

“In our region...”, or Haupt’s “Letychiv district”

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Haupt’s “praił”

“U nas” [In our region]. Where is that? “Každy z nas” [We all], Zygmunt Haupt writes, “wywodzi się z jakiegoś «praiłu», każdy pozostawił za sobą wody, które kiedyś «czerpał w niemowlęce dłonie»” [hail from some ‘praił,’ we all left behind the waters that we once ‘took in our baby hands’].¹ So where can Haupt-the writer’s “praił” [primordial clay] be found? The “biographical” answer seems simple and unequivocal: Zygmunt, son of Ludwik and Aldona was born in Ulashkivtsi [Pol. Ułaszki], in the Chortkiv district of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the early spring of 1907, “nastąpiło stworzenie świata” [the world was created [for Haupt – TS]] in Ulashkivtsi. He “temu stworzeniu się przyglądał” [looked at the creation of the world] (*Z kroniki o latającym domu* [From the Chronicle of the Flying House] BD 416) in Ulashkivtsi. Alas, was Haupt-the writer born there as well? Are the

¹ Zygmunt Haupt, “Inwokacja do powiatu latyczowskiego” [Invocation to the Letychiv district], in: *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 Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika 2018), 116. I also quote from Zygmunt Haupt, *Baskijski diabeł* [The Basque Devil: Stories and Reportages], 2nd ed., collected, edited and with an editorial note by Aleksander Madyda. Preface by Andrzej Stasiuk (Wołowiec: Wydawnictwo Czarne 2017). All quotations from both collections are in the main text; I provide the title of the work, the abbreviation of the book title and page number: *Z Roksolanii* – ZR; *Baskijski diabeł* – BD.

worlds he created based on Ulashkivtsi? Only on Ulashkivtsi? After all, Haupt was surprised that so little was left "z tamtego świata" [of that world]. This accumulation of pronouns results not so much from stylistic clumsiness as from an attempt to refer to the writer's pronominal tendencies, or the "pronominal" specificity of his descriptions, and spatial "orientation," which manifested itself with particular force in the era of "zagubienie na drugim końcu świata" [being lost at the other end of the world]. It was then that the writer confessed with resignation: "a **u nas** o takim, co przepadł, o kim zapomniano, było powiedzenie, że «uciekł, gdzie pieprz rośnie»" [**In our** region, someone who was lost, who was forgotten, "run for the hills"] (*Tam, gdzie rosną poziomki – i gdzie pieprz rośnie...* [Where wild strawberries grow – and where people run for the hills...] ZR 130).

Probably no other Polish émigré writer (including those who were not allowed to live among their "praił"), including even those painfully "imprisoned" in nostalgia, showed such a steadfast predilection for comparing their current world with their former world, "our" world. Haupt was probably aware of this. In the short story *Oak Alley nad Missisipi* [Oak Alley on the Mississippi] he noted that he "posługuje się [...] ciągle sztuką paraleli" [constantly uses the art of parallel] (BD 710). We find it in many other texts. Here are some examples: "**u nas**² to były chwasty, zielenina, którą żęła zakrzywionym sierpem do zgrzebnej płachty o porannej lub wieczornej rosie chłopka" [in our region, there were weeds, greens, which a peasant woman cut with a curved sickle and put in a coarse piece of cloth in the early morning or in the evening] (*W Paryżu i w arkadii* [In Paris and Arcadia] BD 215); "**u nas**, na Podolu" [in our region, in Podolia] (*Meine liebe Mutter, sei stolz, Ich trage die Fahne* BD 259); "sterczą na nich ruiny zamków i warowni, jak **u nas** na Podolu, regularnie według linii, jak **u nas** Trembowla, Czortków, Jagielnica, Skała" [ruins of castles and strongholds stand on top of them, like in our Podolia, regularly, in a line, like in our Terebovlia, Chortkiv, Yahilnytsia, Skała] (*Barbarzyńcy patrzą w krajobraz podbitego kraju* [Barbarians look at the landscape of a conquered country] 375); "sterczą mury i bastiony ruin zamków, jak to **u nas**, jak wzdłuż doliny Seretu albo Gnilej Lipy, albo Wereszycy" [walls and bastions of destroyed castles stick out, you can often find them in our region, along the valley of the Siret or the Hnyla Lypa or the Vereshytsya] (379); "tam koniki chodziły w hołoblach – nie tak jak **u nas** dyszłowe pary" [where horses walked in single harnesses – not in pairs like in our region] (*Meldunek o nieprzybyciu Wełnowskiego* [Report on Wełnowski's non-arrival] BD 609); "mówiło się **u nas**: «ruski», «Rusini»" [we used to say Ruthenians, or Ruthenian] (*El Pelele* BD 526); "i żadne tam **u nas** hołoble, ale para u dyszła" [and our horses do not walk in single harnesses – we hitch a team of horses] (*Z Łaczczyzny* [From Polish lands] BD 630); "słupy telegrafu jak **u nas** na Wołyniu smutne i krzyżowe" [telegraph poles like in our Volhynia are sad and cross-like] (*Luizjana* [Louisiana] BD 686); "**u nas** Rusini mówili: «żeleznycia». [...] **u nas** magistrale miały solidny tłuczeń" [in our region the Ruthenians used to say: 'żeleznycia.' [...] our track ballast was made of solid crushed stone] (*Luizjana* BD 688); "nie takie, jak smarowne i oszalowane deskami **nasze** drewniane wieże borysławskie" [not like the greased and boarded wooden towers of Boryslav] (*Luizjana* BD 692); "dalibóg, jak **u nas** dziedziczka na wsi" [like our heiress in the country] (*Oak Alley nad Missisipi* BD 708); "wzięte na drewniane kołki i kliny jak **u nas**, jak dachy naszych kościołów i dzwonnicy cerkiewnych. [...] Jak **u nas**, strychy są zbiorowiskiem i składem emerytowanych

² Emphasis mine – TS

mebli” [turned into wooden pegs and wedges like in our region, like the roofs of our Christian and Orthodox churches and belfries. [...] Like in our region, old furniture is kept in the attic] (*Oak Alley nad Missisipi* BD 709). However, while in these short stories it is quite easy to define a vaguely specific space that is not “ours,” which signifies only in relation to the “other” reality (Lithuania, Paris, Louisiana), it is usually difficult to say, apart from very few exceptions (Podolia from the short story *Barbarzyńcy patrzą w krajobraz podbitego kraju*, Boryslav from *Luizjana*), what the writer means by “our region.” Because it can be Podolia and the Siret, eastern Roztochia and the Vereshytsya, and the Lviv region and the Hnyla Lypa.

Haupt often juxtaposes in his texts “there” and “here,” and “here” means roughly the same as “in our region,” and is as difficult to define. However, not in terms of emotional value: “there” is the space “where wild strawberries grow,” and “here” is where “people run for the hills.” “Here” is a distant, lost, alien place. Importantly, “here” and “there” have a spatial, emotional, and temporal meaning. The writer sadly notes: “trzeba oddzielić się od przestrzeni, jak by to nie było trudne i niemożliwe, powiedzieć sobie: **tu** jest **tu**, a **tam** jest **tam**” [you have to separate yourself from space, however difficult and impossible it may be, say to yourself: here is here, and there is there] (*Warianty* [Variants] BD 575). One wants to reclaim the past, one wants to “sprzęgnięcia i związania przeszłości i terażniejszości” [connect and join the past and the present] (*O Stefci, o Chaimie Immerglücku i o scytyjskich bransoletkach* [About Stefcia, about Chaim Immerglück and about Scythian bracelets] BD 229). “There” implies, above all, a sense of security. To forget about the “horrors” of the unknown foreign reality of war and the watchful eyes of “łapsów Siguranzy czy Abwehry” [the Siguranța and the Abwehr] one could escape “we wspomnienia, **tam**, gdzie było tak swojsko” [into memories, there, into the known] (*Baskijski diabeł* BD 535). Because “było **tam** dobrze aż do niepokoju” [you felt good there, almost to the point of feeling anxious] (*Entropia* [Entropy] BD 25). Because “ziemia tamtejsza [...] uwodzi” [the land there [...] seduces] (*Dzisiaj, przedwczoraj, wczoraj, jutro...* [Today, the day before yesterday, yesterday, tomorrow...] ZR 133). “There” is helpless and poor, and thus emotional: “**tam** gonty próchnieją czarne i wstawia się łaty z białego drzewa, [...] tu wielka z lanego żelaza misa, [...] **tam** nasturcje w skrzynkach i róże «sztamowe», a tu kamelie, azalie, i zielone sztylety jukki” [there, shingles rot and turn black and patches of white wood are inserted [...] here, we have a large cast iron bowl [...] there, we have nasturtiums in boxes and rambling roses, and here we have camellias, azaleas and daggers of green yucca] (*Oak Alley nad Missisipi* BD 711). Haupt also fondly remembered “cierpliwa **tamtejsza** ludność” [patient locals] (*Baskijski diabeł* BD 536) with whom “myśmy **tam** żyli, współżyli” [we lived there, we lived together] (*El Pelele* BD 526). Only once, when reconstructing political cordons from before the Great War, did the writer reverse the relationship between “there” and “here:” “tamten kraj pozostał tamtym krajem, a tutaj było tutaj” [that country remained that country, and here was here] (*Fragmenty* [Fragments] BD 427). “That country” (for Haupt it was also Kamianets-Podilskyi, Proskurov and Vinnytsia) was the Romanov Empire, while “here” was the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Over one hundred years of divisions (since the second partition of the Republic of Poland) had left a mark. Not all of Podolia, in Haupt’s world, was “ours.” Only Galician Podolia was “ours.”

However, while it took place relatively rarely, Haupt did compare both realities without openly referring to the categories of “here” and “there,” juxtaposing what is “ours,” some “disconnected fragments” of “our” world with “there.” As if he wanted not so much to “tame” the foreign landscape, but to transplant it from the proximity of “there” to the strangeness of “here.” As in

the English Midlands: "Obraz tutaj bardzo dziwny. Pejzaż, na który składały się równo ucięty spad wzgórz i płaska dolina Ikwy" [The landscape is very strange here. The hills which go down towards the river and the flat valley of the Ikva] (*Rigor mortis* BD 173). He felt it near New Orleans, where he dreamed that "że za chwilę ktoś zażenie do środka stadko owiec i capów" [in a moment someone will take a flock of sheep and goats inside], that instead of a bottle of Coca-Cola there will be a "gliniane naczynie z winem" [clay jar filled with wine], "że któryś z [...] młodych chwatów w wypłowiałych niebieskich spodniach *jeans* zagra na jakichś dudach czy innej drumli, a nie będzie kręcił śrubką radia. Czego to się nie zachciewa..." [that one of the [...] young chaps in faded blue jeans will play the bagpipes or the harp, and not turn on the radio. Oh, sweet dreams...] ... (Henry Bush i jego samolot [Henry Bush and his plane] BD 413).

However, as have I mentioned, such moments are rare, because when Haupt abandons the "here-there" spatial binaries and reaches for the toponymic and the cartographic (his texts are full of geographical names³), he, as if, specifies the space of the represented world and renders it more precise. Enslaved and intimidated by this "precision," the critic-cartographer is surprised to discover fundamental difficulties with demarcating the borders of the writer's "true homeland."⁴ Haupt seems to indicate them: "mój kraj – od doliny jednej rzeki do drugiej, od jaru do jaru, od Miodoborów i Pantalichy do zębiastej sierry Karpat" [my land – from one river valley to another, from one ravine to the next, from the Medobory Hills and the Pantalycha to the toothy sierras of the Carpathians] (*Entropia* BD 21). However, it quickly turns out that these literary borders cannot be transferred to a geographical space. For if we stop for a moment and think about space and place, it turns out that the writer did not only define the borders of "his land" but also romanticized and poeticized it – it is a magic kingdom surrounded by rivers, ravines, mountains and steppes. It is "kraj czterech pór roku" [the land of the four seasons] (*Entropia* BD 22). Haupt does not specify what ravines, what rivers marked the borders of his land. We can identify some of them thanks to the names "Medobory Hills" and "Pantalycha," which mean little or nothing to the contemporary Polish reader. The first toponym, according to the definition found in the nineteenth-century *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego* [Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland], is "a part of the Carpathian mountains which merges with the Carpathians in the vicinity of Olesko and Podhorz in Galicia, [which] extends into the province of Podolia."⁵ "Pantalycha," respectively, has two meanings: it is a small village located near Terebovlia and also the Strusiv steppes located "at the highest point of the watershed between the Strypa and the Siret" (Haupt referred to the latter).⁶ We know that because Haupt made it

³ "Niezliczone imiona miejsc jak drogowskazy. [...] Jak zasłuchać się w imiona rzek, dolin, lasów, szczytów górskich, wsi, miasteczek i miast, to jedne swym brzmieniem przywołują całe panoramy światów zagrzebanych na cmentarzyskach pamięci, a znowu inne zaskoczą nie znanym odkryciem" [Countless names of places are like signposts. [...] If you listen to the names of rivers, valleys, forests, mountain peaks, villages, towns, and cities, some of them evoke whole panoramas of worlds buried in the cemeteries of memory, and others surprise you with the unknown] (Inwokacja do powiatu latyczowskiego ZR 117).

⁴ Stanisław Vincenz, *Dialogi z sowietami* [Dialogues with the Soviets] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Znak, 1991) 7.

⁵ *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich* [Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland and other Slavic countries], vol. VI: Malczyce – Natreba, ed. Bronisław Chlebowski, Filip Sulimierski, Waładysław Walewski (Warsaw: Drukarnia Wieku, 1885), 483; http://dir.icm.edu.pl/pl/Słownik_geograficzny/Tom_VI/483 [date of access: 15 Feb. 2022]. In Ukrainian, these hills are called the Toltry.

⁶ *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*, vol. VII: Natreba – Perepiat (Warsaw: Drukarnia Wieku 1886) 845 [date of access: 15 Feb. 2022].

clear that⁷ the first of the mentioned rivers is the Siret, the left tributary of the Dniester, on which Ulaşkivtsi was (and still is). The second river is the Strypa, which is another left tributary of the Dniester. The Strypa was the western border of the Podolia Voivodeship of the Kingdom of Poland. The author of the entry in *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego* described the lands which lie between these two rivers in an almost poetic way: “The entire plateau, covering several square miles, was a steppe, [...] it is almost completely flat, so that only at the very Strypa and the Siret rivers it suddenly turns into precipitous banks, at the foot of which both rivers flow in deep gorges, and densely populated settlements are scattered along both rivers.”⁸ From one ravine to the next, just like described by Haupt. The “identification” of the rivers thus makes it possible to mark the eastern and western borders of Haupt’s “land.” Alas, where should we place “the toothy sierras of the Carpathians”? If in the south-west, then the border on the Strypa valley does not work. So maybe the other river was the Dniester? Perhaps Haupt meant the valleys between the Siret and the Dniester? It seems unlikely, however, because Jerzy Stempowski, who grew up near the Dniester, in a letter to Haupt emphasized that his “native region,” “further Ukraine, which lies closer to the Black Sea,” differed from Haupt’s Eastern Galicia, whose charm he also “uległ” [succumbed to] (*Inwokacja do powiatu latyczowskiego* ZR 121). Haupt was right when he wrote that “toponomastyka może nam dać dobrego łupnia!” [toponomastics can be tricky!] (*Inwokacja...* ZR 117). It is even more tricky for the meticulous cartographer-reader, who instead of locating toponyms has to decipher beautiful poetic periphrases.

Such research, which combines literature, cartography, and attempts at concretization, is by no means meant to demonstrate the writer’s geographical ignorance (or the fact that he plays a cartographic game with the reader), because Haupt proved many times that not only did he know foreign lands well,⁹ but he also wanted to be “po baedekerowskiemu pedantyczny” [pedantic like Baedeker] (*Lutnia* [Lute] BD 450) and tried to “uprzytomnić sobie [i czytelnikowi – TS] teraz topografię [opisywanych] tamtych stron” [remember [and help the reader understand – TS] the topography of [the described] lands] (*Stacja Zielona* [Green Station] ZR 266). The point is, first of all, to understand what territories Haupt had in mind when he solemnly assured that “że ziemia tamtejsza w jakiś sposób uwodzi” [the land there somehow seduces], that “biją w niej jakieś kastalskie źródła natchnień” [you can find there some Castalian springs of inspiration]¹⁰ (*Dzisiaj, przedwczoraj, wczoraj, jutro* ZR 133). That, in a word, it is there that

⁷ “Pomiędzy naszym domem a Seretem były pastwiska” [There were pastures between our house and the Siret] (Fragmenty BD 427). “Wspomnienie kąpieli w Serecie, wielka wyprawa do Seretu, ale to gdzieś daleko, i szło się latem, a powietrze aż stoi od popołudniowej spiekoty, i szło się skosami «ścianek» Seretu, gdzie wyłazą cienkie warstwy skałek” [Memories of bathing in the Siret, a great trip to the Siret, but it is somewhere far away, and you would walk to the river in the summer, and the air would be still in the afternoon heat, and you would walk along the diagonal ‘walls of the Siret, where thin layers of rocks can be seen] (Fragmenty BD 432).

⁸ *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego...*, vol. VII, 845.

⁹ “Zaczniemy od Kodnia. Gdzie to ta Kodnia? Ano na północ od Berdyczowa, na pół drogi do Żytomierza, chyba nad Teterewem. A Teterew? Pewnie podobny do Stochodu, do Słucza, do Ikwy, do Horynia” [Let’s start with Kodnya. Where is Kodnya? Well, north of Berdychiv, halfway to Zhytomyr, probably on the Teteriv. And the Teteriv? Probably similar to the Stokhid, to the Sluch, to the Ikva, to the Horyn] (Trzy [Three] BD 561). Haupt was not right; Kodnya is located on the Kodienka River.

¹⁰In this phrase, one can find an allusion to a “Ruthenian” poem by Szymon Zimorowic. In the inscription to *Ukochanym oblubieńcom B. Z. i K. D* [Beloved spouses B.Z. and K.D] we read: “Te kwiatki zbioru mego, na polach uszczknione/ Kastalijskich, niech będą tobie poświęcone” [These flowers I picked, found in the fields of Castalia, may they praise you]; Szymon Zimorowic, *Roksolanki* [Girls from Red Ruthenia], ed. Ludwika Ślękowa. (Wrocław–Warsaw–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich 1982), 3.

you can find Haupt's "prail." The simplest answer, though we must be aware of its imprecision and anachronism, is that Haupt was talking about Ukrainian lands directly mentioned in the short story *Dzisiaj, przedwczoraj, wczoraj, jutro*. Such an answer would undoubtedly be justified by the context in which the words about the inspirational "land [which lies] there" appear. Haupt quotes Henryk Sienkiewicz's column about girls from Ukraine, daughters of "ukraińskich obszarników – i tych urodzonych, i tych dorobkiewiczów, co urodzonych wyzuli z ich czarnoziemiu i cukrowni" [Ukrainian landowners – both those who come from money and those who earned it, who robbed those who come from money of their chernozem and sugar refineries] (ZR 133). Haupt also made a list of Polish writers who were inspired by Ukrainian "Krynice, Kernycie" which included Stanisław Vincenz, Julian Wołoszynowski, Antoni Bogusławski, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, Michał Choromański, Jerzy Stempowski, Andrzej Kuśniewicz, Leopold Buczkowski, Stanisław Lem, Witold Szolginia, and Włodzimierz Odziejewski.¹¹ He also sometimes mentioned Andrzej Chciuk. What connects all those writers? All of them, those born in Warsaw or Poznań, as well as those from Krakow, Lviv, Drohobych, or Kolomyia, addressed in their works the broadly defined "Ukrainian" issues. But is this criterion enough to place the "Russian" writers Iwaszkiewicz, Choromański, and Bogusławski on the same plane as the "Galician" writers? How to find a common ground for the "Transnistrian" Stempowski, the "Hutsul" Vincenz, the "Podolian" Wołoszynowski, the "Lviv" Lem and Szolginia, and the "Kiev-Jelizavetgrad" Iwaszkiewicz and Choromański? For Haupt, Zhytomyr, which is not far from Ulashkiwtsi, was an "exotic" town, perceived only through the prism of Brandt's and Kossak's paintings (*Kulig* [Sleigh ride] BD 78-79). And Kamianets-Podilskyi and Proskurov (now Khmelnytskyi) were territorially close but "foreign." Not to mention Kiev, which was completely foreign. In *El Pelele*, the writer revealed that he did not like and should not "zapuszczać się w teren egzotyczny, nie z autopsji" [venture into an exotic territory, which he did not know first-hand] (*El Pelele* BD 520). And he only knew "first-hand" the western lands of contemporary Ukraine, its parts, so adopting Ukraine as the toponym of the "source" of Haupt's literary inspirations seems too broad. Anyway, Haupt himself noticed and emphasized the borders between "Ukrainian" lands: "To był zbieg kilku krain, ten poligon [...]: od wschodu to Polesie się zaczynało, od południa kraj Wołynia, a po drugiej stronie to już etnograficznie czysto rzeką odcięte Podlasie z Podlasiakami" [Different lands came together there, on this training ground [...]: Polesia began from the east, the country of Volhynia from the south, and on the other side, Podlachia, with the Podlachian people, was cut off ethnographically by the river] (*Poligon leżał pomiędzy Bugiem i Muchawcem...*) [The training ground was located between the Bug and the Mukhavets rivers...] ZR 333). In a different short story, he wrote about the lands "gdzieś daleko na wschodzie, na styku Wołynia i Podola" [somewhere far in the east, where Volhynia and Podolia met] (*Wyspa Galapagos i wyprawa na Mount Everest* [The Galapagos Islands and the expedition to Mount Everest] BD 126). In the short story *Złota hramota* [The Golden Writ], he mentioned (perhaps in passing) a toponomastic distinction that is often present in Polish *émigré* literature (it is today completely outdated).¹²

¹¹Cf. Ewa Wiegandt, *Austria Felix, czyli o micie Galicji w polskiej prozie współczesnej* [Austria Felix, or the myth of Galicia in contemporary Polish prose] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 1988), 3-20.

¹²Stefan Badeni, "Słonki" [The woodcocks], in: *Wczoraj i przedwczoraj. Wspomnienia i szkice* [Yesterday and the day before yesterday. Memories and sketches], (London: Katolicki Ośrodek Wydawniczy Veritas, 1963), 85 also distinguishes between Ukraine and Podolia and Volhynia; cf. also Irena Bączkowska, *Podróż do Brailowa* [Journey to Brailov], (London: Katolicki Ośrodek Wydawniczy Veritas, 1959), 7. Bączkowska writes about the miraculous figure of Jesus of Brailvo, famous throughout Red Ruthenia, Podolia, Volhynia and Ukraine.

He quoted a fragment of the enfranchisement decree from the times of the January Uprising. The insurgent government appealed to the people of Volhynia, Polesia, Ukraine, and Kiev region,¹³ and Ukraine meant one of the historical lands (of the modern state) located east of Podolia and Volhynia.¹⁴ From the perspective of Haupt's spatial "axiology," "Ukraine" which was thus defined was an "exotic" territory.

Therefore, we should find a toponym narrower in meaning than "Ukraine," which would specify and define the world of Haupt's inspirations and explorations. Bolesław Hadaczek came up with "Holy Galilee."¹⁵ From the historical and geographical point of view, however, it seems to be too narrow a concept, because it is impossible to locate Volhynia with Kremenets within its borders. It is possible, however, and probably Hadaczek acted on this, to read "Holy Galilee" as a kind of spatial metaphor. The two titles of Haupt's stories, *Z Laczczyny* and *Z Roksolanii* seem to suggest that the writer was looking for quasi-cartographic terms by means of which he could contain not only the space of the world represented in his texts but also the space of his creative "prairi." But can these "lands" be found on a map? There is no problem with Roksolania; this name may be found in Polish literature, also in the texts from its Golden Age. It had been present in the Polish-Ruthenian history, mostly in reference to the conflict over Red Ruthenia in the Middle Ages, and in the Polish-Ukrainian history, mostly in reference to the wars over the Red Ruthenian lands in the 19th and 20th centuries.¹⁶ Haupt describes it in detail: "Latopisy, kronikarze mówili o księstwach łuckich, włodzimierskich, halickich, o Rusi Czerwonej i Grodach Czerwieńskich [...], a samą ziemię nazywano Rusią, *Hałyczyną*, Galicją, ukraińskim Piemontem. Ludzi jej nazywało się Rusinami, *Rusynami*, grekokatolikami, unitami" [The annalists and chroniclers spoke of the principalities of Lutsk, Volodymyr, Halych, Red Ruthenia and The Cherven Cities [...], and the land itself was called Ruthenia, the Halych lands, Galicia, and Ukrainian Piedmont. Its people were called Ruthenians, Ruthene, Greek Catholics, Uniates] (*Z Roksolanii* ZR 141-142). The writer does not include his native Podolia in the borders of "Roksolania" and rightly so. Are we then allowed to extend its literary meaning?

The "toponym" "Laczczyny" is more problematic. Neither Haupt, who did not define it, nor any historical, literary, or geographic sources can help the intrigued reader understand what it stands for. Apart from the title, "Laczczyny" does not appear in the short story, as if Haupt was convinced that everyone knew what it meant. And it is a vague term. It does not seem

¹³"Waszi brat'ja Polaky wzięli się szcoby was wsich do sebe pryłuczty – wsich... i Wołynciw i Polisia i Ukrainu i Pobereża – szcoby wy z namy razem znały jich prawo, i do kotroho prawa choczut' was prypustyty..." (Złota hramota [The Golden Writ] ZR 55).

¹⁴On the different meanings of the name "Ukraine", cf. Natalia Jakowenko, *Historia Ukrainy do 1795 roku* [History of Ukraine until 1795], trans. Anna Babiak-Owad, Katarzyna Kotyńska, (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN 2011), 22-25; cf. also. Władysław Serczyk, *Historia Ukrainy* [History of Ukraine] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im Ossolińskich 2009), 9-10.

¹⁵Bolesław Hadaczek, "«Święta Galilea» Zygmunta Haupta" [Zygmunt Haupt's 'Holy Galilee'], in: *Małe ojczyzny kresowe w literaturze polskiej XX wieku. Szkice* [Native borderland regions in Polish literature of the 20th century. Sketches] (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo PoNaD 2003), 212-231.

¹⁶Cf. Aleksander Bocheński, "Problem polityczny Ziemi Czerwieńskiej" [The political problem of the Cherven Lands], in: *Nie jesteśmy ukrajinofilami. Polska myśl polityczna wobec Ukraińców i Ukrainy. Antologia tekstów* [We are not Ukrainophiles. Polish political thought and Ukrainians and Ukraine. Anthology], ed. Paweł Kowal, Jan Ołdakowski, Monika Zuchniak (Wrocław: kolegium Europy Wschodniej im. Jana Nowaka-Jeziorańskiego), 169-210.

to appear in Polish literature, apart from Haupt's prose. However, it does appear in Ukrainian journalism. In *List ruskich narodowców* [Letter of Ruthenian Nationalists], i.e., in the first manifesto of the Ukrainian national movement written by the Greek Catholic priest Danylo Taniaczekwycz (1867), "Laczczyzna" is a synonym of Polish national sentiments that are equally threatening to Ukrainians as Russian national sentiments.¹⁷ For Haupt, however, "Laczczyzna" is a proper name, perhaps coined in reference to the Turkish "Lechistan" [Polish lands]¹⁸ (which could be linked to a "story-within-a story" about Michał Czajkowski, Sadyk Pasha, quoted in the text). Therefore, "Laczczyzna" is a term used by the Ukrainian population to designate lands owned by Polish people, the Lechites, "panowie." It is thus a negative and hostile name, which the peasant Ukrainian population used to express their contempt, anger, and rebellion. Thus, "Laczczyzna" emerges as endowed with a metaphorical meaning, however, only as regards the socio-national aspects of Haupt's texts. It was important for the writer, but definitely too narrow as a space of inspiration.

And what about the "Letychiv district"? This name, contrary to appearances, is not a metaphor, or rather, it is not just a metaphor. Letychiv, a "poor, muddy town,"¹⁹ became the capital of a new district created at the beginning of the 17th century.²⁰ Its territory was separated from the huge Kamianets-Podilskyi district. However, the administrative problems of the former Republic of Poland are not important here; what is important is the role that Haupt attributed to the "Letychiv district." He referred to Zygmunt Krasiński who was offended by the Lithuanian invocation in the opening verses of *Pan Tadeusz*, in which Poland was "replaced" by Lithuania:²¹ "brakowałoby tylko jeszcze inwokacji do powiatu latyczowskiego" [the only thing missing would be an invocation to the Letychiv district] (*Inwokacja...* ZR 116). Krasiński's ironic remark caught Haupt off guard, but he found in it beautiful and unexpected meanings. In his view, the Letychiv district grew into a spatial metaphor of "places of origin," where all artists who are detached from their "praił" can look for inspiration.²² The changing borders

¹⁷Danylo Taniaczekwycz (Pyśmo narodowciw ruśkich do redaktora politycznej czasopysi. "Ruś" jako protest y memoryjał (Spysaw Fedor Czornohora) [pseud.], (Vienna: Sommer Verlag, 1867) wrote: "nam Moskowszczyzna odnako w duszu nejde, szczo wasza laczczyzna"; quote after: <https://books.google.com.ua/books> [date of access: 10 Feb. 2022].

¹⁸This assumption is confirmed by Jerzy Stempowski who in a letter to Haupt writes that people who transported goods across the Dniester "from Zhvanets to Khotyn" used to say that they crossed "Laczczyzna na Tureczczyzna" [from Polish lands to Turkish lands], cf. Jerzy Stempowski, List do Zygmunta Haupta [Letter to Zygmunt Haupt], *Kultura* 1972, no. 4 (295), 73.

¹⁹Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego, vol. V, 99.

²⁰Zygmunt Gloger wrote that the Letychiv district extended "from Kalus [Kalush – TS] to the Murafa, with upper Poboże", it constituted "the entire eastern half of the [Podolian – TS] voivodeship"; quote after: Zygmunt Gloger, *Geografia historyczna ziem dawnej Polski* [Historical geography of the lands of former Poland] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Wiedza Powszechna 1991), 240; reprint of the 1903 edition.

²¹In fact, Krasiński repeated the words of Stefan Witwicki, antagonized by Mickiewicz's "strange absent-mindedness" revealed in the "provincialism" of the invocation. Witwicki was afraid of the consequences of Mickiewicz's "mistake": "perhaps soon some new poet, supposedly imitating Mickiewicz, will open his epic poem with the words: Oh, land of Chersk, my homeland! – or: Oh, the Letychiv district, the Haisyn district, my homeland"; quote after: Piotr Chmielowski, "Oceny Pana Tadeusza" [Reviews of Pan Tadeusz], *Ateneum. Pismo Naukowe i Literackie* 1885, vol. II, 320-321; <https://docplayer.pl/220809742-.html> [date of access: 10 Feb. 2022]; cf. also Krzysztof Rutkowski, "Mizdra i lico, czyli o Haupcie" [Flesh and face, or about Haupt], *Twórczość* 1991, no. 6.

²²"Dla mnie osobiście (nie artystycznie) każda «inwokacja do powiatu latyczowskiego» w literaturze krajowej jest czymś bezcennym" [For me personally (not artistically) every «invocation to the Letychiv district» in Polish literature is priceless] (Pisarze emigracyjni a literatura krajowa. Odpowiedź na ankietę 'Wiadomości' [Émigré writers and Polish literature. Response to the 'Wiadomości' survey] ZR 190).

of this “district” are each time marked only by the imagination of the artist, “nie dorysowany czy przerysowany realizm snów” [not adjoined or exaggerated realism of dreams] (*Pisarze emigracyjni a literatura krajowa. Odpowiedź na ankietę ‘Wiadomości’* [Émigré writers and Polish literature. Response to the ‘Wiadomości’ survey ZR 190]). This imagination grows out of a unique and special “soil,” combining geographically quite distant spaces, as is often the case in Haupt’s texts. The banks of the Siret and Volhynia, the Gorgany and the Cherven Lands, Polesia, and even Transcarpathia...

The topography and toponymy of the “Letychiv” district

“Czy istnieje piękniejszy na świecie kraj od Podolia?” [Is there a more beautiful land in the world than Podolia?],²³ Haupt asks, only seemingly rhetorically, because he immediately replies with a poetic, somewhat hidden, though very elaborate apostrophe to the land of “roślin najbardziej sprzyjających człowiekowi” [plants most favorable to man], “zwierząt najłagodniejszych i najprzedziwniejszych w formie i czarze ruchów” [the gentlest animals and the strangest animals as regards their shape and charming movements], “ludzi sennych, naiwnych i prostych” [sleepy, naive and simple people], “drzew rozsypanych wzdłuż stawów jak uriańskie perły na srebrze zwierciadła” [trees scattered along the ponds like oriental pearls on a silver mirror], “miasteczek małych i kolorowych w cieniu białych barokowych wież kościołów” [small and colorful towns in the shadow of white baroque church towers] (*Bateria śmierci’ 1. Pułku Artylerii Motorowej. W święto pułku* [‘Battery of Death’ of the 1st Motor Artillery Regiment. On the Regiment’s Holiday] ZR 201). However, it would be a mistake to submit too eagerly to this idyllic vision of Podolia,²⁴ determined by the incidental nature of the text which was written to celebrate a military holiday. In Haupt’s memoirs of Podolia, the images of these lands and their descriptions change frequently. It is not always synonymous with Eden. Haupt admits that “trudno określić, spreparować [...] jego określenie” [it is difficult to come up with its definition] (*Warianty* BD 573). He sometimes calls it “zapadłe Podole galicyjskie” [provincial Galician Podolia] (*Zamierzchłe echa* BD 701), which, however, does not necessarily mean that the land is not construed as idyllic. Haupt is also able to see this beautiful “kraj czterech pór roku” [the land of the four seasons] as fundamentally different from the vision of the “zasiedziałyłch mieszkańców Podolia” [old residents of Podolia]. He quotes a vulgar disrespectful name used by the officers of the imperial Austrian army who were stationed in Podolia during their training; those “wiedeńskie fircyki” [Viennese dandies] – they called Podolia “«*Arschhöhle*», więc już nie samo *Arsch*” [‘*Arschhöhle*,’ so not just *Arsch*] (*Warianty* BD 573). Haupt is not too angry, for he realizes that the beauty of Podolia “ani się równać do pocztówkowej malowniczości innych dykasterii” [cannot compare to the postcard picturesqueness of other districts] (*Warianty* BD 573). He also reminds the reader, albeit with some dose of regret, that “przetaczały się wszystkie armie, zaciągi, pochody, marsze, treny, forszpany, zagony, watahy («*Sława Melnykowi i joho Kozakam!*» na transparencie w poprzek ulicy), tabory, podwozy, *gruzowiki*” [all armies, enlistments, parades, marches, trains, *Vorspanns*, groups, packs (“*Sława Melnykowi i joho Kozakam!*”

²³Haupt was not alone in his admiration for Podolia. Zygmunt Gloger (op. cit., p. 238) wrote that “Podolian Borderlands” were “the most beautiful and richest Slavic lands.”

²⁴He repeated it in a slightly altered yet equally beautiful form in *Entropia* (BD 21-22).

on a banner across the street), wagon trains, horse-drawn carts, *gruzowiki* could be seen] in Podolian "bezdroża" [wild lands] (*Dzisiaj, przedwczoraj, wczoraj, jutro* ZR 136).²⁵

Haupt consistently expands the boundaries of the land from which his "Castalian springs" gush forth, he shifts horizons and lengthens the radius of his world. From the Siret valley to the Lemko Gorlice, from the southern Transnistria and the Transcarpathian Rachov to Brest in Polesia in the north and Chełm in the west. He reaches for lands which are, as he writes, "daleko od mych stron, bardzo wycięte osobno" [far from my region, very different] (*Meine liebe Mutter, sei stolz, Ich trage die Fahne* BD 259), "znajome, a to z wypraw tam w góry, wakacji na wsi i służby wojskowej" [familiar, as I know them from my trips to the mountains, holidays in the countryside and military service], which allowed him to "nasiąknąć tamtejszością" [absorb the local ambient] (*Inwokacja...* ZR 117). His early texts, which he mentions in *Stacja Zielona*, were after all associated with Volhynia, not with Podolia: "«...w jesieni dębowy las wołyński ze złotymi pokręconymi przez pierwsze przymrozki liśćmi [...]»" [...the oak autumn forest of Volhynia with golden leaves twisted in the first cold nights [...]] (*Stacja Zielona* ZR 264). Also, his later "adult" text (written in 1937), probably his first Volhynian-Ukrainian work, was dedicated to Kremenets in Volhynia. The *sui generis* "degradation" of Probizhna, a tiny town in Podolia, from its role as "stolica and Metropolis" [capital and metropolis] ("*Kiedy będę dorosły*", BD 40) demonstrates that Haupt changed his focus. Lviv became the new Metropolis and capital of Haupt's spiritual life, and the city used to terrify the little boy with its incomprehensible labyrinth of streets (*Kapitan Blood* [Captain Blood] BD 85). The same happened to Podolia. That "other" world, abandoned in early childhood, was remembered only in "oderwane fragmenciki" [detached fragments] (*Fragmenty* BD 427). And only such fleeting reminiscences sometimes appear in Haupt's texts. Occasionally, he managed to assemble a very beautiful mosaic out of them: "Nie było drzew, nie było ich w tych bezdrzewnych stronach. [...] kraj leżał płaski jak tarcza pod łukiem nieba, otwarty i pusty, leżał polem, jednym oddechem – jak ręką zatoczyć, jak okiem zamieść. Czasem urywał się urwiskiem jaru, w którym przeciekała rzeka, która wymyła go tysiące lat przedtem i płynęła teraz kapryśnie wybranym łożyskiem. [...] U urwisk jaru czepiały się wsie jak zbiegłe do wody stadko gęsi. Chowaly się w lecie w gajach konopnych i sterczały nad nimi kopuły cerkiewne i grusze o osiczynowych liściach" [There were no trees, no trees in this treeless land. [...] everything was flat as a shield under the arch of the sky, open and empty, completely flat, same – as far as the eye could see, as the hand could reach. Sometimes it ended in a ravine cliff where the river leaked, which had washed it thousands of years before and now flowed capriciously in its chosen bed. [...] Villages clung to the cliffs of the ravine like a flock of geese fleeing to a pond. They hid in hemp groves in the summer, and church domes and aspen-leaved pear trees protruded from above them] (*Stypa* [Wake] BD 192-193). Haupt described "niebywałe wrażenie zieloności pełnego lata" [the unprecedented impression of the greenness of summer] ("*Kiedy będę dorosły*" BD 40) around Czornokinci in a similar manner.²⁶

²⁵Renata Gorczyńska ("Mieszkał ubogi szlachcic na Podolu..." [There once lived a poor nobleman in Podolia...] in: Zygmunt Haupt, *Szpica – opowiadania, warianty, szkice* [Vanguard – stories, variants, sketches], Paris 1989, p. 16) rightly noticed "the ambivalence of his [Haupt's – TS] feelings towards Podolia – a land where everything was in abundance: produce, fruit, decay, decomposition, dark greenery and black blood, passion, hatred," and "decay" and "decomposition" referred to Kremenets in Volhynia.

²⁶Haupt writes about Mali Czornokinci, a village near Chortkiv, which should not be confused with Velyki Czornokinci in the current Yavoriv district near Lviv.

It was definitely easier for Haupt to paint the landscapes of Volhynia and Red Ruthenia, although he also found it problematic, which was surprising considering his early career as a painter. As if he had nothing to inspire him, as if little remained in the visual memory of his youthful “wałęsanie się tamtędy” [vagabonding], of his drawings of “tamtejszych drewnianych kaplic, cerkwi, podcieni, ławr, baroku monasterów i rokoka soborów” [local wooden chapels, Orthodox churches, arcades, lavras, Baroque monasteries and Rococo cathedrals] (*Z Roksolanii* ZR 143). He rarely crossed the threshold of generality, rarely succeeded in capturing the unique topography. From Kremenets he watched the land unfold “jak wachlarz i jak rozsypana talia kart” [like a fan and a deck of cards], over which “czadziła się [...] w upale po gorącym dniu śręzoga i chmury układały się w nostalgiczne krajobrazy” [crepuscular rays lurked [...] in the heat after a hot day and the clouds formed nostalgic landscapes] (*Dziwnie było bardzo, bo...* [It was very strange because...] BD 329). In the oak forests of Volhynia, he found places where “królowała [...] taczanka” [tachanka [...] regined], and when he listened to “echa serii” [the echoes of] rifle shots; he remembered “rozmaitych okupantów i rozmaite władze” [various occupiers and various governments] (*Perekotypołe* [Tumbleweed] BD 513). So, he discreetly referred to war, but not WW2. Perhaps, however, in those “echoes” there were reverberations of a tragedy that was quite close and tragic, although known to him only by hearsay.

Haupt also wrote quite stereotypically about the landscape of the Cherven Lands near Rava-Ruska, Zaborze, and Zelene, to which he devoted the most attention: “Równina, jakieś łąki bardzo podłej klasy popstrzone milionami kretowisk. [...] Ubogie przystanki z naftową latarnią u wejścia do telegrafu” [A plain, some poor meadows, dotted with millions of mole-hills. [...] Poor stops with a kerosene street lamps near the entrance to the telegraph] and a forest, which, like a group of people, “zwartym tłumem” [stood closely together]. Still, he loved the colors of this world: “błogosławiony spokój [...] zielonych traw, czerwonych pni, srebrnych czubów sosen” [blessed peace [...] of green grasses, red trunks, silver tops of pines] (*Stacja Zielona* ZR 260, 272). In another text he described these lands as “dziwna kraina: kępy brzoź i sosen, wysoka mietlista trawa, zarośla pozbawione liści” [a strange land: clumps of birches and pines, tall, boggy grass, thickets devoid of leaves] (*Polowanie wigilijne z Maupasantem* [Christmas Eve Hunt with Maupassant] BD 56). He noticed in the monotonous landscape of Rava “ondulację płaskich wzgórz, i podmokłe łąki, biegnące ku wodzie” [a wave of flat hills, and wet meadows running down to the water], and “czarne od wilgoci strzechy dachów, grusze drżące listkami jak osiczyzny, buki przy cerkwi, gnojówki podwórz i droga biegnąca pośród płotów i wygonów, z kałużami” [thatched roofs, damp and black, pear trees whose leaves trembled like those of aspen trees, beeches by the orthodox church, manure pits in the backyards, and a road running among fences and pastures, dotted with puddles] (*Biały mazur* [Turnabout Mazur] BD 291). Haupt freed himself from the shackles of the realist painter, describing his visions on a tree stand near Rava-Ruska. He freed his imagination, opened a wide horizon, which he saw “with the eyes of his soul,” and painted-created the panorama of Letychiv: “Czuby i szczyty sosen stały nieruchomo zastygłymi falami lasu i niosły się het! [...] przesypane wydmami piasków i przetkane bagnem i wodą, przekraczały Bug i szły, szły na wschód, jak okiem sięgnąć, jak wyobraźnią sięgnąć, sosny, sosny, czasem dęby i znów sosny, i leśna trawa, i dalej na wschód, i poprzez Bug i sto chodów Stochodu, i Słucz, i Horyń, i dalej na wschód” [The crests and tops of the pines stood motionless in the frozen waves of the forest and extended so far away! [...] sprinkled with sand dunes and interwoven with swamps

and water, they crossed the Bug and went, went east, as far as the eye could see, as far as imagination could reach, pines, pines, sometimes oaks and pines again, and forest grass, and further east, and across the Bug and the Stokhid, and the Sluch, and the Horyn, and further east] (*PIM [II]* BD 306). Actually, it should be northeast. In this vision, Haupt combined the Cherven Lands and Volhynia, all the way to Polesia, but without Podolia. This artistic vision is thus not, strictly speaking, his "invocation to the Letychiv district." Haupt does not care about precision, although he tries to create such an impression when he mentions the names of different towns (Piddubzi, Verbica, Krystynopil). Contrary to his declarations, he does not care about the specifics that he was able to see as a newcomer otherwise "equipped" with the necessary instruments, i.e., foreign "eyes, ears, and awareness."²⁷ Perhaps in this way he realized that for him literature was not meant to "narzucać jawy, ale marzeń" [impose reality, but dreams] (*Pisarze emigracyjni a literatura krajowa* ZR 190).

Even the relatively extensive description of the Gorgany is dominated by "classic" elements of a mountainous rather than an East-Carpathian landscape: "doliny są wąskie i zaniezione mułem dyluwialnym spłukanym z gór. Jest w nich kilka wsi większych i dosyć rozrzuconych, jest także kamienista droga" [the valleys are narrow and full of diluvial deposit washed down from the mountains. We find there larger villages, few and far between, there is also a stone road] (*Poker w Gorganach* [Poker in the Gorgany] BD 241). The image of the domes of orthodox churches does not convey the unique nature of these mountains, even the reference to "ryzarnia," huge wooden troughs, fails. Haupt notices the "otherness" of the Drohobych-Lviv "moon land," to quote Chciuk; it differs from "ordinary surroundings" (he literally repeated the same comments when he described his visit at Kazimierz Wierzyński's house in the nearby Truskavets). However, the writer does not specify what this "otherness" implies. It could be found in the perspective that opens before the viewer: "Z dolin widać tam, z daleka widać, jak sinieje piła, sierra Karpat, od Przełęczu Użockiej po Pantyrską. Stokami gór zbiegają lasy ku wodom Świcy, Łomnicy, Czeczwy, Bystrzycy. [...] A w dołach ziemia ta przechodzi w pola, łąki, wsie, osiedla pochowane w gęstwach drzew. Osmołoda, Synowódzko Wyżne, Bolechów, Sołotwina" [From the valleys, from the distance, you can see how blue the saw, the Sierra of the Carpathians, was – from the Uzhok Pass to the Pantyr Pass. Forests run down the slopes of the mountains towards the waters of the Svicha, the Limnytsya, the Chechva, and the Bystrytsya. [...] And below, this land turns into fields, meadows, villages, housing estates buried in thickets of trees. Osmoloda, Verkhnie Synovydyne, Bolekhiv, Solotvyn] (*Inwokacja...* ZR 118).

These quotes perfectly illustrate Haupt's unique "art of description;" the writer probably tried to "compensate" for the lack of topographical details by using toponyms. This is very characteristic of Haupt. Haupt's Podolia consists of "Jagielnica i Probużna, i Skała, i Borszczów, i Ułaszkwce" [Yahilnytsia, Probizhna, Skala, Borshchiv, and Ulashkivtsi] (*Fragmenty* 427) as well as Zboriv, Cecova, Glinna, Mala Plavucha, Velyka Plavucha, Tauriv, Kozova, Konskie, and Poplavi (*Stypa*). And

²⁷Quote after: Aleksander Madyda, Posłowie [Afterword], in: Zygmunt Haupt, Baskijski diabeł [The Basque Devil], collected, edited and with an editorial note by Aleksander Madyda (Warsaw: Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza Czytelnik 2007), 672.

Volhynia, apart from Kremenets, consists of Katerburg, Zaliztsi, or Vyshnivets and Volochysk,²⁸ which almost border on Podolia.²⁹ And in another text, Haupt mentions Kamin-Kashyrskiy, Hrubieszów, Stojaniv, Ostroh, and Rokitne. Finally, the Red Ruthenia consists of Lviv, Rava-Ruska, Stryi, Sambir. The writer is a toponymic “maximalist” (and a topographic “minimalist”), and he also often conceals names of different places. And thus Z. stands for Zaborze. It is a space of hidden love for Panna [Lady] whose coat of arms depicts a girl riding a bear. Respectively, R. most likely stands for Rohatyn. Renaming Chelm as Chlad turns out to be even more surprising. Was Haupt afraid of being accused of insulting the Chelm Jews?³⁰

Haupt’s texts are a kind of Podolian-Volhynian-Cherven “travelogue” (*Dzisiaj, przedwczoraj, wczoraj, jutro* ZR 135), and certainly not Baedekers, because they lack, with a few exceptions, details that must be included in a tourist guide. Instead of descriptions of castles, cathedrals, and churches, instead of tourist attractions, we are presented with names of places, a list of trains to and from Ulashkivtsi, or rather from the nearby “hub station.” As if the writer wanted to emphasize the connections between his home and the “whole” world, the extremities of which were marked by Kiev, Lviv and Stanyslaviv. In Kopychyntsi, because Haupt probably had this train station had in mind, you could go “na wschód – przez Husiatyn, Jarmolińce, Żmerynkę [– do Kijowa]; na południowy zachód – przez Czortków, Buczacz, Monasterzyska – na Stanisławów; na północny zachód – przez Mikulińce-Strusów, Trembowłę, Tarnopol – do Lwowa” [east – via Husiatyn, Yarmolyntsi, Zhmerynka [– to Kiev]; south-west – via Chortkiw, Buchach, Monastyrzyska – to Stanyslaviv; north-west – via Mykulyntsi Strusov, Terebovlia, Ternopil – to Lviv] (*Dzisiaj, przedwczoraj...* ZR 136). Haupt wondered what could be brought from the wide world to a little town on the Siret, somewhere in the middle of a steppe, in a time of constant wars. Perhaps “wyszabrowane wiktuały” [looted victuals]? And here, unlike on the tree stand, he let his artistic imagination run free, and he usually avoided it when he was describing the world he was exploring. He allowed himself to paint a Podolian landscape, or rather a collage, filled with “łanów kwitnącej hreczki, oczeretów, stawisk, gajów i wertepów, o kolorach słoneczników i malw na tle lepionych ścian chałup pochowanych w kępach drzew, o czereśniach i pasiekach na cmentarzach przycerkiewnych, weretach bielonych na błoni nad wodą, złocie stogów użątku, o porośłych zielenią mchu łopatkach i szprychach młyńskiego koła znieruchomiłego pod stawidłem” [fields of blooming wildflowers, reeds, ponds, groves and wilderness, the color of sunflowers and hollyhocks against the background of the plastered walls of cottages buried in clumps of trees, cherry trees and apiaries in church cemeteries, whitewashed weeds on the common by the water, golden haystacks, the blades and spokes of a water wheel overgrown with green moss which lies lifeless in the water gate] (*Dzisiaj,*

²⁸In Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego, vol. XIII, 882 Volochysk is described as follows: “town on the river Zbruch, in the Starokostiantyniv district, on the border with Galicia. [...] The gmina is located in the south-west of the county; it borders on the west and south-west with Galicia, and the south and south-east with the Podolian district.”

²⁹Zygmunt Gloger (op. cit., p. 231-232) writes that “The boundaries of the Volhynian Voivodeship were in fact much narrower than what was called Volhynia. Zhytomyr, for example, and Ovruch were generally considered to be Volhynian cities, although they were located in the Kiev Voivodship. And indeed, Volhynia reached far into the Kiev voivodship, and even the Podolian voivodship and the Bratslav voivodship, defying any strict physical or ethnographic borders.”

³⁰Menachem Kipnis wrote that “every nation has a town about which comic stories, funny parables, are told. We Jews have Chelm”; quote after Rabin bez głowy i inne opowieści z Chełma [A headless rabbi and other stories from Chelm], collected and edited by Menachem Kipnis, translated from Yiddish, with footnotes and an introduction by Bella Szwarcman-Czarnota (Kraków – Budapest: Wydawnictwo Austeria, 2013), 19.

przedwczoraj... ZR 136). Alas, he never described what he saw on his train ride "from our place," that is from Lviv to Warsaw *via* Rava-Ruska, Piaski Lubelskie, Rejowiec, Otwock, and finally Wawer and Grochów. The writer focused instead on the people on the train, the behavior of his fellow passengers. Perhaps, as an eastern "Galician," he was carried away by the desire to take a closer look and get to know the "other" Poles.

Reflections on Haupt's landscapes seem to inevitably lead to the conclusion that for him the "other" world was more about people than landscapes, more about everyday objects than the beauty of baroque churches, more about language, local "slang," than orthodox iconostases. If Haupt happened to show "tło, sztafaż, drugi plan" [background, staffage, setting] "ładnie" [nicely] (*Dziwnie było bardzo, bo...* BD 335), the result was more ethnographic than painterly in nature. Writing about the works of 20th-century writers who were inspired by Ukraine, Haupt opposed the poetics of a "sentimental journey" on which they take the reader; such writers showed "ziemia oglądana przez muślin wyobraźni" [land through the muslin of the imagination], "jakąś daleką Ultima Thule" [some distant Ultima Thule], "planeta zagubiona w przestrzeni i w czasie" [a planet lost in space and time] (*Dzisiaj, wczoraj...* ZR 137). Respectively, he also accused Baroque authors of "fantasizing." And he sadly concluded that "dopiero obcy widzieli tę ziemię taką, jaka była" [only foreigners saw this land as it was], pointing out that "szczegółowy obraz Ukrainy" [a detailed map of Ukraine] (*Z Roksolanii* ZR 140) was drawn up by the French military engineer Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan. Even if this bitter reflection is not correct, and it certainly is not, it reveals Haupt's expectations, his desire to reject a "fantastic vision of the world," the mythical Ukrainian Ultima Thule. That is why Podolia is "najpiękniejszy kraj" [the most beautiful land] only occasionally; indeed, in his descriptions we find more cottages with windows "zasnutymi [...] bielmem brudu" [covered in [...] dirt] and "martwymi spojrzeniami apatycznej biedy i beznadziei" [dead glances of apathetic poverty and hopelessness] (*Kulig*, BD 76-77) than steppe or mountain landscapes.

Brought up in the country, because Ulashkivtsi was more of a village than a town,³¹ Haupt described the urban space much more precisely (perhaps even more carefully). Chronologically and artistically, Kremenets was the first on his list of inspirations. The city of Salomea Bécu became the "titular character" of his Volhynian short story published in 1937. It is difficult to include it in the reflection on Haupt's "Letychiv district" because nothing at that time heralded such a "status" of Volhynia in Polish literature. But after all, Haupt hinted at "nostalgia" in this short story. *Krzemieniec* [Kremenets] is a "Ukrainian" text, which was quite unusual for the young writer at the time as he concentrated more on "Western" themes. What is also surprising is the affirmative attitude of the narrator to the Volhynian world. Haupt uses this epithet willingly and often to describe the cobblestones of local streets, a "jednokonna linijka" [one-horse cart] he rode "wśród falistych pól" [among the rolling fields]. *Krzemieniec* is completely different from Haupt's later *émigré* works; it is "correct" and "careful" when it comes to the classical principles of composition and description. The story describes three "meetings" with the city. Each of them had a different character. The first one was from the perspective of a tourist ("zlokalizowanie młodości Słowackiego" [locating Słowacki's youth]

³¹"[...] pomiędzy naszym domem i Seretem były pastwiska i pasły się tam podolskie woły strzeżone przez pastuchów" [between our house and the Siret there were pastures and Podolian oxen were grazing there, guarded by shepherds] (Fragmenty BD 427).

BD 648). The second was vagabond and artistic in nature (admiring landscapes in the spirit of Maria Kuncewiczowa's *Dwa Księżycy* [Two Moons] and "wałęsanie wieczorami" [walking around town in the evenings]). Finally, the third meeting, taking into account the purpose of the stay, was military. It seems, however, that the character of this visit was best described by the author himself; Haupt called it an "exhumation." As if he wanted to extract from the past something not so much alive as something that could help him revive memory and feeling. He had already tried, albeit unsuccessfully, to find the irretrievably lost past. He expressed his failure explicitly in the final parts of the text, where, instead of describing "urwiska wąwozu krzemienieckiego" [the cliffs of the Kremenets gorge] and his trips to "srebrna Ikwa, w samej nazwie mającej skoncentrowany romantyzm" [the silver Ikva, whose name is the essence of Romanticism] (*Krzemieniec* BD 649), he wrote about the "straszliwy odór" [terrible smell] of rotten potatoes and his sad and pointless return. Him playing with the image of Queen Bona's Hill seems symptomatic in this context; in the beginning, the narrator shares the queen's admiration for the city and its almost idyllic aura, but in the end he describes it in a disturbingly "Gothic" style: "szczyby murów [...] wykrzywiły się ironicznym uśmiechem potwornej czaszki" [the cracks in the walls [...] were twisted in an ironic smile on the face of a monstrous skull], and above "draperie makabrycznego obrządku" [draperies of a macabre rite] spread open on the sky (*Krzemieniec* BD 650). Was it some Cassandraic foreshadowing?

Kremenets haunted Haupt. It returned to him when he was abroad, each time showing slightly different faces. However, in a few short stories, some aspects of the Volhynian "pre-text" appear: the "terrible" smell of potatoes, the walls of Queen Bona's castle, and the "appearance of order." The description of the ethnic and social mosaic of this borderland city³² (with Catholics and Orthodox Christians, Jews in "unorthodox jackets," peasants and women with children with runny noses, Ukrainian irredentists, officers of the Polish Army or Border Protection Corps, local officials) is accompanied by images of everyday life, sad "Potemkin's" ambient ("ścieki uliczne biegnące środkiem jezdni były regulaminowo i co rana malowane wapnem na biało" [sewage in the middle of the road was covered with white lime every morning] (*Dziwnie było bardzo, bo...* BD 327)). This was the reality of eastern cities of the Second Polish Republic.³³

However, Lviv turns out to be more important. At first, it was a labyrinth in which young Haupt would get lost; then, in middle school, when he stayed in the boarding school of fathers ("jojców" [feathers]) Resurrectionists (*Jak się uczyli współcześni pisarze polscy. Odpowiedź na ankietę „Wiadomości”* ZR 172), it was a city in which he experienced his first erotic fascination with Panna. Last but not least, it was in Lviv that he met members of the Rybałci [Minstrels]

³²I accept the terminological suggestion of Oksana Weretiuk, who rejects the term "kresy" and rightly proposes to "use the neutral term 'Polish literature of the south-eastern borderland,' which is devoid of any emotional connotation and ideological, colonial context"; quote after: Oksana Weretiuk, "Kategoria «pogranicza» i jej galicyjskie kody" [The category of «borderland» and its Galician codes], in: *Pogranicze kulturowe (odrębność – wymiana – przenikanie – dialog)* [Cultural borderland (nature - exchange – cultural transfer - dialogue). Studies and sketches]. *Studia i szkice*, ed. Oksana Weretiuk, Jan Wolski, Grzegorz Jaśkiewicz (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego 2009), 21.

³³Józef Mackiewicz described this local "color" in his pre-war reportage: "The age-old cracks in the walls, dirt, manure, the terrible truth of the ugly city was covered with lime. From the front, of course, starting with the street, the avenue named after Marshal Piłsudski. [...] Even the stones, which cannot speak, have their mouths filled with lime"; quote after: Józef Mackiewicz, *Bunt rojstów* [Bog rebellion] (London: Wydawnictwo Kontra 2002) 155.

artistic group.³⁴ Despite the fact that he "ninawidził miasta" [hated the city] (*Nuda* [Boredom] BD 136), Haupt noticed and praised its "natural" beauty, which "żadna z [...] architektur" [none of [...] architectural styles] managed to destroy; neither the "reminiscencyjna wszystkich stylów klasycznych" [the reminiscent form of all classical styles], nor "secesja wiedeńska" [Vienna Secession] and "architektura kafli, szkła i metalu" [architecture of tiles, glass and metal]. He sees in this the blessed effect of the city "położenia w dolinie wśród wzgórz, kiedy fala dachów zbiegała z nich ku wąwózom, w których dymiło i drżało w blasku rozgrzanego powietrza" [having been founded in a valley among the hills; the tide of the roofs ran down to the ravines, which smoked and quivered in the hot air] (*Kapitan Blood* BD 87). It is surprising that in his reflection on architectural styles, Haupt does not list any examples of buildings found in Lviv, limiting himself to naming prototypes of these styles found elsewhere. His painterly eye does not stop at the beautiful Old Town, the "czarowne fasady" [enchancing facades] of tenement houses, but captures visual deformations which arise in the evening, the play of "światła gazowych [...] latarni" [the light of gas [...] streetlamps] in the hair of passers-by. He also writes about "bezczelne prostytutki w załomach ulic" [cheeky prostitutes in the streets] (*Nuda* BD 133). In "najpodlejszej [...] pod słońcem ulicy" [the meanest [...] street under the sun] he manages to notice, just like Utrillo, "smużącą się perspektywę albo niespodziewany czarodziejski spadek" [a mirage of a perspective or an unexpected magical point of view] (*Kapitan Blood* BD 87). It is almost as if Haupt deprived Lviv of its "Lviv character." This applies both to the "respectable" neighborhoods and the suburbs. The writer sees in them what is typical of all metropolitan peripheries: "kratka ogrodów [...], śmietniska, składy, domy, domki, małe z daleka reklamy na deskowiskach parkanów, znów fabryki" [cages of gardens [...], rubbish dumps, warehouses, houses, cottages, small advertisements (when seen from afar) on fences, more factories] (*Appendicitis* BD 101).³⁵ And it is probably what they were.

Zhovkva is different. Haupt said that he "może powiedzieć bardzo wiele" [can say a lot about it] (*Lutnia* BD 449³⁶). And indeed he did; he was not only "pedantic like Baedeker," not only objective like a reporter, but also emotional. In *Lutnia*, we find echoes of the narrator's emotional ties with the city. Haupt quotes the slang expressions of junior high schoolers, "local" dialect, "natural" Ruthenian language from Mikołaj Sęp-Szarzyński's poems, who "stąd niedaleko urodzonego" [was born nearby] (*Lutnia* BD 461). But what is especially moving is the peaceful coexistence of Poles and Ukrainians. Distancing himself from politics and articulating national sentiments in moderation, Haupt tells the story of a fiercely anti-Polish Ukrainian, one of "z tych «z czarnym podniebieniem»" [those with a 'black palate'], who recalled his military service in the Zhovkva cavalry as "najszczęśliwszy okres swego czarnego, niewdzięcznego życia" [the happiest time of his dark, miserable life] (*Lutnia* BD 455). The story is seemingly unimaginable – a Ukrainian conspirator says he was happy in the Polish army, thus giving up

³⁴Aleksander Madyda, Haupt. Monografia [Haupt: Monograph] (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2012) 54-58, 79-81.

³⁵Haupt mentioned the same features in the short story *Kapitan Blood* BD 87.

³⁶Cf. Andrzej Niewiadomski's inspiring interpretation of *Lutnia*, *Przeciw entropii, przeciw arkadii. O pisarstwie Zygmunta Haupta* [Against entropy, against arcadia. Zygmunt Haupt's prose] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Instytut Literatury, 2021) 75-88.

on his dream of independent Ukraine (which was often brutally suppressed).³⁷ But if this declaration is combined with a reflection on Haupt's language, the fact that he "w sposób naturalny brał [...] słowa" [naturally borrowed [...] words] from "mowa wokół siebie" [the speech around him] (*Lutnia* BD 461), one can come to the conclusion that Haupt would like to see Zhovkva as a space of reconciliation. Therefore, the "Bedekerian," matter-of-fact description of the "Ruthenian" Carcassonne, its architecture, peculiarities of the streets, the castle, the Renaissance parish church with tombstones of Polish Hetmans, the Orthodox church, monasteries, and the synagogue are relegated to the background. However, Haupt ends his Zhovkva text on a different and not at all positive note. He modernizes and updates his memories, revealing the annihilation of this multicultural space and its Soviet transformation into a tomb, a "cenotaph."

Lutnia is Haupt's symbolic farewell to his homeland. The real yet neutralized "other people's words"³⁸ were recalled in *Opowiadanie ułana Czuchnowskiego* [The Story of Uhlan Czuchnowski]. He entered Hungary through the Yablunytsia Pass, which separated the Gorgany (which he knew well and described later) from Chornohora. He was leaving Poland, saying goodbye to the "Letychiv district", to the Hutsuls who came down from the mountains in festive clothes and watched the Polish army flee to Hungary in full gear during the war. And they did not know whether they should be happy or not (*Polonez na pożegnanie ojczyzny* [Polonaise on the Farewell to Homeland] BD 149). Maybe some of them wrote "Proklatyje Lachy" (*Poker w Gorganach* BD 242) on the walls of a train compartment. It was, supposedly, a moment of triumph; they were happy that Poles were humiliated. But Haupt portrays them differently; he shows their detachment from history, from current events.³⁹ He tries to express his admiration for the dignity of "inny gatunek człowieka" [a different kind of man] who remains calm when "świat ludzi z dołów się przewraca i rzuca w konwulsjach" [the world of the lowlanders is destroyed and dies in convulsions] (*Polonez na pożegnanie ojczyzny* BD 150).

From the Yablunytsia Pass, a little over 150 kilometers away from his native Ulashkivtsi, he "run for the hills." But he constantly returned in his dreams, memories, texts to the world "where wild strawberries grow," to the "Letychiv district." So as not to become "zewłokiem wyrzuconym na skraj" [a corpse on the side of a road], so as not to "nie sflaczeć i nie rozejść się w suchej atmosferze księżycowej kraju innego ciśnienia" [flatten and disperse in the dry lunar atmosphere of a land with different air pressure] (*Kawaler z morskiej pianki* [Seafoam man] BD 389).

translated by Małgorzata Olsza

³⁷Cf. Władysław A. Serczyk (op. cit., p. 326) In the villages where acts of sabotage were committed, Polish army or police officers destroyed the offices, clubs and shops of Ukrainian cooperatives and cultural and educational organizations, demolished cottages, beat the locals, carried out searches and imposed contributions in money and in kind."

³⁸Term coined by Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoyevsky's poetics*, trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 59.

³⁹Stefania Zahorska, *Warsaw – Lwów 1939* (London 1964) and Wit Tarnawski, *Ucieczka. Nowele* [Escape. Short stories] (London 1960) wrote about the attitude of Ukrainians towards Poles fleeing to Romania through Pokuttia in the last days of September 1939. However, their recollections differ greatly. Zahorska was surprised to find Ukrainians so friendly, while Tarnawski emphasized the hostility of the Hutsuls.

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KEYWORDS

space of inspiration

NATIVE REGION

Haupt

ABSTRACT:

In the article, I reflect on the spaces of inspiration, the “prail” [primordial clay] of Zygmunt Haupt’s works. I examine a unique “pronominal” spatial orientation found in his texts, his use of the prepositional phrase “u nas” [in our region], and the juxtapositions of “tam” [there] and “tu” [here], trying to establish what spaces are “hidden” behind these pronouns. I do not think that it was Ukraine, because Haupt’s texts present only its western part. On the one hand, the writer poeticized the space of “his land” and, on the other hand, he rooted it, often imprecisely, in geography. The best concretization of this space seems to be the “Letychiv district,” which transformed into a metaphor of a “place of origin,” where artists who are detached from their “prail” can look for inspiration. The changing borders of this “district” are determined only by the artist’s imagination.

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