWsz II, 361.

¹⁸ Z. TROJANOWICZOWA, Z. DAMBEK, with J. CZARNOMORSKA, *Kalendarz życia i twórczości*

Niedawno miałem tu wuja, wujenkę i troje siostr ciotecznych z Polski, których nie widziałem lat szesnaście. Widywałem ich wieczorami tylko i rzadko obiad z nimi mogłem jeść, bo czasu mi zbywałoby i będąc grzecznym dla jednych, byłbym dla drugich (dla tych, dla których zobowiązany jestem) niepocziwym i niesumiennym, bo nie dotrzymywałbym s ł o w a, dotrzymując f r a z e s ó w. Wszystko to łatwo jest pojąć i przepraszam nawet, że tłumaczę. (PWsz VIII, 317)

[I recently had here an uncle, aunt and three cousins from Poland, whom I have not seen but sixteen years ago. I only saw them in the evenings and could rarely dine with them, as I was lacking for time, and while being polite to some, I would have turned out quite the disobliging and unconscientious man to others (to whom I am thus bound), for I would not keep my w o r d by keeping c l i c h é s . All that is easy to grasp and I feel I should apologise for even explaining.]

It was thus an acquaintance renewed after sixteen years – Józef and Maria Hornowskis were married since 1833, and their first child was born in January 1835, so if Norwid knew the daughters earlier (i.e. in 1841) at all, he knew them as little children (the oldest one was six at that time, and Stanisława was four). And now – in the summer of 1857 – three young ladies appeared before the poet in the full mystery of their formation: intellectual, emotional, social... In the summer or autumn of that year, Norwid wrote to his cousins in a playful tone:

Użyteczność Kuzynek jest głębokim pytaniem, które wielu mędrców badało, tak klasycznych jako i Rabinów – z tych Majmonides coś mówi o tej głębokiej kwestii, a z owych Plato (lubo głównie Plato mówi o pięknych).

Otóż chusteczka ostatecznie tę kwestię rozstrzyga – zwłaszcza że jest tak piękną, iż naucza, jak jej oszczędzać i nie wypalić cygarem – jest więc i moralnym nabytkiem.

Rączki całuję. (PWsz VIII, 312)

[The usefulness of Cousins is a deep question studied by many philosophers, both classics and Rabbis – of the latter, Maimonides says something of that deep issue, and of the former, Plato (although Plato mainly treats of the beautiful).

Well, the handkerchief finally settles the matter – in particular as it is so pretty that it teaches one to save it and avoid cigar-burned holes – thus it is a moral acquisition, too.

Your humble servant.]

Two years later – in 1859 – the Hornowskis family came to Paris again. That time, they stayed in France nearly throughout October¹⁹, having Norwid with them

Cypriana Norwida, vol. I: 1821-1860, Poznań 2007, p. 670.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 753.

as a guest a few times. In a letter in French to Michał Kleczkowski (he started the letter at the Hornowskis and finished in a cafe) Norwid notes:

Stanisława jest urocza – wśród kobiet świata i francuskich pań wiele można znaleźć podobnych, jeśli chodzi o sposób ukształtowania i zachowania, ale nie można znaleźć stworzeń tak uroczych jak te, które ukształtowała życzliwość serca. (PWsz VIII, 392-393)

[Stanisława is lovely – among the women of the world and French ladies one may find many similar as concerns the manner of formation and behaviour, but you shan't find creatures as lovely as those who have been shaped by kindness of heart.]

She must have been lovely. But it seems that regardless of blood relationship, family intimacy or commitments, out of all his Łochów relatives she was the only one in which the poet discovered a person whose mindset (rather than loveliness) suited him so much.

3.

Both poems were written in Paris, but one of them concerns the Roman place of burial and cult of St. Stanislaus Kostka – hence their presence in a volume concerning Italian motifs in Norwid's work. The poem addressed to Stanisława Hornowska is actually a poetic letter, a fragment of a conversation – like many other works by Cyprian Norwid, particularly in that time. It is part of a dialogue which the poet held with his young cousin, an addition to a conversation held earlier and completed and in a way summarised by this poem. Józef Hornowski was a down-to-earth man and made some good business for a good while (“Wuj jest milionowym–panem” [Uncle is a man of million-means,] wrote Norwid; PWsz VIII, 323) and at least some of his daughters must have inherited their father's qualities. And the twenty-year-old Stanisława must have been a particular revelation to Norwid, although the poet tactfully addressed his letters most often to the uncle and the cousins, beside the discussed two poems.

Norwid started the letter of matters absolutely most important to him, summarising many of the essential motifs of his work in a synthetic manner.²⁰

A Pani cóż ja powiem?... oto, że [...]
[...] k r z y ż j e s t ż y c i e [...]

(PWsz I, 266, lines 1, 13)

²⁰ The permeation of the poetry of the author of *Vade-mecum* with Christian awareness was discussed e.g. by Józef Fert (IDEM, *Poeta sumienia. Rzecz o twórczości Norwida*, Lublin 1993, p. 66). The motif returns in many places in the book, as well as in many other publications on Norwid.

Norwid's poem confirms the view of world's order which is typical for his philosophy and comes down to three basic statements. First, each movement and action, sensation ("łza" [tear]) and thought, long time and an instant, they all remain vivid and durable in the great eternal balance of full, i.e. full-dimensional reality, rooted in a still existing gospel past, in which temporality and transcendence intertwine and merge, and whose full recognition and judgement are often beyond human capabilities, as the human nearly instinctively yields to the mundane order of the environment or own, unreflective impulses. For Norwid, there is one time of a purposeful nature, and no event may stay out of it; in the instant of its occurrence, the event is located in time and fills it, leaving a permanent trace of its existence – regardless of human knowledge of it, regardless of changes in its perception, regardless of the role it plays at a given moment. Those events are judged, and the judgements have their unconditional consequences, although their logic escapes human judgement and predictions.

A Pani cóż ja powiem?... oto, że w tym życiu
 Nic s t r a c o n e g o nie ma na jawie, ni w skryciu,
 I wszystko jest z m i e n i a n e tylko – na toż samo,
 Wyższe lub niższe, bliższe albo oddalone;
 A co zginęło – myślisz – zakryte jest bramą
 Lub cieniem jej, i z czasem będzie wyświecone!
 I żadna łza, i żadna myśl, i chwila, i rok
 Nie przeszły, nie przepadły, ale idą wiecznie,
 Ulotną myśl z czasami zamieniając w wyrok,
 A wyrok w treść istniącą bardzo niestatecznie.

(PWsz I, 266, w. 1-10)

Second, the certainty – repeatedly appearing in Norwid poetry – that the Cross of the Redeemer is the true life of the world: part of eternity since the moment of its occurrence in time and embracing all that exists. And if anything dies – it dies due of human's fault and only for the human at fault.

I nie ma grobów... oprócz w sercu lub w sumieniu,
 I nie ma k r z y ż ó w... oprócz na zimnym kamieniu,
 Albowiem k r z y ż j e s t ż y c i e już wiek dziewiętnasty:
 Nowina! – którą przecie z n a j w e s e l s z y m ż a ł e m
 Maryje i Salome, trzy święte niewiasty,
 Przyniosły były jeszcze – tam, do Jeruzalem!...

(PWsz I, 266, w. 11-16)

Introducing the criterion of conscience, so typical of him²¹, I believe the poet refers here to an interpretation of motifs known from the beginning of the *2nd Epistle to Corinthians*, *1st Epistle of John* and many other fragments of the New Testament, although never stated directly in this sense: “For our rejoicing is this,” wrote St. Paul Apostle, “the testimony of our conscience, that in the simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world, and more abundantly to you-ward” (2 Cor 1:12²²).

St. John wrote about that in a more objectivised manner: “Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer: and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him” (1J 3:15) and further: “Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, *then* have we confidence toward God” (1J 3:21).

The source of evil was defined in the Synoptic Gospels: “[...] those things which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart; and they defile the man. For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, [...]” (Mt 15:18-19). “All these evil things come from within [...]” (Mk 7:23). And with that definition, death is merely a consequence of human actions: “Know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; [...] [servants] of sin, [which leadeth] unto death [...]” (Rz 6:16).

Both in the Bible and in Norwid’s texts, “heart” and “conscience” are nearly inseparable as categories of describing human attitudes, decisions and judgements. Let me repeat: only human sin may cause someone’s death, but it is not an annihilation of that person (emotion, judgement or thought), but rather the exclusion of that person or thing from the living only for the culprit. The Cross gives everlasting life, and human sin burdens mainly the human himself.

Such understanding fits the original shape of the text precisely. Gomulicki made a specific punctuation shift in line 13, changing the sense of the poem. According to Przesmycki, who compared the copy with the manuscript, the fragment was actually:

I nie ma grobów... oprócz w sercu lub w sumieniu,
I nie ma k r z y ż ó w... oprócz na zimnym kamieniu,
Albowiem k r z y ż j e s t ż y c i e. Już wiek dziewiętnasty:
Nowina! – którą przecie z n a j w e s e l s z y m ż a l e m
Maryje i Salome, trzy święte niewiasty,
Przyniosły były jeszcze – tam, do Jerosalem!...
(PZ, s. 432, w. 11-16)

²¹ The issue is extensively discussed by J. Fert (*ibid.*, *passim*), although that important study has no mention of the poem addressed to Stanisława Hornowska.

²² Biblical quotations after: *The Holy Bible*, conformable to the edition of 1611, commonly known as the authorized King James Version, Trident Reference Publishing.

And finally, in the last part of the poem Norwid adds that the news was brought by three mourners: Mary Magdalene, Mary the wife of Cleophas and Mary Salome, who were the first to rise before dawn and hurry to the grave, and the first – confused and anxious – to bring news which became the source of final joy... firstly and foremostly for themselves, and later to all of us, regardless of when we appear in the long course of passing beings. And for nineteen centuries the news of Resurrection remains continuous Good News. Ewa Wojtyła wrote that the poem shows “one more attempt of Norwid to indicate the mutual correspondence between gospel time and what is here and now”²³.

Since its appearance, the News never lost relevance. For Norwid, the Gospel reality had never passed, since “you notice the use of one significant inversion – the impression of the unity of time is reached not by updating the past, but by moving the «today» in the times when the Gospel was the present”²⁴.

It appears that the poetic letter addressed to Stanisława Hornowska perfectly reflects not just the directions of the poet’s theological thought, but inadvertently becomes an important contribution to the description of the addressee. The letter would not make sense if not backed by a unity of thoughts and convictions referred to by the poet as he synthetically defines his manner of thinking – without the reasoning and descriptions which appeared elsewhere and which required suitable examples and personal models. Przesmycki’s comment, added to the description of the manuscript, saying that it is a “Fragment of a meditation, being an apparent response to words of sympathy because many poet’s works and efforts of the poet were l o s t ” (PZ, s. 988), seems very apt.

4.

The poem dedicated to St. Stanislaus Kostka is slightly different. Why was it written at that time – in the summer of 1857? Was St. Stanislaus Kostka the patron saint of Stanisława? Even if that was so, his memorial was celebrated on 13th November in the Catholic church of the 19th century; after the reform of the Vatican Council it was moved in Poland to 18th September²⁵. St. Stanislaus actually died on 15th August 1568, and on 15th August 1857 the Hornowski family was still in Paris, according to the authors of *Kalendarz...*, and those were the last days of

²³ E. WOJTYŁO, “*Msza wieczna świata*” w *historiozoficznych lirykach Cypriana Norwida*, p. 94.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

²⁵ This paper was originally presented at the *Italiam! Italiam!* conference in Sansepolcro, on 18th September 2015, on St. Stanislaus Kostka’s day.

their stay there. Either the namesday, traditionally celebrated in Polish communities (for Hornowska, who was born on 22nd August, St. Stanislaus Kostka was the most likely patron saint), or the memorial of the Saint combined with frequent contact with Stanisława should in effect bring about a suitable association. Had Miss Hornowska been in Rome earlier, and did she know St. Andrew's Church (Sant' Andrea al Quirinale)? Nothing is known on any Italian journeys of the family from Łochów, but the possibility cannot be ruled out. Yet the text of the poem irrefutably indicates that the poet recounts the appearance of a place unknown to the addressee. Living in Rome, Norwid had surely visited the church many times, whenever he had the occasion. It may be surmised that he had a conversation with his cousin Stanisława, leading to her patron saint and his place of burial, as well as cult. For Norwid, St. Stanislaus Kostka had to have a special meaning as a person – in 1866 the artist agreed to paint a today unknown painting *Widzenie Św. Stanisława Kostki*, but that will be discussed later. There is thus no certainty about it, but the logical line of reasoning would indicate that this second poem was written not so much in the vague “summer of 1857” (late July/August), but rather in close vicinity to 15th August of that year – the death anniversary of St. Stanislaus – and thus just before the family returned to Łochów.

To briefly recall the story of the Saint, the sixteen-year-old Stanislaus Kostka (1550-1568), son of the lord of Zakroczym, was determined to join a monastery convent. Faced with his parents' protest, he escaped to Vienna, where he'd attended a Jesuit college, and with the help of Peter Canisius reached Rome. There, on 28th October 1567, he joined the Jesuit novitiate by the Il Gesù church. In the oldest part of the monastery by the church (St. Ignatius' rooms), at the entrance to the chapel one can still find today the image of St. Stanislaus. It is said to be a relatively faithful likeness of the Saint. Since the novitiate was soon moved to another building, the seminarist Stanislaus Kostka also changed his living place to the new novitiate building on the Quirinal Hill, the highest among the seven hills of ancient Rome, in a large complex of Jesuit buildings. He was 17 when he took monastic vows – a year after coming to the Eternal City. He died soon after, most likely of malaria. His room was in the Jesuit novitiate – behind the first church which stood there until mid-17th century. It was there that the young master of Zakroczym, already a young Jesuit, left the carnal world a year after his arrival to Rome.

The cult of Stanislaus Kostka started at the beginning of the 17th century. The new church of St. Andrew's, commissioned by cardinal Camillo Pamphili and designed by Giovanni Bernini, was built later – in 1658-1671 – right in front of the first building, to which it was then connected accordingly. Stanislaus Kostka was beatified in 1605, in 1674 he was proclaimed the patron saint of Poland and

Lithuania, and canonised in 1726²⁶. This patron saint of the young and of monastic novitiate came from northern Masovia, which certainly was significant both for Norwid and for the Masovian-born Hornowska; until today, the saint is very popular in that part of Poland, also as a patron saint. Even if he was not one for Hornowska (which seems unlikely), it may be assumed that he was the perfect patron of her choices.

The poem is constructed in a very specific manner. Gomulicki writes:

Poem about the tomb sculpture of St. Stanislaus Kostka, by French sculptor Pierre Legros (1656-1719), in the Roman church San Andrea al Quirinale, in the chapel which once was S. Stanislaus' room. Norwid dedicated the poem to Stanisława Hornowska. (PWsz II, 361)

What does that Roman poem of Norwid actually look like? It describes the room of the Saint (or provides an interpretation of the content and furnishings of the room), with particular focus on the statue of St. Stanislaus and the image of Madonna hanging there, and a delicately emphasised motif of direct contact, a visit, a personal experience of the speaker of coming in touch with the Saint's room, ending with a message subtly directed at the addressee, a message which connects, to all appearances, her views, decisions, and perhaps even future choices to the patronage of St. Stanislaus. It is as if the speaker recounted to the addressee who was unfamiliar with the sight something that was once his own experience...

W komnacie, gdzie Stanisław święty zasnął w Bogu,
 Na miejscu łoża jego stoi grób z marmuru –
 Taki, że widz niechcący wstrzymuje się w progu,
 Myśląc, iż Święty we śnie zwrócił twarz od muru,
 I rannych dzwonów echa w powietrzu dochodzi,
 I wstać chce – i po pierwszy raz człowieka zwodzi!
 (PWsz I, 267, w. 1-6)

The poem has seventeen lines and three proportional parts, and follows (with a small exception) the rules of classical symmetry: 6+5+6, despite its apparent hasty sketchy nature, stressed with the odd number of lines and the situation of recounting... The first part describes the marble statue, the second presents the

²⁶ Cf. e.g. *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564-1995*, prep. by L. Grzebień SJ with the help of a Jesuit team, Kraków 1996, p. 638; H. FROS SJ, F. SOWA, *Twoje imię. Przewodnik onomastyczno-bibliograficzny*, Kraków 1975, p. 416; *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. XVIII, Lublin 2013, col. 792.

painting hanging above the sculpture, and the last deftly combines both those elements in one, directing them towards the addressee.

Yet before the chance observer gets to the room of the Saint, he becomes a participant and observer of a different place of the cult of St. Stanislaus Kostka. Today in the Roman Church of St. Andrew's, to the left just behind St. Ignatius' chapel, there is the St. Stanislaus Kostka's chapel with the grave, or rather the 17th-century (ca. 1687) reliquary of the Saint, in which one can see the altar painting *The Apparition of the Madonna and Child to Saint Stanislaus Kostka* by Carl Maratti, and two paintings on side walls: *Communion of Saint Stanislaus Kostka and Ecstasy of St. Stanislaus Kostka*, by Giovanni Odazzi. There is also a plafond depicting the *Apotheosis of St. Stanislaus*. Despite the dynamic presentation, the paintings hanging on the side walls of the chapel still exude some peace, while the plafond presents painting and stucco frenzy of imagination. In the centre of the fresco, St. Stanislaus rises to heaven over the heads of onlookers, supported by angels, and several *putti* (also angelic) gather at the Saint's feet, indicating at the same time the road he has travelled – from the tomb chapel, from the place of observation. A wing here, a foot there escapes the framework of the painting, giving an illusion of three-dimensionality of the whole composition, while the broad, gilded framing of the fresco supports much bigger figures of winged messengers, made entirely of white stucco. A look from the side gives the impression of open heavens and the saint youth reaching through the opening to his Creator and Redeemer. All those elements were designed and made more or less at the same time (late 17th century), and before one reaches the room of the Saint, one necessarily goes through organised stages of learning about his life in paintings. Norwid must have taken the same path, which surely impacted his reception of the presentations described here. In 1862 in Paris he was delighted with the painting *The Death of St. Joseph*, then attributed to Raphael, but actually painted by the same artist: Maratti. That type of presentation, despite its average artistic value, spoke to him with some irrational power, explicable only at the level of deepest awareness, proven by a linguistic or narrative statement, not a visual one²⁷. In order to get to the Saint's room, one must cross the yard or cross today's church nearly diagonally, turning more to the right, southwards. The passage behind the sacristy leads behind the church, to the first floor of the novitiate building, and to the room of St. Stanislaus. Today, however, the room of St. Stanislaus Kostka cannot be seen in its original shape anymore.

²⁷ The issue is considered in a very interesting study: J. ZIELIŃSKI, *Obraz pogodnej śmierci. Norwid – Rafael – Maratti i "Śmierć świętego Józefa"*, Lublin 2010.

The room in which St. Stanislaus Kostka died existed until 1887, when it was closed down in connection with dismantling the old wing of the monastery. In the new wing, added from the side of the street, this room and the adjoining ones were reconstructed using some of the old elements, like plafonds and floors. Numerous mementos related to the saint were also placed here. The room was opened to public on completing the work in 1890.²⁸

In the reconstructed room, the monks put the “tomb statue” and Minardi’s painting (more on that below). In other rooms they placed altars, hanged baroque paintings related to the Saint, colourful designs of tapestry, mostly likely adorning the church during the canonisation, and finally – already in the 20th century, and more precisely in 1960 – they put there a marble plaque funded by female religious congregations located in Rome, a plaque with this very poem by Norwid.

The reality leaves no place for doubt: in the central room, precisely in the same place (reconstructed today) where St. Stanislaus died, according to tradition, a stone socle was built, on that a pedestal in the shape of a bed, topped with a sculpted straw or fabric mattress and two pillows, on which the marble statue of St. Stanislaus Kostka is resting. The statue, like the whole stone sculpture, was made in 1702-1703 and is the same representation which was seen by Norwid – a shape caught in a slight turn towards the wall, away from the viewer. The sculpture was made by Pierre Legros the Younger. Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, as quoted by the authors of Norwid’s *Kalendarium*, was quite critical of the aesthetics of Legros’s idea, who followed Bernini and his conception, but it may be supposed that the affected description by Antoni Edward Odyniec would have been much closer to Norwid:

Zawsze jednak i dzisiaj powiadam, że gdyby św. Stanisław pisał wiersze, byłby to najwłaściwszy patron poezji i poetów. [...] Tutaj w celi, gdzie umarł, przy kościele św. Andrzeja na Monte Cavallo jest posąg jego naturalnej wielkości, wyobrażający go w chwili skonania. Twarz i ręce z marmuru białego, suknia z czarnego, łoże i pościel z żółtego. Wyraz twarzy prześliczny, słodczy i pokój anielskie. Tak umrzeć jest to prawdziwie zasnąć, jak mówią, w Bogu, ale jakże to pierwej trzeba żyć w Nim i dla Niego.

(*Listy z podróży*, 26th April 1830, morning)²⁹

[Yet I still and always say that had St. Stanislaus written poems, he would have been the most fitting patron saint of poetry and poets. [...] Here in the room where he died, by St.

²⁸ T. CHRZANOWSKI, M. KORNECKI, *Polskie pomniki w świątyniach Rzymu. Monumenta Poloniae in Italia*, Warszawa 1994, p. 49. The author should like to thank Magdalena Górka, Ph.D., for her help in the search.

²⁹ A.E. ODYNIEC, *Listy z podróży*, vol. II, part 3, prep. by M. Toporowski, part 4 prep. by M. Dernałowicz, Warszawa 1961, pp. 291-292.

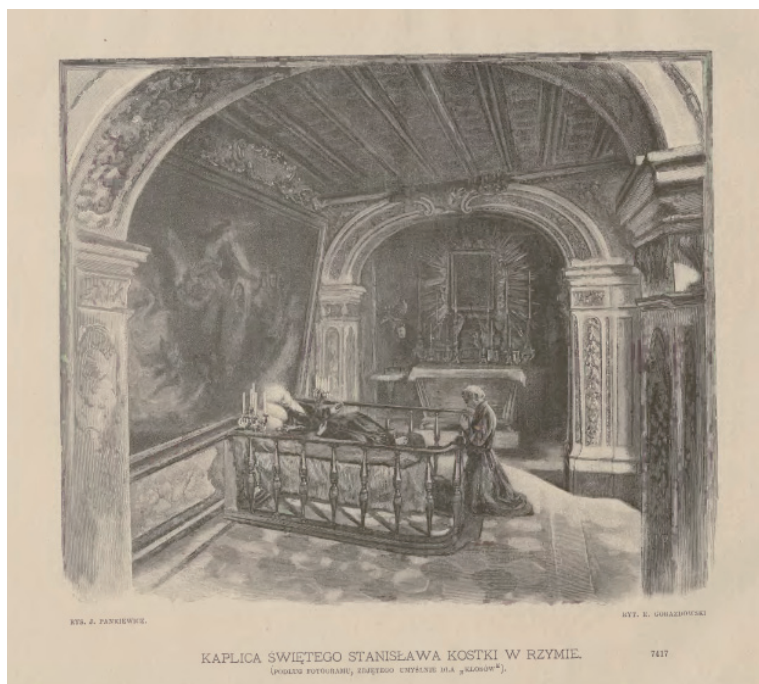


Illustration from “Kłosy” 1887 No. 1131 (of 19th February), p. 133

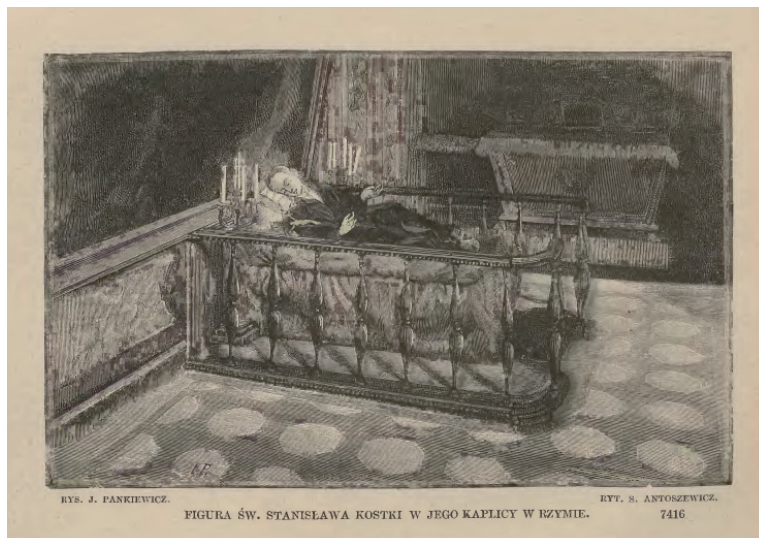


Illustration from “Kłosy” 1887 No. 1131 (of 19th February), p. 136

Andrew's church at Monte Cavallo, there is a sculpture of him in natural size, presenting him at the moment of death. The face and hands of white marble, the habit of black, bed and bedding of yellow. Facial expression most lovely, the sweetness and peace – angelic. To die thus is to truly fall asleep in God, as they put it, yet first one has to live in Him and for Him.]

Similarly, though in more detail, the statue is described by Fr. Hilary Koszutski, author of a study on St. Stanislaus of 1882:

The sculptor Legros [...] kept with the greatest care [...] all the same dimensions given to him according to notes on the height and the whole outer appearance of the saintly youth³⁰.

It is likely not worth entering in particulars now – the place that Norwid saw had also been specially prepared for worship purposes.

Yet the young master of Zakroczym did not die in the exact place where you can see his reclining shape, but to the right, in a tiny cubicle, adjoined to the central one with an arcade to-day. He asked to be placed by the wall and died where the altar now stands,

wrote Władysław Kulczycki, a great expert on the Roman reality of the period³¹.

In 1825, a little over a hundred and twenty years after the sculpture was made, a painting was commissioned which was to cover the wall over the statue of the Saint. The said painting was made by Tommaso Minardi (1787-1871), a then famous painter, professor of drawing in the Roman St. Luke's Academy. It presents *Mary with Angels and Saints Waiting for the Soul of St. Stanislaus Kostka*. The painting covers the whole back wall of the room, and since it was commissioned for that very place, Minardi planned a composition linking the painting to the marble statue and the fittings in the room. The painting hanging over St. Stanislaus's head presents Virgin Mary hurrying towards him, surrounded by children, angels and girls spilling lilies and roses, which roll towards the Saint's head. The palms mentioned in the poem are not there. Norwid writes:

³⁰ H. KOSZUTSKI, *Święty Stanisław Kostka, patron Królestwa Polskiego i jego wiek*, part 2, Poznań 1882, p. 275.

³¹ Władysław Kulczycki (pseud. Cezar Polewka), in the article *Kapliczki św. Stanisława Kostki (La capelette di San Stanislao) w Rzymie*, "Kłosy" of 19th February/3rd March 1887, y. XXII, vol. 44, p. 132. The drawing by J[ózef?] Pankiewicz, accompanying the article (p. 133), does not show a rose embossed in the frame, either, and the bottom part of the frame is as smooth as it is today.

– Nad łóżem tym i grobem świeci wizerunek
Królowej–Nieba, która z świętych chórem schodzi
I tron opuszcza, nędzy śpiesząc na ratunek.
– Palm wiele, kwiatów wiele aniołowie niosą,
Skrzydłami z ram lub nogą występując bosą.
(PWsz I, 267)

The manner of reception of the artwork is also rooted in history, hence I shall quote here Julian Pagaczewski, an eminent historian of art from Kraków in early 20th century and author of a great study on the iconography of St. Stanislaus Kostka.

That painting is supposed to be linked to the sculpture in ideological and compositional terms; in short, create one inseparable whole with it. [...] Heaven opened. In a flood of light, angels are carrying the Virgin towards St. Stanislaus. Multiple cherubs are flying about Her in clouds ablaze with light. Mary reaches out to the dying Stanislaus to take him to heaven. That group is located furthest from the Saint, who turns his head in that very direction. Between the Saint and Mary, three holy virgins hover on clouds: Agnes with a lamb in her arms, Cecilia playing the harp, and Dorothy, who takes flowers from a basket held by a small lad and spills them towards St. Stanislaus. A few of the flowers rest just next to his head.

[...] Placing the figures diagonally allowed Minardi to obtain the picturesqueness of the whole composition, that is the merger of the painting with the sculpture. Madonna with the retinue of holy virgins forms a link between the Saint and open heaven, from which light streams. In a moment, Stanislaus Kostka will step in that land of eternal light³².

In the last part of the poem, Norwid again stresses the subjectivity of his own participation in the composition of the whole, gained by emphasising the reception and interpretation, i.e. recognition of space, interpretation of the symbols (crucifix, lily and rosary, held by the marble figure, are attributes of the Saint)³³, stressing in the figure comparison to the poet's condition, and eventually – the final accent of suspension and flight of the rose flower seems to refer to the addressee directly, like a kind of message transferring the described account of the visit in the 16th-century house of Jesuit novitiate – into a thus built, fully current relation between the poet and his young cousin, and even into a vague yet unwittingly implied suggestion of undertaking it. The flowers spilling in the painting

³² J. PAGACZEWSKI, *Ze studiów nad ikonografią św. Stanisława Kostki*, Kraków 1927, pp. 30-33.

³³ *Św. Stanisław Kostka*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. XVIII, Lublin 2013, col. 793.

are spread so that to the viewer they become the final link between the real, three-dimensional shape of the Saint and the two-dimensional reality of the picturesque view, blurring the difference between the two spaces. And Norwid uses that particular motif in an additional manner, supplementing a sense which is absent in the composition itself. Unfortunately, the available pictures do not show clearly the small fragment of the bottom of the painting's frame, hidden right behind the sculpted head of the Saint. One can only see that the frame has a cut-out piece made in such a manner as to allow the stone pillow and head to touch the canvas. Yet nothing indicates that it would have been likely for that golden stucco rose to appear suddenly in that place, in an absolutely unsymmetrical fashion. Thus Norwid puts an additional motif in the composition, one that goes beyond the account of viewing St. Stanislaus Kostka's room, constructing and supplementing – as said before – a new meaning to the whole, significant only for the recipient of the text.

Gdzie zaś od dołu obraz kończy się, ku stronie,
 W którą Stanisław Kostka blade zwracał skronie,
 Jeszcze na ram złoceniu róża jedna świeci:
 Niby że, po obrazu stoczywszy się płótnie,
 Upaść ma, jak ostatni dźwięk, gdy składasz lutnię,
 I nie zleciała dotąd na ziemię – i leci...

(PWsz I, 267)

Now that the whole poem has been quoted, it is worth noting the merger and tension between movement and stillness, present throughout the poem, perfectly justified by the distinctiveness of the presentations: sculpture and painting, and complementing the poem's compositional value. The static nature of the marble figure and its surroundings, the impression it makes on viewers, stressed with expressions such as "zasnął", "grób z marmuru", "stoi", "wstrzymując się", "myśląc", "we śnie" [fell asleep, marble grave, stands, withholding, thinking, asleep] etc., have their fundamental opposite as well as completion in what is visible in the painter's vision. Here the description is dominated by verbs of motion and expression: "świeci", "schodzi", "opuszcza", "śpiesząc", "niosą" [shines, descends, leaves, rushing, carry], accompanied by nouns associated with the dynamics of group singing ("chór" [choir]) or action ("ratunek" [rescue]), multiple "wiele" [many] ("palm wiele, kwiatów wiele" [many palms, many flowers]) etc. Thus seeing the room of the Saint from the moment of involuntarily stopping at the threshold leads not only to a dynamic presentation of the painting and of the whole painting-and-sculpture composition, but moves that presentation in a specific educational dimension, becoming a message for the addressee, a message of action to be taken.

For Norwid, there were places of particular impact, the contact with which moved one to another dimension and allowed to touch a different space, to see reality in a different light. Nine years after the discussed poem was written, the poet started painting *Widzenie św. Stanisława Kostki* for a small church, or rather a chapel of the Sisters of Charity in Juvisy near Paris. He complained at the time that it was not possible to paint in France:

[...] przez dni kilkanaście zmęczyłem się nad płótnem moim – dnie są nieliczne we Francji łaskawe powietrzem suchym i światłem – potrzeba n a t o W ł o c h: tam słońce uzupełnia linie, a suszy kolor farby, i człowiek ma wieczność przed sobą. (PWsz IX, 255)

[...] I have toiled to fatigue over my canvas for a dozen days now – France has few days kindly bestowing dry air and light – you need I t a l y f o r t h a t: there, sun completes the lines, and dries the colour of paint, and a man has eternity before him.]

And he was likely trying to say something similar to Miss Hornowska.

Translated by Anna Maria Gernand

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GRÓB Z MARMURU WOKÓŁ DWÓCH WIERSZY DO STANISŁAWY HORNOWSKIEJ

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Artykuł przynosi próbę interpretacji dwóch wierszy C. Norwida: [„*A Pani cóż ja powiem?... oto, że w tym życiu...*”] i [„*W komnacie, gdzie Stanisław święty zasnął w Bogu...*”], zawiera również uściślenie dotychczasowej wiedzy o adresatce obu wierszy, Stanisławie Hornowskiej, kuzynce poety, i okolicznościach, w jakich powstały oba utwory. Znaczny fragment szkicu poświęcony został rzymskim śladom św. Stanisława Kostki i miejscem związanym z jego obecnością w Wiecznym Mieście, a także wystrojowi tych miejsc, które odegrały ważną rolę w kształtowaniu się wyobrażenia Norwida o św. Stanisławie. Ostatnia część wskazuje na doskonale widoczne napięcie między statycznością realnie istniejącej rzeźby, przedstawiającej śmierć św. Stanisława, i zawieszzonego nad nim obrazu Tommaso Minardiego, zatytułowanego *Maryja w otoczeniu aniołów i świętych oczekująca na duszę św. Stanisława Kostki* – a dynamicznie skonstruowaną wypowiedzią poetycką.

Słowa kluczowe: Cyprian Norwid; Stanisława Hornowska; św. Stanisław Kostka; Rzym; liryka.

MARBLE TOMBSTONE ON TWO POEMS TO STANISŁAWA HORNOWSKA

S u m m a r y

The article is an attempt at the interpretation of two poems by C. Norwid: [“*A Pani cóż ja powiem?... oto, że w tym życiu...*”] – [What do I say to you, Lady?... that in this life...] and [„*W komnacie, gdzie Stanisław święty zasnął w Bogu...*”] – [In the room where St. Stanislaus fell asleep in God’s peace...]. It also clarifies the current state of knowledge about the addressee of both poems, Stanisława Hornowska, the poet’s cousin, and the circumstances in which both works were created. A significant part of this contribution is devoted to the Roman traces of

St. Stanislaus Kostka and the places associated with his presence in the Eternal City, as well as the decor of those places which played an important role in the formation of Norwid's image of St. Stanislaus. The last part of this article points to the perfectly visible tension between the static equilibrium of the real sculpture presenting the death of St. Stanislaus and the image of Tommaso Minardi hanging over it, titled *Mary with Angels and Saints Waiting for the Soul of St. Stanislaus Kostka* – and the dynamically constructed poetic vision.

Key words: Cyprian Norwid; Stanisława Hornowska; St. Stanislaus Kostka; Rome; lyric poetry.

Summary translated by Rafał Augustyn

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