

The Greek *paideia* in Modern Poland: The Place of Ancient Greek Literature in Polish Schools Since 1946

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This paper examines ancient Greek literature in primary, secondary and *gimnazja* school curricula in Poland for the period: 1946-2013. Selection criteria were varied: political, social, or simply availability. How could Polish schoolchildren, through the prism of translation, connect with culture, at once alien yet at the roots of their own culture? A general survey of translators' stylistic and poetic strategies makes it possible to assess the filters through which Polish schoolchildren have been able to view ancient literature over the past seventy years.

Key words: *paideia*, Polish translations, Polish schools, ancient Greek literature

Le but du présent article est d'analyser la présence des œuvres classiques grecques à tous les niveaux de l'éducation scolaire en Pologne (primaire, collège, lycée) dans les années 1946-2013. Les choix d'œuvres reflétaient des raisons politiques ou sociales, voire simplement la disponibilité des traductions. En analysant les stratégies (stylistiques et poétiques) des traducteurs, l'article cherche à apprécier la vision que les apprenants peuvent se faire de cette culture aussi éloignée, mais constituant en même temps les racines de leur culture propre.

Mots clés: *paideia*, traductions polonaises, écoles polonaises, littérature grecque ancienne

The Greek *paideia*, a notion that encompasses both education and socio-cultural training, were based mainly on music and poetry.¹ Singing poetry and playing an instrument have, since mythical times, been the cornerstone of the Greek ideal of beauty and good (*kalos kai agathos*). Pupils had to learn by heart the works of poets, especially Homer, which were regarded as providing moral training. The Greeks, of course, left an impressive cultural legacy (not least the invention of history, tragedy, philosophy, science and the core ideas of property and citizenship). But here I would like to focus on the more limited topic of how ancient Greek literature has been treated in Polish schools since 1946, and use this as a kind of case study to illustrate the general attitude towards classic culture in Poland over the last 70 years. Although the Latin language is still taught in a number of schools in Poland today, Greek language teaching is, to my knowledge, relegated to a single high school. Classical literature still has its place on the school curriculum, but as part of courses in Polish literature. A

selection of ancient Greek and Latin set books in Polish translation form an important part of the school syllabus.

Is the study of literature from remote antiquity still of value to students today? American classical scholar and anthropologist James Redfield suggests that “classical civilisation is the first ‘other’ culture in our intellectual tradition and so the first place where the general questions were raised about the meaning of culture.”² So, in a sense, the classics define us by studying what we are not.³ In other words, ancient literature provides modern people with the opportunity to compare themselves with their cultural predecessors. Clearly, the ancients differ from us because the passage of time has changed our life circumstances and experiences. The contrast between us and them makes it easier to reflect upon ourselves, because a confrontation with ‘otherness’ often leads to self-analysis. At the same time, the Greek cultural legacy forms the basis of modern culture, so the distinctness of the ancients is not so great as to provoke incomprehension and the risk of rejection. With this in mind, it seems highly likely that reading classical texts is beneficial for schoolchildren, because it confronts them both with ‘otherness,’ and the roots of their own culture.

Opportunities for Polish Students to Read Greek Literature

A model of education grounded on Greek and Latin literature was first introduced at so called classical gymnasia, established in the 19th century in Prussia. The purpose of these schools soon turned to training the future elite. By the end of the 19th century all kinds of secondary schools in Poland, regardless of their educational profile, were named gymnasia, (in Polish *gimnazja*, singular *gimnazjum*). Ancient languages and literature were taught in all of them. Between 1946 and 1948 Polish schools retained the pre-war system of education, with primary school for ages 7-12, *gimnazjum* (lower secondary school) for ages 13-16, and either *liceum* (higher secondary school) or vocational school for ages 17-18. In 1948 *gimnazja* were abolished and only two types of school remained: primary school for ages 7-14 and *liceum* (or

vocational school) for ages 15-18. The situation changed once more in 1999, when the Ministry of Education introduced the system of primary schools lasting six years, *gimnazja* lasting three years and *licea* also lasting three years.

Until the 1950s, children in primary school, *gimnazjum* and secondary school (known in Poland as *liceum*) were expected to read a comparatively large number of Greek literary works, as set texts. The selection included eight works by seven Greek authors. First of all Aeschylus's *Oresteia* and *Prometheus Bound* were to be read at *liceum* as, respectively, required and recommended reading. At *gimnazjum* children were to read Aesop's fables: *The Wolf and the Ram*, *The Deer and the Lion* and *The Dog and the Wolf*. They were also to be acquainted with the two key works of Greek literature, Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. At *gimnazjum* students were to read Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, Plato's *Apology* and Sophocles' *Antigone*. The choice seems understandable: fables for children are a traditional moralizing medium. Similarly, Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, a study of a person who becomes a hero thanks to his own virtues, is an obvious model for young people. (Incidentally, Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* was written to educate his students, both girls and boys of noble families, at a school he established himself). Interestingly, Polish schoolchildren were also to familiarize themselves with Renaissance parody, that is Jan Kochanowski's *Z Anakreonta* (an Anacreontic song in translation) and, the very youngest, "ad usum Delphini", were to read Jan Parandowski's *Przygody Odyseusza* (*Adventures of Odysseus*), a story based on the *Odyssey*, written by a translator of Homer's work, which became very popular in Poland. Apparently, the list of set texts was based on the readings required in *gimnazja* in the 1930s and reflected, at least in general, the model of classical education current at pre-war schools.

However, this favourable situation for the classics changed drastically at the end of the 1940s. Together with new political directives and the coming of the grim era of Stalinism,⁴ the *gimnazjum*, considered a symbol of the reactionary past, was abolished in 1948. Primary

education was extended to age 15, and the *liceum* started a year earlier. From then on, the principles of didactic and educational work at school were to be grounded firmly in Marxist-Leninist doctrine.⁵ This had an immediate impact on the set texts designated for primary and secondary schools. Only two of the seven Greek authors recommended between 1946 and 1948 remained. Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* continued to be read at the secondary level, mostly in excerpts or as recommended, non-compulsory reading; summaries of the Homeric works were to be read at secondary schools, but no longer at primary schools. Sophocles' *Antigone* disappeared at first, but was restored to the secondary school curriculum in 1955. The reasoning behind this reinstatement is quite interesting. There was a time when *Antigone* was read with emotions that are nowadays hard to imagine. The story of a young Theban princess who opposes the royal authority of King Creon and dies, thereby winning a moral victory over him, was frequently interpreted as a symbol of the resistance of Polish society to communist power. When the educational decision-makers reinstated the work in 1955 they may have been unaware of this fact, but more likely regarded it as a necessary safety valve. The situation changed little in the 1960s. Homer's epics, read in excerpts, kept their rightful place as set texts. The educational decision-makers required the full stories to be known, but only through abridged versions read when the young student reached secondary education. *Antigone* also survived, and was read, in excerpts, in primary schools and in full in secondary schools.

A curious but transient visitor to the school curriculum was Appian's *Roman History*, excerpts of which were introduced at secondary schools in 1962. The work is generally considered rather demanding and not especially interesting for the younger reader. Being quite a late (second century AD) text, it is also fairly unrepresentative of Greek historiography. Why then were students required to read it, in place of Herodotus' *Histories* or Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*, both illustrious and far more interesting

works which had long been available in Polish translation? A partial answer is the appearance of a new translation of Appian's work, the first in Polish, by Ludwik Piotrowicz, in 1957. More important, however, was the ideology of the time. Appian's *History* was the favourite reading of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who were struck by the clear analysis of the causes of Rome's civil wars.⁶ And so the work became an excellent political choice for the aspiring translator and, in turn, appropriate reading for young Polish minds.

The cultural slump in classical education, which lasted for two decades, continued into the 1970s, with a few symptomatic exceptions. Homer's epics and Sophocles' *Antigone* continued to be read, but mostly in excerpts and only at secondary school. However, there were no recommended "ad usum Delphini" books for the very youngest learners, which makes the situation in the 1970s even worse than that of the previous decade. Restrictions intensified after the events of March 1968, with the mass student protests that took place in Polish university cities. The communist authorities, especially the anti-intellectual party leader Władysław Gomułka, began to fear the students. Moreover, the deep mistrust of a humanistic education had its roots, it seems, in the Soviet attitude towards classical education in general, which was considered a dangerous relic of the *ancien régime*. In this hostile atmosphere Polish schoolchildren were deprived almost completely of access to Greek literature from the 1950s to the 1980s.

In the 1980s, the set texts were changed once again. It is not easy, however, to explain why the works of eight Greek authors suddenly appeared on the school curriculum, along with a selection from the *Anthologia Palatina*, a corpus of Greek epigrams dating from 4th century BC to 10th century AD. Sociological factors may have been at play, reflecting the intellectual atmosphere of the 1970s and early 1980s. New arrivals on the list of set texts were four poems by Anacreon, six from the *Anthologia Palatina*, a poem by Tyrtaeus, and two by Sappho. These were added, it seems, as a result of the publication of two anthologies of Greek poetry,

the first in 1960,⁷ the second in 1977.⁸ Included also, for the first time in the school curriculum, were Aristotle's *Poetics* and Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations*. Interestingly, Plato's *Apology* returned to secondary schools, which suggests there was some desire to restore elements of the *gimnazjum* education that existed shortly after the Second World War. Homer's epics and Sophocles' tragedy kept their places as set texts, with some changes however, for they were to be read not only at secondary schools, including vocational schools, but also at primary schools, with abridged versions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* for the latter. This relatively broad selection of Greek literature studied at Polish schools remained almost unchanged throughout the 1990s, and was even slightly expanded by two additional poems by Sappho and excerpts from Plato's *Republic*.

After an absence of fifty years, *gimnazja* were reinstated in the education reforms of 1999.⁹ Nonetheless, from 2000 until 2007 the number of set works was once more reduced. Children were only obliged to read a few short poems by Sappho, Anacreon, Tyrtæus, which were printed in textbooks, along with Homer's epics (in selected excerpts) and Sophocles' *Antigone*, which remained a required reading in *gimnazjum* and secondary school. However, older pupils at *liceum* were now required to read the whole of either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, at the teacher's discretion – though it is rare to meet a student of Classical Literature today who read anything more than the *Duel of Hector and Achilles* and *The Description of Achilles' Shield* from the *Iliad*. In 2007 another play by Sophocles was added, namely *Oedipus the King*, which was introduced as a required set text for secondary schools, and Plato's *Apology* made a comeback as a recommended text.¹⁰ This state of affairs continues until the present day.

Our brief survey of Greek classics read at Polish schools provides a glimpse into how set texts were chosen. Besides political, sociological and ideological reasons a more mundane factor, the availability of Polish translations, played a crucial role, as we shall see in the next section.

Greek Classics in Polish Translation: Form and Style

The distinctive feature of Polish translations of ancient Greek literature is that they generally have been made by classical scholars, because since the late 19th century few Poles had more than a passing knowledge of ancient languages. As a result, the character of these translations is quite specific. As far as poetry is concerned, most translations are examples of *Professorenlyrik*, with its overtones of pedantry and lack of subtlety. However, a closer look at the Greek texts read at Polish schools reveals many exceptions.

As far as the epics are concerned, despite some turmoil over the last seventy years, they have survived in the curriculum and provide a firm pillar underpinning the edifice of knowledge of the classics in Poland. Schoolchildren and students have had at their disposal three kinds of translations: lyric, prosaic and hexametric. Although Homer has been frequently translated into Polish (*The Iliad* ten times, *The Odyssey* seven), only four translations have entered the post-war curriculum. The first was made in 1800/1801 by an important literary theoretician of classicism, Ksawery Dmochowski. He was the author of *Sztuka rymotwórcza. Poema we czterech pieśniach*, published in Warsaw 1778, a Polish translation of Nicolas Boileau's *L'Art poétique*. His translation of the *Iliad*, written in thirteen-syllabic verse, with the rhyme scheme AA BB CC, was both fluent and robust, and it had a significant influence on Poland's three major Romantic poets: Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki and Zygmunt Krasicki.¹¹

Following in Dmochowski's footsteps was Lucjan Siemieński, a literary critic, poet and writer, who in 1873 published his translation of the *Odyssey*. This again was composed in thirteen-syllabic verse, with the rhyme scheme AA BB CC, apparently modeled on Dmochowski's *Iliad*. Both translations are still read in schools today, since they recall, at least in terms of meter, the Polish national epic *Pan Tadeusz* by Adam Mickiewicz, and so, for many, they provide the perfect model for epic poetry. There have been a great number of

editions of both translations, mostly recently in 2003 in the case of Siemieński's *Odyssey* (with a new introduction by Jerzy Łanowski). Both works are available in almost every Polish library (and of course on the Internet).

Two excellent translations of Homer's epics have appeared since the Second World War, one in prose, the other in so-called Polish hexameter (more of which shortly). The first was by Jan Parandowski, a graduate of the classical *gimnazjum* in Lwów, who in 1935 had composed *Przygody Odyseusza* (The Adventures of Odysseus), a prose abridgement of the *Odyssey* intended for children. He elaborated his 'Homer prose' and in 1953 published the first non-verse Greek epic in the Polish language.¹² Parandowski justified his decision in an article where he explained that syllabic and isometric verses were incomprehensible to modern schoolchildren who generally read only prose works.¹³ In his translation Parandowski substituted highly poetic language for poetry, employing literary and archaic phraseology in a subtle and inspired way. Parandowski, an esteemed writer and translator, also happened to be president of the Polish PEN which might have some weight in having his prose *Odyssey* introduced onto the curriculum as the recommended text for secondary schools from 1956. Two decades later a new translation of the *Iliad* appeared.¹⁴ The author was Kazimiera Jezewska who, despite Parandowski's pronouncement, decided to render Homer's work in hexameter, feeling that Polish readers should experience the rhythm of the original. She deliberately chose a poetic form that confronted readers with a different verse structure than they were accustomed to. Note that the "Polish hexameter" had taken root in Polish literature at the time of Mickiewicz, who experimented with ancient hexameter under the influence of Johann Heinrich Voss's hexametric German translations of Homer's epics (*Odyssey* 1781; *Iliad* 1793), and composed the first song in Polish hexameter, *Opowieść Wajdeloty* (The Tale of the Vaidelute) in 1828. Mickiewicz employed a verse with six accents, based on the natural accent pattern of the Polish language, in this way attempting to render the ancient

arrangement of long and short syllables which were sung by raising and lowering the voice. Several translators of the *Iliad* (Paweł Popiel, 1880; Augustyn Szmurło, 1887; and Stanisław Mleczko, 1894) followed Mickiewicz's idea. Despite the common view that hexameter sounds monotonous, Jeżewska's translation of the *Iliad* is vivid and diverse, because the translator uses many patterns of spondaic and dactylic feet to convey the character of the original metrical line, at times solemn, or tranquil, at others dramatic. Her translation is still read at schools and by students of Polish and Classical Literature, giving the young public the opportunity to confront 'otherness' in the form of a verse structure with a very different rhythm.

Greek lyric poetry made its appearance in the school curriculum in the form of one of the "Anacreontics" translated by the most important Polish poet of the Renaissance, Jan Kochanowski. A few of Sappho's poems also appeared in the textbooks in the 1980s; these were translated not by a classical scholar but by a poet, Janina Brzostowska, who learnt Greek at the *gimnazjum* in Wadowice. Poems from the *Palatine Anthology*, a newcomer to the school curriculum from 1988, were rendered into Polish by a non-classicist, the writer and translator (from English, Latin, ancient and modern Greek) Zygmunt Kubiak. He transformed the regular and concise elegiac couplets, consisting of a line of hexameter followed by a line of pentameter, into blank verse, hoping to make it easier for readers less accustomed to poetry. Unfortunately, his decision deprived the couplets of all their clarity and brevity, making them sometimes vague and expressionless.

Finally, there are two poets whose verse was rendered into Polish by classical scholars. They are Anacreon, translated by Jerzy Danielewicz, a specialist in Archaic and Hellenistic Greek poetry, and by Włodzimierz Appel, who, apart from the elegies of Tyrtæus (one of which was read at schools at the end of the 1980s and start of the 1990s) translated a collection of *Homeric Hymns*. The former employs syllabic verse, for instance seven-, eight-, nine-syllable,

but forgoes the rhyme. The latter prefers ‘Polish hexameter,’ although Tyrtaeus composed his poetry in elegiac couplets. Both their achievements are highly poetic, yet at the same time precise and by no means awkward or pedantic. Certainly, they would not be regarded as *Professorenlyrik*.

Drama, represented only by tragedy (apparently Poland’s Ministry of Education prefers its schoolchildren to experience fear and tears rather than laughter) has seen a number of noteworthy translations. The *Oresteia* and *Prometheus Bound* by Aeschylus were translated by the classical scholar Zygmunt Węclewski in 1873,¹⁵ historian Józef Szujski (1887),¹⁶ literary critic Kazimierz Kaszewski (1895)¹⁷ and the important Modernist poet, Jan Kasproicz (1912), who used a rhymed thirteen-syllabic verse to render the dialogue parts of the *Oresteia* and *Prometheus Bound* into Polish,¹⁸ and rhythmic prose for the choral parts – a solution highly esteemed by another translator of Greek tragedy, Jan Łanowski.¹⁹ It is difficult to be certain which translation was chosen by schoolteachers between 1946 and 1948, probably Kasproicz’s, being the most recent and modern.

As far as Sophocles’ *Antigone* and *Oedipus the King* are concerned, only one version has been widely read at schools: that of the classical scholar Kazimierz Morawski, published in 1898.²⁰ To date his translation has seen 12 editions. Several other translations of these two works have been made, for example by Kazimierz Kaszewski (1888), Zygmunt Węclewski (1875), Jan Czubek (1881), Ludwik Hieronim Morstin (1938; 1956), Mieczysław Brożek (1947), and most recently, Robert Roman Chodkowski (2004), and some of these are more up to date and accurate than others. It seems clear today that Morawski did not always grasp Sophocles’ meaning. Schoolteachers, however, usually turn to his translation, partly through inertia, but mostly because it is readily available in every library and on the Internet. The language of the translation is now dated, and even after improvements by Kubiak it still abounds with turn-of-the-century phraseology. Regrettably, most schoolteachers seem to be unaware of the varying

quality of available translations of the classical texts, and in general, very little knowledge on such matters seems to filter down from university classical literature departments to secondary schools.

Greek prose is represented among the school set-texts by the works of Plato, Aristotle, Marcus Aurelius, Appian, Plutarch and Aesop. Three of Aesop's fables were made available to schoolchildren in prose translation (the original was composed in prose) by the children's author Elwira Korotyńska (who also translated works from French),²¹ although the 18th century poetic translation by Ignacy Krasicki remains the most popular among the public at large. Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* was usually read in the only available pre-war translation by Filip Neriusz Golański (1801–1803). The recommended version of Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* was another prewar translation, made by Marian Reitner in 1913.²² The language is somewhat archaic, but is actually well suited to the melancholic tone of the aging philosopher-emperor critically reviewing his past. Aristotle's *Poetics* was rendered into Polish by the classical scholar Henryk Podbielski in 1983.²³ The translation is written in light, modern language and prefaced by an excellent introduction, which must have had a considerable impact on the board responsible for selecting set-texts, as it was introduced onto the school syllabus just a year after publication. However, only a few excerpts from Podbielski's translation, mostly those on tragedy, were required readings, and these were printed in a separate textbook.

Conclusion

Let us finish as we started, with the words of James Redfield:

Only philology of the highest standards can prevent us from assimilating the classics to ourselves, finding in them our own image. Only through an attempt to get the details exactly right do we discover the difficulties of the details – and thereby – an *otherness* of the classics, our distance from our own origins. Philology is in fact psychoanalysis; it is an informed habit of attention to detail which enables us to recover truths which it would be easier to forget.²⁴

Nowadays, the same diagnosis can be applied to translations of the classics, which should render every possible detail of the original to make the readers confront their own roots. With

this in mind, we can say that Polish schoolchildren have been offered the opportunity to learn about their past in several ways. There have been many kinds of translations – poetic and prose, old and new, linguistically meticulous and free – enough to satisfy almost every taste. Unfortunately, these exceptional translations are seldom available to a wide range of schoolchildren. Indeed, besides Homer’s epics and Sophocles’ *Antigone*, the classics are almost absent from Poland’s public libraries.

Notes

¹ *The Republic of Plato. Book X*, ed. B.D. Turner (London: Rivingtons, 1889), p. 48.

² James Redfield, “Classics and Anthropology,” *Arion* 1, no. 2 (1991), p. 11.

³ Redfield, “Classics and Anthropology,” p. 22.

⁴ Hugh F. Graham, “The Classics in the Soviet Union,” *The Classical World* 54, no. 7 (1961), pp. 205-208; 211-213.

⁵ Ludwik Szuba, *Polityka oświatowa państwa polskiego 1944-1956* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 2002), pp. 133-170.

⁶ Appian z Aleksandrii, *Historia rzymska* vol. I, trans. Ludwik Piotrowicz (Wrocław: Zakład Imienia Ossolińskich, 1957), p. XXXIX.

⁷ *Muza grecka*, trans. Zygmunt Kubiak (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1960).

⁸ *Antologia Palatyńska*, trans. Zygmunt Kubiak (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1977).

⁹ Under the Education Reform Act of 8 January 1999.

¹⁰ In accordance with the Regulation of the National Education Minister dated 31 August 2007, no. 157, item 1100.

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- ¹¹ Tadeusz Sinko, "Wstęp," in Homer, *Iliada*, trans. Ksawery Dmochowski, 10th ed. (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, 1966), pp. LXXXIV-LXXXV.
- ¹² Homer, *Odyseja*, trans. Jan Parandowski (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1953).
- ¹³ Jan Parandowski, "Homeryckie boje," in *O sztuce tłumaczenia*, ed. M. Rusinek (Wrocław: Zakład Imienia Ossolińskich, 1955), pp. 299–311.
- ¹⁴ Homer, *Iliada*, trans. Kazimiera Jeżewska (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, 1972).
- ¹⁵ *Tragiccy greccy*, vols 1-3, trans. Zygmunt Węclewski (Poznań: Biblioteka Kórnicka, 1873).
- ¹⁶ Ajschylos, "Dramata tłómaczone," in *Wydanie zbiorowe*, trans. Józef Szujski, seria I, vol. 5 (Kraków: Nakład Rodziny Szujskich, 1887).
- ¹⁷ Eschilos, *Tragedye*, trans. Kazimierz Kaszewski (Warszawa: Księgarnia Nakładowa S. Lewentala, 1895).
- ¹⁸ Ajschylos, *Dzieła*, trans. Jan Kasprowicz (Lwów: E. Wende i Spółka, 1912).
- ¹⁹ Jan Łanowski, "Przekłady dramatu antycznego. Z doświadczeń tłumacza," in *Siew Dionizosa. Inspiracje Grecji antycznej w teatrze i dramacie XX wieku w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej*, eds. Jerzy Axer and Zbigniew Osiński (Warszawa: DiG, 1997), p. 182.
- ²⁰ Sofokles, *Antygona*, trans. Kazimierz Morawski (Lwów: self-published, 1898); Sofokles, *Tragedie*, trans. Kazimierz Morawski (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1916).
- ²¹ *Bajki Ezopa*, vols 1-2, trans. Elwira Korotyńska (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Księgarni Nakładowej, 1922).
- ²² Marek Aureliusz, *Rozmyślenia*, trans. Marian Reitner (Lwów: E. Wende i Spółka, 1913).
- ²³ Arystoteles, *Poetyka*, trans. Henryk Podbielski (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, 1983).
- ²⁴ James Redfield, "Classics and Anthropology," p. 23.

Appendix A: List of required and recommended reading of ancient Greek literature

introduced into Polish curricula between 1946 and 1999²⁴

1946–1948

Aeschylus, *Oresteia*, entire work, required reading at *liceum*, 1946-1949; *Prometeusz w okowach* [Prometheus Bound], entire work, recommended reading at *liceum*, 1946-1949.

Aesop's fables: *Wilk i Baran* [The Wolf and the Ram]; *Jeleń i lew* [The Deer and the Lion]; *Pies i wilk* [The Dog and the Wolf], required reading at *gimnazjum*, 1946-1947.

Homer, *Iliad*, excerpts, *Monomachia Parysowa z Menelausem* [Duel of Paris and Menelaus]; *Śmierć Hektora* [Death of Hector]; *W namiocie Achillesa* [In Achilles' Tent], required reading at *gimnazjum*, 1948; required reading at *liceum*, 1946, 1949–1950;

Homer, *Odyssey*, excerpts, required reading at *gimnazjum*, 1948.

Plutarch, *Żywoty sławnych mężów* [Lives], excerpts, recommended reading at *gimnazjum*, 1948; *Z żywota Aleksandra Wielkiego* [Life of Alexander], required reading at *gimnazjum*, 1946–47.

Plato, *Obrona Sokratesa* [Apology], excerpts, recommended reading at *gimnazjum*, 1948.

Sophocles, *Antygona* [Antigone], excerpts, required reading at primary school, 1948–50; excerpts, required reading at *gimnazjum*, 1948; entire work, required reading at *gimnazjum*, 1949.

Jan Kochanowski, *Z Anakreonta* [Anacreontic poem], required reading at *gimnazjum*, 1948.

Jan Parandowski, *Przygody Odyseusza* [Adventures of Odysseus], entire work, recommended reading at primary school, 1946; entire work, recommended reading at *gimnazjum*, 1947.

1950s

Homer, *Iliad*, excerpt, *Opis tarczy Achillesa* [Description of Achilles' shield], required reading at vocational school, 1959–61; entire work, required reading at vocational school,

1951–52; entire work, recommended reading at vocational school, 1953; entire work, required reading at *liceum*, 1951–52; excerpts, *Rozpacz Achillesa* [Achilles' despair] *Monomachia Hektora z Achillesem* [Duel of Hector and Achilles], *Priam u Achillesa* [Priam at Achilles' Tent], required reading at vocational school, 1959–67; excerpts, required reading at vocational school, 1958–67;

Homer, *Odyssey*, excerpts, required reading at vocational school, 1956–57; entire work, recommended reading at vocational school, 1956–57; entire work, required reading at *liceum*, 1958.

Homer, *Odyssey*, a summary by Z. Kossak-Szczucka, entire work, required reading at vocational school, 1959–1961; entire work, required reading at *liceum*, 1959–1961.

Homer, *Iliad*, a summary by Z. Kossak-Szczucka, entire work, required reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1959–1961.

Sophocles, *Antigone*, entire work, required reading at *liceum*, 1955–1971.

Homer, *Iliad*, excerpts, required reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1959–1961; excerpts, required reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1962–67; excerpts, required reading at *liceum*, 1968–1971; excerpts, *Rozpacz Achillesa* [Achilles' Despair], *Pojedynek Hektora z Achillesem* [Duel of Hector and Achilles], *Priam u Achillesa*, [Priam at Achilles' Tent], required reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1959–1967.

Homer, *Odyssey*, excerpts, required reading at vocational school, 1959–1961; excerpts, required reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1962–67.

Homer, *Iliad*, a summary by Z. Kossak-Szczucka, entire work, required reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1959–1967.

Homer, *Odyssey*, a summary by Z. Kossak-Szczucka, entire work, required reading at vocational school, 1959–1967; entire work, required reading at *liceum*, 1959–1961.

Sophocles, *Antigone*, excerpts, required reading at primary school, 1965–1971; entire work,

required reading at *liceum*, 1962–67; entire work, required reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1955–71;

Appian, *The Roman History*, excerpts, required reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1962–67.

1970s

Homer, *Iliad*, excerpts, *Inwokacja* [Invocation], *Monomachia Achillesa z Hektorem* [Duel of Hector and Achilles], *Priam u Achillesa* [Priam at Achilles' Tent], required reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1972–1981.

Sophocles, *Antigone*, entire work, required reading at vocational school, 1959–1971; entire work, required reading at *liceum*, 1955–1971, entire work, recommended reading at *liceum*, 1972–1981.

1980s

Anacreon, *Igraszki* [Games], recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1988–1992; *Piosenka* [A Song], recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1988–1999; *Przynieś nam tu czarę, chłopcze...* [Bring me the goblet, my boy...], *Słodki bój* [Sweet battle], recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1988–1999.

Antologia Palatyńska [Greek Anthology], *Napis* [Inscription], *Na pewnego portrecistę* [A Poem on a Portrait Painter], *Sosna złamana* [Broken Pine], *Wizerunek Odyseusza* [Portrait of Odysseus], *Bicz na Homera* [Scourge of Homer], *Na posąg Niobe* [A Poem on Niobe's Effigy], recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1988–1999.

Tyrtaeus, *Rzecz to piękna* [Tis a Beautiful Thing], recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1988–1992.

Sappho, *Pogarda dla nie znającej poezji* [Contempt for a Woman Who Does Not Write Poetry], recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1988–1999; *Pożegnanie* [A Farewell], recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1988–1992.

Aristotle, *Poetics*, excerpts, recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1984–87; excerpts, recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1988–1992.

Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, excerpts, recommended reading at vocational school, 1984–89; excerpts, recommended reading at vocational, 1988–90; excerpts, recommended reading at *liceum*, 1984–86; excerpts, recommended reading at *liceum*, 1988–90.

Plato, *Obrona Sokratesa* [Apology], excerpt, recommended reading at vocational school, 1982–90; excerpt, recommended reading at vocational school, 1988–90; excerpt, recommended reading at *liceum*, 1982–86; excerpt, recommended reading at *liceum*, 1988–1990.

Homer, *Iliad*, excerpts, required reading at vocational school, 1982–83; excerpts, required reading at vocational school, 1984–87; excerpts, required reading at vocational school, 1988–1992; excerpts, required reading at *liceum*, 1982–83; excerpts, required reading at *liceum*, 1984–87; excerpts, *Wykupienie zwłok Hektora* [Buying Back Hector's Corpse], required reading at vocational school: 1987–1999.

Homer, *Odyssey*, excerpt, required reading at primary school, 1983–1994; excerpt, recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1988–1992; excerpts, *Wstęp* [Introduction], Book I, v. 1–111; *Spotkanie z Nauzykaa* [A Meeting with Nausicaa], Book VI v. 1–324, *Odys na dworze Alkinoja* [Odysseus at the Court of Alcinous], Book VIII, v. 1–173, required reading at primary school, 1987.

Sophocles, *Antigone*, entire work, required reading at vocational school 1981–87; excerpts, required reading at vocational school, 1988–1992; entire work, required reading at *liceum*, 1982–87; excerpt, required reading at *liceum*, 1988–1992; entire work, recommended reading at *liceum*, 1972–1981; entire work, required reading at vocational school, 1981–87; excerpt, required reading at vocational school, 1988–1992; entire work, required reading at *liceum*, 1982–87; excerpt, required reading at *liceum*, 1988–1992;

Jan Parandowski, *Przygody Odyseusza* [Adventures of Odysseus], entire work, required reading at primary school, 1983–87;

Homer, *Iliad*, a summary by Z. Kossak-Szczucka, excerpt, required reading at *liceum*, 1984–87; excerpt, required reading at secondary modern school, 1988–1992.

1990s

Anacreon, *Igraszki* [Games], recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1988–1992; *Piosenka* [A Song], recommended reading at secondary modern school and *liceum*, 1988–1999; *Przynieś mi tu czarę, chłopcze...* [Bring me the Goblet, My Boy...], required reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1997–1999; *Słodki bój* [Sweet Battle], recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1988–1999;

Greek Anthology: Napis [Inscription], *Na pewnego portrecistę* [On a Certain Portrait Painter], *Sosna złamana* [Broken Pine], *Wizerunek Odyseusza* [A Portrait of Odysseus], *Bicz na Homera* [Scourge of Homer], *Na posąg Niobe* [On Niobe's Effigy], recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1988–1999; *Podzwonne ginącemu miastu* [Death Knell for a Dying City], *Najpiękniejsza* [The Most Beautiful], *Na pewnego pięściarza* [On a Boxer], recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1988–1992;

Aristotle, *Poetics*, excerpt, recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1988–1999.

Homer, *Iliad*, excerpts, required reading at vocational school, 1988–92; excerpts, required reading at vocational school, 1993–96; excerpts, required reading at vocational school, 1997–99; excerpts, required reading at *liceum*, 1988–92; excerpts, required reading at *liceum*, 1997–99; excerpt, required reading at *liceum*, 1993–96;

Homer, *Iliad*, excerpt, *Wykupienie zwłok Hektora* [Buying Back Hector's Corpse], required reading at vocational school, 1987;

Homer, *Iliad*, a summary by Z. Kossak-Szczucka, excerpt, required reading at *liceum*, 1988–1992;

Jan Parandowski, *Przygody Odyseusza* [Adventures of Odysseus], entire work, recommended reading at primary school, 1991–99;

Homer, *Odyssey*, excerpts, required reading at primary school, 1986–1999; excerpt, recommended reading at vocational school, 1988–1999; excerpt, required reading at *liceum*, 1997–99; excerpt, recommended reading at *liceum*, 1988–1999;

Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, excerpt, recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1991–99;

Plato, *Obrona Sokratesa* [Apology], excerpt, recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1991–99;

Plato, *Republic*, excerpt, recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1997–98;

Sappho, *Podnieście w górę dach!* [Raise the Roof!], recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1993–99; *Pogarda dla nie znającej poezji* [Contempt for a Woman Who Does Not Write Poetry], recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1988–1999; *Pożegnanie* [A Farewell], recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1988–1992; *Pożegnanie* [A Farewell], recommended reading at vocational school, 1997–99; required reading at *liceum*, 1997–99; *Zazdrość* [Jealousy], recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1993–99.

Sophocles, *Antigone*, excerpts, recommended reading at vocational 1988–1992; excerpts required reading at vocational school, 1993–1999; excerpts, required reading at *liceum*, 1988–1992; excerpts, required reading at *liceum*, 1993–1999;

Tyrtaeus, *Rzecz to piękna* [Tis a Beautiful Thing], excerpt, recommended reading at vocational school and *liceum*, 1988–1999.

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