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The Fake Diary of a Historical Figure: Klementyna Tańska-Hoffmanowa's *Journal of Countess Françoise Krasińska* (1825)

Abstract: This paper discusses a somewhat forgotten diary novel by the first Polish woman writer and educator to make a living from creative writing, Klementyna Tańska-Hoffmanowa (1798–1845). The *Journal of Countess Françoise Krasińska* (1825) was one of her early works, designed for adolescent readers (first serialised in *Rozrywki* [Amusements], a youth magazine which she had started but a year earlier). Françoise (Polish: Franciszka) Krasińska was a historical character: born into a Polish aristocratic family of the Corvin-Krasińskis in 1742, she set her mind on rising above the social station originally allocated to her. Around fifteen, she met Royal Prince Charles (Karl) Christian Joseph of Saxony. They were secretly married on March 25, 1760. This morganatic marriage spelled years of solitude, financial straits and emotional imbalance for Krasińska. The spouses were not to be reunited until over a decade after the wedding. The long separation was largely due to the character of the Prince, who had hoped to become King of Poland, which however never materialised. They had only one daughter, Princess Maria Christina of Saxony, who in due course became the grandmother of Victor Emanuel II, the first king of united Italy.

Hoffmanowa's novel, begun as a project aimed to educate young girls in modesty and other traditional feminine virtues, soon became a tour-de-force of fake diarising, the first ever psychologically complex presentation of the workings of a young girl's mind in Polish literature. The diary was rendered so convincingly that it was for decades taken as a transcript of a real journal (hence its several translations into Western languages). Yet it is now quite clear that the novelist produced her manuscript on the basis of genuine correspondence of Françoise Krasińska, to which she had unrestricted access, and historical newspaper accounts, but not a journal as it had never existed. In my paper, I wish to discuss the *Journal's* precarious balance between historical fact and fiction as well as examining the ways in which this autobiographical forgery is enacted.

Key words: fake diary – Klementyna Tańska-Hoffmanowa – morganatic marriage – Prince Karl Christian Joseph of Saxony – autobiographical pact

Klementyna Tańska-Hoffmanowa (1798–1845) was the first Polish woman writer and educator to make a living from her creative writing and teaching since she was aged twenty-seven.¹ One of her early works, designed for child and adolescent readers (first published in instalments in *Rozrywki dla dzieci* [*Children's Amusements*], a youth magazine which she had started but a year earlier), was *The Journal of Françoise Krasieńska, Written in the Final Years of the Reign of Augustus III* (1825). It was Poland's first historical novel based on a sound material study in the manner of Walter Scott,² and Poland's first psychological novel to deal with the formative years in the life of an adolescent.³ The text was significantly indebted to sentimental novels which typically featured a social gap between lovers of impressionable age, torn by intense passions.⁴ It was also not free from a certain fairy-tale touch in its love plot involving a young girl and a royal prince, but without the standard "happy everafter".⁵

Françoise (Polish: Franciszka) Krasieńska was a historical character: born into the Polish aristocratic family of the Corvin-Krasieńskis in 1742, she soon set her mind on rising above the social ranks originally allocated to her. At the age of fourteen or fifteen, she met Charles (Karl) Christian Joseph of Saxony, the Duke of Courland and the Royal Prince. On March 25, 1760, they secretly entered into a morganatic marriage, which spelled years of solitude, financial straits and emotional imbalance for Françoise. The spouses were not to be reunited until over a decade after their wedding. Their long separation was largely due to the character of the Royal Prince, who was a ladies' man, ready to charm any drawing- or ball-room company. On a political plane, he was hoping

1 Izabela KANIOWSKA-LEWAŃSKA, *Afterword*, in: Klementyna Hoffmanowa z Tańskich, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasieńskiej* [The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasieńska], Warszawa 1976, pp. 173–186, here 179.

2 Ida KOTOWA, *Introduction* (1929), in: Klementyna Hoffmanowa z Tańskich, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasieńskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany* [The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasieńska, Written in the Final Years of the Reign of Augustus III], Wrocław 2006, pp. v–lxxv, here xi–xiv; Aleksandra FRYBESOWA, *Introduction*: in: Klementyna Hoffmanowa z Tańskich, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasieńskiej* [The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasieńska], Warszawa 1961, pp. 5–18, here 9–14.

3 Konstanty WOJCIECHOWSKI, *Historja powieści w Polsce: rozwój typów i form romansu polskiego na tle porównawczem* [A History of the Novel in Poland: a Comparative Study of Types and Forms], ed. Zygmunt Szwejkowski, Lwów 1925, pp. 165–171; I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, p. xxxii; Maria JASIŃSKA, *Narrator w powieści przedromantycznej (1776–1831)* [The Narrator in Pre-Romantic Novels (1776–1831)], Warszawa 1965, p. 270. It is interesting that Wojciechowski compares *The Journal* with Maria Wirtemberska's *Malvina or the Heart's Intuition* (1816), the first Polish psychological novel ever, and concludes that Hoffmanowa's achievement stands higher than Wirtemberska's because the former deals with a mind undergoing the formation process, whereas *Malvina* portrays a mature female character. See K. WOJCIECHOWSKI, *Historja powieści*, p. 169.

4 M. JASIŃSKA, *Narrator*, pp. 74–75.

5 A. FRYBESOWA, *Introduction*, pp. 14–15.

to become King of Poland, which however never materialised. The couple had only one daughter, Princess Maria Christina of Saxony, who in due course became grandmother to Victor Emanuel II, the first king of united Italy.

Klementyna Hoffmanowa's novel, begun as a project aimed to educate young girls in modesty and other long-established feminine virtues, soon turned into a tour-de-force of fake diarising. The diary was rendered so convincingly that it was for decades taken as a transcript of a real journal.⁶ Hence its several translations into Western languages: French in 1835–1836, 1895, 1903 and one undated (by at least three different translators); English in 1897; German in 1900; and Italian in 1901. It is, nevertheless, quite clear that the novelist produced her manuscript on the basis of Françoise Krasieńska's genuine correspondence, to which she had unrestricted access, and historical newspaper accounts, but not a journal as it had never existed.⁷ In my paper, I will focus on the ways in which this autobiographical forgery is enacted as well as examining the precarious balance between historical fact and fiction as presented in the novel. For the purposes of the present paper, I will use the English translation published by Onesuch Press in 2012,⁸ which claims to have drawn on and updated the novel's very first English version by Kasimir Dziekonska.⁹

6 A. FRYBESOWA, *Introduction*, p. 6.

7 I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, p. xxiv.

8 Klementyna TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasieńska*, introduction by Marianna Rychlowska, London – Melbourne – Nashville 2012.

9 To what extent this claim is true may be disputable. The 2012 edition is, to say the least, not very carefully presented: it contains a number of spelling and terminological inconsistencies which cannot but make the reading of the text by speakers of English difficult. It has also abandoned the original authorial explanatory notes and consistently misdated the majority of Krasieńska's diary entries. The introduction by Marianna Rychlowska does not do full justice to the background of the text, either.

It must also be said that the 2012 English-language edition of *The Journal* does not spell out the name of its translator anywhere. Only a brief note informs the reader that "*The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasieńska was first published in Polish in 1825 and the first English translation appeared in 1837. A translation by Kasimir Dziekonska appeared in 1895. This edition, first published in 2012 is based on those two texts*" (copyright page, unnumbered). The information about the first English version being published in 1837 is inaccurate: in 1835–1836, the first translation into a foreign language was printed, but the foreign language was French: *Journal de Fr. Krasieńska*, translated by Olympe [Olimpia] Chodźko, in: *La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale et pittoresque*, Paris, vol. I (after I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, p. lxxiii).

It is to Olimpia Chodźko, the *Journal's* first translator (into French), that we owe the misconception concerning the journal's originality. It was she who first presented the text to the reading public as a genuine diary, claiming that Klementyna Tańska-Hoffmanowa merely saved the manuscript from oblivion (I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, p. lxxv). This presentation proved to be particularly popular with Italians, given that the diary appeared to have been authored by an ancestress of their first king of united Italy, Father of the Fatherland – Padre della Patria (I. KANIOWSKA-LEWAŃSKA, *Afterword*, p. 185). It is interesting that even in the twenty-first century some researchers believe it to be a true

Most critical studies of *The Journal* outline Klementyna Tańska-Hoffmanowa's views on the novel, particularly on the romance, and even more particularly – on the French romance. In keeping with contemporary convention,¹⁰ the novelist was known to disapprove of the latter on the grounds that it inflamed the imaginations of young ladies. Reading romances, it was thought, only rendered them unfit to become devoted, selfless wives, whose utmost reward should be their husbands' contentment and their children's properly patriotic upbringing.¹¹ Hoffmanowa believed in the moral mission of literature and in her own obligation to teach, moralise and edify adolescent female readers without unduly exciting their impressionable minds.¹²

Alongside her didactic beliefs, Hoffmanowa was passionate about recent history and an enthusiast of Walter Scott's historical fiction. Significantly, when she turned to the subject of Françoise Krasińska's royal love affair and subsequent morganatic marriage, this must have seemed to her more than merely an appealing story from the past. Naturally, it lent itself very well to the writer's overall instructive purposes as Françoise's life provided a perfectly realistic moral lesson to many an imprudent girl who may have sought romance and/or social distinction rather than dedication to her duties and requisite humility.¹³

record, penned by the Royal Princess herself. Cf. Radosław KUBICKI, *Kobiety w polskiej tradycji i myśli politycznej ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Franciszki i Zofii z Krasińskich* [Women in Polish Political Tradition and Thought with Special Focus on Françoise Krasińska and Zofia Krasińska], in: Dariusz Kalina – Radosław Kubicki – Michał Wardzyński (eds.), *Françoise z Krasińskich Wettyn, Księżna Kurlandii i Semigalii, prababka dynastii królów włoskich: Dziedzictwo rodziny Krasińskich w regionie świętokrzyskim* [Françoise Krasińska Wettin, Princess of Courland and Semigal, Great-Grandmother of an Italian Royal Dynasty: The Heritage of the Krasiński Family in Świętokrzyskie Region], Kielce – Lisów 2012, pp. 185–196.

- 10 A. FRYBESOWA, *Introduction*, p. 9–11; German RITZ, *Kobiece obrzeża polskiego romantyzmu. Funkcja literatury kobiecej w rozwoju literackim* [Feminine Margins of the Polish Romanticism: the Function of Women's Writing in Literary Developments], transl. Małgorzata Łukasiewicz, in: *Kresy* 4, 2005, pp. 44–61, here 45.
- 11 Particularly significant in the period of Poland's partitions by three foreign powers: Russia, Prussia and Austria (1772–1795).
- 12 Klementyna HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany* [The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasińska, Written in the Final Years of the Reign of Augustus III], Wrocław 2006 (first published 1929); Klementyna HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej* [The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasińska], Warszawa 1961; Grażyna BORKOWSKA – Małgorzata CZERMIŃSKA – Ursula PHILLIPS, *Pisarki polskie od średniowiecza do współczesności. Przewodnik* [Polish Women Writers from the Middle Ages to Modern Times: a Survey], Gdańsk 2000.
- 13 I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, p. xxxvii. On that score, Tańska-Hoffmanowa's novel can be readily juxtaposed with contemporary private exhortations by a mother, Zofia Zamoyska (née Czartoryska), to her daughter Jadwiga Sapieżyna (née Zamoyska), written in 1825, and then copied by the latter for her own daughter on the occasion of her wedding (1868). The manuscript, titled *Advice to her Daughter*, advocates a set of traditional values to be embraced by a new wife, such as humility,

As it happened, Klementyna Tańska, when a child, was for several years cared for not by her birth mother, but by a lady called Aniela Szymanowska (née Świdzińska), and her daughter. Aniela Szymanowska was the eldest daughter of Barbara Świdzińska (née Krasieńska), the elder sister of Françoise Krasieńska herself. The writer also knew Marianna Lanckorońska (née Świdzińska), Barbara's sister-in-law. Access to historical accounts of aristocratic life in the 1760s was easy: the numerous surviving copies of the *Polish Courier* (*Kurier Polski*) newspaper provided a rich source of detailed period information (Kotowa xvi). Yet, as Ida Kotowa insists, the most important source – and inspiration – for the novelist was the genuine correspondence of Françoise Krasieńska, to which she had unrestricted access. Françoise had been in the habit of writing regularly to her sister Barbara, and later – to Barbara's sons and daughters. The letters were reverently preserved by the family's successive generations, and it can be surmised that the fate of Françoise Krasieńska was a popular subject of conversation when the young Tańska stayed at Aniela Szymanowska's household.¹⁴

Kotowa emphasises that “*the person of Françoise Krasieńska has been among the most interesting female figures in our [Polish] history*”.¹⁵ This may be true, but it is a fact that Françoise has been a subject neither of other literary works, nor of theatrical or – later – film productions. Even today this historical character is little known, and her name mostly talks to historians or specialists in nineteenth-century Polish literature. In the nineteenth century, this niche was clearly recognised by Tańska-Hoffmanowa, a young novelist at the time of the book's production. It must have seemed to her that turning the family's oral history and her protagonist's genuine correspondence into a young girl's personal journal was a perfect way of handling the curious material which opened the door to disseminating the ideas dear to the novelist's own heart.

There is little doubt that no diary penned by Françoise ever existed: if it had, its existence would surely have been proudly acknowledged by the novelist, not to mention the possibility of its surviving into the following decades, if not centuries. Additionally, the diary form seemed well-suited to the novelist's own frame of mind at the time: she

patience, and the like. The mother also exhorts her daughter to bear in mind that the husband may not always act like a youthful, carefree lover, particularly when preoccupied with the affairs of the state or his business (Zofia ZAMOYSKA (née Czartoryska), *Rady dla córki* [Advice to her Daughter], introduction by Maria Dębowska, Lublin 2002, pp. 36–38). She also cautions her that a young, attractive woman may unintentionally excite affection in a man. It would seem that Tańska-Hoffmanowa's heroine was not the object of sufficient motherly precaution on that score, her wilfulness duly punished over a span of several long years.

14 I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, p. xxi.

15 *Ibidem*, p. xxiii. All translations of Polish sources, other than the 2012 or Dziekonska's versions of the *Journal*, are my own.

had just started to feel romantically attracted to her future husband, Polish patriot and historian, Karol Boromeusz Hoffman, whom she would finally marry in 1829.¹⁶

So how does Klementyna Tańska-Hoffmanowa execute her forgery? How does she trick her audience into believing that they are reading the genuine diary of a late-eighteenth-century young Polish female aristocrat? One of the most significant answers is located, strategically, only in the fake diary's closing pages: this is where the novelist has placed a number of original letters written by and to Krasieńska. For herself, the narrator reserves a brief chance to comment on the subsequent fate of her protagonist, now wife to the Royal Prince, and to outline her eventual contribution to the growth of the House of Savoy. In this somewhat paradoxical attempt to validate the text's autobiographical truth, Tańska-Hoffmanowa thus breaks the hitherto laboriously forged "autobiographical pact", to use a term of Philippe Lejeune's,¹⁷ of Françoise's fake diary.

Yet the novel's close is not the only site where signs of the said pact can be detected. A number of them are casually dropped on the metatextual plane; others are located elsewhere in the narrative. All through the text, for instance, the novelist's attention to detail is praiseworthy. To satisfy the then unwritten requirements of the journal genre, the diary opens rather conventionally: on January 1, 1759, New Year's Day, at the castle in the estate of Maleszowa (not Maleszow, as the locality is persistently misnamed in the *Journal's* English translations). The opening entry of the fake diary is devoted to a brief presentation not only of the sixteen-year-old diarist, but also of her family's genealogy and history, as well as a detailed description of the Maleszowa castle, no longer in existence today. By way of introduction, traditional Polish customs which the castle inhabitants observe are most carefully outlined, as are major characters and their daily routines. The following January 2 entry focuses on the current political situation and the person of King Augustus III, which provides the much wanted pretext for introduction of the character of Charles (Karl), the Royal Prince. This in turn allows the diarist to anticipate – and methodically chart – her rapidly growing interest in this young man. Most importantly perhaps, a metatextual authorial intention is spelled out vividly in the opening entry, where due apology – a conventional topos in women's writing of the past epochs – is offered:

"I purpose to write the thoughts of my mind on whatever subject is most occupying myself or the people around me, but without any notion that I am either a Heroine or an Authoress. This being

16 The coincidental identity of Françoise's and Klementyna's fiancés' names, i.e. Karl and Karol, has been brought to attention by I. KANIOWSKA-LEWAŃSKA, *Afterword*, p. 181.

17 See Philippe LEJEUNE, *Le Pacte autobiographique. Nouvelle édition augmentée*, Paris 1996.

*the first day of a new year is an excellent opportunity for making a commencement, and I can henceforth command plenty of leisure for the purpose.*¹⁸

The apparent truthfulness of Françoise Krasieńska's "historical I"¹⁹ is established through her detailed discussion of the Krasieński sisters' daily lives, their parents' castle at Maleszowa, their courtiers and attendants. There is some prattling about the learning of French and the diarist's determination to diarise in Polish. There is some family history, as well as an outline of the current political situation, as conceived of by an adolescent girl from listening to table conversations of her elders and visitors to the household. All this takes up the long pages of the first two diary entries of January 1 and January 2, 1759, respectively. Omitted from the 2012 edition, as well as from Dziekonska's translation, are several metathematic comments which serve the design of consistently faking the diary form from the very start:

*"Possibly, when I am dead, someone will find this journal, and my grandchildren will read from it of things unknown to them? ... A strange thought this is, but it grips my attention; would anyone read this journal several decades after my death? But then why not? Many letters or memoirs have met that fate in France. Oh, I need to write clearly and carefully; what a pity I am not so much of a stylist as for instance Madame de Sévigné or Madame de Motteville; who knows? Maybe I would do better to write in French. ... If this notebook does not get eaten up by mice, or torn up for curlpaper – with so many hairstyles to make; if it is found and read by anyone who cares, let them forgive my ignorance in so many things, and let them remember that I have never learnt how to write a diary, that I am hardly sixteen years old, and that whatever preoccupies me so much today, they will most likely find tedious."*²⁰

The first mention of the Royal Prince comes in the diary's second entry when the Polish monarchy is discussed on the occasion of a forthcoming king election. It is in connection with this event that the name of the Royal Prince crops up time and again. He is soon to be appointed to the Dukedom of Courland in a ceremony referred to as the investiture. This forthcoming event is hotly debated and gives Françoise room for much girlish fantasy and speculation. When the moment is finally to come, she notes down:

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- 18 All quotations from the most recent English version of Krasieńska's purported diary come from the following edition K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal* (here p. 1). If a passage is missing from this translation, pertinent information is placed in the paper, and my own translation from the Polish edition of K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasieńskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany* is provided.
- 19 Sidonie SMITH – Julia WATSON, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*. Minneapolis – London 2001, pp. 59 ff.
- 20 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasieńskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, pp. 5–6 (my translation).

“This day will be a memorable one for Duke Charles. A few weeks ago he was elected Duke of Courland, which is a tributary of Poland, and to-day occurs the ‘investiture’, that is, the giving possession. The king is so happy about the good fortune of his beloved son, that he is said to look ten years younger.”²¹

What both English translations have omitted is the following couple of sentences:

“I cannot know whether this is good or bad. What I do know is that this makes me very happy because I wish the Royal Prince well. I don’t really know why, but this is very important to me, and it seems to me that the fates of the Commonwealth of Poland will soon depend on him, and that he will avert the storm which threatens my country by establishing a good government; and he will only be able to do that by becoming the King of Poland.”²²

At an early point of the journal novel, this passage is meant to subtly highlight the mingling of affection and ambition which rapidly takes over the young girl’s thoughts.

This is what Tańska-Hoffmanowa has her protagonist say on the subject of the Polish throne when given the first chance to do so:

“The other candidate is Duke Charles, twenty-six years old, the most beloved of the sons of our present king. People say he has a real gift for attracting all hearts to him; he is very handsome, very stately in figure, and very courteous in manner; and having spent almost his whole life in Poland, he knows our language perfectly well. I have heard so much of his good qualities that my best wishes are for him, although Poniatowski is my countryman.”²³

The original again reads somewhat differently at this point: “I don’t know why, but my heart goes out to the latter [i.e. the Royal Prince], though the other candidate [Stanislaus Poniatowski] is my countryman”.²⁴ This is how the original “not knowing why” anticipates the affair of the heart to be begun shortly, and the deception of a young girl’s fake diary, premeditated by novelist Tańska-Hoffmanowa, thus continues. Occasionally, philosophical remarks are provided in the manner of “How often in this world the same thing brings trouble to one and joy to another!” This is an accurate translation from the Polish by Dziekonska, as opposed to the 2012 somewhat socialist-sounding “Our pleasures must ever be purchased by the pains of the class which toils for us!”²⁵ the context being – on the face of it – the forthcoming Twelfth Night celebrations. In accordance

21 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, pp. 13–14.

22 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, pp. 28–29 (my translation).

23 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, pp. 12–13.

24 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, pp. 25 (my translation).

25 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 16.

with a time-honoured custom, the heroine hopes to find the only almond in the Twelfth Night cake and thus become the queen of the ball. But the almond goes to her elder sister, Barbara, who – again according to a long-standing superstition – is soon to be married.

The Prince himself is meantime rumoured to be young, good-looking, courteous, and an amazing dancer. He is also said to be partial to Poland, Poles and the Polish language, a condition which makes the hearts of patriotic Polish ladies dissolve. Somewhat naïvely at the start, the young Françoise begins to almost half-consciously fantasise about making an acquaintance of the Prince. When she notes in her second entry, dated January 2,²⁶ “*What festivals there will be in Warsaw! How I should like to be there now, and to see the grand doings, but especially to see the Royal Prince*”,²⁷ this is the first nominal reference to Charles. Prior to that, it was barely a repetition of rumours concerning his appearance and character. But this beginning of a youthful infatuation is soon disturbed by a bad omen, thus commented on by one of the Krasińskis’ servants, Matenko (Polish: Macieńko), the Maleszowa jester, endowed with prophetic gifts:

*“Yesterday, just when we were drinking to the health of the Duke of Courland, and our band was doing its best, and our company of dragoons were firing salutes, – at that very moment the chamberlain, who had been sent to Warsaw, returned with the news that on account of the indisposition of the duke, the ceremonies of the investiture had to be postponed. ‘Bad omen’, said Matenko; ‘the ducal coronet is in danger, and he will never wear the royal crown.’”*²⁸

(Dziekonska’s translation of the latter passage reads: “*as the mitre slips, so the crown will slip*”). Françoise feels like crying on hearing this portentous news, but is distracted by the arrival of guests at the Maleszowa castle, who are soon joined by Barbara’s suitor and husband-to-be, Staroste Michał Świdziński. When the girl’s parents consent to the marriage with all due ceremony, speeches, gifts, etc., Françoise cannot help but be moved to tears – as any young and romantically-inclined girl would. Tańska-Hoffmanowa also makes her note that the following words are meant to eradicate her previous rather unkind remarks about the Staroste, a mature thirty-year-old man: “*I am very sorry to have written about the Staroste as I did, but then it is not I that is to marry him, and if he pleases Basia, that is enough*.”²⁹ In this way, conforming to the then unwritten rule that journal entries ought not to be altered under any circumstances³⁰ the novel continues

26 I use the original dating of the original Polish version. The English translations place this passage under January 3, which is where their persistent misdating begins.

27 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 14.

28 *Ibidem*.

29 *Ibidem*, p. 17.

30 For a detailed discussion of this and other diarising rules, see Philippe LEJEUNE, *On Diary*, eds. Jeremy D. Popkin and Julie Rak, transl. Katherine Durnin, Honolulu 2009.

to emulate the journal mode. If the reader were to see Françoise do otherwise, the truthfulness and authenticity of her diary would be irrevocably compromised in the case of even one entry being revised after the end of the diarised day, “*when the clock strikes midnight*” as Lejeune puts it.³¹

Other than metathematic reflection, the passage devoted to Staroste Świdziński has another purpose, too: it serves the diarist to link her future brother-in-law’s family to the individual who really attracts her, the Royal Prince: “*Colonel Świdziński, who knows [the Prince] personally, has not words enough to tell how charming he is. I wonder if I shall ever see him.*”³² On seeing Françoise’s agitation, the old Matenko tells her, prophetically, that by the time the year is over, she will also have become a wife.³³ What follows is a very detailed description of customs attending the forthcoming wedding, splendid parental gifts to the bride, including a rich trousseau, whose contents are lovingly listed by Françoise, and a barrel of wine made in the year when the bride was born. The plot centred around the Royal Prince is temporarily suspended as Françoise and her younger sisters are preoccupied with the making of their own wedding gifts for Barbara.

During all the hectic preparations, Françoise barely drops a remark that Barbara is worried lest any of the invited royalty would come to her wedding, while she (Françoise) would more than welcome the opportunity to meet them: “*exactly what I should so much like to happen*” (emphasis original).³⁴ Clearly, ideas have already sprung in her mind that she hardly dares to articulate. On February 2, she notes down with disappointment: “*Many of the invited guests have already replied that they are coming, but the king and the royal princes will send only their envoys.*”³⁵ “*To my great regret*”, reads a final clause missing from the English versions,³⁶ and the personal feeling of the quasi-diarist is one that few readers would fail to relate to or sympathise with. By this time, the plot line sketched with the novelist’s (not the diarist’s) hand and spiced with fictional insights into her protagonist’s mind has shown consistency which would be hard, if not impossible, to find in a large majority of genuine diaristic texts.

Expectedly, the pre-wedding atmosphere finds the heroine visualizing her own future wedding and promising a few servant girls that she will take them with her to her new home when the time comes. Whether she has any plans as to whom to wed is never even suggested at this point, but this projected generosity to servants and their families makes

31 *Ibidem*, p. 182.

32 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 18.

33 *Ibidem*, p. 19.

34 *Ibidem*, p. 23.

35 *Ibidem*, p. 25.

36 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 47 (my translation).

her happy. Undoubtedly, Françoise hopes for an equally good trousseau and similarly heartfelt blessings from her mother and father as those received by Barbara. She rejoices in her newly acquired maturity which involves being trusted with the custody of the key to the family's medicinal cupboard and the prospect of becoming the eldest daughter in the household. All these musings are qualified with the temporal marker of "when I am married" in English,³⁷ the Polish original being closer to "if I am ever married".³⁸ Why does the novelist have her heroine doubt this? In those days, marriage was, after all, the most popular option for young women of good families, so what reasons does Françoise have to doubt this in her journal? The only plausible reason is that she has already set her eye on someone whose availability to her is tentative. Needless to say, no names are given, but a sense of disappointment lies heavy on the young lady's journal entry in which she confides that she is very sorry to hear that the King and the Royal Prince will only be sending envoys to Barbara's wedding.³⁹ From a reader's viewpoint, it is indeed hard to believe that those hints are there for nothing, or that life itself would produce this journal in the form in which it is presented.

During the wedding celebrations, the excited Françoise lets her quasi-diaristic pen drop a hint as to her designs. The visionary Matenko is left out when small bouquets are handed to the wedding guests, of which he complains bitterly and declares that he will not be coming to Françoise's wedding anyway, even if she should marry a royal prince. When she finally gives him some flowers and a golden pin as compensation, Matenko replies: "I am sometimes a prophet; remember, young lady, what I have said to you... I shall keep these flowers till your wedding day, and who knows with what title I shall address you when giving them back?"⁴⁰ The passage missing from both English translations reads: "I very much wanted Matenko to have the flowers. Not because of his silly prediction: I am not a daughter of the Radziwiłł⁴¹ family, and these are not the days when kings happily married worthy Polish women..."⁴² Statements like these subtly imply what is going on in the mind of the young Françoise, increasingly attracted to the figure of the Royal Prince whom she has not even met yet. These entries likewise brim with the timid hopes for royalty which she nourishes at the back of her head. It seems, however,

37 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 27.

38 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 50 (my translation and emphasis).

39 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 25.

40 *Ibidem*, p. 30.

41 Barbara Radziwiłł (1520–1551) became Queen of Poland and Grand Duchess of Lithuania through marriage to King Sigismund II Augustus.

42 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 55 (my translation).

that she is too overwhelmed by her own thoughts to be able to confide them to her diary. Or, another reason might be an implied lack of privacy and the worry that more explicit passages might be read by unauthorised persons. Yet, at this point, the diarist can still fend off these thoughts by watching Barbara's wedding and joyfully wishing similar celebrations for herself in some unspecified future. She does, however, spend most of the wedding party dancing with the Royal Prince's envoy, Castellanic (i.e. a Castellan's son) Kochanowski, who is more than ready to praise his master. Following the diary account of Barbara's wedding, lovingly described with all the splendours and intricacies of Old Polish wedding customs, the diarist's subsequent status of the eldest daughter in the family – the Starostine (one of her father's titles being that of Staroste of Nowe Miasto Korczyn) and proudly learning household management skills are duly recounted.⁴³

Françoise's musings about her own future wedding and showering rich gifts on servants are temporarily suspended by the unexpected arrival of a suitor, Castellanic Kochanowski. A young man of a good family but, surprisingly, an ignoramus on the issue of correct manners, he has the misfortune to break the rules and ask for Krasieńska's hand himself rather than through the mediacy of distinguished matchmakers. Françoise fails to understand the purpose of his visit until goose in dark gravy is placed in front of him, a dish served in the Old Poland to indicate a refusal of a daughter's hand in marriage.⁴⁴ Only then does her father inform her that her parents have not considered the young man an eligible candidate. Old Krasieński expresses his certainty that this viewpoint is shared by Françoise herself, on which Françoise thus comments in her diary: "*As my journal is only me talking to myself on paper, I may be candid and confess that neither his age nor the manner of Kochanowski's proposal seems to me to form a sufficient obstacle. The true reason is his want of a title.*"⁴⁵ An early but ominous sign of the young Françoise's growing ambition.

A number of times, Tańska-Hoffmanowa builds a disturbing contrast⁴⁶ between Françoise's sister Barbara, her values and her quiet happiness, and Françoise herself. The latter, almost fearing her own words, says that she wants more in life than Barbara does and that she cannot visualise herself enjoying the homely joys of secluded family life:

"I have no desire to marry. I am so happy – completely without want or care in my dear parents' house. ... My position is very different from what it used to be for I am treated with twice as

43 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 34.

44 Most traditionally, to that end, black (duck or other blood) soup was used. The name came from the dark colouring of the dish.

45 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 41.

46 Tańska-Hoffmanowa's uses of contrast are given a thorough examination by Ida Kotowa (I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, pp. xxviii–xxix).

much respect and consideration since my sister's marriage. When no strangers are by I am served fourth at table. I hold many important keys and I accompany my parents wherever they go. I feel conscious that I should find no reason to regret abandoning so pleasant a manner of life and such valuable privileges to become the wife of anyone. Besides, marriage is not in my opinion, so exceedingly desirable as some persons think. A woman's career is over when she marries. Once married, all is fixed – certainty takes the place of all her pleasant dreams. For her, no more hopes, no more doubts, no more suspense, no more possibility of anything better. She knows what she is and will be until death. For my part, I like to give free scope to my thoughts. When I sit at my embroidery frame, or at my netting, my thoughts are always travelling far and fast; all the things I have ever read come back to my mind; I share the fate of all the heroines of Madame de Beaumont, Madame de La Fayette, and Mademoiselle de Scudéry; and it seems to me that I am destined to adventures similar to theirs. Basia often scolded me for these fancies, but her habits of thought were quite different from mine. She often told me that she never brooded over her future, and never thought of the husband to come, except at her prayers – for it must be said that with the beginning of the sixteenth year, by the direction of our mother, we have to add to our every-day prayer the request for a good husband. Basia thought it was a very right thing to ask God that the one who is to take the place of our father and mother, and with whom we have to live until our death, should be good, but it never occurred to her to wonder what he would be, and where and when she should meet him, She always said: "There will be time enough to think of him when he comes." And she was right; she got such a good and sensible man. She wrote to my parents that, but for being homesick for Maleszow, she would be the happiest woman in this world. One can see that she loves the Staroste more and more, and that she is quite satisfied with her lot. Who knows? Perhaps I should also be happy in such a position. In any case, my parents were right in refusing the Castellanic; I am very sorry that the poor fellow has been disappointed."⁴⁷

This passage affords splendid didactic opportunities: if any of Hoffmanowa's readers should delude herself as to what constitutes a woman's proper happiness, let her read on about the dire consequences of vanity, such as the splendourless wedding, the secrecy, the loneliness, and the lasting abandonment which will all before long become part and parcel of Françoise's life.

The plot moves on: the heroine will be sent to a Warsaw boarding school for high-born young ladies to be taught more French, courtly manners, dancing and bowing. Next, her aunt, Princess Lubomirska, wife to the Prince Castellan of Cracow and Voivode of Lublin, will introduce her to Warsaw's elegant society. At one of the balls, she will, expectedly, meet the Royal Prince. On his part, he will be duly enchanted, and the courtship proper will begin. In the meantime, Françoise delightedly notes that the Royal Prince's supporters are growing in numbers, and that even a Warsaw theatrical performance of Sophocles's *Antigone* has recently been modified to accommodate laudatory verses in his honour. She goes on to say that something in her heart tells her he

47 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, pp. 40–41.

will be King of Poland in future. Fate seems to favour her designs, but the circumstances ominously disquiet her:

*“I don’t know how it is, but my reading no longer delights me, my work is tiresome and I feel as if some event interesting to me ought to happen. ... I often find myself dwelling with infinite complacency upon thoughts of my beauty and I can scarcely now recognise my former light-hearted, innocent self in the self-centred creature I have lately become.”*⁴⁸

This sounds almost like a rite-of-passage moment, and rightly so, as the reader will soon be prompted to find out.

On her arrival at the school, Françoise notes: *“My education will soon be completed and I shall take pains to become a superior woman”*,⁴⁹ fit for a king – one might be tempted to add, but the quasi-diarist discreetly stops before saying a word too many. On a disturbing note, her mother, who may have preferred to see her daughter at a convent school rather than at one run by a Frenchwoman, cautions her to ensure that her learning be turned to good and not evil, the meaning of which the young girl fails to grasp for the moment. Soon the ominous signals are forgotten. Françoise is eager to learn a variety of bows for people of different ranks, but she asks the teacher to be first taught the bow appropriate for a royal prince, a sure sign that old ideas are still deeply rooted in her mind. On April 28, however, Françoise does not fail to remark that the Royal Prince is away and will not be back soon. Is she sorry not to be able to try her elegant bow on him? Or is she pleased with more preparation time? The reader does not know: it is the diarist’s secret and the diary’s obvious lacuna. On July 26, she happily acknowledges the receipt of her very first personal letter (from her elder sister), addressed to *“Mademoiselle la Comtesse Françoise Krasińska”*, and the very reading of her title in French gives her exquisite joy.

On December 26, when about to start a round of social visits with her aunt, Françoise admits to both looking forward to them and feeling nervous at the same time. She closes the entry with this philosophical sentence: *“The beginning of each thing is unpleasant.”*⁵⁰ The next entry opens excitedly with the news that the Royal Prince has arrived in town, which is followed by a factual survey of eligible young men whom the heroine has recently met, and the expression of hope that she will in due course meet the Royal Prince, too. This should not be difficult as he is reputed to be very sociable and attends most of the Warsaw balls. Her hope materialises by January 1, 1760: *“All my wishes are*

48 *Ibidem*, p. 43.

49 *Ibidem*, p. 45.

50 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 89 (my translation – both Dziekonska’s and the 2012 edition have missed this fragment).

accomplished and oh, how far beyond my most sanguine dreams! Not only have I seen the Royal Prince, but I talked with him; I not only talked with him but..."⁵¹ This is followed by a lengthy account of what she was wearing for the occasion, what he looked like, how his eyes showed his attraction to her, etc., etc., only to close on the diarist's thoughts of her loneliness and nobody to advise her on the affair. She asks an expectedly rhetorical question as to whether she will see him again soon and what he will think of her then.⁵² Their meetings soon become more and more frequent; when Françoise is confined to the home for ten days to recover from the fatigue brought on by nightly dancing, the Prince comes to visit regularly. For the time being, the aunt seems to approve of, or at least close her eyes to, the young couple's growing intimacy.

In the meantime, Barbara gives birth to a baby daughter, and the godparents will be (unsurprisingly) Françoise and the Royal Prince. It is hinted that this relationship poses an obstacle to godparents' future marriage, which makes the heart of poor Françoise sink (January 12). Yet there is a feeling that what the old Matenko had anticipated is about to come true one way or another. Before Easter, Françoise heaves a sigh: "*Good God, what a blessing it would prove if he were King!*"⁵³ Once again, the disparity between the homely joys of the elder Barbara and the hopes which Françoise cherishes for herself is stressed: "*She [Barbara] sees me in a position which is in no way in harmony with my tastes, my wants or my faculties. She desires that the future may be to me the happy fate that her reason and cool judgment have made for her, and I, I must reflect.*"⁵⁴ The intensity of the Prince's love for her is meanwhile tested to the young lady's satisfaction: he grows pale and sad when she leaves Warsaw for a time. Thoughts about royalty are in her head all the time: during her Easter confession, Françoise is comforted by the priest who tells her that one can lead a saintly life even if very high in society, but this path makes it more difficult.

If Françoise finds anybody to her liking, they must be partial to the Royal Prince: this is the case with Prince Martin (Polish: Marcin) Lubomirski. The visit to Opole Lubelskie, the seat of Prince Martin, brings the young lady another bout of excitement. Prince Martin is having a small pavilion built in his castle grounds in less than four weeks, and she senses that this project has something to do with her. Before that is explained, she dwells on how much she enjoys staying in a tower room of the Janowiec⁵⁵ castle,

51 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 55.

52 *Ibidem*, p. 57.

53 *Ibidem*, p. 66.

54 *Ibidem*, p. 67. In the 2012 edition, this passage is preceded by the sentence: "*Barbara seems to comprehend perfectly what passes in my mind*", which is found neither in the Polish original nor in Kasimir Dziekonska's translation.

55 "Janow", as the 2012 edition mistakenly calls the locality (after Dziekonska).

which makes her feel like a romance heroine.⁵⁶ This gives the novelist an opportunity to describe the interior of the castle, which only disrupts the progression of the plot with several pages⁵⁷ that sound a rather unlikely part of a young lady's journal. Its main idea, after all, is to chart her love affair. The texts comes back into its routine with the arrival of the Royal Prince a fortnight later, which occasion draws the following comment from Françoise:

*"Who could have ever expected such happiness! The Royal Prince is arrived – is here, and once more I see him, hear him, live in his presence! The pavilion, park and all, are for him and for me – for all I know that he loves me; and it is to give him the pleasure of being with me that this pretext has been used to draw him to Janow [sic]."*⁵⁸

In the original, she follows this with a potent question: *"Oh God, what have you got in store for me?..."*⁵⁹ The next entry, May 18 (or 19 as the 2012 edition misdates it), brings a clear climax in the heroine's happiness. Rather freely rendered in 2012 as: *"I am the happiest of human beings! The most favoured by God! Blessed beyond – oh so far beyond the most sanguine hopes! I, Françoise Krasinska, who am not of the blood royal, am yet chosen to be the Royal Prince's wife, Duchess of Courland, and in all probability, one day Queen of Poland"*,⁶⁰ and *"I am betrothed. Is it really true? I, Frances Krasinska, I shall be Duchess of Courland, and perhaps one day something more!"* by Dziekonska, the original reads: *"How shall I believe that this has really happened? And what is still to happen? I, Franciszka Krasinska, not even a princess, I shall be wife to the Prince of Courland, the Princess of Courland, and later perhaps something more?"*⁶¹ Whichever way, a fevered account of the betrothal follows, its excited quality counterpoised with a sudden anticlimactic ending: *"The trees and the birds were the only witnesses of that silent betrothal. But these rings were not consecrated; a father's hand had not given me away, nor did a mother bestow her blessing. Oh yes, now I believe that all is true, for I feel hot tears on my cheeks."*⁶² A noticeable split in Françoise's hitherto consistent feelings arises and will persist hereafter.

56 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 78.

57 I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, pp. xix–xx.

58 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 81.

59 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasinskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 137 (my translation).

60 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 82.

61 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasinskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 139 (my translation).

62 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 83.

Yet not all of the account is strictly true to historical fact. Ida Kotowa emphasises the striking discrepancy between facts and Tańska-Hoffmanowa's presentation of Françoise's father, Stanisław Krasieński, and his sister – the heroine's aunt, Princess Lubomirska.⁶³ For the father in particular, there were political stakes in promoting the love affair between Françoise and the Royal Prince. Old Krasieński had opposed the kingship of Augustus III, the Prince's father, and supported that of Stanislaus Leszczyński in the 1733 election.⁶⁴ Naturally, under the circumstances, he was proud of the intended marriage and took steps to obtain a church indult for the marriage to be solemnised at an earliest possible date. He was also involved in the drawing of the prenuptial agreement for the couple.⁶⁵ His sister in turn was presented in less positive light than she deserved. She also made every effort to promote the relationship as she was close friends with the Royal Prince herself.⁶⁶ It seems that Tańska-Hoffmanowa consciously styled Françoise's father as a paragon of Old-Polish virtue, as well as downplaying and limiting his sister's role in the affair in order to articulate her own didactic goals.⁶⁷

The diarist's next entry sees her intoxicated with happiness, notwithstanding the bad omen of the unbecoming betrothal, and unable to verbalise it: "*language, so rich in the eloquence of sorrow, is powerless when such bliss as mine is to be pictured*".⁶⁸ When the initial bliss wears off, the hitherto subtly signalled anxiety sets in and, paradoxically, once again makes it possible for the fake diarist to continue writing:

*"Last week I took up my pen frequently but presently laid my journal aside, for I found a perpetual repetition of the same sentiments; and when my poor head would strive to arrange words, my heart wandered off into a thousand fond hopes and dreams. Now a terror seizes my mind, and I can write – If he should cease to love me."*⁶⁹

Fake metatextual passages naturally serve to substantiate the genuineness effect of the forged diary. The Royal Prince soon leaves, and Françoise contemplates the issue of his father's not agreeing to the match. Despite her worry, the June 7, 1760 entry finds the diarist apostrophising her sister Barbara (the passage missing from both English translations): "*Oh happy Basia! Why wasn't the Royal Prince born an equal to my family? Equal? Would you really want this? Oh 'tis good indeed that God and ourselves alone can*

63 I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, p. xxxviii.

64 *Ibidem*, p. xxxix.

65 *Ibidem*, pp. xxxix–xli.

66 *Ibidem*, p. xviii.

67 *Ibidem*, p. xlv.

68 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 84.

69 *Ibidem*.

read the depths of our hearts.”⁷⁰ This is clearly meant to testify to the growing complexity of the young heroine’s emotions, and as such makes her diaristic account more credible than it would be otherwise. The Prince is to come back in the autumn, the couple are to meet in Warsaw, and Françoise can hardly wait for leaves to start turning yellow.

When reunited, Françoise and the Royal Prince discuss their forthcoming wedding ceremony: the Prince wishes to have it over with behind the backs of his fiancé’s parents. She is uneasy at this thought and feels slighted to realise that it is only his goodwill to marry a commoner. She then, instead of him, writes her parents with the news, and he considers her letter excessively humble. A recollection comes to Françoise’s mind of Barbara wishing that she were as contented with her marriage as she is herself. When on October 18, Françoise receives a letter from her parents wishing them all the best, but without the expected affection. When the Prince receives no reply at all, he feels offended by the pride of some Polish nobility, as he puts it. The inadequacy of the pre-wedding atmosphere shocks her, particularly when all the happy commotion of Barbara’s wedding preparations is remembered. The diarist comments on this:

*“What a strange destiny is mine! I am making the most brilliant marriage in all Lithuania [and Poland], and the daughter of my shoemaker would have a wedding and a trousseau that I might well envy.”*⁷¹

The next entry, of November 4 (misdated as November 6 in both English versions), thus narrates the day of the wedding ceremony:

“My fate is sealed! I am the wife of the Prince Royal, the Duke. We have sworn eternal faith and love. He is mine – mine only! We were obliged to hurry through the ceremony fearing discovery which mingled much pain with my happiness.

At five in the morning the Prince Woivode knocked at my door. I was quite dressed, we went out stealthily; at the gate the Royal Prince and Prince Martin were waiting for us. It was quite dark, the wind blew fiercely; we walked to the church, as a carriage would have made a noise. It was not far, but I should have fallen several times, if the Royal Prince had not supported me. At the door of the church the good curate met us. The church was dark and silent as a grave; at a side altar two candles were lighted; no living soul but the priest and the sacristan. Our steps resounded on the flagstones as in a cavern.

The ceremony did not last ten minutes, and then we hastened away as if pursued. The Royal Prince brought us to the gate, and the Prince Martin had to compel him to go away. I had my everyday dress on, not even white, only I hastily put a bit of rosemary in my hair. Yesterday, remembering Basia’s wedding, I prepared for myself, with tears, a golden coin, a piece of bread, and a lump of sugar, but in my haste I forgot to take them this morning.

70 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 146 (my translation).

71 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 92.

*I am now alone in my room. No friends wish me joy, no parents bless me, all is silent as the graves around me for all are yet sleeping. Were it not for this ring I wear on my finger – and which I must now take off and hide from all eyes, I could not persuade myself that I am married to my beloved Prince Charles, and yet I feel so sad!*⁷²

This passage, worth quoting at length, provides an unmistakable anti-climax at a point where a culmination of Françoise's happiness ought to be recounted.⁷³ The several references to graves, darkness and sadness are more than obvious bad omens. Importantly, this is not exactly in accord with historical fact. As noted by Kaniowska-Lewańska, the wedding ceremony was in fact witnessed by the bride's father, and not her young cousin Prince Martin.⁷⁴ This was changed by the novelist in order to preserve the plot's consistency in its depiction of the heroine's parental rejection and ultimate homelessness. Zofia Lewinówna also discusses the historical background of the wedding⁷⁵ and poses the question of whether bridegroom's father actually knew about the marriage. The public knowledge of the Royal Prince's marriage and political schemes concerning immediate divorce receive a detailed discussion from Lewinówna,⁷⁶ together with the financial straits and emotional tribulations experienced by the wife to the Royal Prince.⁷⁷ It may be interesting to note that the bride's father was facing pressure from the royal court to make his daughter consent to the divorce. It is known that he was offered lands and offices, but it was in the interests of the Krasiński, the Lubomirski and the Małachowski families to promote the marriage in the hopes of possible access to the crown – a prospect which they found hard to dispense with.⁷⁸

Six weeks after her "terrible" wedding,⁷⁹ the responses of relatives do not make the burden any lighter. Françoise's aunt, Princess Lubomirska, drives her out of her house on the grounds that it is not worthy of being home to such a grand figure. Calling the bride's deed a shame for the Krasiński family,⁸⁰ the old lady continues to add fuel to

72 *Ibidem*, p. 93.

73 There is a tradition of anticlimactic accounts of wedding ceremonies in Old Polish women's self writing. One notable example may be *A Transaction; or a Description of the Entire Life of One Orphan Girl through Doleful Laments Written by the Same 1685* (Polish: *Transakcja albo Opisanie całego życia jednej sieroty przez żalodne treny od tejże samej pisane roku 1685*) by Anna (née Stanisławska) primo voto: Warszyccka, secundo voto: Oleśnicka, tertio voto: Zbąska.

74 I. KANIOWSKA-LEWAŃSKA, *Afterword*, p. 184.

75 Zofia LEWINÓWNA, *Afterword*, in: K. Hoffmanowa z Tańskich, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej* [The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasińska], Warszawa 1961, pp. 203–291, here 217–219.

76 *Ibidem*, pp. 224–233.

77 *Ibidem*, pp. 233–263.

78 *Ibidem*, pp. 233 ff.

79 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 156 (my translation).

80 As explained above, not exactly true.

the fire, and the diarist elaborates on her growing embitterment. All this brings her to question her own future: “*Will I ever enjoy quiet days by the side of my beloved husband, as Basia does? – Oh no, that’s not for me!...*”⁸¹ Thinking that perhaps parental blessing and approval will put her mind at peace, the diarist does not omit to note that now it pains her to see her sister’s happiness: a complete reversal of her views is thus made obvious. The discrepancy between the superficial splendour of her fate and the real misery of it is stressed repeatedly. Not least important is her financial worry: hoping as she always had to be rich enough to present servants with extravagant gifts, Françoise is hardly in a position to do so now that she is actually married. When visiting the Maleszowa castle, she is confronted by Matenko who once again reminds her sadly that he can be a prophet at times. Even her father thinks that it is improper to open the wine made in the year of Françoise’s birth, as he had for Barbara’s wedding, because the bridegroom is absent. Finally envoys arrive to insist that her marriage be dissolved, to which Françoise proudly responds that the marriage is valid because it was transacted in church, and that she will not sign divorce papers unless her husband himself should so wish.

And now for the most curious part of *The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasieńska*:

*“Here ends the journal of Françoise Krasieńska. Henceforth her thoughts and adventures were too replete with poignant anguish for her to commit them to paper. It was her fate to be gradually disenchanting. She had courage to contend with the injustice of the whole world, but was subdued by the first symptoms of indifference from her husband, who acted upon by various motives of expediency and influenced by the advice of his father’s ministers, soon ceased to care for her.”*⁸²

This is followed by a short summary of Françoise’s remaining life story, with focus on the fact that she never became the Queen, which she had so desired. Then come a few selected and modernised passages from her letters to Barbara, Barbara’s children, etc. The final included letter is not modernised, featuring archaic spelling as well as mixed Polish and French vocabulary, which must have rendered its reading difficult even to Tańska-Hoffmanowa’s contemporaries. This twofold approach to her heroine’s original letters was perhaps due to the fact that the novelist may have wished to show her readers how exactly the historic texts which she was using were written, or to what extent they were ridden with Frenchism or – to a lesser extent in the case of Françoise than other characters – with Latinism of the previous generation.⁸³ This final letter,

81 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasieńskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 160 (my translation).

82 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 103.

83 I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, p. lx.

which expresses Françoise's original desire to be reunited with her husband and to settle down in another country, is however missing from both English editions.

But what is interesting is that, with the inclusion of the letters, *The Journal's* authenticity is simultaneously corroborated and disrupted. Izabela Kaniowska-Lewańska points out that the rather abrupt ending, whose effectiveness from the novelistic viewpoint is questionable, may have had other than writerly reasons. In the original version of *The Journal*, Tańska-Hoffmanowa placed the following sentence, missing from book editions: "*The readers might possibly wish to read more about her future lot, but let the Publisher be excused due to his incapacity.*"⁸⁴ This might have been due to the novelist's own inability to continue writing when personally affected by her mother's death.⁸⁵

As we have seen, Tańska-Hoffmanowa's literary hoax is almost perfect. Françoise Krasieńska's real or historical "I"⁸⁶ is presented in a manner that, although not strictly in accordance with historical fact, is nevertheless very convincing to the reader, given all the names of Polish nobility of the period, the historical events which the diarist purports to witness, and the detailed accounts of archaic lifestyle. Her narrating "I" is at pains to conceal her royal ambition, but the narrated "I" is occasionally allowed to hint at it. As a narrator with a particular temporal and geographical situation, she is made more credible, which is achieved by the diarist's painstakingly providing numerous details of young ladies' life, mentalities and outlooks, as well as those pertaining to her personal past and present. Yet, as has been shown, there are signals discernible to a careful reader to suggest that the forgery is not absolute. Finally, how should the reader deal with the dubious moral which the novel – as a whole – proffers?⁸⁷ Françoise may not be exactly happy in her marriage for many years, but ultimately she seems to achieve a peace of sorts and succeeds in securing her husband's affections. Her conduct is never openly condemned by the novelist, who could have used this chance to have the third-person omniscient narrator of the novel's final sections pronounce a clear judgment at the end, but she refrained from it. The reader continues certain of the novelist's sympathy for the diarising and letter-writing protagonist.

But this is predominantly a first-person novel, where the novelist's opting for first-person narration has a number of lasting consequences, one of them being emulation of

84 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasieńskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 167 (my translation).

85 I. KANIOWSKA-LEWAŃSKA, *Afterword*, p. 184.

86 I use this division of the so-called autobiographical "I" after S. SMITH – J. WATSON, *Reading Autobiography*, pp. 58–62.

87 A. FRYBESOWA, *Introduction*, p. 13.

an existing non-novelistic genre.⁸⁸ The first-person story-teller's ignorance of pieces of information, carefully selected by the novelist, is almost as significant as that of a genuine diarist, even if the origins and consequences of this ignorance differ. The fake diarist should not know what will happen next as this knowledge is reserved for the novelist exclusively. Tańska-Hoffmanowa subverts her diarist's reliability by letting her drop hints that sound too crafted and thus suspicious. As the reader gradually learns more and more about the narrator-diarist through her story-telling, the book comes to resemble increasingly what Głowiński has called formal mimetism: an imitation of a non-fictional genre which normally does not contain any global meaning – unlike its formally mimetic imitation.⁸⁹ However, it must be admitted that in this case Tańska-Hoffmanowa dispenses with her opportunities for executing a framework for any overall meaning that might appear. We have seen that, while she uses the diary's beginning in a way which is typical of the pure diary genre, she does not at all explore the possibilities of the ending. Rather, the journal ends abruptly, because of what seems to be the diarist's arbitrary choice, and not because of authorial manipulation, which looks much in keeping with diary conventions.⁹⁰

88 Michał GŁOWIŃSKI, *Gry powieściowe. Szkice z teorii i historii form narracyjnych* [Novelistic Games: Sketches in Theory and History of Narrative Forms], Warszawa 1973, pp. 59–65.

89 *Ibidem*, p. 63.

90 Margo Culley has noted that “*diaries do ... have distinct shapes, [which] ... derive from their existence in time passing. Some are shaped by external events in the diarist's life, which, even from the writer's point of view, have a beginning, middle and end. Courtship diaries ending with a marriage and travel diaries ending with the arrival at a destination are examples of such texts.*” Margo CULLEY (ed.), *A Day at a Time: The Diary Literature of American Women from 1764 to the Present*, New York 1985, p. 19. Philippe Lejeune, in turn, observes that partial diaries – recording the progress of vacations, spiritual retreats, research or pregnancies – terminate at preplanned points as “*their limitation is simultaneously chronological and thematic*” (Ph. LEJEUNE, *On Diary*, p. 189). In contrast to autobiography, which may be said to take its beginning from the end, “*the diary is virtually unfinishable from the beginning*” (*ibidem*, p. 191). In view of the above, the beginning and the ending are two significant diaristic moments, and Tańska-Hoffmanowa's handling of them situates her closer to painstaking imitation of the journal genre than to overarching didacticism, consistently attributed to her written works.

Resumé

Fingovaný deník historické osobnosti:

Klementyna Tańská-Hoffmanová a její *Deník hraběnky Franciszky Krasińské (1825)*

Autorka analyzuje tak trochu zapomenutý deníkový román první polské spisovatelky a vychovatelky Klementyny Tańské-Hoffmanové (1798–1845). *Deník hraběnky Franciszky Krasińské (1825)* patří mezi její nejstarší díla a byl určen dospívajícím čtenářům. Poprvé vyšel na pokračování v časopisu *Rozrywki*, jež začala vydávat v roce 1824. Franciszka Krasińská byla historickou osobností. Narodila se v roce 1742 v polské šlechtické rodině Korwin-Krasińských a toužila po sociálním vzestupu. Když jí bylo 15 let, seznámila se s polským královským princem Karlem Christianem Josefem Saským. Dne 25. března 1760 byli tajně oddáni, ovšem tento morganatický sňatek přinesl Krasińské léta samoty, finančních sporů a emoční nestability. Manželům bylo dovoleno žít společně teprve až více jak 10 let po sňatku. Dlouhé odloučení zapříčinil zejména sám princ, jenž doufal, že se stane polským králem, k čemuž ale nikdy nedošlo. Měli spolu jen jednu dceru, princeznu Marii Christinu Saskou, jež se později stala babičkou Viktora Emanuela II., prvního krále spojené Itálie.

Hoffmanové román, který byl původně psán za účelem vychovat mladé dívky k pokoře a dalším tradičním ženským vlastnostem, se brzy stal uznávaným prototypem žánru falešných deníků. Dílo je považováno za vůbec první komplexní psychologickou prezentaci práce myslí mladé dívky v polské literatuře. Deník byl napsán tak přesvědčivě, že byl dlouhou dobu považován za přepis skutečného deníku, a proto byl dokonce přeložen do několika západních jazyků. Nyní je však zcela jasné, že spisovatelka vytvořila rukopis na základě znalosti skutečné korespondence Franciszky Krasińské (k níž měla neomezený přístup) a historických novinových článků, rozhodně však nevyužila její deník, protože žádný takový nikdy neexistoval. V tomto článku autorka analyzuje, jak Hoffmanová při tvorbě svého díla zdatně balancovala mezi historickými fakty a fikcí, a zkoumá také způsoby, které jí umožnily vytvořit tento autobiografický padělek.