

“Manuscripts don’t burn:”

The reconstruction of the text of Zygmunt Haupt’s short story *Zołota hramota*

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Zołota hramota [The Golden Writ] was written in 1972. Jerzy Giedroyc received his copy later that year in November, but unlike many other Zygmunt Haupt’s short stories, including *Trzy* [Three], written in 1970, and *Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Wełnowskiego* [Report on Wełnowski’s absence], written in 1971, *Zołota hramota* was not rated highly by the editor and ended up in the archive of “Kultura.”¹ I mention these texts because, prolific as Haupt was in the early 1970s, they turned out to be very helpful in the reconstruction of the text of *Zołota hramota* (especially *Meldunek...* proved useful).

¹ In a letter dated November 19, 1972, Giedroyc wrote: “You sent me *Złota Hramota*. I’m a great enthusiast of your writing, but the “middle” part of the story somehow doesn’t suit me. And the scene when the manifesto is read to these people... Maybe you could leave it out or change this part? Please be prompt with your reply.” Haupt replied with due reverence on December 10, 1972: “In the same letter I read about your objections to my short story *Złota Hramota* sent to you earlier in the summer. (If this were ever to be published, I would like to change the title to the Ukrainian *Z o ł o t a Hramota*, in order to distinguish it from the similar title of one of Łobodowski’s books). I respect your judgment, reservations, and powers, being as you are an extraordinary literary expert and editor, and I am fully aware of my shortcomings. But I always work through elimination; I have eliminated something from all of my stories. Therefore, I would like us to rethink whether the said fragment, as you suggest, should be left out.” And that was the end of the discussion about the short story – Jerzy Giedroyc, Zygmunt Haupt, *Listy 1947–1975* [Letters 1947-1975], edited, with an introduction and footnotes by Paweł Panas (Warsaw: Instytut Dokumentacji i Studiów nad Literaturą Polską, Oddział Muzeum Literaturnym im. Adama Mickiewicza, Association Institut Littéraire Kultura, Biblioteka Więzi, 2022), 153–154.

Giedroyc loved whiskey and menthol cigarettes, which, as he claimed, helped him in his editorial work. He openly said that: “He enjoys whiskey in limited quantities. [And – A.M.] the harmfulness of nicotine is demonized.”² It was an open secret at the Literary Institute in Paris that the editor, tired by the reading of the submitted contributions, would often fall asleep at his desk with a lit cigarette in his hand, which often fell from his fingers onto the paper, starting a small fire. This was also the case with *Zołota hramota*. Three out of sixteen pages caught on fire – page two, page three, and page four. Pages three and four were severely damaged. Normally, this would not be a huge editorial problem – most of Haupt’s works were printed or archived in multiple different formats, including typed manuscripts, magazine publications, or even earlier drafts. However, only one, partially destroyed, copy of *Zołota hramota* has survived to this day. I conducted research at Stanford University Library and Archive, where the Zygmunt Haupt Papers are kept, in 2006 and did not find another copy of the short story. Neither did Paweł Panas in 2019 (who – it must be emphasized – was much more thorough and patient than I was). In addition, we know that Haupt did not give manuscripts of his works to his friends as gifts, so we must accept that the partially destroyed copy from the Literary Institute in Paris is the only existing one. Anyway, the writer was lucky that he did not send his story to “Wiadomości,” because Mieczysław Grydzewski would have thrown it away, which is what he did with the works he did not like, and thus we would have lost it forever. Admittedly, *Zołota hramota* is unusual for Haupt, insofar as it employs fictitious parabolic narration. The story must be read as an allegory³ (and it seems that the writer struggled with this convention), but apart from the artistic value of the story, it is obvious that *Zołota hramota* gives an insight into the otherwise unknown aspects of Haupt’s work. Indeed, in no other literary text did Haupt discuss so extensively – although indirectly and thus enigmatically – the question of Polish-Ukrainian relations.⁴

Zołota hramota had been quietly stored in the Paris archives until the end of the 1980s, when it was brought to light by Renata Gorczyńska, who was the first to attempt a partial reconstruction of the damaged fragments. She intended the story to be published in a volume of Haupt’s collected prose writings titled *Szpica. Opowiadania, warianty, szkice* [Vanguard: Stories, variants, essays], which she edited. *Szpica* was published by the Literary Institute in 1989. The manuscript reflects her hard work. She added typewritten addenda and handwritten notes, both on separate pages. We know it was her because her handwriting is different from Jerzy Giedroyc’s or Zofia Hertz’s handwriting. Gorczyńska’s footnote on page 247 is very telling: “The author’s manuscript is damaged. Only some missing words have been reconstructed in this part of the story.” I praise Gorczyńska for her editorial work, as a more ambitious attempt to fill in the textual gaps would only be possible if she had been familiar with Haupt’s entire *oeuvre*. This was simply not possible at the time. Respectively, Gorczyńska simply did not have time to study Haupt’s writing habits, style, and language in depth. She did what she could at the time, and for that all contemporary readers should be grateful.

² Magdalena Grochowska, Jerzy Giedroyc. Do Polski ze snu [Jerzy Giedroyc. To Poland from a dream], 2nd supplemented edition with a preface by Andrzej Friszke (Warsaw: Wielka Litera, 2014), 6.

³ See: Andrzej Niewiadomski, *Przeciw entropii, przeciw arkadii. O pisarstwie Zygmunta Haupta* [Against entropy, against arcadia. The writings of Zygmunt Haupt] (Kraków: Instytut Literatury, 2021), 44.

⁴ Niewiadomski, 44.

Of course, a professional Hauptologist should be more ambitious, and so I tried to find out more. Unfortunately, the query in the archives of the Literary Institute, requested by me over the phone to Jacek Krawczyk (in 2005), did not prove successful. I also did not find out anything new from Gorczyńska (we exchanged letters at the turn of 2007 and 2008), because almost twenty years had passed since the publication of *Szpica*, and the editor no longer remembered how she managed to discover the typescript in the Parisian archive. Only a query conducted in Paris by Paweł Panas in 2017 proved successful. The scholar did not rest until he found something, and in addition he immediately (in 2018) shared his findings with me. I had always dreamed of working with Haupt's manuscript – and this one was the last one left in the archives – and this dream came true. As a result of my work, numerous emendations were added to the version published in *Szpica*, but I do not want to talk about them, because they are not that important. Indeed, a true textologist challenge was filling in the gaps, which today is not as difficult as it might seem at first glance. We probably already know everything about Haupt's works, both fiction and non-fiction; moreover, we can combine his *oeuvre* into one document and conduct searches in the file word by word thanks to modern technology. Of course, nothing can replace a true knowledge of Haupt's works, his style, and all his trademark characteristics.⁵ Combining all of the above, we can try to accomplish something that was simply impossible when *Szpica* was published. Still, I did not want to study the text alone – this task did not seem realistic to me – so I asked my 1 M.A. students for help. We worked on the text together during my Polish studies seminar entitled “Contemporary editions of literary works” in the summer semester of the academic year 2018/19. Fourteen seminarists contributed a lot to the final findings I present below, and I wish to acknowledge their contribution.

The theory of editing and textology does not address reconstruction in much detail, and it is hardly surprising. After all, it is impossible to create detailed rules for textual reconstruction that could be applied more or less universally. What is more, Polish textologists and editors usually refer to poetry in their studies, and narrative prose is often overlooked. However, some voices do prove useful. Konrad Górski writes about “very real circumstances which make conjectural emendations necessary. This need may arise in two cases. Firstly, when we realize during reading that something is not right – the text was probably distorted by typesetting errors. Secondly, when the printed pages have been mechanically damaged.”⁶ Jerzy Starnawski even postulates that we need a new profession, an editor-detective. He is “especially needed when the text is clearly damaged, when – by introducing, for example, a single conjecture or emendation – we render it understandable. And rendering the text understandable is one of the most important tasks of the modern publisher.”⁷ The above remarks, though very general,

⁵ This is probably what Konrad Górski had in mind when he wrote: “Spending a lot of time with the handwritten and typed manuscripts of a given writer makes one realize what is [...] an intrusion in a given text” – Konrad Górski, *Tekstologia i edytorstwo dzieł literackich* [Textology and editing of literary works], preface by Mirosław Strzyżewski (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2011), 64.

⁶ Górski, 67.

⁷ Jerzy Starnawski, *Praca wydawcy naukowego* [The work of a scientific publisher], 2nd supplemented edition (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo, 1992), 54. See also: Jan Trzynadłowski, *Autor – dzieło – wydawca* [Author – work – publisher], 2nd supplemented edition (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo, 1988), 78 and 82; Roman Loth, *Podstawowe pojęcia i problemy tekstologii i edytorstwa naukowego* [Basic concepts and problems of textology and scientific editing] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IBL, 2006), 87ff.

undeniably validate our quest in search of lost words. Respectively, the Italian researcher Alfredo Stussi emphasizes that: “Not everything can be corrected: very large gaps can prove to be insurmountable difficulties, unless you are dealing with texts characterized by strong logical connections, based on repetitive syntagms.”⁸ As we can see, Stussi actually points to a methodology that works perfectly in the case of *Złota hramota*. Haupt’s prose is characterized by repetitions, which are noticeable both at the level of the represented world (characters and motifs) and language (formulations, sentences, and even quite extensive parts of the narrative);⁹ “and one element is often repeated in two, and sometimes three, works.”¹⁰ And this is the case in *Złota hramota* – in some parts it resembles two earlier short stories by Haupt: the motif the mares of Diomedes appears in *Trzy* [Three] (written in 1970) and the motifs of the town of Kodeń and a picture album appear both in *Trzy* and in *Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Wełnowskiego* (written in 1971). We should thus focus on the stylistic and linguistic layer of the aforementioned stories, and the repetitions found in them; indeed, the similarities between *Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Wełnowskiego* and *Złota hramota* are particularly important, because they concern those parts of *Złota hramota* that were damaged in the fire. Four sentences from *Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Wełnowskiego* are particularly important:

1. “Tak jak odtwarzała mi się, gdy przeglądałem stary sztambuch Salomei Wiśniowieckiej, w którym jakaś inna ręka na odwrocie welinowych kart porobiła także jakieś notatki dotyczące się koni, ich ras, rodów, maści i odmastków” [Just as it appeared to me when I was going through the old album of Salomea Wiśniowiecka, in which some other hand, on the back of the vellum pages, also made some notes about horses, their breeds, lines, coat colors and hues] (BD¹¹ 611);
2. “Było tam wiele innych notatek dotyczących się spraw końskich: [...]” [There were many other notes relating to horses: [...]] (BD 611);
3. “O rzędach, siodłach, uprzężach, cuglach, wodzach, uzdach, trzęzlach, czepcach...” [About horse tracks, saddles, harnesses, reins, harnesses, snaffle bits, bridles, headstalls...] (BD 612);
4. “Skąd mi to się znalazło w zapiskach?” [Why is this in my records?] (BD 612).

These sentences can be used to reconstruct the destroyed fragments. They will also help us calculate the number of typed characters in successive lines, and these calculations, in turn, will help us select words from the writer’s dictionary that can fit within the limits thus defined. Of course, we cannot calculate the exact number, because the fire destroyed the right side of the pages, and, as we know, when you write on a typewriter (unlike on a computer) you cannot justify the right margin. Haupt never cared for that. So, let us take a look at the damaged pages:

⁸ Alfredo Stussi, *Wprowadzenie do edytorstwa i tekstologii* [Introduction to editing and textology], trans. Mateusz and Piotr Salwa (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Słowo/Obraz Terytoria, 2011), 102.

⁹ See: Aleksander Madyda, *Zygmunt Haupt – życie i twórczość literacka* [Zygmunt Haupt – life and works] (Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1998), 135–139 and 149–155.

¹⁰Madyda, 138.

¹¹Zygmunt Haupt, *Baskijski diabeł. Opowiadania i reportaże* [The Basque devil. Stories and reportages], collected, edited and with an editorial note by Aleksander Madyda, preface by Andrzej Stasiuk, 2nd supplemented and amended edition (Wołowiec: Wydawnictwo Czarne, 2016); hereinafter hereinafter referred to as BD and marked with the page number.

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Był za pan brat z huzarami, kwaterującymi tu oficerami sztabu remonty dywizji, pułków sumskiego, ^{le} jelizawiegradzkiego, mariupolskiego, izjumskiego, huzarów grodzieńskich, achtyrskich, pawlogradzkich, litewskich i pułku księcia orańskiego, remonty zakupującej młode konie na jarmarkach w Berdyczowie. I oto z całej zawartości "sabretache", tak nieakuratnego w moderunku porucznika, okazało się, był tylko panieński sztambuch.

Pan rotmistrz, Niemiec z pochodzenia, był sentymentalny, czuły na romantyczne sprawy dziejące się na stronach weliny, kartek oprawionego w wyślizgane ^{w safianie} / złote liście tomiku, ale ^{zanim} (darmskim swym okiem doszukał się zaraz w albumie czegoś, ^{obciążony} Oto na odwrotnych stronach kart porobione były jakieś ^{notatki} widocznym było że jeżeli nie posiadacz to depozytariusz ^{depozytariusz} konieczności, w braku innego papieru posłużył ^{złoty sztambuch} celów wcale praktycznych. Bo notatki te tytuły ^{di} dzo kośskich.

Było tam o maściach i odmastkach, farbach ^e koni przeglądanych przez komisje remontowe. ^{ze notatką} jako się rzekło sentymentalny, czuły na romantyzm ^{wolno} koniarzem to on nie był. Nic nie mówiły mu dalsze ^{wołał} czące się rzędów, forgozców, trenzli, cugli, wozy ^{wołał} rzemieni. Konie, uprząże, skóra mu śmierdziała.

Co innego mówił mu cuch, zapach smoły czy liny ^{konu} Jego przeznaczeniem za młodu miało być morze. Miał zos ^{został} ^{Może} kiem. Jako chłopak zaczynał nawet we flocie bałtyckiej, w Ki

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Pan rotmistrz, Niemiec z pochodzenia, był sentymentalny, czuł na romantyczne sprawy dziejące się na stronach welinowy[...] kartek oprawionego w wytłaczane w safianie złote liście tomiku, ale [...]darmskim swym okiem doszukał się zaraz w albumie czego[...]. Oto na odwrotnych stronach kart porobione były jakieś [...]. Widocznym było, że jeżeli nie posiadacz, to depozytor [...] z konieczności, w braku innego papieru posłużył [...] celów wcale praktycznych. Bo notatki te tyczyły [...]dzo końskich.

Było tam o maściach i odmastkach, farbach [...] koni przeglądanych przez komisje remontowe. P[...] jako się rzekło, sentymentalny, czuł na roman[...] koniarzem to on nie był. Nic nie mówiły mu dals[...]czące się rzędów, forgoczy, trzęzli, cugli, wo[...] rzemieni. Konie, uprząże, skóra mu śmierdziały.

Co innego mówił mu cuch, zapach smoły czy liny k[...]. Jego przeznaczeniem za młodu miało być morze. Miał zostać [...]kiem. Jako chłopak zaczynał nawet we flocie bałtyckiej w Kr”

[He knew the hussars well – Army Remount Service officers were stationed here; they oversaw the regiments from Sumy, Elizavetgrad, Mariupol, Izium, Grodno, Okhtyrka, Pawlohrad, as well as Lithuanian hussars and the regiment of the Prince of Orange; they would remount young horses at fairs in Berdychiv. And it turned out that the picture album, from all the things carried in the «*sabretache*», was such an unhandy thing among the lieutenant’s equipment.

The *Rittmeister*, a German by origin, was sentimental, sensitive to romantic matters found on the pages of the vell[...] pages of the album bound in Morocco leather decorated with golden leaves, but with his [...]ier’s eye he immediately found something [...] in the album. On the back of the pages, there were some [...]. It was evident that, if not the owner, then the holder [...] out of necessity, with only these pages at his disposal, used [...] for his quite practical purposes. Because those notes were [...]ch related to horses.

There were notes about horses reviewed by remount committees, their [...] breeds, coat colors and hues, and markings. T[...], as it has been said, was sentimental, sensitive to roman[...] he was not a horseman. Other [...] horse tacks, tethers, bridles, reins, harn[...] leather straps told him nothing. To him horses, harnesses, leather stank.

The smell, the aroma of tar or h[...] rope was different. As a young man, he was destined to go to the sea. He was going to be a [...]man. As a boy, he even joined the Baltic Fleet in Kr.] (p. 3).

In my opinion, using the previously mentioned methodology, i.e., by confronting *Złota hramota* with *Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Wełnowskiego* and calculating the number of letters in a line, we can relatively easily fill in the empty spaces. I present my version below (I have marked Renata Górczyńska’s conjectures with which I agree with the letters “R.G.”, and I have put my alternatives in bold):

Był za pan brat z huzarami – kwaterującymi tu oficerami sztabu remonty dywizji, pułków: sumskiego, jelizawietgradzkiego, mariupolskiego, izjumskiego, huzarów grodzieńskich, achtyrskich, pawłogradzkich, litewskich i pułku księcia Orańskiego, remonty zakupującej młode konie na jarmarkach w Berdyczowie. I oto z całej zawartości «*sabretache*», tak nieakuratny w moderunku porucznika, okazało się, był tylko paniński sztambuch.

Pan rotmistrz, Niemiec z pochodzenia, był sentymentalny, czuły na romantyczne sprawy dziejące się na stronach welinowy[ch – R.G.] kartek oprawionego w wytłaczane w safianie złote liście tomi-ku, ale [żan – R.G.]darmskim swym okiem doszukał się zaraz w albumie czego[ś **dziwnego**¹²]. Oto na odwrotnych stronach kart porobione były jakieś [notatki – R.G.¹³]. Widocznym było, że jeżeli nie posiadacz, to depozytor [**tomiku**]¹⁴ z konieczności, w braku innego papieru posłużył [się sztambuchem do – R.G.] celów wcale praktycznych. Bo notatki te tyczyły [**się**¹⁵ spraw bar – R.G.] dzo końskich.

Było tam o maściach i odmastkach, farbach [**najrozmaitszych**¹⁶] koni przeglądanych przez komisje remontowe. P[an rotmistrz był, – R.G.] jako się rzekło, sentymentalny, czuły na roman[**tyczne sprawy**¹⁷, ale] koniarzem to on nie był. Nic nie mówiły mu dals[ze **zapiski**¹⁸ ty]cząca się rzędów, forgoczy, trzęzli, cugli, wo[**dzy, uzd i**¹⁹] rzemieni. Konie, uprzęże, skóra mu śmierdziała.

Co innego mówił mu cuch, zapach smoły czy liny k[onopnej – R.G.]. Jego przeznaczeniem za młodu miało być morze. Miał zostać [**majt**]²⁰kiem. Jako chłopak zaczynał nawet we flocie bałtyckiej w Kr[on]”

[He knew the hussars well – Army Remount Service officers were stationed here; they oversaw the regiments from Sumy, Elizavetgrad, Mariupol, Izium, Grodno, Okhtyrka, Pawlohrad, as well as Lithuanian hussars and the regiment of the Prince of Orange; they would remount young horses at fairs in Berdychiv. And it turned out that the picture album, from all the things carried in the «*sabretache*», was such an unhandy thing among the lieutenant’s equipment.

¹²Conjectural emendation made on the basis of the number of typed letters.

¹³See the first sentence of Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Wełnowskiego.

¹⁴Omission not marked in Szpica. Conjectural emendation made on the basis of the previous sentence in the story.

¹⁵Conjectural emendation made on the basis of the third sentence of the next paragraph of the story and the second sentence of Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Wełnowskiego.

¹⁶An omission was marked in Szpica. Conjectural emendation was made on the basis of the number of typed letters; the word used to fill in the gap may be found in the stories *Wyspy Galapagos i wyprawa na Mount Everest* [The Galapagos Islands and the expedition to Mount Everest], *Poker w Gorganach* [Poker in the Gorgany] and *Perekotypołe* [Tumbleweed] (twice) and in the essay *Dzisiaj, przedwczoraj, wczoraj, jutro* [Today, the day before yesterday, yesterday, tomorrow].

¹⁷I do not think that Renata Gorczyńska’s “romanse” [romances] is a good alternative; the narrator essentially repeats the previous paragraph.

¹⁸Renata Gorczyńska’s version: “notatki” [notes]. A conjectural emendation made for stylistic reasons (the word “notes” appears twice already) and the word “zapiski” [records] is based on the fourth sentence of Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Wełnowskiego.

¹⁹Renata Gorczyńska’s version: “wodzów” [harnesses]. Conjectural emendation made on the basis of the number of typed letters and the third sentence of Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Wełnowskiego.

²⁰Renata Gorczyńska’s version: “podróżnikiem” [adventure man]. Conjectural emendation made on the basis of the number of typed letters; the word used to fill in the gap may be found in the story *El Pelele* and the essay *Ptaki albo „Zanim zaczną schodzić się goście, przetańczmy jeszcze raz menueta...”* [Birds or “Before the guests start to arrive, let’s dance the minuet one more time...”].

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sztadzie. Naprzód jako "junga", potem "miczman". Ale dla jakichś względów ta morska kariera urwała się u samego wstępu. Może zakup oficierskiego stopnia we flocie był poza finansowymi możliwościami rodziny, może wcześniej poznano się na pedantycznych zdolnościach Niemca z pochodzenia. Został żandarmem.

Ale w uszach na zawsze pozostał mu ryk i szum fali "pryboju", skrzyp bloków, świst wiatru w linach, a w ustach smak słonej wody. W marzeniach (każdy z nas ma swe marzenia o dalekim i nieosiągniętym, nie?) widział się na przychylnym w bejdewindzie pokładzie korwety, zapatrzonym w fosforyzujący po nocy szlak kilwateru. Za młodu, w Kronsztadzie, był świadkiem kiedy to z ukazu imperatora Aleksandra Pawłowicza admirał hausen wyruszał do Antarktydy, z zazdrością patrzył na nowe mgły żagle jego fregaty "Wostok" i barki "Mirnyj" płynące w nieznane. Chciał, jak ten inny nawigator, hrabia Yves de Kerguelen-Trémarec, w którego sprawozdaniach się odkrywać nowe wyspy, nadawać im imiona.

Okręt marzyciela miał nazwać się "Pałłada". "Pałłady" miały rysować na nieboskłonie Terra Australis lacie i gwiazdozbiory. Te szkoły, jeszcze w carskich czasach, niósł niezłą znajomość mitologii. Stąd miano jej korwety. Stąd pomysł nazwy nieoglądanej dotąd, nieodkrytej jeszcze konstelacji owych karmionych ludojadów, Klaczy Diomedesa...

Uwagę rozmarzonego rotmistrza przyciągnął znagła w

The *Rittmeister*, a German by origin, was sentimental, sensitive to romantic matters found on the pages of the vell[um – R.G.] pages of the album bound in Morocco leather decorated with golden leaves, but with his [sold]ier's eye he immediately found something [**strange**] in the album. On the back of the pages, there were some [notes – R.G.]. It was evident that, if not the owner, then the holder [**of the album**] out of necessity, with only these pages at his disposal, used [the album – R.G.] for his quite practical purposes. Because those notes were [**about** matters which very mu – R.G.]ch related to horses.

There were notes about horses reviewed by remount committees, their [**many different**] breeds, coat colors and hues, and markings. T[he *Rittmeister* – R.G.], as it has been said, was sentimental, sensitive to roman[**tic matters** but] he was not a horseman. Other [**records** about] horse tacks, tethers, bridles, reins, harn[**esses, snaffle bits and**] leather straps told him nothing. To him hors-es, harnesses, leather stank.

The smell, the aroma of tar or h[emp – R.G.] rope was different. As a young man, he was destined to go to the sea. He was going to be a [**boy sea**]man. As a boy, he even joined the Baltic Fleet in Kr[on]

And the final page:

«sztadzie. Naprzód jako «junga», potem – «miczman». Ale dla jakichś względów ta morska kariera urwała się u samego wstępu. Może zakup oficerskiego stopnia we flocie był poza finansowymi możliwościami rodziny, może wcześniej poznano się na pedantycznych zdolnościach Niemca z pochodzenia. Został żandarmem.

Ale w uszach na zawsze pozostał mu ryk i szum fali «*priboju*», skrzyp bloków, świst wiatru w lin-ach, a w ustach – smak słonej wody. W marzeniach (każdy z nas ma swe marzenia o dalekim i nie osiągniętym, nie?) widział się na przychyłonym w bejdewindzie pokładzie korwety zapatrzonym w fosforyzujący po nocy szlak kilwateru. Za młodu w Kronsztadzie był świad[kiem, – R.G.] kiedy to z ukazu imperatora Aleksandra Pawłowicza admirał [Bellings – R.G.]hausen wyruszał do Antarktydy, z zazdrością patrzył na n[iknące – R.G.] we mgłę żagle jego fregaty «Wostok» i barki «Mirnyj», pły[**nących**]²¹ w nieznane. Chciał, jak ten inny nawigator, hrabia Yve[**s-Joseph**]²² de Kerguelén-Trémarec, w którego sprawozdaniach się [zaczytywał – R.G.], odkrywać nowe wyspy, nadawać im imiona.

Okręt marzyciela miał nazywać się «Pałłada». [**Szczyty masztów**]²³ «Pałłady» miały rysować na nieboskłonie Terra Australis [**Incognita**]²⁴ konste – R.G.]lacje i gwiazdozbiory. Ze szkoły, jeszcze w cars[**kiej stolicy**]²⁵ wy[**niósł** niezłą znajomość mitologii. Stąd miano jeg[o **wymarzonej**]²⁶] kor-

²¹Renata Gorczyńska's version: «płynące» [sailed]. Conjectural emendation made on the basis of the number of typed letters and in consideration of the grammatical structure of this sentence.

²²Conjectural emendation made on the basis of the number of typed letters.

²³An omission was marked in Szpica.

²⁴An omission was marked in Szpica.

²⁵An omission was marked in Szpica.

²⁶An omission was marked in Szpica.

wety. Stąd pomysł nazwy nie oglądanej dotąd, **nie w[idzianej]**,²⁷ nie odkrytej jeszcze konstelacji owych karmionych lu[dzkim mię – R.G.]sem ludojadów, Klaczy Diomedesa.

Uwagę rozmarzonego rotmistrza przyciągnął z nagła wy[padły – R.G.]”

[stadt. First as “a cabin boy,” then as “a midshipman.” But for some reason his naval career was cut short at the very beginning. Maybe his family could not afford to buy him an officer’s rank in the fleet, maybe the pedantic skills of a German by birth were recognized early. He became a gendarme.

But he always remembered the roar and the sound of “priboj”, the creaking of the blocks, the whistle of the wind in the ropes, and the taste of salt water in his mouth. In his dreams (we all have dreams of the distant and the unachieved, right?) he saw himself on the deck of a corvette sailboat tilted by the wind, staring at the wake pattern generated by the boat, which was almost phosphorescent at night. As a child in Kronstadt, he witn[essed – R.G.] Admiral [Bellings – R.G.] hausen set off for Antarctica, acting on the order of Emperor Alexander Pavlovich; he looked with envy as the sails of his frigate the «Vostok» and his barge the «Mirnyj» dis[appeared – R.G.] in the mist, sail[ing] into the unknown. He wanted, like that other navigator, Count Yve[s-Joseph] de Kerguelén-Trémarec, whose reports [he read passionately – R.G.], to discover new islands, to name them.

The dreamer’s ship was to be called the «Pałłada». [The sails of the «Pałł]ada» were supposed to draw in the sky of Terra Australis [Incognita constel – R.G.]lations and star systems. Back at school, still in the tsar[’s capital, he acquir]ed a good knowledge of mythology. Hence the name of hi[s dream] corvette. Hence the idea for the name of the hitherto unseen, un[known], undiscovered constellation of these ma[n-eating – R.G.] cannibals, the Mares of Diomedes.

The attention of the daydreaming *Rittmeister* was drawn by the unexpected fa[[lling – R.G.]] (p. 4).

The penultimate paragraph on this page proved the most problematic, both for Renata Gorczyńska and me. In five cases, Gorczyńska decided not to make any conjectural emendations, but I did. In the first case, I was inspired to do so by Haupt’s pre-war short story *Admiral Gaspar Hojeda* [Admiral Gaspar Hojeda], in which there is the following sentence: “Fale dalej opluwały pokłady, **szczyty masztów zapisywały niebo zawiłym tekstem**, skrzypiały bloki i wachty monotonnie dzwoniły czas” [The waves continued to spit at the decks, the sails wrote intricate inscriptions in the sky, the blocks creaked and the watches monotonously kept the time] (ZR²⁸ 23, emphasis mine – A.M.). In the second case, one of my M.A. students, Tomasz Warczykowski, entered the phrase “Terra Australis” into a computer search engine – I must admit that I would never have come up with such a brilliant solution myself. In the third case, it was enough to know that the Naval Academy was relocated to Saint-Petersburg in 1715.²⁹

²⁷An omission was marked in Szpica.

²⁸Zygmunt Haupt, *Z Roksolanii. Opowiadania, eseje, reportaże, publicystyka, warianty, fragmenty (1935–1975)* [From Red Ruthenia. Stories, essays, reportages, journalism, variants, fragments (1935–1975)], collected, edited and with an editorial note by Aleksander Madyda (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2018).

²⁹Ludwik Bazylow, *Historia Rosji* [The History of Russia], 4th corrected and supplemented edition. The section covering the years 1917–1991 was written by Paweł Wieczorkiewicz (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo, 2005), 151.

The answer to the fourth omission was found in the text of *Zołota hramota* on the very same page, on page four; in the previous paragraph, the narrator talks about the gendarme's naval "dreams." The answer to the final omission was found in the final sentence of the penultimate paragraph – we find there a series of synonymous adjectival participles related to the act of looking and knowing; in the Polish text this word starts with the, now almost invisible, letter "w," and thus we automatically think of "widzianej." This is how I propose to recreate the destroyed parts of Zygmunt Haupt's short story.

Of course, I do not consider the solutions presented above to be definite. Konrad Górski used to tell the following story about the renowned Polish literary scholar Juliusz Kleiner and it is a cautionary tale that every textologist should know:

"Słowacki's album poem *To E. hr. K.* [...] was printed in the "Kronika Rodzinna" [Family Chronicle] magazine; the text was copied from a manuscript which was not made available to anyone. The first stanza of the poem read:

Chciałbym, ażeby tu wpisane słowo,
Jeśli na wieki ma słowem pozostać,
Aby słów miało nieśmiertelnych postać
Albo posągów piękność marmurową.

[I would like the word written here
If it is to remain a word forever,
To have an immortal form of words
Or the beauty of marble statues.]

Juliusz Kleiner, who was an expert in Słowacki's poetry, could not accept the wording of the third line. He could not believe that Słowacki had committed so many stylistic mistakes at once, namely: 1) repetition of the same word three times in close proximity (*słowo, słowem, słów*); 2) repetition of very similar syntactic structures (*ażeby... aby...*); 3) a metaphor devoid of any plasticity (*postać słów nieśmiertelnych*). So, he proposed that the line should read "Aniołów miało nieśmiertelnych postać" [To have an immortal form of angels]. He explained that the typesetter could have misread Słowacki's handwriting, and used the words *Ani słów* instead of *Aniołów*, and the proofreader later corrected *Ani* to *Aby*. This explanation sounds convincing. It was so credible: at the level of interpretation, at the level of proposed corrections, and, finally, at the level of the origin of the error. And yet the whole elaborate philological argument collapsed when the manuscript was found, and it turned out that the text published in "Kronika Rodzinna" was correct."³⁰

translated by Małgorzata Olsza

³⁰Górski, 74–75.

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KEYWORDS

ZYGMUNT HAUPT

editing

reconstruction

ABSTRACT:

The article is devoted to the reconstruction of the missing fragments of Zygmunt Haupt's short story *Złota hramota*. Expert knowledge of Haupt's entire *oeuvre* and style, characterized by recurring motifs and corresponding expressions, was the basis for the reconstruction. The context of the reconstructed gap as well as grammatical and stylistic considerations were also taken into account in the reconstruction process.

*Polish narrative prose
of the 20th century*

short story

textology

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