

AN EMIGRANT ABOUT EMIGRANTS. FLAWLESS PORTRAITS OF OSCAR MIŁOSZ AND JOSIF BRODSKY

In 1985 a collection of academic essays and critical texts was published under the title *Poznawanie Miłosza (Understanding Miłosz)*. This volume, edited by Jerzy Kwiatkowski, still today evokes the impression of a “mass mobilization”, whose contributors, renowned researchers in their own right, decided to offer commentary on the writing of the poet émigré, who at that time was unknown to the general public. The aim of this volume was to explain to the readers, who were surprised at the worldwide success of Miłosz’s work, the reasons behind its greatness. That time in history required Miłosz’s work to be made “familiar” to the public, any programmatic incongruity needed to be eliminated, similarities underlined, and the whole of his work had to be annexed to the existing order and embedded in the traditional context.

Miłosz, who was then an almost mythical figure, existing far away, beyond an impassable political border, seemed to evoke generally positive reactions ranging from worship to partial approval. Many of the critical writings from that time paved the way for the future reception of his work. Jan Błoński explains the specificity of his poetry: “What are these moments of epiphany and clarity? Nothing else than moments of sensual experience so intense that they lead to the subject melting with the object” (Błoński 210). Long before the

appearance of the complete volumes of Miłosz's later poetry, Błoński presented following diagnosis:

Poetic egotism (which does not seem to have disappeared, and thank God, because poetry needs unconventionality and loftiness) becomes a part of the community's spirit. That is how a folksong turns into a symphony. The later work of Miłosz is an enormous endeavor to socialize and sacralize his personal experience. "Salvation", which he spoke of so often is not only a saving oneself for oneself, but becomes the saving of others and for others (Błoński 223)

Błoński indicated that Miłosz's emigration poetry was often divided between recording personal epiphanies and the effort he consciously undertook to preserve values for the community.

Working on behalf of the community, though far from the everyday matters of collective life, could have been inscribed in the well-established model of an émigré poet offering insight to his countrymen. The main strategy of a writer aiming, on a certain level, to develop a clear poetic diction, to apply one's own, singular lyrical epiphanies, which were axiologically charged and directed towards a collective, turned out to be an ambivalent strategy in the changed conditions following 1989. Negative emotions began to accompany the constant, or even growing, feelings of acceptance and recognition: aversion, lack of understanding, denial of rights – treated now as usurpation – to any form of teaching, considered unnecessary moralizing or devoid of community legitimacy teaching of personal convictions.

Meanwhile, the choice of translations, promotional and analytical, was also didactically influenced. The content of poetic anthologies and the choice of topics for essays and critical texts were subjected to the consciously undertaken task of educating the community, regardless of whether the addressee of these specific works was Polish community, European community or mankind in general. This characteristic feature of the poet's work, especially visible during the last 25 years of his life, tended to be understood as him undertaking a self-imposed "private responsibility", though its real influence, even on the shape of the literary scene in his own country, turned out to be illusory. With the kind of passion some give themselves over to charity work, he devoted himself to the vocation of teaching, explaining and interpreting.

Agata Stankowska, examining the unity of Miłosz's poetry with his manifestoes – most often directed against variously defined "incomprehensible poetry" – claims that Miłosz

never concealed that he wanted to influence the development of Polish poetry, critique it as well as develop its present and future shape [...] Writing about an avalanche that alters its direction in relation to the rocks that are in its way, Miłosz believed that even single, but conscious actions can alter the course of even the strongest power structures as well as of the presumably immovable elements of modern poetics (Stankowska 55).

The numerous auto-portraits Miłosz created during his whole life, along with their contextual background assembled out of portraits of writers from other periods and other nations, had a similar, didactically-charged character, emerging from a personal sense of responsibility to the community. "Our Community" from *Roadside Dog* presents an honest diagnosis of the condition of artists who are impelled by resentment and mutual animosities, and who refuse to even consider the fact that the fame they so desire is nothing more than abstract, ephemeral, and transient, whereas the real issue has to do the "image of oneself" (Miłosz 1997: 74).

Miłosz had tempestuous relationships with many other writers during his long life; these relationships were marked by different levels of emotion and were variously understood and interpreted by Miłosz at different stages of his life. This is why the functional aspect of his portraits is so interesting; these portraits were from the start drawn clearly and unapologetically. It would seem that they would have aided in the textual realization of this "image of oneself" or even constituted its integral part. As a rule, this function was fulfilled by the recurrent images of his relative, Oscar Miłosz, three decades his senior, who he had met later in life and lost prematurely, as well as of Joseph Brodsky, three decades his junior, who he outlived by a few years.

Miłosz was conscious of his tendency to teach through literary portraits. In *Roadside Dog* we can find the following diagnosis and declaration: "if I were to begin anew every one of my poems, it would be a biography or a portrait of a specific person, and more specifically, a lament on their fate" (Miłosz 1997: 163). Declaring compassion for the subjects of his portraits might have indicated not only the ability to bestow compassion on members of the human community, but also a belatedly gained ability to forgive himself. By creating these positive, somewhat parallel, portraits, Miłosz was facilitating the ceaseless process of creating his own self-image, and by their very existence, cemented in one textual form, these portraits sometimes assumed the role of a convenient argument.

The way in which Miłosz interpreted the course of “exemplary” biographies could be seen as a directive on how to read his own work. In his study of Miłosz’s biography – seen as an “archetype of a poet’s biography”, which quite playfully engages with Mickiewicz’s biography – Marek Zaleski distinguishes its constitutive characteristics:

He rebelled against the Lechite community and sacrificed himself to the community [...] the imperative to incessantly create auto-representations is intriguing: it comes from a sense of responsibility not only for oneself, but also for the tribunal of the community. Yes, there was in this the passion of self-awareness. But there was also the strong obligation to create one’s portrait imposed by the need to make good on this social contract (Zaleski 410)

The difficult, and never simple, relationships Miłosz had with “the Lechite community” could fulfill themselves only in the constantly undertaken task of teaching. The biography constitutes the central project of so understood calling.

Being his own director was accompanied by portraying Oscar Miłosz as an artist whose work was on equal footing with Einstein’s discoveries, something which was sometimes regarded as importunate, though always indisputably unambiguous. Presenting his cousin’s work with such sincere admiration and respect was from the very beginning part and parcel of consciously creating a role model. The status of an emigrant constantly requires the effort of reconstructing one’s own identity. As an Easterner forced to define himself in relation to Western reality, Czesław Miłosz found in the biography of the “French poet from Lithuania” a model for self-affirmation and real spiritual autonomy. Andrzej Franaszek claimed:

Oscar Miłosz’s stance of renouncing the struggle for literary laurels brought to mind the fervor of a prophet or an evangelical student, who relinquishes everything to follow the word of God. The author of *Three Winters*, who achieved in art incomparably more success, would have been incapable of such extremes (Franaszek 219).

What became the real inspiration for Miłosz was the idea of an uncompromising search for other paths of artistic development and identity formation, which would not be dictated by current fashions or “edicts of the era”.

What also became more important was being able to combine the painful understanding of the disintegrating world with the seemingly

irreconcilable hope of its future renewal. Above all, the important ideal remained the anachronic, though authentic, zeal of bearing witness: "Oscar Miłosz's faith in the future rebirth of humanity, as well as the divine unity of time, spirit and matter will be one source of hope, hidden in the core of his student's poems, hope which will prevent him from succumbing to despair" (Franaszek 225). A few years after the death of his cousin, Miłosz created his apologetic portrait in *The Land of Ulro*, presenting his cousin as one of the most important spiritual guides. Miłosz also knew that the shared surname and his desire to find a "fatherly" authority figure would not be enough to propel Oscar Miłosz to the status of an authority figure. What was of more significance was the fact that Oscar Miłosz's work moved the young, sensitive poet, as it dealt with the perennial question of how to say "yes" to our existence on earth (Miłosz 1982: 220). What attracted Czesław Miłosz to the work of his relative, apart from Oscar Miłosz's extreme individualism and his manifested unconventionality, apart from his inviolable refusal to succumb to fashion (not only in literature), was his ability to put forward the idea of the difficult acceptance of existing in our reality.

The similarity of the existential situation, and above all, the necessity to find one's own place in a foreign world, forced both artists to take advantage of, and consciously conduct a game with the traditional forms of knowledge that tie the existence of an emigrant to the fate of an abandoned community (coupled with the simultaneous search for a way to finally transgress it). Miłosz by the end of his life emphasized with full certainty that "We are born in a concrete point of the Earth and we have to remain faithful to this point, restrained in our following of foreign fashions" (Miłosz 2004: 88). However, patriotism had to take on the form of being aware of one's own personal borders, fidelity not just towards one's nation, but to one's culture built on individually formed principles. Attachment to one's place of birth need not mean having to enclose oneself in a confined space – only emotions thus modified could allow an emigrant to actively create his or her emigrational identity.

Oscar Miłosz, a naturalized Frenchman, author of adaptations of Lithuanian folktales and folksongs, underlined that he is Lithuanian and saw his choice of nationality as an unalienable right of every person. Czesław Miłosz saw it as an epitome of resisting one's fate, a model of spiritual autonomy:

The truth is that he was a Lithuanian and a Frenchman by choice. His fate was wandering and searching for his own place all his life in the geographical as well as metaphysical sense. As an aristocrat – and he believed that the memories of his ancestors are preserved in his blood – he wanted to remain faithful to his dual genealogy – aristocratic and Jewish. (Miłosz 2007: 77)

In the strategy deployed to find one's own model of existence outside the borders drawn by ethnic identity we can distinguish the principle of creatively using elements of stereotyped models of an emigrant's life with the directives of constructing a private biography which would transcend the confines of that model, which is to say, a search for "a more capacious form" also in the long process of doggedly striving to create a clear image of one's own identity.

Already in *Native Realm*, Miłosz had confidently advanced the claim that the relationship of Eastern Europeans to the "cultural centers" is based on complexes, timidity and subservience, which is why "they copy instead of resist, they are reflections instead of being themselves" (Miłosz 2001: 209). The search of one's own place abroad is, therefore, a search for space that is somewhat extraterritorial – regardless of whether it is an embassy or university – a space in which it would be possible to, whilst cultivating the tender memory of one's first homeland, construct the identity of a wanderer, Odysseus, whose fate will not return him to his homeland, or Aeneas, whose each new home will be nothing more than temporary shelter. The only protection against despair might be to transform one's status of an exile or a pilgrim to a consciously assumed role of a missionary, whose existential purpose would be to teach, bear witness, explain, and especially to build a hierarchical order.

Miłosz and Brodsky are not the only authors in whose work one can find tender recollections about their place of birth, though rarely at the beginning of their emigrational road: Ithaca, which they must abandon if they are to embark on their journey of self-awareness. A similar tone can be found in Oscar Miłosz's poem, *Insomnia*, in which a wanderer's grievance can be heard, a wanderer who was disappointed in his youth by "fabulous tales, full of old-world islands" (Miłosz 2007: 38–39). In order to leave Ithaca, aside from nurturing her idealized image, it was necessary to, above all, muster the effort to successfully tame the space of new experiences. Life as an emigrant during the second half of the twentieth century, following the civilizational catastrophe of the war and the attendant global cultural chan-

ges, entailed having to constantly uproot oneself from existence and a total, overwhelming homelessness in a foreign world.

All the wandering, drifting, and searching was in Miłosz's case connected to the feeling of guilt caused by remaining abroad – it is an existence of limbo between the obvious desire for stability of whatever kind and a faith in the cognitive value of facing never-ending obstacles, which are everyday occurrences for a “man on the move”. Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, a particularly critical reviewer of *Native Realm*, wrote in his journal on October 21, 1960 the following:

And for him it was the tedious accumulation of evidence that he is not cut out for life in Poland. But he was also not cut out for life in America, for life in general. He is an albatross. [...] Strange is the fate of man, eternal anxiety of self-worship. There is something of a naïve, Eastern faith in the possibility of arriving at an answer to “all the questions” (Iwaszkiewicz 422).

Aleksander Fiut was right when he wrote that Miłosz's “taking root in America” was most likely a symbolic taming of space, in which it would be possible to reconcile oneself with the status of exile, and even arrive at the bitter conviction that exile is everyone's destiny (Fiut 255).

On the other hand, Bożena Karwowska, in her examination of the connection between the literary expression of Miłosz's self-awareness as an exile and the cultural changes and birth of postcolonial discourse, pointed to the consequences of this chosen path and to the fact that already in the 1980s:

Miłosz as well as Brodsky (for similar reasons, as both did not limit themselves to “the narrow horizons of the archipelago of exile”) refused to be classified as an emigrant group of their countrymen; they became regarded as members of an international community, who have been defined by critics as “poets-in-exile” or “nationless writers” (Karwowska 86).

This change was made possible under the circumstances of yet another civilizational watershed, the fall of the ossified postwar order – the term “nationless” did not alter the degree of attachment to one's abandoned country, but indicated merely the change in the judgment of the degree to which its lack could determine the discourse of exile.

From the chosen perspective of current cultural changes, Miłosz's voice could have been seen not only as a voice of an émigré Polish poet or an American poet, but an artist offering a diagnosis of a universal dimension. Karwowska argues that “the Americanness

of Miłosz was based on his ability to merge with the most important critical discourses of Anglophone world – thereby changing his approach to exile as well as his critical reflection of it” (Karwowska 93–94). Miłosz’s later auto-creational activities could have inspired not only explorations of the poet-exile *topos* but also traditional analyses of the link between the status of an emigrant and his artistic output, which were scientifically sound considerations already developing in other countries.

If autonomously defining oneself and one’s place in the world is to be a conscious and constantly renewed goal, then fortitude is in such a situation a necessary condition. Miłosz wrote about Brodsky the following:

“I permitted myself everything expect complaints” – this saying of Brodsky’s ought to be pondered by every young person who despairs and is thinking about suicide. [...] expelled from Russia – he decided to act as if nothing had changed; he equated the Nobel Prize with the capricious turns of fate he had experience previously. The wise men of antiquity recommended such behavior, but there are not many people who can behave like that in practice. (Miłosz 1998: 288)

Maintaining a distance to oneself and to others serves to establish the boundaries of one’s own autonomy. This is how Irena Grudzińska-Gross saw the specificity of auto-presentation of emigrants at the junction of public and private sphere. She created a double portrait entitled *Miłosz i Brodski. Pole Magnetyczne (Miłosz and Brodsky. Magnetic Poles)*. Writing about the darker sides of both artists’ personalities, she understood them also as characteristics which were in a way positive, as they aided in the struggle to maintain individuality.

Maybe the perspicuity of the publicly revealed flaws, along with the haughtiness which was ascribed to them (and to Oscar Miłosz), was meant to validate the self-aggrandising measures, but above all to highlight what is central in constructing the images of “rebels” for public use, who constantly fight for maintaining the “hierarchy” of collapsing orders. Only when committing the sin of haughtiness could one attempt to change the course of events. It would seem then that, in the case of Miłosz and Brodsky, the most important shared conviction that they held had to do with the fundamental importance of going against the erosion of civilization and defending values and the idea that artistic involvement in modern society is a necessity.

Writing is not so much a kind of “private obligation”, nor is it even an overpowering inner imperative – though discernable in the artistic work of Oscar Miłosz – as it is the duty of carrying on the work of poetically explaining human existence and the world we inhabit. Miłosz wrote:

Joseph Brodsky went as far as to deny that we are writing for posterity. According to him, we write for the approval of the shadows of poets who came before us. Upon consideration, this sentence presents practical advice for proud avant-garde artists who are certain that they’re doing something new (Miłosz 2004: 114)

It is precisely this mission of cultivating the old tradition of creatively and ingeniously reacting to the condition of the world that establishes the scope of the efforts made to reinterpret the state of contemporary culture. This mission was also connected to the fact that all kinds of teaching assumed the form of unambiguous observations and apodictic injunctions.

Oscar Miłosz, analyzing the poetry after Goethe and Lamartine in his essay “A Few Words on Poetry”, which Czesław Miłosz included many years later in his suggestively titled *Private Obligations*, claimed without a shadow of a doubt that poetry under the influence of German romantics of the second order – Edgar Allan Poe, Baudelaire and Mallarmé – became impoverished and narrower, which in effect “directed it towards the subconscious, towards experiments, which, although certainly interesting, sometimes even praiseworthy, were nonetheless marked by purely aesthetic interests, almost always singular in nature” (Miłosz 1990: 32). The need, according to Miłosz, is for a genius artist, as the chasm between poetry and mankind will not be filled, unless a modern Homer, Shakespeare or Dante comes along: a poet who will transcend the limits of the small “cramped” self, in order to determine the secrets of the community. The responsibility of the artist is to strive for such an ideal, even if it means sacrificing contemporary acclaim.

Similarly, Brodsky devoted his attention to only a few artists, who he considered undeniably outstanding. This group included the likes of Dante, Cavafy, Auden, Mandelstam, Tsvetaeva, Akhmatova; they were the writers Brodsky would write about, thereby developing his own hierarchy for everyone to adopt. Brodsky argues also that:

Yet it’s fine to be absurd – for yourself, and in your own art, etc., etc. – but when somebody next door, who while not being an artist gets it very badly in his

neck because for that absurdity of the century, you can't really press your artistic point. (Miłosz 2007: 161)

Rejecting helplessness and the passive acceptance of the absurdity of existence, with all the attendant projects connected with the preservation of values, is perhaps to be the sources of the necessity to constantly find and rescue oneself, in the space of civilizational disintegration.

Both Oscar and Czesław Miłosz as well as Brodsky cross paths on "the wasteland", which – much like for Eliot – does not end with a just a description of it, but with the attempt to actively resist its horror, with the search for hope, the development of a vision of salvation. Czesław Miłosz, as the author of "Thoughts on T. S. Eliot", revealed the similarities between the poetic landscapes of London in *Wasteland* and Paris in Oscar Miłosz's *Symphonies*, pointing to their kinship as "poets of insatiability" (Miłosz 1990: 125). He was also often amazed that Eliot, a master for several generations of American and English poets, was never honored with a poem after his death (Miłosz 2007: 62). The conclusion was always the same: conquering the bitter awareness of a short existence on a wasteland tainted by the absurdity of existence can only take place if one accepts that there exists a realm of values immune to derangement and then takes on the task of defending its hierarchical existence.

Near the end of the 1980s, Miłosz in a conversation with Brodsky said: "Before the war, I experienced the influence of Oskar Miłosz who taught me lofty resistance towards decadence" (Miłosz 1998: 126). He noticed in Brodsky's biography and work a similar "lofty resistance" against ubiquitous disintegration:

Here was a man who by his oeuvre and by his life reminded us, against what today is so often proclaimed and written, that hierarchy exists. That hierarchy cannot be contrived by syllogisms and established in a discourse. Rather, by living and writing, we affirm it every day anew. It has something to do with the elementary division in to beauty and ugliness, truth and falsity [...] hierarchy means respect for that which is elevated and unconcern, rather than scorn, for what is base. (Miłosz 1998: 278)

The idea of "hierarchy" as faith, however difficult, in the possibility of reconstructing the order of existence (if only in poetry), made it possible to endure a mundane, onerous existence. Remembering the sources of his inspiration and the sense of community shared with

fellow travelers on this difficult road allowed Miłosz to reaffirm his loyalty towards an obligation he once assumed: the defense of poetry against desacralization, which would ultimately lead it to its marginalization.

In the above-mentioned conversation/interview, which Brodsky conducted with Miłosz, Miłosz once again referred to the work of Oscar Miłosz, although he did so this time with colloquial ease, unlike the broad, reverent considerations found in *The Land of Ulro*. Still, the most important lesson to be taken from his relative's work was the idea of being open to the renewal of the Earth. He repeated with conviction that "the theory of relativity opened the doors to a new era, an era of harmony between science, religion and art". The Newtonian world, in a way hostile to the imagination, art and religion had to give way to ambiguity, because for modern physics, like once for Oscar Miłosz, "everything is oneness of movement, matter, time and space" (Miłosz 2007: 158). This conversation allowed Miłosz and Brodsky to reconcile and to bring their respective artistic, critical and even readerly stances closer together. Also, both artists without hesitation and doubt indicated who their successor would be – like them, a poet, translator, emigrant, Stanisław Barańczak (Miłosz 2007: 166).

In the end, it is important to mention the culmination of the "private obligation" to cultivate the memory of the ideals rooted in the project of constructing one's own identity. The poem "A Journeyman" from the volume *The Second Space* surprises with an Eliotean, provocatively archaic form, one that is doubled, incorporating lyrical verse and prose footnotes, reiterating and consolidating earlier stories into an undisputed homage. The poetic biography of Oscar, the "master", once again appears to be in fact the autobiography of "a journeyman", a record of his spiritual journey, and a reminder of important events and meetings. Venice, always present in the poet's life like a musical motif, turned out to be an immeasurably important place – from his first visit before the war to his last visit for Joseph Brodsky's funeral (Miłosz 2002: 96).

A portrait seamlessly changes into an self-portrait and the farewell to the master becomes a farewell to the world. At the end of "A Journeyman" we once again see Miłosz's unambiguous and distinct life credo, which is to take action within the language of one's own poetry and "prevent the sense of hierarchy from getting lost in this language" (Miłosz 2002: 111). However, it is also possible to find

in this poem a sense of futility in regards to any human endeavor and doubt not so much in the value of taking action in life as in its purpose and in the permanence of the results. This is most visible near the end of the poem, when "Venice set sail like a great ship of death" (Miłosz 2002: 98). Venice becomes for Miłosz, who is at the end of his life, a space ready to accept the unborn, where the old poets will be nothing more than enigmatic legends.

Unintelligible, a fanciful story about a writer and his work – this is perhaps how posterity will view Czesław Miłosz. Zaleski argues that "Miłosz's biography overwrites Mickiewicz's biography and is a text given to us to read by the author himself" (Zaleski 412). It is a text that yields multiple interpretations, the proof of which are the numerous critical texts appearing after Miłosz's death. He can be read against the author's intentions, deconstructed or invalidated by various ideological positions. What is indisputable, however, is the existence of these texts, which will remain a clear point of reference for every one of his successors, who dares to reach for the title of national prophet. Yet, there is doubt whether in today's antagonistic cultural projects there is room for such a gesture to repeat itself.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Błoński Jan, "Epifanie Miłosza". *Poznawanie Miłosza. Studia i szkice o twórczości poety*. Ed. J. Kwiatkowski. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1985.
- Fiut Aleksander. "Wrastanie w Amerykę. (Strategie pisarskie: Czesława Miłosza, Jerzego Kosińskiego, Andrzeja Brychta). *Pisarz na emigracji. Mitologie, style, strategie przetrwania*. Ed. H. Gosk, A.S. Kowalczyk. Warszawa: Elipsa, 2005.
- Franaszek, Andrzej. *Czesław Miłosz. Biografia*. Kraków: Znak, 2011.
- Grudzińska-Gross, Irena. *Miłosz i Brodski. Pole Magnetyczne*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2007.
- Iwaskiewicz, Jarosław. *Dzienniki 1956–1963*. Warszawa: Czytelnik, 2010.
- Karwowska, Bożena. "Kategoria wygnania w anglojęzycznych dyskursach krytycznoliterackich (Czesław Miłosz, Josif Brodski). *Pisarz na emigracji. Mitologie, style, strategie przetrwania*. Ed. H. Gosk, A. S. Kowalczyk. Warszawa: Elipsa, 2005.
- Miłosz, Czesław. *Second Space*. Transl. by the author and Rober Hass New York: Ecco / HarperCollins, 2004. Kraków: Znak, 2002.
- Miłosz, Czesław. *Historie ludzkie*. "Zeszyty Literackie" 2007 nr 5.
- Miłosz, Czesław. *Road-side dog*. Transl. Robert Hass. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998. Kraków: Znak, 1997.
- Miłosz, Czesław. *Prywatne obowiązki*. Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Pojezierze, 1990.

-
- Miłosz, Czesław. *Native realm*. A search for self-definition. Transl. Catherine S. Leach. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2001.
- Miłosz, Czesław. *Spizarnia literacka*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2004.
- Miłosz, Czesław. *The Land of Ulro*. Transl. Louis Iribarne. New York: Collins, 1985. Warszawa: PIW, 1982.
- Miłosz, Czesław. *Życie na wyspach*. Kraków: Znak, 1998.
- Stankowska Agata. "Głos Miłosza w sprawie o niezrozumiałstwo jako ponowiony wybór tradycji". *Pamiętnik Literacki*, CII, 2011, no. 2. P. 55–74.
- Zaleski Marek. "Arcywzór biografii poety". *Pisarz na emigracji, Mitologie, style, strategie przetrwania*. Ed. H. Gosk, A.S. Kowalczyk. Warszawa: Elipsa, 2005.