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I asked him about the secret he knew… (Juliusz Słowacki) Konstantinos Kanaris and his Fights in Polish Romantic Poetry*

Maria Kalinowska

On 24th August 1836, the Polish poet and philhellene Juliusz Słowacki (1809-1849) set off on his great journey to Greece and the Middle East. It was 15 years after the Greek Revolution broke out and five years after the failure of the Polish November Uprising (1830-1831). Słowacki, one of the two most important Polish Romantic poets, had been living in Western Europe since the Polish Uprising (1830) and, like many Polish political émigrés, could not return to Poland.[1]

Here, a historical digression is necessary: from the end of the eighteenth century, Poland remained under Russian, Austrian, and Prussian occupation; the entire nineteenth century was a time of subjugation for the Poles. At the same time, they tried to regain their independence throughout the 19th century through various underground movements and by organising national uprisings, which met with harsh repressions from the occupying authorities. The failure of these uprisings

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[1] See about Słowacki in English: Cochran et al. 2009.

(e.g. 1794, 1830, 1848, 1863), in which the Polish people suffered brutal violence at the hands of the partitioning powers (especially Russia), only intensified the state of national subjugation.[2]

In this situation the example of Greece, which had regained its independence and formed a modern state, became an extremely attractive model for the Poles. This Greek example was all the more relevant to the Poles because the ancient history of Greece was regarded – in nineteenth-century Europe as well as Poland - as the cradle of European democracy, freedom, philosophy, and art had always served as a universally admired model, especially for the culture of the traditional Polish nobility which was the basis of Polish national culture.[3]

Słowacki set off from Otranto in Italy by ship for the country of the heirs to Leonidas and Themistocles,[4] and travelled via Corfu and Zante, to Patras, Corinth, Mycenae, and Athens. On Syros he waited around two weeks for the ship. At the time, this island was a major transport and trade hub; moreover, it might also have interested Słowacki because of its history: many refugees from the islands of Chios and Psara had found refuge in Hermoupolis. The poet mentioned the history of Psara many times in his Byronic poem *Lambro*, written a few years before his trip. From Syros Słowacki went on to Egypt, the Holy Land, and Lebanon.

This was a truly Romantic journey, similar to those previously undertaken by Chateaubriand, Byron and Lamartine. Every Romantic poet went on a journey: real or imaginary, in time or in space, travelling very far to exotic places, or seemingly only a short distance, but to a different, mysterious, and unknown world. A journey was the most popular Romantic metaphor for life, and life itself became a journey

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[2] See Zamoyski 1999; Davies 1982.

[3] See Clair 1972 (2008); Droulia 2007; Beaton 2021. About Polish Philhellenism see Borowska, Kalinowska & Tomaszuk 2012; Kalinowska 2017. See also Mavroudis 1991.

[4] Referring to heroes from ancient Greek history was a very common practice in the whole of European Philhellenism. See about Romantic cult of Greece as a symbol of freedom: Stern 1969, 5-7; Highet 1967, 356 ff. In Polish Romantic Philhellenism, Leonidas enjoyed a very special place: he was a focal character in one of Słowacki's most important poems inspired by his Greek travels, *Agamemnon's Tomb*. See Kalinowska 2017; Cochran 2009.

for the Romantic, a sign of a restless existence, or a constant quest for truth and continued attempts to understand mysteries. Romantic travels took people to faraway, culturally different places, but also deep into the traveller's self. Most often, though, a Romantic journey combined both these aspects, and setting off implied learning about the external world just as much as exploring oneself and increasing one's sensitivity. In the Romantic period, a journey was a social fact, even a fashionable trend, but one that invoked various earlier forms of travelling. There is no question that the Romantic journey included noticeable elements of the Grand Tour – the educational trip taken by young upper-class men starting from the seventeenth century. In addition, the travels of the Romantics invoked the pilgrimage tradition found in many cultures, i.e. visiting holy sites, making one's way to the sacred centre of the world. The Romantics, especially or also Polish Romantics, experienced one other kind of travel as well: various forms of emigration or exile stemming from their country's political reality and its subjugation. In this, being exiled from their homeland due to historical circumstances became a sign of a very universal situation for Polish Romantic poets: humankind's eternal lack of roots on this earth; a sign of humanity, a symbol of the human fate, where those exiled on earth cannot live here in a more permanent way, but are travelling to a different, spiritual homeland as pilgrims. The Romantic journey, with its many different traditions and varied motivation, does have its specific qualities. First of all, there is the focus on the self, on the traveller's inner world and the very fact of travelling, which gives the Romantic artist greater sensitivity, a wider field of artistic inspiration and – very importantly – stimulation of the imagination that, in a way, multiplies reality. The Romantic journey involves breaking away from everyday life, stepping outside the present and outside commonplace and familiar places, going towards worlds imagined, spaces unknown and alluring, infinite in their cultural and geographic wealth, providing various models of existence and standards of humanity.[5]

However, it is not known whether Słowacki was just a Romantic traveller seeking poetic inspiration, or whether perhaps he was fulfilling

[5] See more Kalinowska 2011, 12-14 and 22-27. See also Kalinowska 2008, Przybylski 1982, Augustinos 1994 and Slowacki.al.uw.edu.pl.

a political mission in connection with the work of Prince Czartoryski and his circle. Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski was the most influential politician of Polish émigré circles;[6] as Russia's foreign minister in the times of Tsar Alexander I, he was subsequently sentenced to death by the Russians for taking part in the Polish uprising (1830-31). A correspondent of Kapodistrias, he was the "Philhellene", who had left his signature as the author of a political manifesto published in Marseille in 1830 but was inspired by the outbreak of the Greek Uprising. *Essai sur la diplomatie ou manuscrit d'un Philhellène* contained a programme for the creation of a universal political order based on the laws of nations and, above all, on ethical principles in relations between nations, and against violence.[7] Słowacki's travel companion, a Polish nobleman named Zenon Brzozowski (1806-1887), was involved in the political activities of Czartoryski and his family.[8] Two other noblemen who were Słowacki's companions and who may have played a role as political emissaries were the brothers Stefan (1815-1878) and Aleksander (1816-1893) Hołyński.[9]

There is no way of knowing if this was a Romantic journey to the roots of European civilisation and the source of Christianity, as well to the mysterious Orient, or whether it was a political mission, or both.[10] What is known, however, is that it was a pilgrimage – and not solely because the Polish poet's route included the empty Tomb of Jesus in Jerusalem, where Słowacki spent a night and experienced a deep spiritual breakthrough.[11] It was also first and foremost a journey in search of poetic

[6] See Kukiel 1955; Skowronek 1983; Zawadzki 1992; Axer 2011, 122-127.

[7] This manifesto was completed by 1827 with the title, *Essai sur la diplomatie ou manuscrit d'un Philhellène* (ed. Nicolas Toulouzan, founder of 'Société de la Morale chrétienne' and vice president of the Marseille Philhellenic Committee, published Marseille, 1830).

[8] See Głębocki 2019, 64-69.

[9] See *ibid.*, 70-79.

[10] See Libera 1993, 54-100; Głębocki 2019, 61-94.

[11] There is extensive literature in Polish on the spiritual ("mystical") breakthrough that occurred in Słowacki's life in the early 1840s. However, many researchers believe that this breakthrough in fact began during the poet's Eastern journey. The night spent at Christ's tomb in particular, according to the poet himself, was of critical

inspiration and a pilgrimage to Greece which Słowacki, in the spirit of the time, saw as the native land of Homer and the great Greek myths – a place which represented the "dreams of humankind",[12] but was regarded also as the land of heroes fighting for freedom. Hence, places of special importance on this journey included Salamis, Thermopylae and, seen from a distance, Lepanto and Missolonghi.

Słowacki documented his journey, which he treated as a unique experience, in a narrative poem that he entitled *Podróż do Ziemi* Świętej *z Neapolu* [*Journey to the Holy Land from Naples*], which he almost completed during his travels but never published. He only published one canto, *Agamemnon's Tomb* (written later, after his trip), which influenced the Polish national mentality for the next two centuries.[13] The rest of the poetic travelogue remained in manuscript form in a journal which he used to record sketches of poems, travel notes, and bills, drew pictures of the sights he visited and painted watercolours.[14] The travel notebook in which he wrote the poem about the Greek part of his travels, which many believed to have been destroyed by fire in Warsaw during the Nazi occupation, unexpectedly turned up 80 years later at a library in Moscow, where it was discovered by Professor Henryk Głębocki from

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importance for his transformation. A poem Słowacki wrote at the time, starting with the words "And having abandoned the way of worldly delusions", is significant in this context. See Kiślak 2019 and the summary of the text [Transformation in the East: Religion and Existence] in Kalinowska et al. 2019, vol. 3, 445. "This study deals with the groundbreaking significance of Słowacki's journey to the East, addressing earlier research on the Raptularz wschodni [The Eastern Diary]. It then reconstructs the existential starting point of the journey and the poet's experience as his expedition progresses, firstly from the perspective of the anthropology of death. It tracks announcements of transformation, including the case of the falsified edition of Conversation with the Pyramids. The study also reasserts the importance of the poet's time in Jerusalem, documented by two lyrics, and considers Anhelli's place in the transformation of the poet's worldview. Słowacki's originality is shown in the context of the itineraries of other travelers to the East during this period.

[12] There is extensive scholarly literature on Słowacki's reception of Greek myths. He referred to them many times in his works and extracted deep archetypal content from them, similar to that described later by C. G. Jung.

[13] See Cochran et al. 2009. *Grób Agamemnona* [*Agamemnon's Tomb*] was published in Paris in 1840.

[14] See Kalinowska 2019.

the Jagiellonian University. The team which I had the honour of leading, published this journal in its entirety, treating the texts it contained as a Romantic open work,[15] a testimony to the poet's travel experience. Reproductions of the entire manuscript were made available for the first time and opened up several new lines of research, particularly concerning the poet's meeting with Konstantinos Kanaris. While the notebook contains numerous fragments of different poems, the only complete text contained within it is that of the "Greek poem". *Journey to the Holy Land from Naples* is composed of the following cantos: Canto 1. *Wyjazd z Neapolu* [Departure from Naples], Canto 3. *Statek parowy* [The Steamship], Canto 4. *Grecja* [Greece], Canto 5. *Podróż konna* [Journey on horseback], Canto 6. *Nocleg w Vostizzy* [A night's stay in Vostizza], Canto 7, *Megaspilleon klasztor* [Mega Spilaion Monastery]. Two further cantos were written later and added to the poem by the editors: Canto 8. Grób Agamemnona [*Agamemnon's Tomb*],[16] and Canto 9, untitled, inspired by his visit to Corinth.

Two encounters during his Greek travels were particularly important to Słowacki: a voyage which he happened to share by chance with Dionysios Solomos,[17] and a visit to Konstantinos Kanaris' home. The encounter with Solomos, who was already famous in Europe as the author of *Hymn to Liberty* and whose poetry Słowacki had admired for years, was a disappointment.[18] By contrast, his meeting with Kanaris confirmed his fascination with a hero whose life and deeds were admired in Europe, and who had been familiar to the Polish poet since his youth.

Słowacki's fascination with Kanaris had old and deep origins. It was already expressed in his earlier writings, when, as an émigré after the fall

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[15] Kalinowska, M. et al. (eds) 2019, *"Raptularz wschodni" Juliusza Słowackiego. Edycja – studia – komentarze*. See in print: Maria Kalinowska and Ewa Łukaszyk, Juliusz Słowacki's "Notebook from His Travels to Greece and the East as a Romantic Open and Syncretic Work. Translating a Journey into Poetry".

[16] *Agamemnon's Tomb* was the long poem's only section published by Słowacki (1840); it functions as a separate poem and is given great importance in Polish culture.

[17] See Karagiorgos 2019.

[18] By this time, *Hymn to Liberty* (1823) had been translated into many languages and had become a symbol of the Greek independence struggle. See Tiktopoulou 1998; Amarantidou 2006, 249-263.

of the Polish November Uprising, he wrote the Byronic poem *Lambro*, whose storyline references the unsuccessful Greek uprising of 1770. In fact, *Lambro* invokes the realities of various Greek independence struggles (it includes allusions to Lambros Katsonis, but also to Rigas Feraios and Kanaris; it mentions the history of Morea, Psara and Hydra and their role during the revolution[19]) while also seeking to recount the Polish insurrection experience.

What is of most interest here, however, is how Słowacki's literary imagination was inspired by the young Kanaris' method of sea warfare, which fascinated him: fighting the enemy with the help of fire ships and setting fire to enemy ships. In his travel poem, Słowacki calls Kanaris "the master of two elements", and he uses this compelling union of the elements of water and fire from Kanaris' biography in *Lambro* to create a universal story about the fight between good and evil. Torn between what is good and a desire for vengeance, *Lambro*'s Byronic hero becomes an image of nineteenth-century man. The poem's setting is reminiscent of a painting by January Suchodolski, a Polish painter and November insurrectionist, also an acquaintance of Słowacki, who produced a painting referencing Kanaris' mode of fighting several years after *Lambro* was published. However, Słowacki's poem unfolds in even more apocalyptic scenery that brings to mind ultimate and universal choices between good and evil, while his protagonist, who turns from an insurgent into a corsair, reminds us of Byronic heroes of vengeance: "Here is my element — this grim darkness, / My thoughts already belong to the abyss".[20]

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[19] These are most frequently very general references to the events of the 1821 Greek uprising widely known across Europe at that time. There is a vast academic literature on the topic available. See, for example Clair 1972 (2008); Tsigakou 1991; Beaton 2013.

[20] Słowacki 1952: "Oto mój żywioł – ta ciemność ponura,/ Już do otchłani myśl moja należy." (Canto 2, lines 620-621). This poem is representative of a major trend in Polish Romantic literature that referenced Byronic creations of "dark" characters who did not hesitate to resort to vengeance in their actions. Characterising Byron's characters, Mickiewicz, who was the most important Polish Romantic poet, defended them against accusations of godless and unethical conduct; in the introduction to his translation of *The Giaour*, Mickiewicz wrote that "Byron's people have a conscience" ("Ludzie Byrona mają sumnienie", Mickiewicz 1998, 150).

Thus, Słowacki's youthful fascination with Kanaris inspired him as a mature artist to create a Byronic hero, rebellious and vengeful, entangled in history, but also paying for revenge on his nation's enemy with the disintegration of his own personality. However, the real Kanaris had been first and foremost a moral model of a patriot for the young Słowacki; other heroes of the Greek Revolution had also been his great inspirations: Botsaris, Miaoulis, Tzavelas, the defenders of Missolonghi whose stories he came to know from his youthful reading.[21] In *Lambro* this fascinating "master of two elements", the historical Kanaris, is made into an anarchic hero, filled with vengeance and undergoing destruction.

It is thus not surprising that his meeting with Kanaris a few years after the publication of *Lambro* was a momentous event for the poet, one that he described in his narrative poem written in Greece, *Journey to the Holy Land from Naples*. It needs to be added that there are several reports of encounters with Kanaris by the nineteenth-century travellers wanting to meet the legendary hero of the Greek War of Independence who was famous throughout Europe. Kanaris' European fame is confirmed in the writings of Victor Hugo, for example.[22] In the context of Słowacki's journey, three accounts of meetings with Kanaris are especially significant: that of Prince Pückler-Muskau (1836),[23] whom Słowacki mentions and who travelled along a similar route a few months before the Polish poet, that of Gustave Flaubert (1850), and that of Polish aristocrat, writer and composer Władysław Tarnowski (1874). I shall return later to this other Polish traveller who visited Kanaris almost 40 years after Słowacki, because Tarnowski, an artist and participant in another anti-Russian Polish insurrection (the January Uprising, 1863-1864), met with Kanaris when Słowacki's poem was already well known and Słowacki's influence on Polish mentality and Polish poetry was enormous.

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[21] As recalled by Słowacki in his travel poem.

[22] V. Hugo wrote the poem *Canaris* (1828) (part of *Les Orientales*) and the ode *À Canaris* (1832). See Tabaki-Iona 1993, 57-59.

[23] The prince visited Kanaris on his corvette near Patras. See Pückler-Muskau 1841, 73-75, 78-84.

What, then, does Słowacki write about Kanaris in his travel poem? What image of Kanaris do we find in *Journey to the Holy Land from Naples*? First of all, we need to look at the special form of this digressive poem written in sestina form, which is somewhat Byronic and Ariostan, which is governed by Romantic irony and whose variable tones stretch between the opposites of sublimity and comedy, melancholy and humour. The poem's varying rhythm reflects the pace of the traveller's changing impressions, the way he absorbs the images of Greece, his recording of his inner states, digressions about history and metaphysics, as well as the changeability and capriciousness of the relationship between the time of the narrative and the time of the journey.[24] The examples of such variations can be seen in for example the structure of the poem as a play of the sublime and the poet's distance towards himself. The stanza in which the poet writes a magnificent ode to Messolonghi and then just breaks this uplifted tone with a trivial observation of himself.[25]

It is not known exactly when or where Słowacki visited Kanaris. He writes that he was at his modest "clay cottage", which corresponds with the characteristics of architecture in the Cyclades. He most probably visited him on Syros, where Słowacki spent two weeks waiting for a ship to Egypt and writing his poem. However, there is no confirmation in other sources that Kanaris stayed on Syros in 1836, although it is likely.[26] Kanaris scholars write that after Kapodistrias' death (1832) he withdrew from political life for a period to the island of Syros.[27] While the archive in Hermoupolis cannot confirm with any certainty that Kapodistrias lived on Syros in the 1830s, this nonetheless seems highly probable. Most sources describe Kanaris' return to public life in 1837[28] and mention Aegina and Athens as his subsequent places of residence.

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[24] See more on the specificity of this poem: Kalinowska 2008.

[25] See Leszczyński 2014.

[26] As confirmed by the opinion of the municipal archive in Hermoupolis (Kalinowska 2011, 329).

[27] These remarks about the early 1830s in Kanaris' life can be found in all his biographies and encyclopaedias in many languages, see for example: *Παγκόσμιο Βιογραφικό Λεξικό* 1985, 242; Photiadis 1988, 723, 726.

[28] See e.g. Fotiadis 1988 (2006), 723-728 and the entries in the most European encyclopaedias and dictionaries.

The Kanaris sources and biographies show a gap of several years after 1832. The hypothesis that Słowacki visited Kanaris on Syros is very tempting to researchers of the Polish poet. There are numerous reasons for that; for instance, there is evidence that Słowacki wrote his poem on Syros while waiting for a boat to Egypt. However, he first rewrote the earlier parts of the poem from his sketchbook. The manuscript got changed in this part of the text, where Słowacki writes:

"I am just returning from his [Kanaris] home".[29] To gives the impression of having been written *en route* - whereas earlier segments appear to have been copied from previous versions. In the manuscript of the poem in the travel notebook, it can be seen that the poem was written directly after his visit to Kanaris' home as it is full of deletions and indications of being the first draft.

There is also some ambiguity in the poem regarding Kanaris' status at the time of the visit: on the one hand, Słowacki writes about him as someone who has removed himself from politics and public life ("today calm he lives/ In a clay cottage, like Evander's home"),[30] while on the other he mentions seeing him "in Patras commanding the Greek flotilla"[31] (which would make this testimony similar to that left by Prince Pückler-Muskau in his memoirs[32]). All of the facts cited here and an analysis of the poem's manuscript enable us to hypothesise that Słowacki saw Kanaris in Patras as a fleet commander, and that they met at his home on Syros.

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[29] Słowacki 2011. "Wierzę, że jeszcze żyje dziś Kanarys,/ Bo właśnie teraz wracam z jego domu" (Canto 4. lines 193-194).

[30] *Ibid.* "[…] dziś spokojny mięszka/ W domku glinianym jak domek Ewandra" (Canto 4. lines 200-201).

[31] *Ibid.* "W Patrassie grecką dowodzi flotyllą" (Canto 4, line 197).

[32] Pückler-Muskau travelled across Greece a few months before Słowacki, often following similar routes. In Patras, he attended a party on Kanaris' ship (see Pückler-Muskau 1841, 78-84). Słowacki spent just one day in Patras: it was where his voyage from Corfu and Zante ended. If he had gone to the meeting with Kanaris straight after disembarking, it might have confirmed the political nature of the meeting. There is no proof of Kanaris having lived in Patras. European Romantics, painters and poets alike, were more fascinated with the young Kanaris' battles, in which he used fire ships; his subsequent role as a war fleet commander seldom inspired the Romantic imagination.

How is Kanaris portrayed in Słowacki's poem? The fragments preceding the references to Kanaris are about Missolonghi and the Greek struggle viewed within a long series of freedom efforts against tyranny and violence: from antiquity to Europe of the time. The expressions Słowacki uses towards Kanaris include the following: "heavenly fāris", "burned by a bolt of fire", the one who "lived like a salamander", Kanaris –like the centaurs– appears to be "half man – and half fireship", "eyes full of lightning", "king of the flames", "the master of two elements/ With which he destroys – does he have the face of Angels?"[33]

These are questions the poet asks himself as he recalls his youth, when he excitedly read reports from the Greek insurgent struggle and wanted to be like the Greek heroes. Recounting his arrival at Kanaris' humble home, Słowacki compares his experience to the biblical "Jacob's dream": the patriarch Jacob dreamed of a ladder reaching to heaven, with angels ascending and descending it. In Słowacki's imagination, Jacob's dream is his own return to his youth and his reading of stories about the Greek Revolution and its heroes; he returned to his youth in Lithuania, and to the riverbank in the garden in Jaszuny,[34] "to read or to dream…/ And thus at one time I read the Greek's struggle."[35]

With his very detailed but also extremely poetic description of Kanaris' fighting that had made him famous all over Europe, the Polish poet returns to his youth, where Kanaris becomes a symbol of the young Słowacki's dreams of a splendid future. Recalling his youthful reading (about the heroic deeds of the new Greece's warriors, including the Ypsilantis brothers, Botsaris and Kanaris) during his journey, the poet builds an unusual image, its uniqueness lying in a merger of the microscopic elements of surrounding nature.[36] Perspective from which

[33] *Ibid.* in Polish: "błękitów farys", "od ogniowego opalony gromu", "żył jako salamandra", "oczy pełne błyskawicy". "A ów Kanarys zda się jak Centaury/ Na pół człowiekiem – a na pół brulotem./ Ten człowiek – śmiały... i pan dwóch żywiołów,/ Któremi niszczy – czy ma twarz Aniołów?" (Canto 4. Lines 321-324).

[34] The garden in the estate in Jaszuny (Jašiūnai), near Vilnius.

[35] Słowacki 2011. "[…] czytać albo marzyć…/ I tak czytałem niegdyś walkę Greka," (Canto 4. Lines 220-221).

[36] See Nawarecki 2012. Prof. A. Nawarecki (University of Silesia) started a line of research in Polish studies on poetic imagination that he called "micrology".

the reading and dreaming youth perceives nature around him (he is reading in the garden) and the broad historical panorama suggested by the Greek struggle about which he is reading. This creates a deeply internalised, fairy-tale-like vision in which blades of grass, crickets, flower petals, dewdrops, seen from close up by a boy hidden on a Lithuanian riverbank covered in blue flowers, larger than a man; and Kanaris, "the master of two elements" sailing across the big blue Greek sea, is reduced to the size of a grasshopper which "on a blade of yellow straw" "travels on a boat". At that moment, Hellas is thus presented as an area of youthful dreams about a heroic man and about a heroic self. At the same time, we can recognise Greek motifs connected with the uprising becoming internalized for Słowacki.

One of the most interesting poetic images which Słowacki uses in the poem's segment about Kanaris is that of resurrection in the religious sense to describe the moment when the nation regains independence. The nation's death is a sleep (the poet speaks of "the tomb of the deeply sleeping homeland")[37] that will end at the moment of the people's resurrection: "What great effort will be needed then/ To roll away our grave's stone –/ That marble filled with our suffering engraved,/ On which the children of the fallen pray".[38] This multidimensional metaphor refers to the continuing bondage suffered by Słowacki's homeland, but also to the already ended bondage of Kanaris' homeland: "I inquired of the secret he already knew,/ For he had rolled away gravestones himself".[39] Kanaris' fight, and indeed any freedom struggle, gains religious sanction here, and is compared to resurrection in a religious sense (a reference to Manzoni's ode on the Resurrection of Christ[40]).

[37] Słowacki 2011. "Bo sam odwalał kamienie grobowe/ Z grobu uśpionej głęboko ojczyzny" (Canto 5. Lines 16-17).

[38] *Ibid*. "Jakiegoż trzeba będzie wtenczas trudu,/ Aby odwalić nasz grobowy kamień.–/ Ów marmur, pełny naszych cierpień rytych,/ Na którym modlą się dzieci – zabitych" (Canto 5. Lines 9-12).

[39] *Ibid*. "Pytałem znanej mu już tajemnicy,/ Bo sam odwalał kamienie grobowe" (Canto 5. lines 15-16).

[40] Manzoni 1951, *La Risurrezione*, see lines 15–24: "Come a mezzo del cammino, / Riposato alla foresta, / Si risente il pellegrino, / E si scote dalla testa / Una foglia inaridita, / Che, dal ramo dipartita, / Lenta lenta vi risté: // Tale il marmo inoperoso, / Che premea l'arca scavata / Gitt. via quel Vigoroso" (Manzoni 1951, 672)

One compelling idea that has not been considered by researchers yet is how the "grave's stone" is compared to marble covered with engraved sufferings; this inscription engraved with suffering might be understood as an element connecting the "Greek", ancient (pre-Christian?) tradition with Christ's order.

"I asked the Greek… but he no longer has that/ Prometheus chest with stolen fire. / My question was like Hamlet's/ Metaphysical word: does the soul dream?"[41] – this is a cryptic excerpt in which historical rebellion, often anarchic and opposed to Providence, turns into a question about the universal mystery of existence.

Słowacki's poem was first published in 1866,[42] after the poet's death. Almost 40 years after Słowacki's journey, in 1874, a Polish count called Władysław Tarnowski (1836-1878),[43] an eccentric traveller, composer and writer, and participant in the next brutally quashed national uprising (1863–1864), visited Konstantinos Kanaris in Athens. He described his impressions in a poem he entitled *Odwiedziny u Kanarisa. List z podróży do Ag... Gi…* [*Visiting Kanaris*, *The Letter from the journey to Ag... Gi...*] published in Lwów in 1876.[44] This work is nowhere as accomplished as Słowacki's poem, however, it offers intriguing testimony on the reception of *Journey to the Holy Land...* and, first and foremost, the reception of the person of Kanaris.[45] In this sense, it is a compelling example of an update to the Romantic parallel between the histories of Greece and Poland, and, above all, it evidences how Kanaris was assimilated into Polish culture through the framework of Romantic motifs and topics. The narrating subject of Tarnowski's poem visits a very old and ill Kanaris, who is more of a sage and prophet predicting

[41] "Pytałem Greka… ale w nim już nie ta/ Z kradzionym ogniem pierś Prometeusza./ Moje pytanie było jak Hamleta/ Metafizyczne słowo – czy śni dusza?" (Canto 5. Lines 19-22).

[42] Słowacki 1866.

[43] See Tarnowski 2020.

[44] Tarnowski 1876. In the Polish journal *Ruch Literacki*, where Tarnowski published his poem in 1876, there was also a brief note about a text by Spiridion Poggis (the Greek consul in Sardinia, the companion of Tarnowski), which was published in the Athenian journal *Εφημερίς* (1874).

[45] See Janion 2015, 46-49.

Poland's future than a fighting hero. He is the epitome of Greece's great tradition (resemblance to Socrates and a figure as if carved by Phidias), but he also reminds the visiting traveller of a Polish literary, legendary knight: Mohort. Mohort was the literary hero of a chivalric epic by Wincenty Pol (1807-1872),[46] a Polish Romantic poet. Pol created Mohort as a model of a Christian knight and patriot, who is an old defender of the homeland, especially the eastern borderlands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and the Christian faith, an inheritor of the great tradition of Polish King Jan III Sobieski, who defeated the Osman Empire and halted their invasion of Western Europe.[47] In Polish research *Mohort* is treated as a representative of the conservative noble tradition, but popular also in broader democratic circles in society.[48] In this poem *Mohort* is an old soldier and symbolises the ethos of patriotic duty important to Polish noble tradition.

Like Słowacki, Tarnowski also includes the motif of a question being put to Kanaris in his role of representing a nation with an ancient tradition that has regained its freedom. The old man – both the knight of old and, first and foremost, the sage and prophet, a man at the border between life and death – prophesying freedom for Poland, also using the structures of messianic thinking that were so characteristic of the Romantic period. This poem, similarly to Słowacki's, mentions the Greek insurgent struggle, while in the poem Kanaris appears to be familiar with Polish freedom heroes (Tadeusz Kościuszko). The day of his meeting with Kanaris, the Polish traveller assures, will "shine in my memories without end, / Like when the sun's fiery face falls into the depths of the sea".[49]

These Polish descriptions of Kanaris bear many likenesses and present a similar account of Kanaris' reception. Both continue the tradition of Victor Hugo from his poetry on Kanaris,[50] and both are

[46] Pol 1854.

[47] The victorious Battle of Vienna in 1683.

[48] See Pol 1922; Janion 1975.

[49] Tarnowski 1876."Dzień ten tak miłuję,/ Że mi będzie przyświecał w wspomnieniach bez końca,/ Jak w morską toń gdy spada ognista twarz słońca" (356).

[50] See note 23.

slightly distinct from that of Pückler-Muskau, who presents Kanaris as a clear-headed warrior, seaman, and politician, a very modest, low-profile, unobtrusive man, different from the great Romantic hero. However, both the Polish view and that of Pückler-Muskau share the same admiration for Kanaris. Two Polish descriptions of Kanaris contrast very markedly with the "cold" account of Gustave Flaubert, who saw a "real bourgeois" in Kanaris, very different from the Romantic legend that surrounded him.[51] Both these Polish descriptions of Kanaris present a comparable Romantic model deeply rooted in the Polish and European Romantic traditions.

Another interesting aspect of the comparison of these two descriptions of Kanaris by Słowacki and Tarnowski is how it demonstrates the heterogeneity of sources and motivations of Polish philhellenism. In both authors' oeuvres the specificity of Polish Romantic philhellenism is evident in the parallels between the descriptions of Polish and Greek aspirations for independence. Furthermore, Słowacki's philhellenism is connected with the European fascination with antiquity, while perhaps also being characterized by some of the rebellious and unmitigated aspects of the Byronic and Romantic idea of freedom. Tarnowski also refers to antiquity, however, he represents a more traditionalist mode: philhellenism, in his approach, is connected with the Polish tradition of defending the eastern borderlands of Europe and the continent's Christian values against the Ottoman threat.

[51] See Flaubert 1910, 133-134; Winock 2016, 129; Fotiadis 1988 (2006), 748-749.

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