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# ON THE *BOOK AND SWORD* EXHIBITION IN OCCUPIED WARSAW IN 1941

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## ABSTRACT

This article describes the book exhibition *Book and Sword*, which was organised by the Nazi Propaganda Department in occupied Warsaw in 1941. It begins by discussing the cultural and political context, with particular reference to the fact that such exhibitions played an important legitimising role for the German occupying authorities. On the basis of archive documents from Warsaw libraries, it is shown how the staff of the propaganda department specifically searched for concrete titles from these collections in order to tell a new historical narrative through them. The article also examines the specific fate of individual copies, as not all of the borrowed books were actually returned to their original location after the exhibition.

**KEYWORDS:** Nazi cultural policy; Warsaw (Nazi occupation); History of Warsaw libraries; Second World War (cultural policy); *Book and Sword* (exhibition 1941)

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The first inspiration for the research whose results are presented in this paper and which concerns the use of the collections of Polish libraries and archives by the staff of the Nazi Propaganda

Department in order to realise the objectives of cultural policy in the General Government through the organisation of book exhibitions, was drawn from the materials of the Ministry of Congress Works of the Polish Government in Exile, and more precisely of the Office for the Revindication of Cultural Losses forming its part and headed by Karol Estreicher.<sup>1</sup> These contained mainly press cuttings from German papers published in occupied Poland collected by the Office, and related to Polish libraries and their collections, as well as the files that the Estreicher's Office put together on their grounds.<sup>2</sup> In his letter to Stanisław Lorentz dated 14 June 1945, Estreicher characterised those files in more detail, informing at the same time that the main goal of the documentation of destruction and losses inflicted by German and Austrian Nazis on the territory of occupied Poland was to prepare grounds for the post-war revindication negotiations on the international arena:

The Office for the Revindication of Cultural Losses, which I have the honour of heading, brings together about a dozen academics who have tirelessly prepared materials dealing with our losses and compensations within culture. When, in the spring of 1944, revindication issues were launched in the international arena,

- 1 I have presented these materials and the works of the Office for the Revindication of Cultural Losses in the paper titled 'Losses and Dislocation of Polish Book Collections in the Light of the Materials of the Office of Congress Works of the Polish Government in Exile in London' which I delivered on 20 April 2021 during the open seminars at the National Library.
- 2 I mean here the materials amassed in the Central Archives of Modern Records by the Ministry of Congress Works of the Polish Government in Exile in London, particularly those in the following files: 1. *Cuttings from German Press (or copies) Related to Cultural Matters in Poland for 1940–1945* (Call Nos: 2/136/0/3/252–257, and 259). 2. *Cuttings from English, Brazilian, and Polish Press related to Cultural Matters and Poland* (Call No. 2/136/0/3/258), and 3. *Excerpts from German Press Related to Cultural Matters in Poland* (Call No, 2/136/0/3/260), contained in the third series which constitute materials of the Department of Revindication of Cultural Losses. The list of all the units in this Department is available at: [https://www.szukajwarchiwach.gov.pl/seria?p\\_p\\_id=Seria&p\\_p\\_lifecycle=0&p\\_p\\_state=normal&p\\_p\\_mode=view&Seria\\_nameofjsp=jednostki&Seria\\_id\\_serii=284002](https://www.szukajwarchiwach.gov.pl/seria?p_p_id=Seria&p_p_lifecycle=0&p_p_state=normal&p_p_mode=view&Seria_nameofjsp=jednostki&Seria_id_serii=284002) [Accessed: 19 April 2023]. In the description of the exhibition *Book and the Sword* itself, I additionally rely on materials from the Archives of the National Library in Warsaw and the University of Warsaw Library (see footnotes 37, 40 and 86).

Poland was the only country which had materials prepared and a worked-out method. There are three files which form grounds for the Office's activity: 1. The location file in which losses of our institutions are discussed according to respective locations; 2. The material file recording respective objects according to categories; 3. The personal file containing names of the Germans who plundered in Poland and who are now arrested and being interrogated.<sup>3</sup>

A closer analysis of the above files shows that the Office paid particular attention to, e.g., the issues connected with any interference in Polish library collections. Such could have included, e.g., the organisation of the collections imposed by the occupation administration, like the moving of the Jagiellonian Library together with the collections of other Krakow libraries incorporated into it to a new building in the spring of 1941, or the State Library in Lublin opened a year later and containing book collections from other Lublin institutions. However, Estreicher's London co-workers pointed not only to the interference in whole book collections as such, but also to particular cases, since the collected cuttings often dealt with definite manuscripts, incunabula, early books, or books belonging to various Polish libraries or archives. When preparing the Polish résumés of those papers, it was often emphasised that the objects they described had been borrowed, for instance, to be shown at exhibitions. The latter can be understood, in my opinion, as a fear that the borrowed books or manuscripts, once the Germans were aware of their existence, could later be displaced and permanently removed from their home collections. Indeed, the Germans would systematically search through Polish collections, fishing out documents and books later displayed at exhibitions in Krakow or Warsaw, as I would like to present later in this text on the example of the exhibition *Book and the Sword*, organised in occupied Warsaw in the autumn of 1941.

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3 K. Estreicher Jr, *Dziennik wypadków tom I 1939-1945*, Kraków 2001, p. 779.

## PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENTS IN THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE GERMAN CULTURAL POLICY

Before talking about the exhibition itself, it is worth looking at the political and cultural context in which it was set. Such exhibitions of books and documents were namely mounted in the General Government by propaganda departments.<sup>4</sup> Propaganda units were created in occupied Poland from the beginning of WWII; they dealt with issues related to press, publishing houses, and general culture. The administration of the General Government established in July 1940<sup>5</sup> featured the ‘Main Propaganda Department’ (*Hauptabteilung Propaganda*) founded in Krakow, however, only the following year its precise structure was defined. According to the Administrative Ordinance of 7 April 1941, the Main Propaganda Department was composed of five offices: for administration, press, propaganda, culture, and film and radio.<sup>6</sup> Soon, the joint film and radio office was divided into two separate units and, in 1942, another office was added for ‘Writing and Nationality’ (*Schrifttum und Volkstum*), responsible, e.g., for literary output.<sup>7</sup> The Warsaw ‘Department of People’s Education and Propaganda’ (as of 22 April 1941: the ‘Propaganda Department’) operated, in turn, at the Office of the Chief of the Warsaw District, being one of its 15 internal units.<sup>8</sup>

From the very beginning of the German occupation of Poland, propaganda departments played a key role in Nazi cultural policy. And so, e.g., the first person in charge of the Krakow Department,

4 A good overview of the structures and works of Propaganda Departments can be found in: L. Jochheck, *Propaganda im Generalgouvernement. Die NS-Besatzungspresse für Deutsche und Polen 1939–1945*, Osnabrück 2006, pp. 69–90 and 135–160 (chapters ‘Strukturen’ and ‘Inhalte’).

5 Ed. W. Präg, W. Jacobmeyer, *Das Diensttagebuch des deutschen Generalgouverneurs in Polen 1939–1945*, Stuttgart 1975, p. 257.

6 The exact title reads: *Verwaltungsanordnung Nr. 1 zur Verordnung vom 16. März 1941 über die Gliederung der Regierung des Generalgouvernements. Vom 7. April 1941*, quoted after: K. M. Pospieszalski, *Nazi Occupation, Law’ in Poland. Selected Documents. Part II The General Government*, Poznań 2019, p. 102.

7 L. Jochheck, *Propaganda...*, pp. 80–81.

8 D. Skorwider, ‘Organizacja władz niemieckich na terenie Dystryktu Warszawskiego w latach 1939–1945’, in: *Raporty Ludwiga Fischera. Gubernatora Dystryktu Warszawskiego 1939–1944*, eds. K. Dunin-Wąsowicz at al., Warszawa 1987, pp. 47–49. After the evacuation of the Office in July and August 1944, it operated in Lodz (ibidem, p. 52).

the journalist Max du Prel, perceived it as an ‘idea carrier’ (*Ideen-trägerin*) actively participating in political developments; meanwhile, Hans Frank, when bidding farewell to du Prel and welcoming his successor Erich Schmidt in July 1940, emphasised that the goal was to ‘win *Lebensraum* (living space) for the German Motherland’.<sup>9</sup> From the portrait of the Main Propaganda Department published on the first anniversary of forming the General Government, it can be deduced that its tasks, according to the phrasing used in the paper, not requiring any further explanation as to their actual intentions, included taking care of the Germans inhabiting the General Government, both in political and cultural aspects, covering e.g., running German book shops and libraries, informing the Polish population, the Germans in the Reich and outside its borders about the causes of the war and the course of warfare, and about the actual situation in the General Government, while also explaining the historical background justifying the leading role of Germany in the Vistula basin.<sup>10</sup> It was particularly the latter point that was of great relevance for book and writing exhibitions.

Propaganda departments were thus supposed to take care of the proper implementation of the National-Socialist cultural policy on Poland’s occupied territories, the policy whose foundations were to be found, according to Christoph Kleßman, <sup>11</sup> first of all in the conviction that German culture was superior to Polish, in relation to which he speaks of the ‘dualism between forced actualising and destruction’ (*‘forcierte Aktualisierung und Destruktion’*).<sup>12</sup> The first symptom of this policy was the attempt to prove the thesis that all the forms and manifestations of culture found in occupied Poland were of German origin since they resulted from the impact or influences from

9 Quoted after: L. Jochheck, *Propaganda...*, p. 78.

10 ‘Die Propaganda-Zentrale des Generalgouvernements. Aufgaben und Arbeitseinsatz der Abteilung Volksaufklärung und Propaganda’, *Warschauer Zeitung*, 1940, no. 254, p. 7.

11 Compare to the Nazi cultural policy: C. Kleßmann, *Die Selbstbehauptung einer Nation. Nationalsozialistische Kulturpolitik und polnische Widerstandsbewegung im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945*, Düsseldorf 1971, pp. 48–53.

12 *Ibidem*, p. 48.

Germany or stemmed directly from the activity of German creators of culture active in Polish territories. Attempts were also made to demonstrate that the Vistula basin had been originally inhabited by Germanic and not Slavic peoples. The second manifestation of the implementation of the assumptions of the German cultural policy, which was materially more destructive, was the plundering and displacing of Polish cultural goods or conscious destruction of libraries, archives, and museums, as well as a purposeful hindering of the activity of Polish artists, up to murdering them.<sup>13</sup>

As can be found in the *Cultural-political Guidelines* (*Kulturpolitische Richtlinien*) elaborated by the Department of People's Education and Propaganda as early as the spring of 1940, propaganda departments also actively contributed to Nazi cultural policy in occupied Poland. The document was first revealed, both in German and English, in the book *The Nazi Kultur in Poland*, published in London in 1945 thanks to the efforts of the Polish government in exile and to a substantial contribution of Estreicher and his office staff. According to Waclaw Borowy, who collected numerous materials for the book, the document comes from the Radzyn County in Eastern Poland; undated, it bears no address of the German office to which it was addressed, therefore its authenticity was questioned by Josef Bühler, Hans Frank's successor and Secretary of State of the General Government.<sup>14</sup> However, the very cultural policy was indeed in line with these guidelines, so no doubts can be raised as to the document's authenticity.<sup>15</sup>

The ultimate goal of the guidelines<sup>16</sup> was to precisely define what cultural life in the General Government should look like. Ac-

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13 See e.g., P. Majewski, *Wojna i kultura. Instytucje kultury polskiej w okupacyjnych realiach Generalnego Gubernatorstwa*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 181-234 (chapter: 'Muzea, zbiory sztuki i architektura zabytkowa') and pp. 235-272 (chapter: 'Archiwa i biblioteki').

14 K. M. Pospieszalski, *Nazi Occupation 'Law'...*, p. 563, which prints the guidelines again.

15 Ibidem.

16 I based it on the first edition of the document, see: *The Nazi Kultur in Poland* by several authors of necessity temporarily anonymous, London, 1945, pp. 184-186.

According to them, there should, first of all, occur a clear division between German and Polish culture, both factually: namely, the high cultural forms (opera, serious theatre, etc.) should be for Germans, while the low and commonplace ones (light comedies, cabarets, etc.) should be for Poles; and spatially, since German artists were not allowed to share the stage with Polish ones. There is also a separate point included in them related, according to the 'destruction' dimension mentioned by Kleßmann, to confiscation in book shops, publishing houses, and libraries. In consequence, it means that all the maps of prewar Poland, English and French dictionaries, Polish flags, as well as historical paintings showing known individuals should be withdrawn from circulation or submitted to the propaganda department if only wished so by them. Upon authorisation, Polish writers were permitted to publish their works, as long as they ranked among entertainment literature, while Polish literature found in private collections, book shops, or libraries, should, in turn, be confiscated in line with separate lists and submitted to propaganda departments.

Displays of books, archival documents, and other artefacts mounted by propaganda departments were a key element of Nazi cultural policy in the General Government, meant to demonstrate the creative impact of German culture and its supposed dominance over Polish culture, while at the same time confirming the affiliation of the occupied territories to the Third Reich. Furthermore, the way they were organised manifested a peculiar attitude of the aggressors to Polish collections, which were resorted to arbitrarily, depending on the Germans' needs. This is what two prominent employees of the Krakow and Warsaw Propaganda Departments, Heinrich Kurz and Karl Grundmann, say straightforwardly in relation to the Exhibitions *German Accomplishments in the Vistula Basin* (*Deutsche Leistung im Weichselraum*) held in Krakow and Warsaw in autumn 1940, the first event of the type. Kurtz, for example, writes about 'numerous exhibits borrowed from the collections of former Polish museums, serving as testimonies to German achievements', of which there were so many, both in public and private

collections, that in the course of the works on the Exhibition, a plan was conceived to consider them to be the ‘foundation of a future German museum’ in all the District capitals.<sup>17</sup> Grundmann, in his turn, observed in the fascicle *Warschauer Kulturblätter* he edited and released together with the Exhibition, ‘a promising beginning’ for research into ‘numerous archivalia still to be found in the archives’, at the same time giving acknowledgements to Erich Weiss, head of the Archival Office of the District of Warsaw, for his assistance in reaching precious documents.<sup>18</sup> It is, thus, clearly visible that while works were conducted on various exhibitions, there occurred numerous interferences in archival, museum, and library collections. This, in turn, aroused substantiated doubts about whether, once the exhibition ended, all the exhibits would return to their original places, even though formally they were only borrowed for the purpose of the display. This may be the reason why the above-mentioned paper by Kurtz can be found among the press cuttings collected by Estreicher’s London Office.<sup>19</sup>

The mentioned exhibitions were not only meant to legitimise the German occupation, but also to create a cultural offer for the Germans living on occupied Polish territories. They constituted a kind of encouragement to become more involved in German cultural life, which was continuously, at least as seen by propaganda departments, vulnerable to the Polish threat. Grundman wrote about it in the article describing two years of the work called ‘cultural reconstruction’ in Warsaw. With respect to the annual ‘Warsaw Culture Days’ (*Warschauer Kulturtage*) towards whose or-

17 H. Kurtz, ‘Deutsche Leistung im Weichselraum’. Die Ausstellung als Grundstock künftiger Museen’, *Warschauer Zeitung*, 1940, no. 205, p. 4. See also: idem, *Ausstellung ‘Deutsche Leistung im Weichselraum’ vom 1. - 20. September 1940. Krakau Ausstellungsgebäude am Stephansplatz*, Buchdruckerei „Drukarnia Pospieszna“, Krakau 1940, pp. 3-4, where Kurtz emphasized that it was precisely the use of Polish collections as the grounds for the exhibition the was at the beginning of its concept.

18 K. Grundmann, [Przedmowa], *Warschauer Kulturblätter*, 1940, no. 2, unnumbered pages [=p. 6].

19 See Wycinki z prasy niemieckiej... za rok 1940, AAN, Call No.: 2/136/0/3/252, p. 28.



ganisation he greatly contributed, and which also included a book exhibition, he said, among others, as follows:

Since we have to be constantly aware of and continuously remember that Germans live here in a hostile environment, and that particularly here, in Warsaw, they are exposed to the danger from the alien nation which precisely here has concentrated its greatest forces . . . through several peak points it has to be shown over and over again how the treasury of our cultural life is endlessly rich, and how grand representatives of German art living in our times are. This is precisely the deepest sense of the Culture Days . . . , since they are not only to serve entertainment and fun, emphasising our uninterrupted bonding with the motherland, but they have to testify to German cultural accomplishments in general. Because of that they . . . should become for every German living here a commitment to all the more eagerly participate in and support the German cultural life developing here.<sup>20</sup>

The cultural events held by Propaganda Departments, including book exhibitions, were thus very much in line with the Nazi cultural policy, particularly in view of the ‘forced actualisation’ spoken of above. Importantly, what was fished out of Polish collections in the first place were printed materials or documents in German, or closely connected with the individuals of German descent active in Poland. It must not be forgotten, however, that all the printed materials which were created, e.g., in Warsaw, comply with the assumptions permitting to consider them to be Polonica, both from the historical perspective, as by, e.g., Estreicher and the

20 K. Grundmann, ‘Zwei Jahre kultureller Aufbauarbeit in Warschau’, *Warschauer Kulturblätter*, 1941, no. 3, unnumbered pages [=pp. 44–45]. This commitment had a definite dimension, since the Governor of the Warsaw District issued a special circular that obliged all the employees of his Office to, e.g., participate in the opening of the ‘Warsaw Culture Days’ and all department heads to take part in the opening of the *Book and Sword* Exhibition in November 1941 – ‘Rundschreiben des Gouverneurs des Distrikts Warschau Nr. 123/41, betrifft: Regelung der Dienstzeit anlässlich der Deutschen Kulturtag in Warschau 1941’, in: *Okólniki i zarządzenia dot. organizacji i władz okręgu warsz., ustalenia cen, organizacji uroczystości kulturalnych 1941–1944*, State Archive in Warsaw, fonds: *Urząd Szefa Okręgu Warszawskiego*, Call No. 72/482/839 vol. 1, pp. 96–97.

contemporary one as well.<sup>21</sup> Not entering here into a detailed discussion on the topic, it can be assumed that both the territorial criterion are met: owing to the place of their production, as are the ethnical or national ones, since the materials in question were produced by individuals connected both through their life and profession with Poland and who lived here. Besides, the copies that will be talked about in the present paper had belonged to Polish collections before 1939.

**ON TWO EXHIBITIONS: GERMAN STRUGGLE IN THE EAST  
AND BOOK AND SWORD (1941)**

The *Book and Sword* Exhibition was organised in Warsaw in the autumn of 1941. It shared the concept with the Krakow Exhibition *German Struggle in the East*, and both were prepared by the Propaganda Offices in Krakow and in Warsaw, possibly in cooperation, therefore it seems justifiable to briefly discuss the Krakow display organised shortly before the Warsaw one.<sup>22</sup>

**GERMAN STRUGGLE IN THE EAST  
(KRAKOW 25 OCTOBER - 12 NOVEMBER 1941)**

In the Autumn of 1941, two exhibitions were mounted in two major cities of the General Government.

The first of them, titled *German Struggle in the East (Deutscher Kampf im Osten)*, was opened on 25 October by Hans Frank in the Krakow Cloth Hall (Sukiennice). The exhibition, held until 12 November, had been prepared in cooperation by various institutions: from the General Government, it was the Archives Directorate and

21 See in more detail: T. Makowski, 'Principles for developing the collections at the National Library of Poland', *Polish Libraries*, 2021, vol. 9, pp. 272–296 (in particular: 283–286) and: H. Mieczkowska, '„Polonicum” – definicja pojęcia, zakres doboru materiału, zastosowanie w bibliografii', *Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi*, 2015, vol. 9, pp. 21–30.

22 Book exhibitions had also taken place in previous years. The first one titled *German Achievements in the Vistula Basin (Deutsche Leistung im Weichselraum)* was held in Krakow and in Warsaw in September and October 1940, the second one was mounted on the occasion of the opening of the State Library in Krakow in April 1941.

the State Library in Krakow.<sup>23</sup> It was one of several events held in parallel which shared the title ‘War Week of a Book’ (*‘Kriegsbuchwoche’*), organised in seven cities throughout the Reich, and which shared the motto ‘Book and Sword’ (*‘Buch und Schwert’*).<sup>24</sup> In all the cities, a similar formula was adopted for those exhibitions: a presentation of the contemporary book production was connected with the display of archival documents related to regional questions. And so, in Hamburg, the topic was ‘Germany’s Struggle for Its Global Importance’ (*‘Deutschlands Kampf um seine Weltgeltung’*); in Graz, it was ‘Building and Shaping of the Danube Country’ (*‘Aufbau und Gestaltung des Donauraums’*): the display contained documents related to German culture in south-eastern Europe.<sup>25</sup> In late November, the exhibition was shown in Warsaw, and later it was to travel to Lviv.<sup>26</sup> The Krakow and Warsaw exhibitions had a similar structure to those in other cities in the Reich, namely, on the one hand, they showed contemporary publishing production while, on the other, they displayed writing specimens referring to the city and region in which the exhibition was organised. It can thus be assumed that the regional part substantially differed in both cities, meaning that the same exhibition was not shown in Krakow and in Warsaw, as had been the case a year earlier with the *German Accomplishments in the Vistula Basin* (*Deutsche Leistung im Weichselraum*).<sup>27</sup> In Krakow, the dis-

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- 23 ‘Die Grundsteine der deutschen Ostarbeit. Eröffnung der Ausstellung „Deutscher Kampf im Osten“ durch Dr. Frank und Staatssekretär Gutterer’, *Warschauer Zeitung*, 1941, no. 252, p. 1.
- 24 ‘Deutscher Ostkampf im Spiegel alter Urkunden. Buchausstellung in Krakaus Tuchhallen – Eröffnung zur Buchwoche durch Dr. Frank’, *Krakauer Zeitung*, 1941, no. 250, p. 5 and: ‘Festliche Eröffnungskundgebung der Kriegsbuchwoche 1941’, *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel*, 1941, no 254, p. 374.
- 25 ‘Kriegsbuchwoche im ganzen Reich. Verbunden mit Dokumentenschau’, *Warschauer Zeitung*, 1941, no. 254, p. 4.
- 26 ‘6000 Besucher in 19 Tagen. „Deutscher Kampf im Osten“ auch in Warschau und Lemberg’, *Warschauer Zeitung*, no. 269/1941, p. 5. According to the article the exhibition was to be shown in Lviv several months later.
- 27 After Krakow, the exhibition was also shown in Radom, Lublin, and Warsaw – ‘Deutsches Schaffen im Osten. Zu der Ausstellung am Krakauer Stephansplatz’, *Warschauer Zeitung*, 1940, no. 207, p. 4 and: K. Grundmann, [Przedmowa], unnumbered pages [=p. 5]. In this fascicle (pp. 27–30), the programme of Culture Days can also be found.

play covered<sup>28</sup> 1,200 volumes and 180 documents: 30 of them came from the Reich, the rest having been acquired from the archives of the General Government, and a separate room was dedicated to the city itself. The oldest documents came from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries; they included, e.g. the town's foundational charters of Magdeburg rights (thus German in the understanding of the Exhibition authors) of various towns, such as Krakow,<sup>29</sup> Wieliczka, and Sandomierz. Other documents were related to commercial law, e.g., the staple right granted to Krakow by Louis I of Hungary. Other displayed items were Krakow mediaeval citizen books, privileges and documents related to crafts, as well as other acts connected with the German settlement in Lesser Poland or in the later Austrian partition. The Warsaw Exhibition, in turn, displayed, e.g., the foundation charter of Warsaw based on the Chełmno Rights signed by Janusz I of Warsaw in 1413<sup>30</sup> and other legal documents, for example, the oldest Warsaw court register from the 15<sup>th</sup> century or commercial ones, e.g., guild registers (*Zunftbücher*)

It is highly likely, though it cannot be verified with certainty that the other part of the Exhibition was the same in Krakow and in Warsaw. According to the correspondent of *Krakauer Zeitung*, this part was 'essentially book-related',<sup>31</sup> which can be understood in such a way that as much as in the regional part what dominated were archivalia, this part had books at its core. However, this part of the Exhibition also displayed books dedicated to the region, so in this respect, too, there may have been differences between the Krakow and the Warsaw variants. It is most likely that, first of all, local library resources were used, and books were not transported between the cities. The

28 Compare to all the information on the Krakow exhibition: *Deutscher Ostkampf...*, p. 5 and: 'Im Spiegel des Buches. Zur Ost-Ausstellung in Krakau', *Warschauer Zeitung*, 1941, no. 253, p. 3.

29 Reproduction of this document to be found in the article by E. Randt, 'Die Archive des Generalgouvernements', *Die Burg*, 1941, no. 1, [after p. 40]. The second part of the article was published in the second issue of the periodical (pp. 51-91), also in 1941.

30 Reproduction in: E. Randt, *Die Archive ...*, [after p. 40].

31 *Deutscher Ostkampf ...*, p. 5.

book part was dedicated mainly to the current German publishing production and covered both the selection of books printed in the Reich itself, and in the so-called German East, namely in the General Government, Silesia, the Baltic states, Southern Central Europe, and the Reichsgau Wartheland and Sudetenland.<sup>32</sup> However, also older printed materials were displayed, even from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Anyway, according to the above-quoted correspondent of *Krakauer Zeitung*, the book display tackled four main topics: ‘German struggle in the East in history’ (*deutscher Ostkampf in der Geschichte*), secondly, ‘Eastern territories as space for the German people’ (*Ostraum als deutscher Volksraum*), thirdly, ‘German culture in the struggle for eastern territories’ (*deutsche Kultur im Ringen um den Osten*), and fourthly, ‘epochal change and its realisation’ (*Zeitenwende und Erfüllung*).<sup>33</sup> And so the public could view both older books from previous centuries and those talking about contemporary times, e.g., events from the inter-war period, the 1939 September Campaign, and the first years of the General Government. How important these exhibitions in both cities were for the Nazi cultural policy in occupied Poland can be deduced from the words of Wilhelm Ohlenbusch, President of the Main Propaganda Office in the administration of the General Government, delivered during the Warsaw opening. He thus turned to ‘German academics and writers’ to help:

to gain the East and remind the people of the richness of German cultural accomplishments on these territories in the past, so that later whatever the German sword wins in the East, could find its expression in the German book.<sup>34</sup>

**BOOK AND SWORD**  
**(WARSAW 27 NOVEMBER - 7 DECEMBER 1941)**

In Warsaw, the Exhibition could be seen from 27 November till 7 December 1941 in the rooms of the Zachęta Gallery in Królewska Street, at the time ‘Königsstraße’. It was shown as a part of sub-

32 Im Spiegel des Buches..., p. 3.

33 Deutscher Ostkampf ..., p. 5.

34 Der Osten ein Zukunftsland..., p. 5.

sequent ‘German Culture Days’; its title, *Book and Sword* (*Buch und Schwert*), referred to the motto of the book weeks before taking place throughout the whole Reich.<sup>35</sup> The Exhibition was mounted by the Warsaw Propaganda Department and the Nazi Party’s Propaganda Office, with a particular contribution by the above-mentioned Karl Grundmann, thanks to whom, according to the *Warschauer Zeitung*’s correspondent, the Exhibition could be so sumptuous.<sup>36</sup>

Differently from the Krakow version, in whose case we can find several pieces of information with respect to the shown exhibits from press releases, in the case of the Warsaw *Book and Sword* Exhibition, we can rely merely on contemporary archival materials. Both in the National Library Archives and the University of Warsaw Library Archives, thus the libraries which were incorporated into the State Library in Warsaw (*Staatsbibliothek Warschau*), extensive lists of books lent for the display have been preserved.<sup>37</sup> It is those lists that allow us, to a great degree, to identify the publications which were presented at the Warsaw display. However, at the same time, and I will retackle this issue further below, there can be some doubts whether the discussed lists, although including in total of 343 items, cover all the books presented in Warsaw. For example, there are no such lists containing special collections which, in harmony with *Ordinance No. 1* issued by Wilhelm Witte on 19 February that year<sup>38</sup> specifying the new structure of the War-

35 See ‘Programm der Warschauer Kulturstage. Ein Aufruf an das Deutschtum in Warschau - Tagesplan der Veranstaltungen’, *Warschauer Zeitung*, 1941, no. 277, p. 7.

36 ‘Warschau ältestes deutsches Schrifttum ausgestellt. Aufschlußreiche Dokumente in der Buchausstellung - Ein »General-Juden-Reglement« aus dem Jahre 1797’, *Warschauer Zeitung*, 1941, no. 285, p. 5.

37 I would like to take this opportunity to sincerely thank the employees of those archives for their exceptionally friendly assistance provided to me in the course of my preliminary research: I am extremely grateful to Ms Maria Remisz and Mr Tomasz Mińko of the National Library Archives as well as to Mr Mareki Świeżewski of the University of Warsaw Library Archives, and to Ms Hanna Wiejacz of the Department of Amassing and Complementing National Library Collections for her consultations related to call numbers.

38 W. Witte, *Verfügung Nr. 1.* - University of Warsaw Library Archives, fonds IX Biblioteka Uniwersytecka 1939-1945 - polska dyrekcja, *Korespondencja otrzymana 1940-1941*, Call No. Arch. BUW IX/4, p. 40.

saw State Library, were placed in the edifice of the Krasiński Library in Okólnik Street. By the time the Exhibition was held, i.e., autumn 1941, many early books, among others, had been transferred there from the National Library.<sup>39</sup>

The *List of Books and Periodicals Borrowed from the State Library, Branch II, at 6 Rakowiecka Street for the Book and Sword Exhibition* contains 213 items: 201 books and 12 papers or periodicals enumerated with their call numbers.<sup>40</sup> As can be read in a separate letter, all the copies were collected on behalf of the Propaganda Department by Karl Dietrich on 22 November 1941.<sup>41</sup> What can be found surprising, though, is the fact that a substantial majority of the borrowed publications come from the 1930s - many items even from 1939-1941 - therefore they must have been strongly underpinned by Nazi ideology. There are very few titles older than, e.g., the 19<sup>th</sup> century or early books from before 1800. As for the topics of the borrowed books, papers, and magazines, the four categories enumerated above by the *Krakauer Zeitung* correspondent can serve as some guidance.<sup>42</sup> However, bearing in mind that many listed titles match more than one category, it seems more appropriate to simply divide them into three groups: the first being books dealing with Poland's history or culture and Polish-German relations, both from the historical and contemporary perspective, the second containing books talking about the fights conducted by Ger-

39 See A. Meżyński, 'Zbiory na Okólniku. Wrzesień 1939 - październik 1941', in: *Droga do Okólnika 1844-1944*, ed. H. Tchórzewska-Kabata, Warszawa 2005, pp. 127-145 and: Idem, *Biblioteki Warszawy w latach 1939-1945*, Warszawa 2010, pp. 163-182. It is thus possible that further preliminary research will allow us to find also other lists of the type.

40 Verzeichnis der von der Staatsbibliothek Warschau, Abt. II, Rakowiecka Str. 6 für die Ausstellung „Buch und Schwert“ entliehenen Bücher und Zeitschriften - National Library Archives, pre-war fonds, Różne. Spisy książek wycofanych, „antyniemieckich“, przeznaczonych na wystawę, braków. Przekazywanie druków między Oddziałami I, II i III Biblioteki Państwowej w Warszawie (spisy). Informacje naukowe 1939-42, call no. 83, no page given. All the respective item numbers refer to this very list.

41 Ibidem, no page given.

42 These were: 'German struggle in the East in history', 'Eastern territories as space for the German nation', 'German culture in the struggle for Eastern territories', and 'Epochal change and its realisation'.

man troops on Polish territories, seen both historically and from the contemporary perspective.<sup>43</sup> The third group included German translations of Polish literature or dissertations of German scholars dealing with Polish literature studies.

The most numerous group, containing in total 113 titles, namely more than half, encompasses books from the first of the above categories. They are, e.g., books by German authors on Poland's history or its particular political, economic, and sociological aspects. The examples being the studies by Albert Brackmann, *On the Beginnings of the Polish State* from 1934 (item 20),<sup>44</sup> or by Wilhelm Arenz, *On Polish–Russian Relations in 1918–1920* (item 3), published in Leipzig in 1939.<sup>45</sup> Among this group, there are also books by Richard Perdelwitz, from 1939, *On Poles in the World War and International Politics* (item 132),<sup>46</sup> Fritz Weigelt on the *Central Industrial Region* (item 28) published in Gdansk in 1938,<sup>47</sup> or by Friedrich Schinkel titled *Poland, Prussia, and Germany: the Polish Question as a Challenge to the Development of the Prusso–German National State* from 1931 (item 162).<sup>48</sup> There are several titles related to the German minority and German and Germanic settlements on the historical territories of Poland, e.g., Hans Jänichen's *On Vikings in the Vistula and Oder Basins* from 1938 (item 83)<sup>49</sup> or the *History of the German Vistula Catchment* by Erich Keyser from 1940 (item 91).<sup>50</sup> As exemplary works from the history of folk literature and art, we can mention the collections of *Tales*

43 In a way these two groups are adequate to those mentioned by the correspondent, since in his article the first group was made up by the books related to 'Eastern territories as space for the German nation' and 'German culture in the struggle for Eastern territories', the second, in turn, by the books related to 'German struggle in the East in history' and the 'Epochal change and its realisation'.

44 A. Brackmann, *Die Anfänge des polnischen Staates*, Berlin 1934.

45 W. Arenz, *Polen und Russland 1918–1920*, Leipzig 1939.

46 R. Perdelwitz, *Die Polen im Weltkriege und die internationale Politik*, Leipzig 1939.

47 F. Weigelt, C.O.P.: *das Zentrale polnische Industrierevier*, Danzig 1938.

48 F. Schinkel, *Polen, Preussen und Deutschland: die polnische Frage als Problem der preussisch–deutschen Nationalstaatentwicklung*, Breslau 1932.

49 H. Jänichen, *Die Wikinger im Weichsel und Odergebiet*, Leipzig 1938.

50 E. Keyser, *Geschichte des deutschen Weichsellandes*, Leipzig 1940.



and *Fairy Tales from Upper Silesia* or *Upper-Silesian Folk Costumes*, both by Elisabeth Grabowska from 1932 and 1935, respectively (items 57 and 58).<sup>51</sup> There is also the study by Günther Grundmann on *German Art in Liberated Silesia* from 1941 (item 60).<sup>52</sup>

The second group: the military- and war-related works, contains in total 83 titles, of which as many as 71 tackle the 1939 September Campaign and the establishment of the administrative structures on the occupied territories. Here, we will find titles of the type: *Victory in the East. Reports on the Fights of the Folk German Troops in Poland* by Friedrich Heiss from 1940 (item 72)<sup>53</sup> and many other works of the type. Only a small portion of the books (12 titles) focus on wars from the past, e.g., books on the Teutonic Knights, e.g., Karl Heidenreich's dissertation on the *German Order in the New March* from 1932 (item 71),<sup>54</sup> or WWI: e.g., *Western-Galician Tombs of Heroes from 1914–1915* by Rudolf Broch and Hans Hauptmann published in Vienna and Krakow in 1918 (item 24).<sup>55</sup>

The third and smallest group: featuring 17 titles, is composed of translations of Polish literature into German, consisting mainly of the translations of the classics, such as Kochanowski, Mickiewicz, or Krasiński, or works by German authors about Poland, e.g., Herbert Kranz's story from 1941 called *Achilles' Son in Warsaw* (item 100).<sup>56</sup>

Following in the footsteps of Estreicher and his colleagues' interests, who perceived such exhibitions as interferences in the collections of Polish libraries, potentially leading to the permanent exclusion of the borrowed items from their genuine collections, one can indeed identify three categories as seen in a representative analysis of the respective items on the list: the first being the cop-

51 E. Grabowski, *Sagen und Märchen aus Oberschlesien*, Breslau 1932 and: *Die Volkstrachten in Oberschlesien*, Breslau 1935.

52 G. Grundmann, *Deutsche Kunst im befreiten Schlesien*, Breslau 1941.

53 F. Heiss, *Der Sieg im Osten: ein Bericht vom Kampf des deutschen Volksheeres in Polen*, Berlin 1940.

54 K. Heidenreich, *Der Deutsche Orden in der Neumark*, Berlin 1932.

55 R. Broch/ H. Hauptmann, *Die Westgalizischen Heldengräber aus den Jahren des Weltkriegs 1914–1915*, Wien/ Krakau 1918.

56 H. Kranz, *Der Sohn des Achill in Warschau*, Berlin 1941.

ies which remain in the collection of the National Library (at the time: Branch II of the State Library in Warsaw), the second constituted by the titles which are actually found in that collection, but which, however, were re-acquired following WWII, either purchased, donated, or as a result of an exchange, thus demonstrating that the genuine copy had disappeared; the third category being the books which are no longer in the collection.

Let me give some examples: the National Library continues to possess in its collection the copy (item 11) of the book by Hans Wilhelm Beck, *Poland's Progress* returned then; not only does the book feature the same call number, but also the pre-WWII stamp of the Józef Piłsudski National Library and that of the Staatsbibliothek II Warschau; the note on the last page tells us that the copy was bought and catalogued already in 1938.<sup>57</sup> The same can be said with respect to Dietrich Bohnsack's book *The Burgundians in Eastern Germany and Poland in the Last Century before Christ* (item 17), with the only difference being that it reached the Library already in the course of the war: in 1941. It was then that it received its call number, which it has borne to this very day.<sup>58</sup> The next title from the list also constitutes an interesting case of a book which continues in the collection of the National Library: it is the first edition of the story *Totenmesse* (namely 'Requiem') by Stanisław Przybyszewski from 1893.<sup>59</sup> The copy lent for the Exhibition bears call no. 'Hor. 26.823' visible on the last page, next to two stamps: of the National Library and Staatsbibliothek Warschau, having originally come from the Galician Poniński Horyniec Library, donated to the National Library in 1925.<sup>60</sup> We can also name the example of one of

57 H. W. Beck, *Polens Aufstieg*, Berlin 1938, Call No. BN 304.482/3.

58 D. Bohnsack, *Die Burgunden in Ostdeutschland und Polen während des letzten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Leipzig 1938, Call No. BN 304.728/4.

59 A partial Polish edition titled *Requiem aeternam...* was published by Lviv's Księgarnia Polska in 1904.

60 S. Przybyszewski, *Totenmesse*, Berlin 1893, call no. BN II 486.248. The National Library also owns the second copy of the book which was donated to the Library in 1942, and which is now available on Polona: <https://polona.pl/preview/fec-6cb34-17d7-4b5e-b5df-61c3c3aa415e> [Accessed 20 April 2023].

the scarcer older titles from the list which enjoyed continuity in the collection of the National Library. The titles in question are five anonymous essays on Poland from 1831 (items 141, 150, 160, and 178) bound as one volume.<sup>61</sup> The first of the essays can also be found on Polona,<sup>62</sup> as can be seen, this very copy comes originally from the Rapperswil collection, and before the war, it had also belonged to the National Library, this testified to by an appropriate stamp. Interestingly, it can be verified that the copy was repurchased in 1976 from the Museum of Literature in Warsaw. The next item is also of interest: it is a monograph authored by Vasil Kučabs'kij, assigned by the Germans to serve as the Director of the State Library in Lublin, *Western Ukraine in the Struggle against Poland and Bolshevism in 1918–1923*, published in Berlin in 1934 (item 104). The copy displayed in Warsaw is still in the collection of the National Library, continuing to feature the same call number, but there is also another copy of the work which reached the Library already in the course of the war, whose call number from that time was, however, changed following WWII.<sup>63</sup>

There are many cases in which the title borrowed in 1941 for the Exhibition continues in the collection of the National Library, though in a different copy. For example, Hermann Aubin's study *Historical Overview of the Eastern Space* from 1940 is today available in two copies, both of which, however, reached the Library as dona-

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- 61 Polen, wie es war und ist, Hamburg/Itzehoe 1831, Call No. BN I 80.170; Die Schicksale Polens seit der ersten Theilung 1772 bis zur Russischen Oberherrschaft, Altenburg 1831, Call No. BN I 80.171; Deutschlands Zukunft, Altenburg 1831, Call No. BN I 80.172, Ueber die polnische Frage, Paris 1831, Call No. BN I 80.173 and Resultate des Wiener Congresses in Bezug auf Polen, Neu-Ruppin und Gransee 1831, call no. BN I 80.174. The list of the borrowed books does not contain Deutschlands Zukunft, however, it seems highly unlikely that these essays were bound into one 'lump' only after WWII.
- 62 *Resultate des Wiener Congresses in Bezug auf Polen*, Neu-Ruppin und Gransee, call no. BN I.864.466, accessible at: <https://polona.pl/preview/cf6db200-1946-4ad7-8226-9686b6de0f47> [Accessed 20 April 2023].
- 63 V. Kučabs'kij, *Die Westukraine im Kampf mit Polen und dem Bolschewismus in den Jahren 1919–1923*, Berlin 1934, Call Nos. BN. 304.145/8 (the Exhibition copy) and BN 305.680.

tions only in 1949, while the copy from the list is missing (item 4).<sup>64</sup> A similar situation applies to Carl Budding's book *The Polish Corridor as a European Problem*, lent for the Exhibition in its 1933 edition (item 25); in this case, too, the National Library boasts two copies in its collection, which were donations from after the war: 1949 and 1950.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, there is an interesting story connected with another title, namely the autobiography of Courland's diplomat Heinrich Heyking, titled *From the Last Days of Poland and Courland*, published in Berlin in 1897 (item 74). It is listed with the borrowed books featuring Call No. 'SGH 64023', which means that the copy was at the time in the collection of the SGH Warsaw School of Economics. During the occupation, when the School remained closed down, its book collection stayed intact on site, yet it somehow remained, as phrased by Andrzej Mężyński, 'under the auspices of Branch II of the State Library'<sup>66</sup> which, after all, also operated in the SGH building housing a substantial part of its book collection. However, the presence of this copy on the list demonstrates that the Germans also resorted to the SGH collection. As a matter of fact, the book continues in this collection, featuring actually the same call number.<sup>67</sup> The National Library, in turn, is in possession of two copies of this publication, also boasting interesting provenance: the first one<sup>68</sup> was once in the Krasieński Library's collection,<sup>69</sup> while

64 H. Aubin, *Geschichtlicher Aufriss des Ostraums*, Berlin 1940, Call No. BN 301.736 and BN 301.737.

65 C. Budding, *Der polnische Korridor als europäisches Problem*, Danzig 1933, Call Nos. BN II 356.456 and BN II 633.516. The latter of them is available on Polona: <https://polona.pl/preview/f0788646-17aa-440c-839f-a95fb84404b9> [Accessed 20 April 2023].

66 A. Mężyński, *Biblioteki Warszawy...*, p. 132.

67 K. H. Heyking, *Aus Polen und Kurlands letzten Tagen. Memoiren d. Baron Karl Heinr. Heyking*, Berlin 1897, Call No. SGH 64.023.

68 *Aus Polens und Kurlands letzten Tagen. Memoiren des Baron Karl Heinrich Heyking (1752-1796)*, Berlin 1897, call no BN II 2.022.873.

69 Despite the fact that the Krasieński Library was set on fire in October 1944 by the Germans, this very copy survived, possibly because in compliance with Witte's mentioned Ordinance of 19 February 1941 dealing with the structure of the Warsaw State Library, together with about 29,000 foreign-language works, it was transported from the Krasieński Library to the University of Warsaw Library, namely to Branch I of the Warsaw State Library (see A. Kałudzka, 'Zbiory dawnej Biblioteki Ordynacji Krasieńskich w Bibliotece Narodowej', *Z Badań nad*

the second, presently available on Polona,<sup>70</sup> was at the time in the collection of the City Library in Königsberg, earlier having belonged to a certain Prof. Seraphim. The professor in question may have been Ernst Seraphim (1862--1945), a historian and a Königsberg teacher, or his son Peter-Heinz Seraphim (1902--1979), also an academic, active, e.g., as an expert in Jewish issues at the Krakow Institute for German Work in the East (*Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit*). A similar situation happened in the case of the work by Julius Pflugk-Harttung, *Mayor of the City and President of the Police Tilly and the State of Affairs in Warsaw in Prussian times 1799–1806* published in Gdansk in 1914 (item 136). The Exhibition copy, with the pre-war stamp of SGH and Call No. SGH 1315 is still to be found in the SHG Library.<sup>71</sup> Today, also, the National Library has one copy of the work available on Polona: it once belonged to the State Museum of the History of Gdansk (*Staatliches Museum für Danziger Geschichte*) and was purchased on the antiquities market in 1972.<sup>72</sup>

In this case it is hard to tell whether the National Library had possessed that title already before the war. In another one it is known that only after many years the given title, previously in its

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*Polskim Księgozbiorem Historycznymi*, 1986, vol. 9 *Fragmety i rekonstrukcje*, p. 129 and: A. Mężyński, *Biblioteki Warszawy...*, p. 172). Immediately after the war, the Krasieński Library collection, which survived, among others, in this way, reached the National Library, including e.g., about 75,000 volumes of Polish and foreign printed materials, see. A. Kałudźka, *Zbiory dawnej Biblioteki...*, pp. 129–130, eadem, 'Biblioteka Krasieńskich w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej', *Sesje Varsavianistyczne*, 1996, fascicle 6, *Historyczne księgozbiory Warszawskie II*, p. 10 and: eadem, 'Kolekcja druków zwartych nowszych ze zbiorów BOK', *Biuletyn Informacyjny Biblioteki Narodowej*, 2002, no 4/163, p. 20. A. Kałudźka's mentioned papers characterise the collections of the Krasieński Library within the structure of the National Library and describe the ways of cataloguing them.

- 70 *Aus Polens und Kurlands letzten Tagen. Memoiren des Baron Karl Heinrich Heyking (1752–1796)*, Berlin 1897, Call No BN 787.100 A; available at: <https://polona.pl/preview/6daa8f84-9aca-42c4-acb2-ede6f55f03b8> [Accessed 20 April 2023].
- 71 J. v. Pflugk-Harttung, *Der Stadt- und Polizeipräsident v. Tilly und die Zustände in Warschau zur preußischen Zeit 1799–1806. Ein Kulturbild, Danzig 1914*, Call No. SGH 1315.
- 72 J. v. Pflugk-Harttung, *Der Stadt- und Polizeipräsident v. Tilly und die Zustände in Warschau zur preußischen Zeit 1799–1806. Ein Kulturbild, Danzig 1914*, Call No. BN 812.612 A - <https://polona.pl/preview/e260d83c-3ca2-4129-9120-42b7ad66e467> [Accessed 20 April 2023].

collection, was once again acquired. As an example, let us quote the above-mentioned publication by Elisabeth Grabowska, *Tales and Fairy Tales from Upper Silesia*. It can be seen from the discussed list that the Library had its second edition from 1932 (item 57), meanwhile, the antique purchase of the National Library in 2004 brought into its collection the first 1922 edition, the copy having once belonged to the Lviv architect and art historian Jan Sas Zubrzycki.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, it was after many years that the Library regained the stories by Rudolf Vogel, e.g., *The Boy from the Borderland in Blitzkrieg* from 1940 (item 182), which, however, are not certain to have been displayed at all.<sup>74</sup> The National Library succeeded in 2000 in obtaining that book as an antique purchase: it had previously belonged to the Folk City Library in Litzmannstadt and was taken over by the Lodz Ludwik Waryński City Library in operation from 1949 (until 1990), which, as it seems, did not incorporate it into its collection, but allocated it to the ‘market circulation’.<sup>75</sup> As for other Exhibition items missing in the National Library collection, let us mention the book *Eastern Europe and German East* by Otton Hötzsch, published in Königsberg in 1934, on the list bearing Call No. II 41.16 (item 77). Thanks to exchanges, the Library now owns two other copies:<sup>76</sup> the first was acquired from the Gdansk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in 1970, which had got it from the Technological University in Gdansk (*Technische Hochschule Danzig*), and the second from the Central Military Library in 2013; the latter one had once been in the Library of the Office of the Gen-

73 G. [sic!] Grabowski, *Sagen und Märchen aus Oberschlesien*, Breslau 1922, Call No. BN 1.417.359 A.

74 By every item on the list of the borrowed books there is a little tick on the left, however, next to Vogel’s book there are only letters ‘br’, standing for ‘missing’. Since the list is dated 22 November 194, and it is the same date on which Dietrich collected all the books, as said above, it is likely that he ticked each copy he received. Therefore, it can be assumed that Vogel’s book did not go to the Exhibition at all.

75 R. Vogel, *Grenzerjunge im Blitzkrieg*, Stuttgart 1940, Call No. BN II 1.416.685 A.

76 O. Hötzsch, *Osteuropa und Deutscher Osten: kleine Schriften zu ihrer Geschichte*, Königsberg Pr. 1934, Call Nos. BN 1.518.045 and BN 794.248 A.

eral Governor and is now available on Polona.<sup>77</sup> Another copy missing is that of the book by Hugon Socnik *Danzig – Western Prussia: German Cultural Land*, published in Gdansk in 1940, which, according to the list, bore Call No. III 41.584/3. Today, the National Library again boasts two copies, which, however, were purchased only in 1984 and 1994, respectively.<sup>78</sup>

Finally, the discussed list also contains a number of titles which are missing for good from the collection of the National Library. They can sometimes still be found in its catalogue, however, without their own call numbers, like Paul Haake's tragedy *Christiane Eberhardine and Augustus II the Strong* (item 61)<sup>79</sup> or the above-mentioned dissertation by Karl Heidenreich on *The German Order in New March* from 1932 (item 71).<sup>80</sup> Another book that is missing in the Library's catalogue is the historical novel by Gregor Samarow, *Under the White Eagle (Unter dem weissen Adler; item 155)*,<sup>81</sup> and the volume *Encounters (Die Begegnung)* with short stories by August Scholtis (item 164) from 1940.<sup>82</sup> Missing items can also be found among the lent out papers or magazines: today, the National Library does not have the first two issues of *Grodner Zeitung (Grodno Daily)* from 1915, which were lent for the Exhibition (item 209), and

77 Available at: <https://polona.pl/preview/285fc989-458b-4db0-8602-eab88ee4fed7> [Accessed 21 April 2023].

78 H. Socnik, *Danzig-Westpreussen : ein deutsches Kulturland : bildende Kunst, Schrifttum, Musik, Danzig 1940*, Call Nos. BN 1.587.122 and BN 1.475.572 A.

79 P. Haake, *Christiane Eberhardine und August der Starke*, Dresden 1930, see [https://katalogi.bn.org.pl/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma991032230029705066&context=L&vid=48OMNIS\\_NLOP:48OMNIS\\_NLOP&lang=pl&search\\_scope=MyInstitution1&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=BN&query=any,contains,haake%20august%20der%20starke&offset=0](https://katalogi.bn.org.pl/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma991032230029705066&context=L&vid=48OMNIS_NLOP:48OMNIS_NLOP&lang=pl&search_scope=MyInstitution1&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=BN&query=any,contains,haake%20august%20der%20starke&offset=0) [21 April 2023]; former Call No. BN II.41.132.

80 K. Heidenreich, *Der Deutsche Orden in der Neumark 1402-1455*, Berlin 1932, see [https://katalogi.bn.org.pl/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma991032323199705066&context=L&vid=48OMNIS\\_NLOP:48OMNIS\\_NLOP&lang=pl&search\\_scope=MyInstitution1&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=BN&query=any,contains,deutsche%20orden%20in%20der%20neumark&offset=0](https://katalogi.bn.org.pl/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma991032323199705066&context=L&vid=48OMNIS_NLOP:48OMNIS_NLOP&lang=pl&search_scope=MyInstitution1&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=BN&query=any,contains,deutsche%20orden%20in%20der%20neumark&offset=0) [Accessed 21 April 2023]; former Call No. BN II.41.125/5.

81 G. Samarow, *Unter dem weissen Adler*, Berlin 1939, former Call No. BN I.41.1268.

82 A. Scholtis, *Die Begegnung: zwei Erzählungen*, Darmstadt 1940, former Call No. BN I.41.611.

the collection begins with issue three.<sup>83</sup> Other elements missing are the ten issues from 1934 and 1935 of the periodical *Der deutsche Lehrer in Polen* [German Teacher in Poland] published in Lodz (item 203). An interesting case is that of *Warschauer Abendblatt* [Warsaw Nightly Paper] published in 1826–1827 (item 201), not present even in a single issue in the Library’s collection today. This was the paper Erich Roeckner dedicated a short essay to in *Warschauer Kulturblätter*, edited by Grundmann, in which we can also find the reproduction of the front page of the first issue of *Warschauer Abendblatt*.<sup>84</sup> Regrettably, it is impossible to identify the library which owned that issue, though it is likely that it came from the University of Warsaw Library, which still has this title in its collection, including the first issue’.<sup>85</sup>

A similar list has been preserved in the Archives of the University of Warsaw Library; the *List of Books and Periodicals of Branch I of the State Library, former University Library, Borrowed for the Sword and Book [sic!] Exhibition*, contains slightly fewer items than the list of borrowings from Branch II since it contains in total 126 books and 4 newspapers, together with their call numbers.<sup>86</sup> The list is dated 24 November 1941: that was the day when someone collected the books and submitted the commitment to return them within a week after the closure of the Exhibition. Unfortunately, that person signed the document only with the initials, but maybe it was Karl Dietrich who did it, just like with the other batch, which is

83 *Grodnoer Zeitung: amtliches Organ für die Militär- und Zivilverwaltung*, Call No. BN P 310.139 A.

84 E. Roeckner, ‘Ein „Warschauer Abendblatt“ vor 120 Jahren’, *Warschauer Kulturblätter*, 1943, no. 5, unnumbered pages [= after p. 46].

85 See <https://chamo.buw.uw.edu.pl/lib/item?id=chamo:704613&fromLocation-Link=false&theme=system> [Accessed: 21 April 2023].

86 Liste der Bücher u. Zeitschriften der Staatsbibliothek Abt. I. ehem. Universitätsbibliothek Warschau, welche für die Ausstellung „Schwert und Buch“ ausgeliehen wurden - University of Warsaw Library Archives, fonds IX Biblioteka Uniwersytecka 1939–1945 - polska dyrekcja, Korespondencja otrzymana 1940–1941, Call No. Arch. BUW IX/4, s. 240–243. All the numbers given in the text relate to this list. In the same portfolio, on pp. 244–247, there is another identical copy of the list; another one, also identical, to be found in the portfolio: Korespondencja wychodząca 1941, Call No. Arch. BUW IX/9, b. str.



likely.<sup>87</sup> As distinct from the above-discussed books from the National Library, among the books borrowed from the University of Warsaw Library more older books can be found, both from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but also even early books from before 1801. There are, instead, few titles from the time of the war and occupation. And although German books dominate among them, there are also six titles in French.

Furthermore, the thematic range of the books borrowed for the Exhibition from the old Branch I of the State Library is similar to the previous list. And so, among them, 9 titles tackling German military science and the struggles fought by German troops can be found, e.g., the study of Heinrich von Zeissberg on the *Wars Fought by Henry II against Duke Boleslaus I of Poland*, published in Vienna in 1868 (item 46).<sup>88</sup> Apart from that, there are titles related to German Teutonic Knights, such as the book by Wojciech Kętrzyński from 1904, *The German Order and Konrad of Mazovia* (item 65)<sup>89</sup> or to WW I, e.g., *Manual for the General Government of Warsaw* published by 'Deutscher Verlag' [German Publishing House] in Warsaw and Poznan in 1917 (item 82).<sup>90</sup>

Ten of the titles can be regarded as German translations of Polish literature. Apart from authors such as Mickiewicz or Wyspiański, we have the translation of Ignacy Krasicki's *Mousesey*, published by Michał Groell in Warsaw and Leipzig in 1790 (item 120).<sup>91</sup> There is also the record of the *Trip across Poland and France* by Richard Spazier from 1835 (item 97),<sup>92</sup> as well as books for learning German, among which mention should be made of the textbook by Jakub Elzenberg

87 Ibidem, p. 240. In these initials only the letters: 'K' and 'D' can be identified.

88 H. von Zeissberg, *Die Kriege Heinrich 's II. mit Herzog Boleslaw I. von Polen*, Wien 1868.

89 W. Kętrzyński, *Der deutsche Orden und Konrad von Masovien 1125–1235. Eine Studie*, Lemberg 1904.

90 *Handbuch für das Generalgouvernement*, Warschau/ Posen 1917.

91 I. bp Krasicki, *Die Maeuseade in zehen Gesaengen. Eine freye Uebersetzung des komischen Helden=Gedichts Myszeis von einem beruehmten Polnischen Dichter*, Warschau und Leipzig 1790.

92 R. O. Spazier, *Ost und West. Reisen in Polen und Frankreich*, Stuttgart 1835.

published in Warsaw in several editions, the first from 1854 (item 109).<sup>93</sup> Coming from an affluent Jewish family in Warsaw, the author was strongly involved in helping out the Jewish community, opting for closer ties between Poles and Jews; additionally, he taught Polish, and translated from French into Polish.<sup>94</sup> Nevertheless, even his primer was supposed to testify to a rich and culture-creative impact of German on the history of Warsaw. The list also contains copies of four 19<sup>th</sup>-century newspapers: from Russia (*St. Petersburgische Zeitung* and *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung für Russland*) and from cities in Livonia (*Rigasche Zeitung* and *Dörptsche Zeitung*).

The biggest group: 108 out of 130 titles, is composed of books about Poland's history, together with those about politics or sociology, and Polish-German relations, including the studies tackling the history of German settlement and of the German minority in Poland, as well as titles talking about the history of culture and art of Poland and East-Central Europe. They are both contemporary and older publications from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Among them there are many titles related to Polish-German relations, e.g., the book called *Germany and Poland: Papers on Their Historical Relations* (item 60)<sup>95</sup> edited by Albert Brackmann, whose two books were borrowed from Branch II as well, but also titles like *German Minority in Poland* by Zygmunt Stoliński published in German in Warsaw in 1928 (item 54)<sup>96</sup> or: from the opposite perspective and in the literal translation: *De-Germanizing of Western Prussia and Poznan, Ten Years of Poland's Policy* by Hermann Rauschning from 1930 (item 56).<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, there is a whole series of titles, as

93 J. Elzenberg, *Erstes Lese- und Sprachbuch für den Schreibleseunterricht*, Warschau 1854. It cannot be deduced from the list of the borrowed books which edition was shown at the 1941 Exhibition.

94 Z. Borzymowska, 'Elzenberg (Elsenberg) Jakub', in: *Polski Słownik Judaistyczny*: <https://delet.jhi.pl/pl/psj?articleId=13721> [Accessed: 21 April 2023].

95 Ed. A. Brackmann, *Deutschland und Polen. Beiträge zu ihren geschichtlichen Beziehungen*, Berlin 1933.

96 Z. Stoliński (precisely Z. Kalkstein), *Die deutsche Minderheit in Polen*, Warszawa 1928.

97 H. Rauschning, *Die Entdeutschung Westpreussens und Posens. 10 Jahre polnischer Politik*, Berlin 1930.

many as 13, containing publications in French: related to Gdansk, its history, and also its status following WWI. Thus, among them, we can find *The Gdansk Chronicle* by Caspar Weinreich, published in Berlin in 1855 (item 9),<sup>98</sup> and a French essay by Louis Bessière: *On Regulating the International Situation of the Free City of Gdansk (1918–1930)* from 1930 (item 29).<sup>99</sup> The author interested in the context of Polish–German relations is Wojciech Kętrzyński, from whom as many as three titles can be found on the list, which may surprise in the case of the author who rejected his German identity for the sake of the Polish one. All the more so, since apart from the study on Konrad of Mazovia mentioned above and the one on *The Luggii* (item 73),<sup>100</sup> Kętrzyński’s poetry collection was also borrowed: *From the Book of a Germanized Man (Aus dem Liederbuch eines Germanisierten)* in which the author opts for his Polish identity (item 93). As claimed by Eugeniusz Pauksza, following its second edition in 1883, this collection was systematically bought out from book shops by Prussian and Austrian agents, while during the occupation, the Gestapo were after it.<sup>101</sup> It remains unknown whether the University of Warsaw Library was in possession of the first edition (Lviv 1883) or of the 1938 second one,<sup>102</sup> still, today, it is no longer to be found in the Library’s collection.

In the *Book and Sword* Exhibition, particular attention was paid to the history of the Warsaw printing business and its book trading, which were tackled since they were associated with such names as Paulus Fabricius or Michael Gröll, entirely immersed in the tradi-

98 Caspar Weinreich’s *Danziger Chronik. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Danzigs, der Lande Preussen und Polen, des Hansabundes und der Nordischen Reiche*, Berlin 1855.

99 L. Bessière, *Essai sur le règlement de la situation internationale de la ville libre de Dantzig*, Agde 1930.

100 W. Kętrzyński, *Die Lygier. Ein Beitrag zur Urgeschichte der Westslawen und Germanen*, Posen 1868.

101 E. Pauksza, *Warmia i Mazury*, Warszawa 1962, p. 113.

102 E.g., the National Library has such a copy (from the former Krasieński Library): Wojciech Kętrzyński, *Aus dem Liederbuch eines Germanisierten 1854–1862*, Lwów 1938 - <https://polona.pl/preview/ec391fc5-18a7-466c-9a62-7dcc127a3d85> [Accessed: 21 April 2023].

tion of German culture.<sup>103</sup> Although born in Nuremberg or Dresden, where Gröll also ran a bookshop, his publishing and book trading activity were, to a great degree, connected with Warsaw; as for Fabricius, in his turn, who was a book trader and publisher in Krakow and in Warsaw, his descent remains unknown.<sup>104</sup> Apart from the above-mentioned translation of Krasicki's *Mousesey*, classified among University of Warsaw Library's early-printed books,<sup>105</sup> Gröll's publications on the list borrowed from the University of Warsaw Library also contain *Staats-Kalender vor das Königreich Polen und Grosherzogthum Litthauen auf das Gemeine Jahr 1770* [State Calendar for the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania 1770], today, however, not featured in the catalogue (item 124).<sup>106</sup>

Another printed material, certain to have been displayed at the 1941 Warsaw Exhibition, and related to another Polish publisher of German descent, is that discussed briefly by Karl Dietrich in the paper released in the third issue of *Warschauer Kulturblätter*, additionally containing the reproduction of its front page.<sup>107</sup> It is a 40-page brochure titled *Gesänge bei der Schillerfeier in Warschau am 10. November 1859* [Songs on the Occasion of Celebrating Schiller in Warsaw on 10 November 1859], printed in the Warsaw printing house of the Hindermith Brothers in Daniłowiczowska Street. Little is known about that printing house: it already existed in the 1850s and 60s,

103 'Warschauer ältestes deutsches Schrifttum ausgestellt...', p. 5.

104 Z. Staniszewski, 'Gröll Michał (1722-1798)', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. IX, eds. W. Armon, K. Lepszy, Wrocław et al., 1960-1961, pp. 35-36 and: A. Gryczowa, 'Fabricius Paweł (+1608)', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. VI, ed. W. Konopczyński, Kraków 1948, pp. 341-342.

105 I. bp Krasicki, *Die Maeuseade in zehen Gesaengen. Eine freye Uebersetzung des komischen Helden=Gedichts Myszeis von einem beruehmten Polnischen Dichter, Warschau und Leipzig 1790*, Call No. BUW 4.19.5.97 (early books).

106 It seems that this item requires additional analysis, since in other Polish libraries it is not possible to find the 1770 edition, although there are other editions from different years (e.g., 1769, 1771, or 1773 at the National Library; 1781 at the University of Warsaw Library); apart from that there seem to have existed French or/and Polish versions. Since the entry in the list of the borrowed books is in an abbreviated form, it is not fully possible to determine which version is the one in question.

107 K. Dietrich, 'Eine Schillerfeier in Warschau im Jahre 1859', *Warschauer Kulturblätter*, 1941, no. 3, unnumbered pages [=pp. 32-33].

and had been founded by Karol Wilhelm Hindermith, who had been running a printing house in Kalisz as of 1835, which he had taken over after his father-in-law Karol Wilhelm Mehwald.<sup>108</sup> The brochure was published on the occasion of commemorating the hundredth anniversary of Friedrich Schiller's birth held in Warsaw, and it contained the lyrics of the jubilee overture and ceremonious cantata, as well as the famous poems: *Das Lied von der Glocke* (*Song of the Bell*) and *An die Freude* (*Ode to Joy*), sung or recited during the ceremony.<sup>109</sup>

However, this brochure does not feature on either of the two discussed lists, which I believe may prove that there existed other lists still to be found. Additionally, it seems to be rare printed material since it was not listed, e.g., by Estreicher. Neither can it be found in the collections of the biggest Polish libraries (National Library, Jagiellonian Library, University of Warsaw Library, and Ossolineum); the only copy I have been able to find belongs to the Bavarian State Library.<sup>110</sup> However, when the title pages of the two: the Bavarian one and the one reproduced in *Warschauer Kulturblätter* are compared, it is easily noticeable that they are two different editions, so the question can be asked regarding where the copy displayed at the *Buch und Schwert* Exhibition in Warsaw in 1941 came from, and what its further vicissitudes were.<sup>111</sup>

What surprises among the books borrowed from Branch I are as many as 11 titles dealing with Poland's partitions and uprisings.

108 J. Ociepko, 'Karol Wilhelm Hindemith', in: *Słownik Pracowników Książki Polskiej*, ed. I. Treichel, Warszawa, Łódź 1972, p. 331.

109 'Programm zur Schillerfeier', *Warschauer Zeitung*, 1859, no. 156, p. 688; and also: 'Die Schillerfeier', *Warschauer Zeitung*, 1859, no. 161, p. 706. Furthermore, *Warschauer Zeitung* was printed at the Hindemith Brothers.

110 At: <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10125031?page=,1> [Accessed: 21 April 2023].

111 Interestingly, the National Library has a similar brochure, namely *Reden zur Schillerfeier am 10. November 1859* [Speeches to Celebrate Schiller in Warsaw on 10 November 1859] printed that very year by the Hindemith Brothers, and which contains, in turn, e.g., Józef Ignacy Kraszewski's speech on the impact of Schiller on Polish literature delivered during the ceremony in Polish: *Programm zur Schillerfeier...*, s. 688. In that brochure Kraszewski's address was printed in German, as translated by G. Dittmann (pp. 8-12).

They are, in their majority, publications from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, of which many are no longer found in the University of Warsaw Library collection, e.g., the German translation of Julian Niemcewicz's diary from the time of his stay in prison in St Petersburg in 1794–1796 (item 112), published in Leipzig in 1843.<sup>112</sup> The University Library no longer has the book by Karol Fryderyk Wojda, *An Attempt at the History of Polish Revolution of 1794*, published merely two years after the uprising in German in Zurich (item 114).<sup>113</sup> The three-volume study by Richard Spazier, *History of the Uprising of the Polish Nation in 1830–1831*, from 1834 actually features in the card catalogue, however, in harmony with the note in its online version, it is considered lost.<sup>114</sup> As a matter of fact, on the list, the discussed publication featured a different call number from the one in the card catalogue (item 87).<sup>115</sup> The same call number on the list as in the catalogue of Early-Printed Books of the University of Warsaw Library is given to the book by François André de Favrat: *Contribution to the History of Polish Campaign in 1794–1796* (item 103).<sup>116</sup>

The latter remarks arouse the question about the present whereabouts of respective copies, particularly since the fact that an item printed at an early date means a great loss to the library. As can be seen from the example of Spazier's work, the very presence in an online or card catalogue does not really prove that the given work

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- 112 *Meine Gefangenschaft zu St. Petersburg, in den Jahren 1794, 1795 und 1796, nachgelassenes Werk von Julian Ursin Niemcewicz nach dem eigenhändigen Manuscripte des Verfassers*, hrsg. auf Veranlassung des polnischen historischen Comités zu Paris, dt. von Ludwig Eichler, Leipzig 1843.
- 113 K. F. Wojda, *Meine Gefangenschaft zu St. Petersburg, in den Jahren 1794, 1795 und 1796, nachgelassenes Werk von Julian Ursin Niemcewicz nach dem eigenhändigen Manuscripte des Verfassers*, Zürich 1796.
- 114 *Katalog kartkowy BUW*, drawer Spał-Speh (1736), card no. 355.
- 115 R. O. Spazier, *Geschichte des Aufstandes des Polnischen Volkes in den Jahren 1830–1831 nach authentischen Documenten, Reichstags-Acten, Memoiren, Tagebuechern, schriftlichen und muendlichen Mittheilungen von mehr als 150 der vorzueglichsten Theilnehmer...*, Stuttgart 1834, Call No. BUW 4.27.2.15. On the list of the borrowed books the title has Call No.: 4.1.4.14.
- 116 F. A. de Favrat, *Beytraege zur Geschichte der Polnischen Feldzuege von 1794–1796*, Berlin 1799, Call No. BUW 4.25.8.2 (Exhibition copy).

is still in the library collection, while each copy should be described from autopsy. On the grounds of some random essays and online catalogue preliminary research, it can be assumed that more books borrowed from Branch I of the State Library are still in the University of Warsaw Library collection bearing the same call number than is the case of the National Library which had to repurchase many titles after the end of WWII. At the University of Warsaw Library, we can still read the same above-mentioned copy of Kętrzyński's dissertation *On the German Order and Konrad of Mazovia*<sup>117</sup>, or the dissertation by Hans Jürgen von Wilckens, *On the German Population in the Rural Counties of the Więcbork Parish during the Duchy of Warsaw*, from 1934 in which a pre-WWII stamp from the Library can be found with additional information that it was incorporated into the collection in the year of its publication (item 48).<sup>118</sup> We will also find the same edition of the book by Carl Goehring: *Warsaw. Russian Capital* (Leipzig 1844) borrowed for the Exhibition and featuring the stamp of the Main Library of the Imperial University of Warsaw.<sup>119</sup>

It is more rarely in the case of the National Library that the item featured on the list of the books borrowed is not in the Library collection, but this very title is in the collection of the University of Warsaw Library. Such is the case with Caspar Weinrch's *Gdansk Chronicle* printed in Berlin in 1855 (item 9), although the Library almost certainly had had one copy of the study before WWI, which continues in its collection, though bearing a different call number from the one borrowed for the Exhibition. This is testified to by the stamp of the Main Library in Warsaw and the 19<sup>th</sup>-century call number.<sup>120</sup> Such a situation may suggest that the Library boasted

117 W. Kętrzyński, *Der deutsche Orden und Konrad von Masovien 1225–1235*, Lemberg 1904, Call No. BUW 9.13.12.22.

118 H. J. v. Wilckens, *Die deutsche Bevölkerung der Landgemeinden des Kirchspiels Vandsburg zur Zeit des Herzogtums Warschau* (1809), Posen 1934, Call No. BUW 31074.

119 C. Goehring, *Warschau eine russische Hauptstadt*, Leipzig 1844, Call No. BUW 17.7.4.32 a-b.

120 Caspar Weinreich's *Danziger Chronik: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Danzigs, der Lande Preussen und Polen, des Hansabundes und der Nordischen Reiche*, Berlin 1855, call nos. BUW 4.2.4.15 and BUW T.1474 (from the collection of the Warsaw Scientific Society).

at the time more copies of the title, this hypothesis is justified by a similar call number: 4.2.4.15 versus 4.2.4.20 of the copy borrowed for the Exhibition, no longer to be found in the collection.

Differently from the National Library, for the University of Warsaw Library a purchase of the lost book was not the highest priority, this resulting from the specific profiles of amassing books by both libraries. The publications displayed at the *Book and Sword* Exhibition actually do harmonise with the Polonicum definition, however, they are most frequently written in German. In some cases, thus, it is likely that a certain book was taken from a different library, as the above-mentioned *De-Germanizing of Western Prussia and Poznan. Ten Years of Poland's Policy* by Hermann Rauschnig. The copy that is today in the University of Warsaw Library collection comes from the liquidated teachers' library of a gymnasium in Silesia's Reichenbach, namely Dzierżanów. However, the Exhibition copy is no longer to be found at the University of Warsaw Library.<sup>121</sup>

Still, it seems that it was decided to repurchase some books, mainly owing to their worth and importance for the collection. This was the case for the edition of documents and letters related to *Gottfried Keller and Polish Independence Struggle in 1863/64*, which Adam Lewak, namely the Library's Director under the occupation, published in Zurich in 1927. The copy borrowed for the Exhibition is no longer in the collection (item 34), yet there are two other ones; one of them, which I have had the opportunity to look through, was purchased immediately following the end of the war, in 1946.<sup>122</sup> Several years later, in 1950, the Library bought Albert Treskow's *Prussian Campaign in 1794*, which had two editions: one

121 H. Rauschnig, *Die Entdeutschung Westpreussens und Posens. Zehn Jahr polnischer Politik*, Berlin 1930, Call No. BUW 473256. The second copy of this title which the University of Warsaw Library has today (Call No. BUW 475553) was being studied at the moment when I was writing this paper, the Exhibition copy bore Call No. 3762.

122 A. Lewak, *Gottfried Keller und der polnische Freiheitskampf vom Jahre 1863/64. Akten und Briefe eingeleitet und herausgegeben von Adam Lewak*, Zürich 1927, Call No. BUW 92982. The second copy which was being studied when I was writing this paper has call no. BUW 457902, the Exhibition copy's Call No. was 48450.



in Gdansk in 1836 and one in Berlin in 1837, and it is the latter one whose copy, as the only one, is now in the Library collection.<sup>123</sup> The lost Exhibition copy bore Call No. 4.1.1[?].31, which points to the fact that the book had been in the University of Warsaw Library collection still in the Russian times (item 88). And it was only in 2020 that the Library purchased the German translation of Adam Mickiewicz's *Forefathers' Eve* from 1887. It is the second volume of *Poetical Works* by Mickiewicz, translated by the distinguished Galician writer and translator Siegfried Lipiner, whose first volume was published in 1882. The University of Warsaw Library still has it (in the second 1898 edition),<sup>124</sup> while its call number (2g.11.1.49) suggests that the copy lent for the Exhibition was precisely the second volume, since it bore, according to the list, the following call number: 2g.11.1.49/2 (item 38). The call number of the volume purchased does not make any reference to that pre-WWII loss, bearing a new call number featured by the 19<sup>th</sup>-century collection of the University of Warsaw Library.<sup>125</sup>

Importantly, many of the books borrowed from Branch I of the State Library are no longer present in the University of Warsaw Library collection. They are generally older works, such as the above-mentioned calendar printed by Gröll or the works by Kętrzyński, Niemcewicz, Wojda, and Spazier. Let us mention in this respect the 1807 book by August Sadebeck called *Poland in the Times of Its Last Two Partitions* (item 90), which is no longer in the collection, either.<sup>126</sup> An interesting item in this context is also the early-printed book from the Saxon times displayed at the 1941 Exhibition, name-

123 A. v. Treskow, *Der Feldzug der Preussen im Jahre 1794. Beitrag zur Geschichte des Polnischen-Revolutionkrieges*, Berlin 1837, Call No. BUW 90108.

124 A. Mickiewicz, *Poetische Werke, uebersetzt von Siegfried Lipiner*, Leipzig 1898, Call No. BUW 2g.11.1.49.

125 A. Mickiewicz, *Todtenfeier (=Dziady)*, übers. und mit erklärender Einl. vers. von Siegfried Lipiner, Leipzig 1887, call no. BUW GZXIX2714A.

126 A. Sadebeck, *Polen zur Zeit der zwey letzten Theilungen dieses Reichs: historisch, statistisch und geographisch beschrieben: nebst einem allegorischen Frontispis, drey Prospekten und einer Landcharte, welche die verschiedenen Theilungen Polens, in der Jahren 1772, 1793 und 1795, dem Auge deutlich macht*, Leipzig 1807, the Exhibition copy bore Call No. 4.1.4.37.

ly the booklet titled *Das frohlockende Warschau* [Rejoicing Warsaw], describing in detail the ceremonious entry of King Augustus III of Saxony into Warsaw together with the illuminations and rich ornamentation, generously provided for by German burghers to welcome the new ruler, as can be read in the reports in *Warschauer Zeitung*.<sup>127</sup> The publication was authored by a certain Gottlieb Enoch Jonisch. This printed material had both its Dresden edition<sup>128</sup> and the Warsaw one; in Warsaw, it was published in the Jesuit Printing House.<sup>129</sup> On the grounds of the *List of Books and Periodicals of Branch I of the State Library...* it can be verified that it was precisely the University of Warsaw Library copy that was borrowed for the *Book and Sword* Exhibition (item 91, Call No. 4.3.1.128). From the reproduction accompanying the article by Felix Billig, the Warsaw editor of *Krakauer Zeitung*,<sup>130</sup> printed in the fourth issue of *Warschauer Kulturblätter*, we know that it was the Warsaw and not the Dresden edition that was shown in Warsaw.<sup>131</sup> However, this copy is no longer present in the University of Warsaw Library collection.<sup>132</sup>

## CONCLUSION

In the latter years of WWII, exhibitions and events similar to the above-described were also held. For example, in the subsequent edition of the 'Warsaw Culture Days' launched on 27 September

127 'Warschaus ältestes deutsches Schrifttum ausgestellt...', p. 5.

128 A copy is available e.g., in the collection of Martin Luther University Library in Halle- <https://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/vd18/content/pageview/13482120> [Accessed: 21 April 2023].

129 This copy, too, is in the collection of the Halle Library; it was once in the book collection of Johann August von Ponickau, a Saxon founder of libraries. Digital version: <http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/urn/urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:1-754610> [Accessed: 21 April 2023].

130 P. Kołtunowski, 'Charakterystyka hitlerowskiego dziennika *Krakauer Zeitung*', *Zeszyty Prasoznawcze*, 1987, no. 2, p. 45.

131 F. Billig, 'Von Warschauer Freudentagen', *Warschauer Kulturblätter*, 1942, no 4, pp. 45-50 (reproduction after p. 48).

132 Interestingly, despite the above-mentioned Witte's Ordinance, the early-printed books from the University of Warsaw Library remained on site and were not transferred to Okólnik - see A. Mężynski, *Biblioteki Warszawy...*, p. 173. It is this likely that they were not destroyed together with all the remaining special collections when the Germans set the building of the Krasieński Library on fire in October 1944.

1942, two exhibitions titled, respectively, *Das Bild des Krieges* [Image of the War] and *Deutsches Erbe in Warschau* [German Legacy in Warsaw] were mounted.<sup>133</sup> However, on that occasion, the preparations did not go smoothly. Grundmann actually came across a strong opposition on the part of Alfred Schellenberg, who, as culture officer at the Warsaw School Office (*Stadtschulamt*), supervised all city museums, libraries, and archives.<sup>134</sup> Having received from Grundmann a letter dated 1 September 1942 presenting the list of desired exhibits to be borrowed from the institutions within the scope of his competences,<sup>135</sup> already on the following day, he turned to the City Commander (*Stadthauptmann*) SS-Oberführer Leist: in his view the organisation of an exhibition after two latest bombings in the totally unprotected Zachęta building was not feasible, since in this way everything that was of relevance to German Warsaw could be destroyed at one go.<sup>136</sup> On the following day, he wrote to the Propaganda Department, sharing the same message and requesting the giving up of mounting the Exhibition.<sup>137</sup> Finally, a compromise was reached in such a way that the genuine artefacts were shown only on the Exhibition's opening day, to be later replaced with photographs.<sup>138</sup>

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- 133 See 'Warschauer Kulturtag - im Dienste der Verwundeten. Gouverneur Dr. Fischer eröffnete im Theater der Stadt Warschau die »Deutschen Kulturtag 1942«, *Warschauer Zeitung*, 1942, no. 230, p. 5 and: 'Deutsche Arbeit und deutsche Kultur untrennbar. Die deutsche Leistung unwiderlegbares Beweismittel für den deutschen Führungsanspruch im Weichselraum - Die Ausstellungen »Deutsches Erbe in Warschau« und »Das Bild des Krieges« - Durch Präsident Ohlenbusch eröffnet', *Warschauer Zeitung*, 1942, no. 233, p. 5.
- 134 M. Popiołek, 'Alfred Schellenberg. Ein Kunsthistoriker im besetzten Warschau 1940-1944', *Historie. Jahrbuch des Zentrum für Historische Forschung Berlin der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 2016, no. 10, p. 166.
- 135 Karl Grundmann's letter to Alfred Schellenberg of 1 September 1942, in: *Allgemeine kulturelle Angelegenheiten*, Archives of the National Museum in Warsaw, Call No. 694, p. 247.
- 136 Alfred Schellenberg's letter to SA-Oberführer Leist of 2 September 1942, *ibidem* p. 245.
- 137 Alfred Schellenberg's letter to the Propaganda Department at the Office of the Governor of the District of Warsaw dated 3 September 1942, *ibidem*, p. 244.
- 138 Alfred Schellenberg's letter to the Office for Conservation of Old Art (*Amt für die Pflege alter Kunst*) of 18 September 1942, *ibidem*, p. 241.

The fact that, despite Schellenberg's fears, supposedly also shared by the Warsaw Archives Directorate,<sup>139</sup> exhibitions were continuously organised in 1942 demonstrates that the Germans were strongly interested in Polish collections. These were used for the purpose of their propaganda, among other things, to prove the historical and culture-creative role of Germany, in line with the principles of the Nazi cultural policy serving to legitimise the German rule over the occupied Polish territories. As seen from the perspective of Polish libraries and archives, such activity was inevitably connected with a strong interference in their respective collections. The fear that the items borrowed for exhibitions would not return to their home collections can be seen, e.g., in the fact that Estreicher's London Office paid close attention to all Polish books, manuscripts, early books, or incunabula enumerated in German press. As I have demonstrated through several examples, these fears were justified, since it is known that many copies borrowed for the 1941 *Book and Sword* Exhibition were not returned to their home collections. Although the majority of them were printed in German, they were undoubtedly, if only for the place of their production, Polonica, and as such, they were part of the Polish history of printing and the book.

The purpose of the paper was, among others, to identify available materials connected with the tackled themes, and to draw perspectives of further research which can, for example, relate to the investigations conducted for many years into transfers and plundering of Polish libraries during the German occupation. For this reason, it is difficult at this point to make a definitive assessment of German exhibition activities and to estimate the losses incurred by Polish libraries and archives as a result, as additional queries would be necessary for this. However, the described cases are, in the author's opinion, a meaningful proof that such research is worth pursuing.

*Translated by Magdalena Iwińska*

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139 Schellenberg's letter *Leist...*, p; 245.