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Where was 1821? Space and Territory in the Greek Revolution



Between Historical Reality and Poetic Imagination

Maria Kalinowska

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Between Historical Reality and Poetic Imagination: The Space and Time of the 1821 Greek Revolution in Polish Romanticism

Maria Kalinowska

University of Warsaw

How did Polish Romantic writers depict the time and space of the 1821 Greek Uprising? Where and when do the events of the Greek Revolution take place when seen through the eyes of the Polish Romantics and stimulating the imagination of Polish poets? The question of the time and space of the Greek uprising concerns not just the identity of the revived Greek nation, but also how this event was understood by nineteenth-century Europe, and what its importance was for different countries and nations. It should be noted that the Greek Uprising was a major theme in literature and painting of the period, and its spatial and temporal dimension was not a question of aesthetics alone but a matter of poetic imagination which locked the Greek events into different forms of space and time, thus giving them different meanings.

In 1875, Cyprian Norwid (1821–1883), one of the most important Polish poets and thinkers, recalled the enthusiasm that had engulfed all of Europe a few decades earlier: “Old men, ladies and children – people from drawing rooms and factories – the mighty and the poor – the educated and those who knew little – statesmen, the bureaus and offices of those who governed as well as common crowds ... everyone ... *absolutely everyone* sent Greece their most selfless *feelings, songs, gold, exceptional people and freedom*”.¹ Looking at Europe’s disinterested enthusiasm towards Greece’s struggle for independence in the 1820s and at the solidarity with the fighting Greeks that different circles of European societies and nations shared, Norwid compared it to the enthusiasm associated with the Crusades of centuries before. Of all the events in Europe’s history, Norwid believed that only the Crusades were comparable to the extraordinary activity and selfless fervour that had united Europe on the cause of Greece’s independence: “solely the Crusades, and they as the one and only thing from all of Europe’s history, shine with similar and equal enthusiasm”.² This is a very important comparison because it shows where, according to Norwid, the uprising’s cause was unfolding: in the European arena. It was an event that integrated the whole of Europe, bringing out Europe’s unity and Europeans’ best, noblest and most unselfish emotions. Juxtaposing the philhellenic movement with an idealised image of the Crusades, Norwid was primarily underlining the ardour of its participants and

their dedication to a cause that was more than just political; he was also underscoring the extraordinary, unique character of the timing of the uprising. His comparison shows what Greece's freedom meant for the whole of Europe and for Poland in particular, which had lost its independence at the end of the eighteenth century. In addition, Norwid's above-quoted words come from a speech he delivered in Paris on the anniversary of the Polish national uprising of 1863 to Polish émigrés, who knew very well what bondage meant – a point to which we will return. Norwid compared the Greek cause of 1821 with the idealised crusaders fighting for values which they held most dear and which served to integrate Europe, but he also showed the Greeks as heirs to ancient virtues: “The athletic heroism they [the Greeks] and the leaders of this movement have shown has equalled or exceeded ancient gestures. The death of Botsaris, the fall of Messolongi, the massacre of Chios and the glow of Kanaris' fires.”³ As reflected in these people and these events, the Greeks had more than surpassed the ancient models with which Europeans identified them. As Norwid saw it, the Greek Uprising took place in a time belonging to “ancient men of heroism”⁴ – it was a direct continuation of antiquity.

The modern Greeks' struggle for independence was thus first and foremost connected with the identity of Europeans as heirs to the Greek classical tradition with its focus on respect for the human individual, for freedom and democracy, but also for the idea of beauty that Europe learned from Homer and Phidias. In one of his “Greek” poems written on the shores of Crete at the time of the 1848 revolutions, Norwid speaks of the Socratic tradition and – more broadly – ancient Greek culture as “mystic bread” shared by nations. He thus sees Greek culture as the word uniting nations, creating the possibility of communication, as a “talismán for communing in art”, received as a gift from Providence.⁵

These words of Norwid, a poet valued highly today as a precursor of contemporary poetry and a mysterious and difficult historiosopher, are supplemented in the aforementioned text from the 1870s with further observations – those related to the other, dark side of history: bondage and its outcomes. We need to remember that Norwid was thinking of both the Greek – victorious – uprising and the Polish one (1863), which was tragic and ended in defeat. He uses a series of keywords expressing the philhellenes' “sympathetic enthusiasm”: “European sympathy – nationality being won in struggle – general enthusiasm – heroism and sacrifice.”⁶ These words, however, are followed by some thoughts about everything “that long historical non-existence imposes on peoples”. The term “historical non-existence” means bondage, being outside historical time but also, geographically, “Greece remaining on the fringes”, from a Western European perspective, of course. “For from the beginning of their [struggle for independence] the Greeks displayed both the braveries of old, shining with demigod-like radiancy, and also everything that long historical non-existence imposes on peoples.”⁷ Norwid then mentions the various harsh consequences of bondage, political as well as civilisational and ethical, which European

philhellenes seemed not to notice because they were unfamiliar with the reality of national bondage and its dramatic effects. To reiterate: Norwid is speaking about Greece as much as he is about Poland, about enslaved nations. His entire speech is built around the dynamic of identifying Greece's place in Europe: central because Hellas embodies European values, peripheral because its historical fate and the effects of long and destructive bondage were not fully known in the West. The speech concludes with a reference to a Greek folk song about Markos Botsaris, who appears not only as a valiant hero of the revolution but, above all, as a "great patriot", whose message is "a bold consciousness stemming from a complete reading of historical truth".⁸

This text by the "dark poet", as Norwid is called in Poland, shows the extremely broad perspectives – geographically, historically and substantively speaking – of the Polish approach to the Greek cause. It also introduces us to a unique parallel drawn in Polish literature between Greece and Poland, used often and in various ways by Polish Romantic poets. The Greek Uprising brought hope to enslaved Poland; it became a challenge, an example, but also provided a code for speaking about the Polish people's aspirations to independence. In different ways, the space and time of Greece in those texts is intermingled with the space and history of Poland.⁹

This Polish–Greek parallel as a literary trend, and the mutual permeation of the times and spaces of Greece and Poland, appears most prominently in the philhellenic texts about the uprising penned by Juliusz Słowacki (1809–1849), one of the two most important Polish poets, alongside Adam Mickiewicz.¹⁰ Where and when does the 1821 Uprising unfold, as Słowacki returns to it many times in his output? Among many examples in his oeuvre, two works showing different temporal and spatial aspects of Polish images of the Greek Uprising are especially worth considering: the Byronic poem "Lambro: Powstańca grecki" (Lambro: A Greek insurgent) (1833) and the narrative poem "Podróż do Ziemi Świętej z Neapolu" (Journey to the Holy Land from Naples) (1837).

The title "Lambro" is taken from the name of its protagonist, who could be a reference to the real person of Lambros Katsonis, a participant in the 1770 Uprising, but in actual fact the poem does not faithfully reproduce the historical reality. Most certainly, as researchers have convincingly proved, "Lambro" emerged from the philhellenic, European fascinations with the 1821 Uprising: Słowacki activates many motifs that were popular in literature in recounting the events of that uprising and refers to places and episodes directly suggesting that readers are moving around the realm of the uprising's events and heroes. The poem mentions the island of Psara and the atmosphere of its tragedy (1824) described by Solomos in his famous "Epigram", that there are insurgents fighting like Kanaris and setting fire to enemy ships and, above all, that there is the atmosphere of the insurgents' enormous determination as they spread the flame of freedom. In other words, on the one hand we see references to specific events and places familiar from the uprising while, on the other, the poet superimposes onto the image of that uprising the memory of earlier events, such as the 1770 revolt and the defeat suffered by the rebels at that time.

Commenting on the poem's passage about how "The North once placed a sword in our hands, / And then meanly abandoned us helpless",¹¹ Słowacki explains: "A reference to Catherine the Great who incited the Greeks to rebel and betrayed them when they expected her to come to their aid."¹² The poem offers a kind of universal image of the Greeks' efforts to win independence, which so far had ended in defeat and loss of life. This is the role played by the character of Rigas Feraios, invoked allusively but very clearly in the poem; the account of his death contradicts the historical reality, but in a symbolic sense is very genuine and evocative.

Polish readers picked up on this image of the Greek independence struggle as an obvious signal that the poet was not just writing about the Greek Uprising but that, in fact, behind the images of Greek defeats and casualties suffered over a long time hid the failure of the Polish uprising of 1830–1831 against the partitioning powers, especially Russia. Słowacki does not make any direct reference to Poland, however; he offers no analogous landscapes or interpretative suggestions. Generalised both spatially and temporally, the image of the Greek Uprising becomes an image of a struggle between the forces of good and evil. Universality appears in two aspects here: the eponymous protagonist, an insurgent turned privateer, becomes an opium addict, a wasted and bored man, but at the same time, as the poet writes in his foreword, he is "the picture of our age, its futile efforts; this is the mockery of fate personified".¹³ The uprising thus serves the writer to show universal problems of contemporary times while it takes place within a broader dimension: in an apocalyptic setting.

Słowacki depicts the space of Greece in accordance with the model of dark Byronic poems in which Europe, marked by the classical remains of Greek antiquity, clashes with the Orient that is alien to it both mentally and aesthetically. In "Lambro", this conventional setting of a Byronic narrative is deepened, intensified in its tragic expression and gloomy outlook: Greece is portrayed through images of the sea as the grave of creation, and land where life is frozen and fossilised, while the degree of the destruction, damage and "deadness" of the world and humankind actually seem to overstep the boundaries of the Byronic style. The world is shown as a place where light clashes with darkness and landscapes turn into places of apocalyptic danger. The Greek Uprising, which in the poem means both the 1821 revolt and all other Greek and European uprisings for freedom, thus unfolds in a universal space of apocalyptic dimensions.

To some extent, the Greece in "Lambro" is conventional and stereotypical. It is essentially a literary and imagined Greece, although marked by places – such as the island of Psara – which have their real history that is familiar to Europe. Researchers have shown that this special literary character of the poem is created by motifs known from literature referring to Greece's situation, including Byronic themes, but bondage is also shown in terms of Milton's hell, and a quote from Milton is used as a motto for the poem.

Three years after “Lambro” was published, Słowacki set off on a long, almost one-year romantic journey to Greece, the Holy Land and the Middle East. This journey, tracing the travels of Chateaubriand, Byron and many others, strongly affected the poet’s oeuvre and his spiritual life. Its traces and inspirations can be found in many of Słowacki’s works, and he revisited images of Greece for the rest of his life. Among other things, these travels resulted in the aforementioned poem “Podróż do Ziemi Świętej z Neapolu” (Journey to the Holy Land from Naples), composed during a two-week wait on the island of Syros for a boat to Alexandria. Written in rhyming verse, the poem, all of which is about Greece (except the first canto about Naples), is extremely original and highly valued by literary scholars. The journey from Corfu, through Zante, Vostitsa, Mega Spilaio, Mycenae, Corinth, Athens and Syros is recounted by the poet-narrator, a Romantic ironist who shares his existential and historiosophical thoughts with the reader. It is worth adding that on his way from Corfu to Zante by boat, Słowacki accidentally met Dionysios Solomos, whose patriotic poems he was already familiar with and admired. Although observing the “new Pindar” and Tyrtæan poet of the Greek Revolution during the voyage, he seems to have been disappointed with the great poet’s frustration and his dandyism.¹⁴

Słowacki’s most famous text related to both the Greek and the Polish causes built on the Greek–Polish parallel mentioned earlier and described by so many Polish scholars is “Grób Agamemnona” (Agamemnon’s Tomb), which is treated as part of a travel poem.¹⁵ Inspired by the poet’s Greek travels, this work determined the awareness of several generations of Poles. The narrator wandering across the Mycenaean hills and the fields of Thermopylae brings together the Spartan tradition and the history of modern Greece, seeking examples for distant and enslaved Poland in this historical continuity. The motif of Thermopylae is related to an idea of the greatest significance for Słowacki’s perception of both the Polish–Greek parallel and the Greek independence tradition. That idea consists in invoking Sparta as a model of valour, chivalry and heroism, but without expansive aggressiveness. This is the framework in which Słowacki refers to Leonidas as well as King Agis, a Spartan ruler from the 2nd century BC who will later, in the mystical “Agesilaus” (1844),¹⁶ be turned into a martyr and evangelical pre-Christian hero. While this article will not elaborate on this theme any further, it was worth mentioning to give a better understanding of the radiation of Romantic Hellenism in Słowacki’s philhellenic output and the choices the poet made within that tradition.¹⁷

The aforementioned poem “Podróż do Ziemi Świętej z Neapolu” (Journey to the Holy Land from Naples) includes many different references to the uprising. In fact, remembrance of the uprising accompanied the poet throughout his travels, and faces he saw in Greece reminded him of scenes and people familiar from numerous pictures, becoming part of a world charged with extremely powerful emotions. For example, he writes about a Greek he encountered that “His young face you had seen somewhere in a dream, / Perhaps you saw him in a drawing, ... In a lithograph of Botsaris’ death”.¹⁸

Among the sites marked by the history of the struggle, Słowacki devotes the most

attention to Messolongi, “where the defenders of freedom / Resisted forces a hundred times stronger” without giving up and without surrendering.¹⁹ Here and throughout the work, the poet is both the creator and the Romantic ironist distanced from himself and his own exalted feelings, while the reader becomes witness to a game of creation and annihilation of the poetic world, but the realm of insurgent fighting – both Greek and Polish – is not treated with Romantic irony. We witness the creation of an ode to Messolongi in which references to that town turn into memories of a battle in a recent Polish national anti-Russian uprising (Grochów 1831). There is a very important and original description of Messolongi from aboard a ship sailing into the waters of the bay bound by “the mountains of Patras” and – most importantly – “the mountains of Lepanto”. The cultural geography of this spot is significant: to the travelling narrator, Messolongi lies close to Lepanto, which is mentioned twice in the passage in question. The traveller sailing into this special (magical?) area is welcomed by the “dawn” – a connection to the classical tradition, preceding the rising of the sun which “above the mountains of Lepanto ... emerged like the clock of eternal time”.²⁰ Let us add that Lepanto (specifically Lepanto, not Nafpaktos) will reappear in the poem: the poet invokes the famous battle through a reference to Cervantes. According to the traveller, Messolongi lies close to the mountains watching over “the entry to Lepanto”. In another canto, Słowacki links Lepanto to the image of the Virgin Mary: “I saw Thee – today below the morning rainbow / Above the blue of Lepanto in the heavens, In a rainbow on a weeping cloud’s hair”,²¹ and this apostrophe is as much a reference to the tradition of Polish Romantic poems (Mickiewicz’s “Pan Tadeusz”) as it definitely invokes the iconographic tradition representing the Battle of Lepanto with a figure of the Virgin Mary rising above the bay.

In Słowacki’s poetic geography, Messolongi is thus situated near Lepanto, which is marked by religious meanings, but it also lies – and this is the image that dominates – on the Styx: Messolongi “tiny and white” stands beneath a mountain “and looks over the blue water”, just as the white cottages of the dead overlook the Styx.²² This shadow of death dominates the site and is also related to Byron – invoked here as well – and his death. However, the most extraordinary image here, which also appears in Słowacki’s imagination of death, is that of a pyramid, to which the traveller compares one of the mountains he sees from the ship sailing into the bay: “on the waters of Lepanto ... one of the grim mountains / Stands like a hexagonal pyramid ... As heavy at the bottom as it is light at the tip, / Like the brick monuments / Human hands have directed to the sky ... Before this country became famous, / The great God sensed it and erected a monument”.²³ This is a poetic image very characteristic of Słowacki’s perception of modern Greece as well as its revolution: nature, culture and the sacred sphere determine the uniqueness of the Greek landscape in which are encrypted the country’s history, its myths and a mysteriousness surrounding their immemorial coexistence and inextricable bond. The great mountain guarding Messolongi is

like a pyramid, like a monument raised by God before history revealed its brutality; it is like a sign of divine sanction.

For the present article's subject matter, however, the most interesting part of the poem is Canto IV, entitled "Grecja" (Greece), which contains a complete catalogue of events and people familiar from the history of the uprising that erupted in 1821.

One important aspect of Słowacki's Greek travels is his search for values in history. In this regard, the poem includes philhellenic motifs and themes not only as testimonies to historical ideas and political preferences but also, and above all, as ethical standards. "Podróż do Ziemi Świętej z Neapolu" (Journey to the Holy Land from Naples) is filled with the poet's admiration for the heroic, valiant struggle of both ancient and contemporary Greeks, for their love of freedom, but – an important consideration for the image and spiritual path of the protagonist – the picture of heroic Greece in Canto IV is shown through the mediation of the poet's youthful dream. And this is a fact that needs underlining. Whereas in "Lambro" the Greek uprising took place in a broad, apocalyptic perspective, in Canto IV it becomes an element of the inner, existential space of the narrator, who can be identified with the poet himself. The uprising is presented as part of the biography of the traveller – a political émigré homesick for his native country who turns his thoughts to his early youth. He recalls the time when, waiting for his beloved in a beautiful park near Vilnius, where he was spending his holidays, lying in the grass by a stream, he read about the heroes of the uprising.

Recounting his memories of his youthful reading of a philhellenic tale about modern Greek warriors' deeds (including the Ypsilantis brothers, Botsaris and Kanaris), the poet on his journey builds an unusual picture that Polish scholars value very highly. The peculiarity of this scene lies in the way the microscopic – micrological – perspective from which the reading and dreaming romantic (lying in the grass) views nature around him is blended with the broad historical panorama suggested by his reading about the Greek battles. This creates a deeply internalised, slightly fairy-tale and extremely personal vision in which blades of grass, straws, crickets, flower petals and dewdrops observed from close up by the romantic dreamer hidden at the edge of a Lithuanian stream are interwoven with images of battles and Greek uprising heroes, including the famous Kanaris, whom the poet has just visited at his Greek home. With no English or Greek translation of this canto from the poem being available, it is hard to convey all the sophistication and poetic subtlety of this scene, in which the author recalls himself from olden days – a romantic youth who, fantasising about his future, identifies with the revered heroes of the Greek uprising and dreams of a great future for himself. The river becomes a symbol of transience, and observing nature at close quarters signifies a dream. "All my thoughts with the great Kanaris / Floated after it... [a grasshopper] into countries painted / With a wondrous future."²⁴

Hellas in this passage is presented largely as a place from youthful dreams about heroic men, and the Greek uprising in the young man's inner space serves as an example of the sense of actions in history: "I opened the white book / And began kissing the cold

pages, / Calling: 'Greeks, may I die in glory! Teach me – how to murder enemies, / How to abandon the moony path of dreams / With dead heart and with stern face.'"²⁵

The dream in the inner biography of the poet-traveller turns out to be unfulfilled, and the poem expresses the longings of the youth, as well as the adult traveller who has manifold doubts, feels confused, is stripped of hope, and examines the Greeks' attitudes in search of role models that could help him overcome his own melancholy, passivity and inclination to surrender inertly to fate.

Śłowacki is fascinated with Greek heroes, who form a special chain of freedom tradition linking the past with the present. He calls them "knights", and in fact his fascination with Greece, which he identified with its defenders – ancient and modern, mythical and historical – expresses the knightly ideal that was always close to his heart. Śłowacki's Greek travels and the poem's references to the Greek Uprising have their own, autonomous sense of searching for a life-giving source, but the author also inscribes them into the wider scheme of a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, of reflection on the mystery of Christ's resurrection – a mystery that includes not only the order of individual existence but also that of the historical martyrdom of nations: "I go to tell Christ about you / Beneath His cross, in the house of His torment. / I go to ask loudly in the Mount of Olives, / Where will you awaken and rise from the dead?"²⁶

Setting off on his journey in search of truth and values, the poet leaves Europe as if unable to find answers to the most important existential and metaphysical questions there. An aversion to nineteenth-century Europe, the poet's aversion to himself, his sadness, melancholy and helplessness in the face of the mystery of life and death become the main reasons why he travels towards the sources of European civilisation: towards ancient Greece and to Christ's tomb in Jerusalem. The poet has questions for the Greeks (ancient and contemporary) and he has questions for Christ: about the mystery of existence, eternal life, the meaning of sacrifice, especially sacrifices made for freedom. He sets off for Greece and Jerusalem, identifying with those in Europe fighting for freedom, with martyrs of the national cause and victims of violence. He goes to Greece and to the tomb of Jesus to ask about the mystery of the devotion and suffering of those humiliated by history and politics. He goes there because he is unable to find answers to these questions in Western Europe as it appears to be losing touch with its roots: with antiquity and with Christianity. He must pose the question *himself* to Christ, as if he not only needs a direct, traveller's contact with Greece as the source of European culture, but also needs to spend a night at Christ's empty tomb in Jerusalem.

In conclusion, on the basis of the Polish Romantic works invoked above, one might formulate the following thesis regarding the poetic vision of the time and space of the 1821 Greek Uprising. At the same time, it should be noted that we are speaking about poetic texts, which are highly metaphorised, and not sociopolitical manifestos or academic

treatises. Therefore, to put it synthetically, in the texts discussed here the 1821 Greek Uprising unfolds in three spaces and times: First, there is the space of “regained” Europe, that is, the Europe symbolised by ancient Greece and being regained by the Greek insurgents, who are a link in the “chain” of European generations leading from democratic and art-loving Athens and valiant Sparta to contemporary times. Second, one important element of the thus identified relationship between Greece during its rebirth and Europe is the fact that in the works discussed here, the idea of freedom is represented not by European governments but by nations, especially those living in bondage, and their representatives fighting for independence. In this sense, the Greek insurgents represent a Europe of nations, societies and enslaved individuals. Their struggle is an example to nations that want a different, new and more just political order in Europe. That is why the Greeks’ struggle symbolises every European fight for freedom: in a metaphorical sense, it takes place not just in Greek lands, but in the whole of Europe. Third, there is another important element in the spatial and temporal ideas within which the Polish Romantic poets presented here approached the Greek Uprising: the overstepping of geographical and historical realities. The fact is that in these works the uprising often unfolds in a space and time that is metaphysical in character; not in a specific location in the real Europe, but in a universal space; and not only in historical time, but in the generalised, mythical and sacred time of the universal struggle between good and evil.

Translated by Joanna Dudzińska

¹ Cyprian Norwid, “W rocznicę Powstania Styczniowego [Mowa wygłoszona 22 stycznia 1875 r. w Czytelni Polskiej w Paryżu],” in *Pisma wszystkie*, vol. 7, *Proza*, pt. 2, ed. Juliusz Wiktor Gomulicki (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1973), 99. The emphasis is in the original.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 100.

⁴ Ibid., 101.

⁵ See Cyprian Norwid, “Marmur – biały,” in *Pisma wszystkie*, vol. 1, *Wiersze*, pt. 1, ed. Juliusz Wiktor Gomulicki (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1971), 100–1. See also Maria Kalinowska and Paweł Krupka, eds., *Η Ελλάς των Πολωνών ρομαντικών: Ποιητική ανθολογία*, trans. Paweł Krupka and Giorgos Petropoulos (Athens: Momentum, 2018), 87.

⁶ Norwid, “Marmur – biały,” 100.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

- ⁹ See Maria Kalinowska, “The Myth of Sparta in Juliusz Słowacki and Cyprian Norwid’s Dramas: Romantic Reinterpretation of Greek Heritage – the Polish Variant,” in *Multiple Antiquities – Multiple Modernities: Ancient Histories in Nineteenth-Century European Cultures* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2011), 547–61.
- ¹⁰ On Słowacki in English, see Peter Cochran, Bill Johnston, Mirosława Modrzewska and Catherine O’Neil, eds., *Poland’s Angry Romantic: Two Poems and a Play by Juliusz Słowacki* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009).
- ¹¹ Juliusz Słowacki, “Lambro: Powstańca grecki. Powieść poetyczna w 2 pieśniach,” in *Poematy*, vol. 1, *Poematy z lat 1828–1939*, ed. Jacek Brzozowski, Zbigniew Przychodniak, 191, (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2009). Original quote: “Niegdyś nam północ miecz podała w dłoń, / A potem chytra bezsilnych odbiegła.”
- ¹² Juliusz Słowacki, “Wstęp do III tomu Poezyj,” in Brzozowski and Przychodniak, *Poematy*, 180.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, 179.
- ¹⁴ See Panos Karagiorgos, “The Polish Poet Słowacki and the Greek Poet Solomos,” in *Raptularz wschodni Juliusza Słowackiego: Edycja – studia – komentarze*, vol. 3, *Studia i interpretacje*, Maria Kalinowska, Elżbieta Kiślak and Zbigniew Przychodniak, 211–19 (Warsaw: DiG, 2019).
- ¹⁵ See Catherine O’Neil and Zbigniew Janowski, *Juliusz Słowacki’s “Agamemnon’s Tomb”: A Polish Oresteia* (South Bend: St. Augustine’s Press, 2011).
- ¹⁶ See Maria Kalinowska, “Waning Worlds and Budding Hopes: Anti-idyllic Visions on Antiquity in Polish Romanticism,” *Classical Receptions Journal* 5, no. 3 (2013): 320–35, <https://doi.org/10.1093/crj/clt021>; Małgorzata Borowska, Maria Kalinowska, Jerzy Speina and Katarzyna Tomaszuk, eds., *Sparta w kulturze polskiej*, pt. 1, *Model recepcji, spojrzenie europejskie, konteksty greckie* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2014).
- ¹⁷ On philhellenism in Poland, see Małgorzata Borowska, Maria Kalinowska, Jarosław Ławski and Katarzyna Tomaszuk, eds., *Filhellenizm w Polsce: Rekonesans* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo UW, 2007); Małgorzata Borowska, Maria Kalinowska and Katarzyna Tomaszuk, eds., *Filhellenizm w Polsce: Wybrane tematy* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo UW, 2012).
- ¹⁸ Original quote: “Twarz jego młodą gdzieś widziałeś we śnie, / Może na jakim widziałeś rysunku, ... Na litografii zgonu Botzarisa.” Juliusz Słowacki, “Podróż do Ziemi Świętej z Neapolu,” in Maria Kalinowska, *Juliusza Słowackiego “Podróż do Ziemi Świętej z Neapolu”: Glosy* (Gdańsk: Słowo/obraz terytoria, 2011), 323.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 304. Original quote: “gdzie niegdyś wolności obrońce / Sto razy większym oparli się siłom.”
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 303.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, 348. Original quote: “Widziałem Ciebie – dziś pod tęczą ranną / Nad błękitami Lepantu – w niebiosach, / W tęczy nad chmury rozplakanej włosach.”
- ²² *Ibid.*, 305. Original quote: “patrzac na błękitną wodę / Jako nad Styksem.”
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 305–6. Original quote: “jedna z gór mroczna / Jak piramida stoi sześciboczna ..., Tak ciężka spodem, tak lekka na końcu, / Jako pod niebo ręką ludzką wzbite / Z cegieł pomniki ... Nim się ten kraj wstawił, / Bóg wielki przeczuł i pomnik postawił.”
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 316. Original quote: “Myśl moja cała z wielkim Kanarysem / Płynęła za nim... [za konikiem polnym – M.K.] w kraje malowane / Piękną przyszłością.”

²⁵ Ibid., 314. Original quote: “książkę rozłożyłem białą / I zimne karty zacząłem całować, / Wołając: “Greki, niechaj ginę z chwałą! Wy mię nauczcie – jak wrogów mordować, / Jak rzucić drogę marzeń księżycową / Z umarłym sercem i z twarzą surową.”

²⁶ Ibid., 278. Original quote: “Idę powiedzieć o was Chrystusowi / Pod Jego krzyżem, w Jego męki domie. / Idę zapytać głośno w Oliwecie, / Gdzie się zbudzicie i zmartwychwstaniecie?”