

The Works of Józef Wittlin: The Perspective of Genetic Criticism

Maciej Wcisło

ORCID: 0000-0002-9202-0353

In the present article, I discuss the benefits of employing genetic criticism in the study of Józef Wittlin's works. Such a critical approach has not been discussed in critical works devoted to Wittlin. The benefits of such a critical approach have been briefly outlined in the present article, as will be discussed in more detail herein.¹ In the present article, I discuss the relationship between genetic criticism and poetics. It should be emphasized that I will focus on poetics in motion, the evolving poetics of the author.

Hymns

First, let me discuss the characteristic features of Józef Wittlin's works and creative process. His creative process is essentially one of improvement, the best and most striking example of

¹ In my Ph.D. thesis, I wish to focus on Józef Wittlin's writing process and manuscripts and analyze selected examples.

which is his translation of the *Odyssey*, which has been published in three different editions.² It was his life's work, which he began as a middle-school student in Lviv.³ Each subsequent edition differed from the previous one because the writer wished to soften the influence of the poetics of Young Poland, which was prominent in the first edition. However, in the present article, in order to demonstrate how the poet worked with the texts he had already published, I will use the second equally important example of the aforementioned writing strategy, i.e. *Hymny* [Hymns],⁴ and specifically, the poem *Przedśpiew* [Prelude] which is the first poem in *Hymny*. I aim to compare texts in subsequent editions and describe textual modifications. This issue was to some extent discussed in the literature on the subject: researchers pointed to the general nature of changes in different editions of the texts, but the methodology of genetic criticism has never been employed in analysis.

Indeed, genetic criticism of printed texts is defined as follows:

the study of manuscripts, however, should be a genetic analysis of the writing processes, which can be distinguished on the basis of changes in the printed text, because the textual situation reveals, which almost always happens, numerous and significant transformations of a given text in subsequent editions. The genetics of printed texts differs from the genetics of manuscripts in terms of terminology adopted to describe the characteristics of the analyzed text. "Variations in different editions" record the discrepancies between successive but equivalent forms of the published text, they are not synonymous with modifications found in draft versions of manuscripts, with the successive stages of the writing process, where everything can be undermined at any moment, as long as the (still potential) text has not reached its final form. By referring to other principles and using tools different from philology, genetic criticism of printed texts examines the history of textual transformations, introduced both during the writer's lifetime (genetic criticism of authorial variants) and after his death (genetic criticism of post-authorial variants). In the perspective provided by genetic criticism, changes in the published text should be viewed in the greater context of the process of genesis: it is a genesis without *terminus ad quem*, it is co-created by changes related to the reception and the future of the work.⁵

It should be emphasized that modifications found in *Hymny* should be interpreted as a consistent and conscious strategy of the author, the main goal of which was to cleanse the works of expressionist features. It seems that the changes made by Wittlin helped improve his works. Kazimierz Nowosielski observes that:

² Józef Wittlin published three different translations (1924, 1931, 1957). Zoya Yurieff discusses the differences between them in: *Józef Wittlin*, trans. Michał Szczubiałka (Warsaw: Świat Literacki, 1997), 49–60.

³ *Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji C. K. VII Gimnazjum we Lwowie za rok szkolny 1913/1914* [Report of the Director of the Imperial and Royal VII Junior High School in Lvov for the school year 1913/1914] (Lvov: Fundusz Naukowy, 1914), 64.

⁴ The first edition was published by the Zdrój publishing house. The second edition was published in 1927 as *Hymny (wybór)* [Hymns (selection)] by Księgarnia F. Hoesicka and the third edition was published in 1929 by Jakub Mortkowicz's publishing house. The fourth edition, edited by Wittlin, was published posthumously in 1978 as a "poetic testament." All editions differ. As in the case of the *Odyssey*, Wittlin wished to minimize features typical of Young Poland and expressionist poetics. The final edition was prepared by Wittlin in exile in the United States, when the poet was working on his book of poems, which, as has been pointed out, was published only after his death. The final edition of the poems in *Poezje* [Poems] significantly differs from earlier versions. Poems are more minimalistic and more economical in terms of form. The poet did not include some of them in the anthology.

⁵ Pierre-Marc de Biasi, *La Génétique des textes* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2000), 45–46.

The poet was rebuilding his poems in subsequent editions of *Hymns*. The nature of his artistic interference will be discussed later in this essay. Depending on the issue at hand, I will use the first or later editions, even though the final edition, as J. Rogoziński writes in his introduction to *Poezje*, [...] was considered canonical by the artist. I refer to previous editions because some characteristic features of the poet's early works disappeared in later editions (most often, it made the poems better).⁶

Irena Maciejewska also discussed this issue. Importantly, she also refers to *Przedśpiew*:

[...] Wittlin was concerned with one thing only. For him, as a human being and as a writer, *Hymns* were alive and important, and throughout his life he corrected, chiseled, modified, and "translated" them into a language that was more understandable for younger generations of readers. He worked on his poems for years on end, he worked on the final form, because for him poetry was the ultimate goal, he saw in it the only and last refuge of the "private" and the metaphysical. Subsequent editions of *Hymns* (1927 and 1929) were changed and improved. The posthumous edition of 1978, prepared in the last years of the writer's life, is so cleansed of the old expressionist and Young Poland style, so condensed and at the same time enriched and artistically strengthened that it actually constitutes a new text. A text in which, as if in a palimpsest, the poet inscribed the experience of the Second World War onto the image of the First World War. This experience made him simplify the language of poetry and reject "poetic dance" (Różewicz's term) and create a "naked," raw and ascetic poem. I will discuss one most obvious example, namely the first poem in *Hymny*, *Przedśpiew*, in which of the 24 lines in the first edition, 15 lines remained in the final fourth edition, and only 7 lines remained unchanged from the first edition. *Przedśpiew* demonstrates in what direction the writer was going: [...].⁷

Aleksandra Szczepan also wrote about the modifications in *Hymny* in the context of the trauma of the First World War in Polish literature:

For the writer, this volume was a laboratory of constant corrections and artistic reformulations, and at the same time it was a material record of the experienced trauma. The 1978 edition of *Hymny* (the second and third editions were published before the war, in 1927 and 1929), prepared by Wittlin in the final years of his life, included fifteen of the twenty-one originally published poems, and *Psalm*, which was written in the 1920s. The poet mainly corrected and changed punctuation (numerous exclamation marks, ellipses, and dashes disappear), the layout and the length of the works – Wittlin often removes entire stanzas, combining them into somewhat irregular units with longer lines. In some cases, he adds words or lines that change the tone of the poem.⁸

⁶ Kazimierz Nowosielski, "Hiobowe wołanie Józefa Wittlina" [The Job's cry of Józef Wittlin], in: *idem Przestrzeń oczekiwania. Historia, natura, sacrum we współczesnej poezji polskiej* [The space of awaiting: History, nature, sacrum in contemporary Polish poetry] (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 1993), 24. See Ewa Wiegandt, *Wstęp, wstęp do Józef Wittlin, Sól ziemi* [Introduction, introduction to Józef Wittlin, *Salt of the Earth*], ed. Ewa Wiegandt (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1991), XXIII–XXIV.

⁷ Irena Maciejewska, "Doświadczenie wielkiej wojny – Józef Wittlin" [The Experience of the Great War - Józef Wittlin], in: *Poeci dwudziestolecia międzywojennego* [Poets of the interwar period], ed. Irena Maciejewska, vol. 2 (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1982), 492–493.

⁸ Aleksandra Szczepan, "Traumatyczna niepamięć: doświadczenie Wielkiej Wojny w polskiej literaturze dwudziestolecia" [Traumatic amnesia: The experience of the Great War in Polish literature of the interwar period], *Przegląd Kulturoznawczy* no. 4 (2014): 423–424.

I klnie i krzyczy i wyje i prosi
I prosi, błaga i marzy – – –

And it swears and screams and howls and pleads
And it asks, begs and dreams – – –

Lecz potem dłonie wyciąga w zachwycie,
Gdyż nie na darmo tłuły o niebiosach,
Żebrząc o łaskę – – Patrzcie, a ujrzycie:
Już spada manna, już rzeźwi nas rosa
I słodzi, słodzi nam życie.¹¹

But then it extends its hands in delight,
For they did not knock on the heavens for nothing,
Begging for grace – – Look and you will see:
The manna is falling, the dew is refreshing us
And it sweetens, sweetens our life.

Marian Kisiel quotes the original version of the poem in his text, commenting insightfully that:

This is the first version of this poem. After all, there are three versions of *Przedśpiew*, each is more ascetic than the previous one, each, as Irena Maciejewska calls it, “modernizes the text and enhances its expressive, intellectual and artistic capacity.” The poem is in-between remembrance and hope, and also in-between the profane and the sacred. But the center of the world is focused on the lyrical “I.” In the “I,” “All of Europe is complaining.” In the “I,” “the hands of mankind in chains” are raised “to heaven” (I, 7), “the fists of mankind in chains” are raised “to heaven” (II, 23). The “I” is sometimes more important than the profane war drama, the hell of war, and the sacred, which gives nutritious “manna” and “refreshing dew.” The “I” acquires a symbolic meaning, and it is not at all clear who the “I” is.¹²

Zoya Yurieff thus describes the poem:

[...] A young and immature poet who neither can nor wants to restrain himself, violently expresses his feelings. “All of Europe” is complaining in his voice, “mankind in chains” raises its fists to heaven. He speaks not only in the name of his generation, but in the name of all mankind who have experienced the hell of war. As if struggling for breath, he says in *Przedśpiew*: [...]. The lyrical “I” is a former soldier. This lyrical mask is completely transparent in the light of Wittlin’s biography. The relief the soldier feels when he returns home makes him herald the dawn of a new era: [...].¹³

In my reading, this poem talks about an emotional singer, a nervous poet who wants to announce immediately what he has witnessed in order to preserve the memory of the war. “The scream of dying battalions” obviously refers to the victims of the Great War, and “collapsed thrones” are empires, especially the Austro-Hungarian empire (where Wittlin lived), whose collapse completely changed the political make-up of Europe. Unable to control his emotions, the traumatic memories of the war still vivid, he takes on the responsibility of saying the truth about the cruelty he witnessed. He has a lot to say. The text is a form of an introduction to his poetic testimony (as emphasized by the title – this poem opens the entire volume). The

¹¹ Józef Wittlin, “Przedśpiew”, in: *idem Hymny* (Poznań: Zdrój, 1920), 7. All versions of *Przedśpiew* are quoted in their original version. Punctuation, spelling and the layout of the text were not modified. All versions of the poem were translated into English by M.O.

¹² Marian Kisiel, “Poezja świadectwa. O »Hymnach« Józefa Wittlina” [Testimonial poetry: Józef Wittlin’s *Hymny*], in: *Studia o twórczości Józefa Wittlina* [Studies on Józef Wittlin’s works], ed. Ireneusz Opacki (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1990), 20.

¹³ Yurieff, *Józef Wittlin*, 16.

“I” is the voice of Europe. Europe speaks through him – the “I” thus is a bard, a representative of a large community, of the entire continent, of the entire cultural formation. Importantly, the “I” levels accusations. Emotions are visible in the words, in the multiplication of verbs. The “I” emphasizes that he wishes to address the world as quickly as possible (“**And** I’m coming, I’m going, and I’m in a hurry;” rhetorical accumulation – three verbs express the same thing). The war has just ended (“still” is used as a refrain, as an anaphor; it emphasizes that the events are recent; moreover, it is very pictorial and sensual) and it must be described. The “I” describes poems as “crops” and “wonderful gifts.” Perhaps, they can save or comfort one, especially since “tomorrow you will be in heaven.” Moreover, the people are to be heard – as evidenced by the heavenly gift of manna.¹⁴

The second edition (Warsaw 1927)

Jeszcze jest we mnie krzyk ginących bataljonów,
I pamięć z trzaskiem rozwalonych tronów,
A już przybywam do Was, zadyszany,
Obładowany jukiem świeżych plonów.

The scream of dying battalions is still in me,
And memory of the sound of collapsed thrones,
And I’m coming to You, out of breath,
Loaded with bags of fresh crops.

Jeszcze mam w płucach gaz i proch, i pożar
Świata, co w gardle każde słowo dławi. – –
O jakże wielka jesteś, łasko boża,
Że przepłynąłem przez te krwawe morza
Do was, o ludzie łaskawi!

I still have gas and gunpowder in my lungs and fire
of a world that is choking every word in my throat.
– –God’s grace, how great you are!
That I crossed these bloody seas
And reached you, my gracious people!

Jeszcze mi czarny dzień, jak czarna zmora,
Leży na piersi, – a już zapominam!
Dzisiaj jest czyściec, piekło było wczoraj:
Trwajcie cierpliwie, trwajcie – do wieczora,
Bo jutro raj się zaczyna!

A dark day, like a black nightmare,
Is still lying on my chest, – and yet I forget!
Today is purgatory, hell was yesterday:
Be patient, hold on – until the evening,
Because heaven begins tomorrow!

Jeszcze się targam, BO WE MNIE SIĘ SKARŻY
CAŁA EUROPA! I we mnie podnosi
Pięści ku niebu – ludzkość kajdaniarzy,
Krzyżami wszystkich wojennych cmentarzy
Zrywa się, krzyczy i grozi!

I’m still struggling, BECAUSE ALL OF EUROPE IS
COMPLAINING IN ME! And in me it raises
To heaven the fists of mankind – in chains,
With crosses in all war cemeteries
It wrestles, screams and threatens!

Lecz jutro ręce wyciągnie w zachwycie:
Co nie nadarmo tłukły o niebios!a!
Bóg się zlitował! Patrzcie, a ujrzycie:
Już spada manna, już rzeźwi nas rosa
I słodzi – to gorzkie życie.¹⁵

But tomorrow it will extend its hands in delight:
They did not knock on the heavens for nothing!
God took pity! Look and you will see:
The manna is falling, the dew is refreshing us
And it sweetens – this bitter life.

¹⁴ Zoya Yurieff points out that the reference to the biblical manna is meant to be ironic.

¹⁵ Józef Wittlin, “Przedśpiew”, in: *idem, Hymny (wybór)* (Warsaw: Nakładem Księgarni F. Hoesicka, 1927), 9–10.

Apart from alerted versions of the poems, the second edition also contains an extensive author's note in which Józef Wittlin explains why he published his hymns for the second time:

Hymns were written in Lvov from 1918 to 1920 by a man who was not yet a writer. The first complete edition of *Hymns*, now out of print, was published in 1920 by "Zdrój" in Poznań.

This second edition, or rather a selection from *Hymns*, has been prepared by a writer. He shortened and polished many poems – he came to the conclusion that the secret of poetry is measure.

When I was writing these poems, I did not yet have my own desk, nor did I have any notion of style, or specified ambitions. However, I had direct, even too direct, contact with the raw material of poetry. *Hymns* were written *in articulo mortis*. That is why death is so prominent in them. That is why they talk about passion and God, and called God by name. Today, I'm not so close with God. Everyday life makes me more and more distant from God, just as everyday death brings me closer.

I noticed that these raw lumpy stanzas read more like a prayer than a free poetic play. In this edition, I have removed a number of poems: purely religious poems such as "Hymn nad hymnami" [Hymn of hymns] or poems that are too subjective, such as "Hymn niepokoju, obłądu i nudy" [Hymn to anxiety, madness and boredom]. I only publish here those hymns whose content corresponds to the form. I have also added two poems that were not in the first edition, even though they were written during the *Hymns* period.

From 1914 to 1918, one could still write about the soul. It was a time when human bodies suffered a lot. Today, fashion is changing. Today souls are bleeding, and our bodies are temporarily left alone. That is why writers today write about bodies, considering it insensitive to touch the soul with their words.

J. W.

Bolesławów, November 1926¹⁶

This version differs from the first edition significantly. The number of verbs in the third line has been reduced ("And I'm coming, I'm going, and I'm in a hurry" vs. "And I'm coming to You, out of breath"). The second stanza was completely changed. It mentions God's grace. Perhaps, it saved the "I" – the "I" was saved to tell people the truth about the war. The "heat of fires" disappears, the abyss of hell disappears, but the "I" lists something else – it is connected with the military and very vivid (especially in the context of the Great War): "gas and gunpowder and (...) fire." The "I" also mentions that he crossed bloody seas, which is evocative of the tragedy and bloodshed of war. There are changes in the third stanza as well: the dark day no longer lies "on the breast" but "on the chest." Paradoxically, it is also suggested that the "I," despite his traumatic experiences, begins to forget. The "I" still evokes paradise (in the revised edition), but the phrase "Please, listen to me" is missing. In the fourth stanza, we read about fists instead of hands (and the syntax is slightly altered), which undoubtedly strengthens the

¹⁶ Józef Wittlin, "Przedmowa do drugiego wydania" [Preface to the second edition], introduction to *idem*, *Hymny (wybór)* (Warsaw: Nakładem Księgarni F. Hoesicka, 1927), 7–8.

message. Instead of seven verbs (“And it swears and screams and howls and pleads/ And it asks, begs and dreams”), we read about crosses in war cemeteries and three verbs (“wrestles, screams and threatens!”). Crosses in war cemeteries are a very powerful symbol of wartime suffering and, above all, of death. “BECAUSE ALL OF EUROPE/ IS COMPLAINING IN ME!” is emphasized and written in capital letters (in the first edition, characters were expanded). In the final stanza, “then” was changed to “tomorrow,” while “for” was deleted. God was *expressis verbis* present. He took pity and sent people manna from heaven. The last line of the hymn is also changed: instead of life in general (without any adjective), we read about “bitter life.”

The third edition (Warsaw 1929)

Jeszcze jest we mnie krzyk ginących bataljonów
I pamięć z trzaskiem rozwalonych tronów,
A już przybywam do Was zadyszany,
Obładowany jukiem świeżych plonów.

The scream of dying battalions is still in me,
And memory of the sound of collapsed thrones,
And I’m coming to You, out of breath,
Loaded with bags of fresh crops.

Jeszcze mam w płucach gaz i proch i pożar
Świata, co w gardle każde słowo dławi, –
O jakże wielka jesteś łasko boża,
Że przepłynąłem przez te krwawe morza
Do Was, o ludzie łaskawi!

I still have gas and gunpowder in my lungs and fire
of a world that is choking every word in my throat.
–God’s grace, how great you are!
That I crossed these bloody seas
To reach You, my gracious people!

Jeszcze mi czarny dzień, jak czarna zmora,
Leży na piersi, – a już zapominam!
Dzisiaj jest czyściec, piekło było wczoraj:
Trwajcie cierpliwie, trwajcie do wieczora,
Bo jutro raj się zaczyna!

A dark day, like a black nightmare,
Is still lying on my chest, – and yet I forget!
Today is purgatory, hell was yesterday:
Be patient, hold on until the evening,
Because heaven begins tomorrow!

Jeszcze się targam, bo we mnie się skarży
Cała Europa! I we mnie podnosi
Pięści ku niebu – ludzkość kajdaniarzy,
Krzyżami wszystkich wojennych cmentarzy
Zrywa się, krzyczy i grozi!

I’m still struggling, because All of Europe is com-
plaining in me! And in me it raises
To heaven the fists of mankind – in chains,
With crosses in all war cemeteries
It wrestles, screams and threatens!

Lecz jutro ręce wyciągnie w zachwycie,
Co nienadarmo tłukły o niebiososa!
Bóg się zlitował! Patrzcie, a ujrzycie:
Już spada manna, już rzeźwi nas rosa
I słodzi – to gorzkie życie.¹⁷

But tomorrow it will extend its hands in delight:
They did not knock on the heavens for nothing!
God took pity! Look and you will see:
The manna is falling, the dew is refreshing us
And it sweetens – this bitter life.

Zoya Yurieff observes that “[t]he transition from a loud scream to a quiet intimate confession, almost a whisper, is the fundamental principle of arrangement in the third edition of *Hymns*

¹⁷ Józef Wittlin, “Przedśpiew”, in: *idem, Hymny* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo J. Mortkowicza, 1929), 5–6.

in 1929.”¹⁸ Kazimierz Nowosielski thus comments on the changes in the first stanza:

Ten years later, in the third edition, [Wittlin] added two significant lines:

I still have gas and gunpowder in my lungs and fire
of a world that is choking every word in my throat

“Still” was with him until the very end of his life. Ever since, it seemed to him that there was nothing left in him but internalized suffering that must be expressed and forever fought for – regardless of the cost. When Wittlin attempts to express his suffering, his most dramatic adventure with the self and poetical words begins.¹⁹

As I have already demonstrated, this change took place in the second, and not the third, edition of *Hymny*. Let us compare the versions from 1927 and 1929. They are almost identical: there are only slight modifications in terms of punctuation (pauses, commas), the spelling of “for nothing” is changed to “fornothing.” The words “because all of Europe/ is complaining in me” are again (it was also the case in the first edition) are written in expanded font and not capitalized, as was the case in the second edition.

The fourth (posthumous) edition

Jeszcze jest we mnie krzyk ginących batalionów
I pamięć z trzaskiem rozwalonych tronów.

The scream of dying battalions is still in me,
And memory of the sound of collapsed thrones,

Jeszcze mam w płucach gaz i proch, i pożar
Świata, co w gardle każde słowo dławi.

I still have gas and gunpowder in my lungs, and fire
of a world that is choking every word in my throat.

Jeszcze mi czarny dzień jak czarna zmora
Leży na piersi.

A dark day, like a black nightmare,
Is still lying on my chest.

Jeszcze się targam, bo we mnie się skarży
Cała Europa! I we mnie podnosi
Pięści ku niebu – ludzkość kajdaniarzy,
Krzyżami wszystkich wojennych cmentarzy
Krzyczy i grozi.

I’m still struggling, because All of Europe is complaining in me!
And in me it raises
To heaven the fists of mankind – in chains,
With crosses in all war cemeteries
It screams and threatens.

Lecz jutro ręce wyciągnie w zachwycie,
Gdyż nie na darmo tłukły o niebiosą:
Już spada manna, już rzeźwi nas rosa
I słodzi to gorzkie życie.²⁰

But tomorrow it will extend its hands in delight,
For they did not knock on the heavens for nothing:
The manna is falling, the dew is refreshing us
And it sweetens this bitter life.

Before I analyze this version, I will briefly discuss the history behind Józef Wittlin’s “poetic testament,” i.e. *Poezje* with Julian Rogoziński’s preface published in 1978 and 1981, and

¹⁸ Yurieff, *Józef Wittlin*, 16.

¹⁹ Nowosielski, “Hiobowe wołanie Józefa Wittlina”, 24.

²⁰ Józef Wittlin, “Przedśpiew”, in: *idem*, *Poezje*, preface by Julian Rogoziński (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1981), 23.

Wybór poezji [Selected poems] edited by Wojciech Lięża published in 1998.²¹ It is explained in the editor's note in Rogoziński's edition that:

The author selected the poems in this collection. He was also in charge of the layout and editing. The author added to *Hymny*, which were published in three pre-war editions (Poznań 1920, Warsaw 1927 and 1929), *Psalm* published in "Pamiętnik Warszawski [Warsaw Diary] in 1931. This selection, edited by Halina Wittlinowa, also includes works she found in her husband's posthumous writings; these are: *Wniebowstąpienie roku 1958* [Ascension of 1958], *Poeta emigracyjny* [Poet in emigration], and *Postscriptum do mojego życia* [Postscript to my life].²²

However, the original plan was completely different. An anthology of Józef Wittlin's poetry, entitled *Kontrabanda* [Contraband], was to be published by *Kultura* as a second installment of Wittlin's émigré writings series. The collection of essays *Orfeusz w piekle XX wieku* [Orpheus in the hell of the twentieth century] was published first. Dynamic publishing plans are discussed in letters exchanged by Józef Wittlin and Jerzy Giedroyc, the editor of *Kultura*.²³ On the other hand, in letters to Tola and Tymon Terlecki, Halina Wittlin writes about her plans to publish her husband's works in communist Poland, including the said anthology of poetry.²⁴

The undoubted advantage of this version of *Przedśpiew* is the condensation of meanings in a limited textual space.²⁵ First of all, let us focus on the endings of the third, fourth and fifth stanzas: they are short (in relation to the other lines) and thus expressive, creating a powerful climax at the end of the stanzas (the end of the fifth stanza did not change much in comparison with the third edition). It seems that such "broken" and shorter final lines are equally, or even more, effective as numerous exclamations in the first edition. It renders the text more modern. Such an interpretation is essentially in line with Irena Maciejewska's observations, which I quoted at the beginning of my article. The language of is less melodramatic, a far

²¹ "The most important part of this collection of poems by Józef Wittlin, entitled *Poezje*, is that the author selected the poems himself before his death. The first and only Polish edition, which also contains poems added by the poet's wife, Halina Wittlinowa, was published in 1978 by Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy. This edition is the same as 'the poet's poetical testament.' [...] The appendix, added and edited by Zygmunt Kubiak, Wojciech Lięża and Elżbieta Wittlin-Lipton, presents the reader with the first edition of *Hymny* (1920) and translations from *Przyjaźnie poetyckie Józefa Wittlina* [Józef Wittlin's poetical friendships], edited by Zygmunt Kubiak, Warsaw 1995. [...] Fragments of manuscripts donated by Elżbieta Wittlin-Lipton are included at the end: a handwritten note from the poet's final days, a dedication on a copy of the *Odyssey* given to Edwin Citron, the poem *Pamięci Jerzego Paczkowskiego* [In memory of Jerzy Paczkowski] and a handwritten note-poem found in the hospital by Józef Wittlin's bed after his death." "Od wydawcy" [Publisher's note], in: Józef Wittlin, *Wybór poezji*, preface and biographical note by Wojciech Lięża, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1998), 237–238.

²² "Od wydawcy" [Publisher's note], in: Józef Wittlin, *Poezje*, preface by Julian Rogoziński (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1981), 151.

²³ "In 1960, it will be 40 years since my first book, the collection of poems *Hymny*, was published by the Hulewicz family in Poznań. Although the book received critical acclaim and had a great impact in its time, the younger generation, both in Poland and abroad, is no longer familiar with it. Therefore, I believe that the book *Orfeusz w piekle XX wieku* [Orpheus in the hell of the twentieth century] (about 400 pages) should be published first, and then a volume of poems entitled *Kontrabanda* [Contraband] (about 200 pages)." Józef Wittlin's letter to Jerzy Giedroyc dated May 11, 1959, in Jerzy Giedroyc, *Józef Wittlin, Listy 1947–1976* [Letters 1947–1976], ed. Rafał Habielski, Paweł Kądziała (Warsaw: 2017), 276. The details of the project are discussed in other letters.

²⁴ See Halina Wittlin's letters to Tymon Terlecki published in: Tymon Terlecki, *Józef Wittlin, Listy 1944–1976* [Letters 1944–1976], ed. Nina Taylor-Terlecka (Warsaw: Towarzystwo "Więź", 2014), 342 (signing a contract for *Wybór poezji*), 346 (sending Wittlin's testament to PIW), 357 (receiving the book), 359 (Jerzy Giedroyc's initial plans to publish the poems), 375 (signing a contract for the second edition).

²⁵ Irena Maciejewska, to whom I have referred before, wrote about condensation in relation to the entire volume.

cry from the first edition, which was a highly emotional and urgent statement. This version is endowed with a new quality. Indeed, it expresses virtually the same message, albeit with fewer words. The greatest modification pertains to the number of lines: many were deleted and those that remain are almost identical with the second and the third edition. The phrase “because All of Europe/ is complaining in me” is not emphasized in the layout, as was the case in previous editions. In the final stanza, the author also returns to the concept he originally introduced in the first edition: the manna that is falling from heaven is not explicitly associated with God, as was the case in the second and third editions.

Hymns – conclusion

The main conclusion from the analysis of the four versions of the poem is the realization that Józef Wittlin’s *Hymny* should be edited and published in accordance with the principles of genetic criticism of printed texts. Unfortunately, we do not know whether any manuscripts and typescripts of *Hymny* exist, so the genetic edition would ultimately include poems that were published in different editions (if the manuscripts or typescripts were found, their transcripts should of course be included in the edition).²⁶ This notwithstanding, there are many arguments in favor of such an editorial project. First of all, more readers would have access to Józef Wittlin’s works. Only the third edition has been digitalized. Other editions are not often included in library collections (it seems that *Poezje* edited by Julian Rogoziński, where the fourth version of *Przedśpiew* was published, seems to be the most popular, both as regards bookshops and libraries; this is probably due to the fact that this edition had a large circulation). A critical genetic edition of *Hymny* would document and demonstrate the dynamics of Józef Wittlin’s work and the direction of changes introduced by him. All other editions present *Hymny* in a static form, relying on only one version of the text. Readers who only have access to the so-called “final” version and are not familiar with Wittlin’s works may be led to believe that there is no history behind it – that is, that no other version exists. It would be worse still if scholars were led to believe that. Therefore, the respective versions should be presented in a chronological order.²⁷ Undoubtedly, the hundredth anniversary of the first edition of *Hymny* in 2020 should be commemorated and the role played by Józef Wittlin in the history of twentieth-century Polish literature should be acknowledged. Unfortunately, the critical discourse does not reflect that. Indeed, the most recent edition of Wittlin’s poetry was published in 1998, i.e. more than 20 years ago. A critical (model) genetic edition of *Hymny* could also constitute an invaluable source for future literary scholars interested in Wittlin’s

²⁶ Małgorzata Wichowska (the curator at the Manuscripts Department of the Adam Mickiewicz Museum of Literature in Warsaw) and Elżbieta Wittlin-Lipton informed me that Wittlin’s daughter has a copy of the third edition of *Hymny* with the author’s and his wife’s handwritten corrections. This version was probably used to prepare the final edition. Unfortunately, I have not seen it. Hopefully, however, this important genetic document will be included in my analysis in the future.

²⁷ I discovered Wittlin as a poet, starting with his “posthumous testament” (Ligeża’s and Rogoziński’s editions, mainly because I attended Professor Wojciech Ligeża’s classes), through the third and the first editions, and ending with the second edition. I knew the final result and I made my way back to the starting point, which, of course, was also an interesting research perspective. It seems, however, that the chronological order is more natural. Unless, taking into account the so-called authorial intent, we include the final version at the beginning, in order to show the gradual descent into the depths, towards the foundations of the final version, i.e. to the first edition of *Hymny*. But such a solution also imposes a certain interpretation and may violate the principle of equality of all versions of the text.

works, also in the field of comparative studies. Respectively, all out-of-print pre-war editions would be published in a single volume. The only reservation concerns authorial intent, i.e. the fact that Józef Wittlin's poetic will, which Julian Rogoziński discussed so emotionally in his preface, would not be honored.²⁸ It seems, however, that this objection may be refuted. A critical genetic edition of *Hymny* would certainly contribute to our knowledge of Józef Wittlin's works. It should be noted that Wojciech Ligęza's edition of *Hymny* contained more poems than Rogoziński's edition and the poet's daughter, the heir to his legacy, approved. Therefore, texts from three editions of *Hymny* and from *Poezje* (edited by Julian Rogoziński) / *Wybór poezji* (edited Wojciech Ligęza) could be published in a single volume on a par with one another. The reader would decide which version of *Hymny* is the "best." It is true that in this case one could speak of "improving the work," as commonly discussed in the literature on the subject. However, I believe that such a perspective, although it is consistent with the opinions of historians and critics and clearly reflects authorial intention, would help readers interpret Wittlin's poems in a critical genetic edition. Indeed, the possibility of looking at texts from many different perspectives and angles would be invaluable. In keeping with the principles of genetic criticism, all versions of the text would be equally relevant.²⁹ A critical genetic edition of Wittlin's poems would also demonstrate that historical poetics should analyze stylistic changes in a given edition as a function of broader stylistic changes in twentieth-century Polish poetry. Such an edition would explain the history behind *Hymny* (the primal context) and would also include illustrations and an extensive editor's note.

Salt of the Earth

Naturally, Józef Wittlin did not only write *Hymny*, but also the outstanding novel *Salt of the Earth*, the first part of a planned trilogy that has been translated into several languages. The writer worked on it for 10 years.³⁰ Fortunately, the manuscripts of some parts of the novel have survived. They allow us to reconstruct, at least to a small extent, the pre-text. Zofia Starowieyska-Morstinowa mentions these notebooks in her text:

After all the wartime shifts, relocations and discards, I found in my papers a large black cardboard notebook: the last draft of the last part of *Salt of the Earth*. [...] I browsed through this notebook with emotion. I don't know if I've ever seen more changes and deletions in a draft. Looking at the

²⁸ Julian Rogoziński opens his preface with the following statement: "Józef Wittlin had selected the poems before he passed away. Therefore, this anthology is the poet's testament – and whoever would try to extend or limit it according to their own (even amicable) preferences would violate the will of the late poet." Julian Rogoziński, "O poezji Józefa Wittlina" [On Józef Wittlin's poetry], preface to Józef Wittlin, *Poezje*, preface by Julian Rogoziński (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1981), 5. In a footnote, Rogoziński adds: "Only people who were very close to the poet could introduce any changes; indeed, Halina Wittlinowa added a few poems that she considered vital in the context of her husband's *oeuvre*. But she only delicately retouched the poet's 'self-portrait'." Rogoziński. Therefore, it would be a good idea if a critical genetic edition was approved by the poet's daughter, Elżbieta Wittlin-Lipton.

²⁹ Professor Stanisław Jaworski, a pioneer of genetic criticism in Poland, was also interested in this aspect: "He was interested in, as he believed, a problem that was not as popular in (especially Polish) genetic publications: he studied texts that, for different reasons, were modified by the author after publication." Mateusz Antoniuk, "Piszę, więc jestem.... Profesor Stanisław Jaworski i krytyka genetyczna" [I write, therefore I am ... Professor Stanisław Jaworski and genetic criticism], *Ruch Literacki* vol. 5 (2018): 514.

³⁰ Wittlin began working on the novel in 1925, and he finished it in 1935. He discusses the socio-political conditions in which he had to work in: Józef Wittlin, "Postscriptum do »Soli ziemi« po 35 latach" [Postscript to *Salt of the earth* after 35 years,] *Kultura* no. 3 (1971): 138–141.

fragments that are not crossed out, I can see how only a small part of what Wittlin wrote in the morning in Świącice was included in the book, how many things were later rejected. These deleted fragments and pages, all those hardly legible notes, should be deciphered and analyzed. Maybe some scholar will study them one day. It is in the deleted fragments of the text that we discover the abundance of flora and fauna that must be present in the writer's soul in order for this simple and strange being to be created: a book. I look with tenderness at the embryo of this unusual, though simple, book called *Salt of the Earth*.³¹

This quote speaks for itself. This manuscript is waiting to be analyzed. Its thorough analysis – including a transcript and a comparison with the printed version – should provide us with a lot of interesting information about the history of this outstanding novel.³² Unfortunately, I do not know what became of the remaining parts of the manuscript. The history of Wittlin's genetic *dossier* is at times tragic. The drafts of the second and third part of the trilogy were lost on June 22, 1940, during the Second World War, when the Wittlin family tried, and eventually failed, to get on a ship from France (Saint-Jean-de-Luz) to England. As the writer's daughter, Elżbieta Wittlin-Lipton, recalls in her book:

The crowd thronged around us, people screamed to get closer to the rickety boats. In this confusion, a feverish Polish soldier, to the horror of my parents, grabbed one (maybe two) of my father's leather suitcases and threw the luggage into the water, shouting that "excess baggage is not allowed." My father's detailed notes and sketches for the next installment of the *Powieść o cierpliwym piechurze* [The Patient Walker] trilogy, of which *Salt of the Earth* was only one part, were in this suitcase (or suitcases).³³

Fragments of the second part of the novel were published in *Kultura* in 1972.³⁴

Raptus Europae, letters, notebooks

It should be noted that Józef Wittlin's archive is much more than what I have focused on in this article. Ewa Wielgosz lists numerous unpublished works in her doctoral dissertation.³⁵ She has also discussed *Raptus Europae*,³⁶ the writer's handwritten notes, which were made with a view to writing a book dedicated to Elżbieta Wittlin, in her article. Unfortunately, this book was never published. Wielgosz observes in her article:

³¹ Zofia Starowieyska-Morstinowa, "Mój przyjaciel Wittlin" [My friend Wittlin], in: *eadem, Ci, których spotykałam* [The people I have met] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Warszawskiej, 1993), 104–105.

³² Małgorzata Wichowska informed me that the manuscript of chapter 9 and half of chapter 8 of *Salt of the earth* have survived to this day.

³³ Elżbieta Wittlin-Lipton, *From one day to another: A fashion reportage in a period of conflict* (Madrid: Ediciones Facta, 2011), 132

³⁴ Józef Wittlin, "Zdrowa śmierć" [Healthy death], *Kultura* no. 7–8 (1972): 75–92.

³⁵ Ewa Wielgosz, *Twórczość literacka i faktograficzna Józefa Wittlina* [Józef Wittlin's fiction and non-fiction texts], (Ph.D. thesis, The University of Rzeszów, 2014).

³⁶ Ewa Wielgosz, "»Raptus Europae. Dziennik« Józefa Wittlina" [Raptus Europae: Józef Wittlin's diary], *Pamiętnik Literacki* vol. 1 (2017): 149–164. According to Elżbieta Wittlin-Lipton, it was rather an outline of a book dedicated to her by her father. In conversations with me, the writer's daughter indicates the need to publish this text, and she also provided me with a transcript of the manuscript.

Despite these declarations, Wittlin left a “diary,” which has not yet been published. The daily entries are now available in manuscripts, typescripts, and also in a digital version. They had been made since the 1920s until Wittlin’s death. As far as prose is concerned, we can find among them: a fragment of the manuscript of *Salt of the Earth*, notes for the second part and the draft of the third part of *Powieść o cierpliwym piechurze*, and the concept for the entire trilogy, notes for quasi-autobiographical novels: the “Jewish” novel about Lvov *Aniołowie pokoju / Cudzoziemiec* [Angels of the world / Foreigner] as well as ideas for other novels and short stories (*Dżungla* [Jungle], *Frak* [Tail-coat], *Łazarz* [Lazarus], *Opowieść o nieczystym sumieniu, czyli Ballada głodowa* [A tale of an unclean conscience or a hunger ballad], *Struna* [String]). As far as poetry and drama are concerned: draft of published poems and drafts of unfinished poems, notes and a fragment of the draft of the drama *Barabasz* [Barabbas]. In addition, there are notes from six trips to Europe in the years 1964-1969, as well drafts of travel essays, notes for autobiographical texts: *Raptus Europae*, *Koty* [Cats], *Survivor*, *St. Frigidaire* and *Riverdale*, original versions of published and unfinished essays, letters to Zofia Starowieyska-Morstinowa, personal comments, sociological and psychological observations about émigré circles and lists of telephone numbers and contact information.³⁷

Indeed, these materials constitute an invaluable source for genetic analysis of Wittlin’s texts.³⁸ It seems that “diary entries” mentioned by Wielgosz are notebooks, which Ryszard Zajączkowski also discusses in his text:

We have to remember that the majority of Wittlin’s texts are handwritten. His stays in France, Spain and Portugal (1939-1940) resulted in an unpublished collection of essays *Raptus Europa*. The Houghton Library has the writer’s diary (journal?) – it will be made available in 2026 – fifty years after Wittlin’s death. From the 1920s to the 1960s, Wittlin had also made notes in notebooks, which, like the *Raptus Europa* manuscript, are kept at the Museum of Literature in Warsaw and to which I refer in my text. These notebooks were not meant to be published; they were rather a kind of an intimate journal. Wittlin comments on his poetry, plans his essays, and records his memories and observations. They cover almost fifty years and read almost like a diary. The writer documented his personal views in them and described the people he met and the situations he encountered. These hybrid sketches, devoid of compositional coherence, are somewhat reminiscent of Aleksander Wat’s *Dziennik bez samogłosek* [Diary without vowels] or the opening fragments of Jan Lechoń’s *Dziennik* [Diary] and refer to the tradition of Edmond and Jules Goncourt’s, André Gide’s and Samuel Peyps’s intimate diary. The form has influenced the vision of the world and the communicative situation inscribed in them. Their analysis may bring a better understanding of Wittlin’s works and views.³⁹

³⁷ Wielgosz, 150–151.

³⁸ The Józef Wittlin archive is kept at Adam Mickiewicz Museum of Literature in Warsaw. The catalog is being prepared: *Katalog rękopisów Muzeum Literatury im. A. Mickiewicza w Warszawie* [Manuscript catalog at Adam Mickiewicz Museum of Literature in Warsaw], ed. T. Januszewski, vol. 2 *Poezja polska XX w.* [Twentieth-century Polish poetry] (Warsaw: Muzeum Literatury im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2002), 311–345.

³⁹ Ryszard Zajączkowski, “Wolne usta poety. Ethos słowa Józefa Wittlina” [The poet’s right to speak: Józef Wittlin’s ethos of the word], *Ethos. Kwartalnik Instytutu Jana Pawła II* no. 1–2 (2012): 266.

Zajączkowski further observes in a footnote:

There are one hundred and twenty-one pocket notebooks. Language roams free in them. They are also a very interesting testimony to the writer's spiritual growth and an intimate commentary on his works and the events of the twentieth century, especially in Poland and the United States. They were made available a few years ago and they provide a crucial context for understanding the writer's work and views.⁴⁰

Interestingly, in other texts, probably in reference to the same collection of notebooks, Zajączkowski writes about 134 notebooks. Moreover, their reference number also changes, from 1701⁴¹ to 1704.⁴² Undoubtedly, this matter requires clarification, and the notebooks should be subjected to a detailed analysis.

Józef Wittlin's private letters, currently edited and published, should also be discussed. Ryszard Zajączkowski observes that:

At the Houghton Library at Harvard University, there are, among others, letters written to J. Wittlin after the war by 370 senders. There are almost no copies of Wittlin's letters in the archive. Their number is impressive. The writer corresponded regularly with Mieczysław Grydzewski, Witold Gombrowicz, Jerzy Giedroyc, Zygmunt Haupt, Hermann Kesten, Jan Winczakiewicz, and Kazimierz Wierzyński. Relatively small but important collections of letters exchanged with Czesław Miłosz, Stanisław Vincenz, Jerzy Stempowski or Roman Brandstaeter are also important.⁴³

Analyzing Wittlin's *oeuvre*, Zajączkowski also points to other unpublished works, such as: manuscripts of reviews of theater plays⁴⁴ or "literary talks delivered at RWE (about 70 texts). They are kept at the J. Wittlin archives at the Piłsudski Institute in New York." Zajączkowski again mentions "(134) pocket notebooks and notebooks kept at the Museum of Literature in Warsaw."⁴⁵ Zajączkowski analyzed these documents and wrote the following articles (where he included quotes from the notebooks): *Wolne usta poety. Ethos słowa Józefa Wittlina* [The poet's

⁴⁰ Zajączkowski.

⁴¹ Zajączkowski, 262.

⁴² Ryszard Zajączkowski, "Nienapisany esej. Ameryka w archiwalnych zapiskach Józefa Wittlina" [Unwritten essay: America in Józef Wittlin's archival notes], in: *Literatura polska na obczyźnie – zapomniane dziedzictwo po roku 1939* [Polish literature in exile - the forgotten heritage after 1939], ed. Ryszard Zajączkowski (Lublin 2017), 22.

⁴³ Ryszard Zajączkowski, "Literatura i życie. O współpracy Józefa Wittlina z Walterem Landauerem i o tłumaczeniach »Soli ziemi«" [Literature and life: The cooperation between Józef Wittlin and Walter Landauer and the translations of *Salt of the earth*], *Pamiętnik Literacki* vol. 1 (2016): 201.

⁴⁴ Ryszard Zajączkowski, "Pamiętnik wygnańca. Z nieznannej korespondencji Józefa Wittlina" [Diary of an exile: From Józef Wittlin's unknown letters], *Ruch Literacki* no. 4–5 (2014): 485.

⁴⁵ Zajączkowski. Zajączkowski also mentions the notebooks when he writes about Józef Wittlin's view of the United States: "If someone ever writes Wittlin's biography, he will also have to refer to 134 pocket notebooks, which are almost completely unexplored, covering the period from the 1920s to the 1960s. The writer recorded in them his personal thoughts, comments on current events, ideas for works, travel records, etc. They are also a very interesting testimony to Wittlin's spiritual evolution and an intimate commentary on his works and the events of the twentieth century, especially in Poland and the United States." Ryszard Zajączkowski, "Józef Wittlin – na szlakach ucieczki i ocalenia" [Józef Wittlin – on the escape and rescue routes], *Pamiętnik Literacki* vol. 1 (2018): 215.

right to speak: Józef Wittlin's ethos of the word], *Józef Wittlin – nierozpoznany chrześcijanin* [Józef Wittlin: An unrecognized Christian] and *Nienapisany esej. Ameryka w archiwalnych zapiskach Józefa Wittlina* [Unwritten essay: America in Józef Wittlin's archival notes]. However, these materials were never transcribed and published in their entirety.

Conclusion

These examples clearly show that a genetic analysis of Józef Wittlin's work is very productive. The writer left behind a rich *oeuvre*. However, in order to fully acknowledge this, we have to look beyond the texts published during his lifetime (i.e. poems, essays and one novel). We also have to acknowledge the existence of an impressive collection of letters (scattered all over the world), notebooks and private notes, although, of course, that is not to suggest that it is quantity, and not quality, of writing that matters. Although various scholars postulate, rightly so, that Wittlin's archival legacy should be published, especially his letters, unfortunately no one argues that genetic criticism should be employed in such a project.

I am convinced that the study of Józef Wittlin's works in the methodological framework of genetic criticism will provide us with many new findings as well as contribute to the dynamically developing genetic studies in Poland.

translated by Małgorzata Olsza

References

- Antoniuk, Mateusz. "»Piszę, więc jestem...«. Profesor Stanisław Jaworski i krytyka genetyczna". *Ruch Literacki* vol. 5 (2018): 505–515.
- Biasi, Pierre-Marc de. *La Génétique des textes*. Paris: CNRS Editions, 2000.
- Katalog rękopisów Muzeum Literatury im. A. Mickiewicza w Warszawie*. Edited by Tadeusz Januszewski. Vol. 2 *Poezja polska XX w.* Warsaw: Muzeum Literatury im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2002.
- Kisiel, Marian. "Poezja świadectwa. O »Hymnach« Józefa Wittlina". In: *Studia o twórczości Józefa Wittlina*. Edited by Ireneusz Opacki. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1990.
- Józef Wittlin's letter to Jerzy Giedroyc dated 11 May 1959. In: Jerzy Giedroyc, Józef Wittlin, *Listy 1947–1976*. Edited by Rafał Habielski and Paweł Kądziała. Warsaw: Instytut Dokumentacji i Studiów nad Literaturą Polską. Oddział Muzeum Literatury im. Adama Mickiewicza: Towarzystwo „Więź,” Paris: Association Institut Littéraire "Kultura," 2017.
- Maciejewska, Irena. "Doświadczenie wielkiej wojny – Józef Wittlin". In: *Poeci dwudziestolecia międzywojennego*. Edited by Irena Maciejewska. Vol. 2. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Wiedza Powszechna, 1982.
- "Nota wydawcy". In: Józef Wittlin, *Wybór poezji*. Preface and biographical note by Wojciech Lięża. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1998.
- Nowosielski, Kazimierz. "Hiobowe wołanie Józefa Wittlina", in: *idem Przestrzeń oczekiwania. Historia, natura, sacrum we współczesnej poezji polskiej*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 1993.
- "Od wydawcy". In: Józef Wittlin, *Poezje*. Preface by Julian Rogoziński. Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1981.
- Piotrowiak, Jan. "W teatrze Jednego Widza. Przedśpiew Józefa Wittlina". In: *Znajomym gościńcem. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Ireneuszowi Opackiemu*. Edited by Tadeusz Sławek. Co-edited by Aleksander Nawarecki and Dariusz Pawelec. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1993.
- Rogoziński, Julian. "O poezji Józefa Wittlina". Introduction to Józef Wittlin, *Poezje*. Preface by Julian Rogoziński. Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1981.
- Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji C. K. VII Gimnazjum we Lwowie za rok szkolny 1913/1914*. Lvov: Fundusz Naukowy, 1914.
- Starowieyska-Morstinowa, Zofia. "Mój przyjaciel Wittlin". In: *eadem, Ci, których spotykałam*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Warszawskiej, 1993.
- Szczepan, Aleksandra. "Traumatyczna niepamięć: doświadczenie Wielkiej Wojny w polskiej literaturze dwudziestolecia". *Przegląd Kulturoznawczy* no. 4 (2014): 411–426.
- Terlecki, Tymon, Wittlin, Józef. *Listy 1944–1976*. Edited by Nina Taylor-Terlecka. Warsaw: Towarzystwo "Więź", 2014.
- Wiegandt Ewa. *Wstęp*. Introduction to Józef Wittlin, *Sól ziemi*. Edited by Ewa Wiegandt. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1991.
- Wielgosz, Ewa. "»Raptus Europae. Dziennik« Józefa Wittlina". *Pamiętnik Literacki* vol. 1 (2017): 149–164.

- . *Twórczość literacka i faktograficzna Józefa Wittlina*. Ph.D. Thesis, The University of Rzeszów, 2014.
- Wittlin, Józef. "Postscriptum do »Soli ziemi« po 35 latach", *Kultura* no. 3 (1971): 138–141.
- . "Przedmowa do drugiego wydania". Introduction to *idem, Hymny (wybór)*, (Warsaw: Nakładem Księgarni F. Hoesicka, 1927), 7–8.
- . "Przedśpiew". In: *idem, Hymny*. Poznań: Zdrój, 1920.
- . "Przedśpiew". In: *idem, Hymny (wybór)*. Warsaw: Księgarnia F. Hoesicka, 1927.
- . "Przedśpiew". In: *idem, Hymny*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo J. Mortkowicza, 1929.
- . "Przedśpiew". In: *idem, Poezje*. Preface by Julian Rogoziński. Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1981.
- . "Zdrowa śmierć", *Kultura* no. 7–8 (1972): 75–92.
- Wittlin-Lipton, Elżbieta. *From one day to another: A fashion reportage in a period of conflict*. Madrid: Ediciones Facta, 2011.
- Yurieff, Zoya. *Józef Wittlin*. Translated by Michał Szczubiałka. Warsaw: Świat Literacki, 1997.
- Zajączkowski, Ryszard. "Józef Wittlin – na szlakach ucieczki i ocalenia", *Pamiętnik Literacki* vol. 1 (2018): 199–216.
- . "Literatura i życie. O współpracy Józefa Wittlina z Walterem Landauerem i o tłumaczeniach »Soli ziemi«", *Pamiętnik Literacki* issue 1 (2016): 201–213.
- . "Nienapisany esej. Ameryka w archiwalnych zapiskach Józefa Wittlina". In: *Literatura polska na obczyźnie – zapomniane dziedzictwo po roku 1939*. Edited by Ryszard Zajączkowski. Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II and Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II, 2017.
- . "Pamiętnik wygnańca. Z nieznanej korespondencji Józefa Wittlina", *Ruch Literacki* no. 4–5 (2014): 485–503.
- . "Wolne usta poety. Ethos słowa Józefa Wittlina", "Ethos. Kwartalnik Instytutu Jana Pawła II" no. 1–2 (2012): 261–278.

KEYWORDS

Hymny

POETRY

genetic criticism

ABSTRACT:

In the present article, I analyze four versions of the poem *Przedśpiew* [Prelude], which opens Józef Wittlin's collection of poems entitled *Hymny* [Hymns], and discuss significant changes within the respective editions, pointing to the research potential of such an analysis. I also postulate that *Hymny* should be edited and published in accordance with the rules of genetic criticism of printed texts. I also demonstrate how genetic criticism may be applied to the works of Józef Wittlin in my discussion of a fragment of the manuscript of the novel *Salt of the Earth*. Thus, I both introduce and outline the future critical perspectives of genetic criticism.

Józef Wittlin

Salt of the Earth

NOTE ON THE AUTHOR:

Maciej Wcisło (b. 1997), student of Polish philology at the Faculty of Polish Studies at Jagiellonian University. He is currently writing an M.A. thesis devoted to Franciscan themes in Józef Wittlin's works under the supervision of prof. UJ dr hab. Łukasz Tischner. His research interests include the history of twentieth-century Polish literature, the Polish school of essays and genetic criticism.