

POLISH LIBRARIES	VOL. 10		2022
		ISSN 2353-18	3 5

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		LIBRARIES	VOL. 10		2022
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				ISSN 2300-92	217
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www.polishlibraries.pl

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Cover illustration

Central Scientific Library of V. N. Karazin National University in Kharkiv destroyed by the Russians during the Russian aggression in Ukraine, 2022. Courtesy of Prof. Irina Zhuravlova.

Printing Zakład Poligraficzny Moś i Łuczak, Poznań Issue: 200 copies

Paper edition ISBN 978-83-8259-495-9 ISSN 2300-9217

Online edition ISBN 978-83-8259-496-6 ISSN 2353-1835

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Information

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The issue of Polish Libraries vol. 10 was possible owing to the the programme Development of Scientific Journals financed by the Ministry of Education and Science granted by the Government of Poland amounting to 80,000 zlotys for the publication of volumes 10 and 11 of the journal.

ARTICLES

Jacek Kordel The decimation of Polish Libraries in the Second World War	6
Bartłomiej Czarski The Literary Additions of Printed Matter from the First Printing House of Florian Ungler (1510–1516) as an Expression of the Renaissance as it Flourished in Polish Typography	26
Waldemar Graczyk Incunabula from the House of the Congregation of the Mission in the Płock Diocese Kept in the Seminary Library Prior to WW II	65
Joanna Marszalska Incunabula left by Friars Minor as Found in the Register of the Collection of the Płock Seminary Library, Compiled by Kazimierz Piekarski before 1939	84
Maria Przeciszewska 'Official Pushkin'. Alexander Pushkin's Oeuvre in the Gymnasia of the Kingdom of Poland (1869–1905)	108
Jadwiga Kita-Huber, Monika Jaglarz Re-Cataloguing the Varnhagen Collection. A New Description Scheme and Its Application to the Selected Material	135
Ekaterina Baumann '[]I Wrote Neither to Praise My Work nor for Benefit': Anton Losev's Unique Work Found in the Jagiellonian Library	162
Mariola Antczak, Monika Wachowicz Assessment of the COVID-19 Pandemic Impact on the Changes in the Operation and Structure of Polish Voivodeship Pedagogical Libraries —	201
Wanda Ciszewska-Pawłowska Formation of the Centralised Publication Distribution Network in Poland. 'Dom Książki' in 1950–1953	227

Magdalena Krzyżanowska

The Microarchive of Recollections. Archival Materials in Wiesław Kępiński's Ego-documents

250

REVIEWS AND MATERIALS

The Central Scientific Library of the Karazin Kharkiv National University under Russian Attack (Iryna Zhuravlova)

270

286

327

337

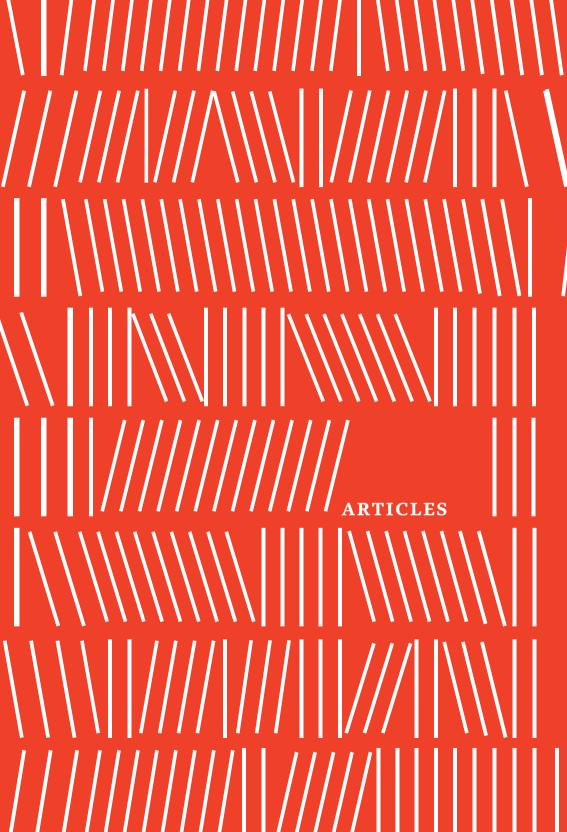
Russian School Canon in the 19th Century. Methodological Reflections Inspired by Khrestomatijnye teksty: russkaia pedagogicheskaia praktika XIX veka i poeticheskij kanon eds. A. Vdovin, R. Lejbov, Tartu 2013 [Anthological Texts: Russian Pedagogical Practice in the 19th Century and the School Canon] (Maria Przeciszewska)

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THE DECIMATION OF POLISH LIBRARIES IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR

DOI: 10.36155/PLib.10.00001

ABSTRACT

The fate of Polish libraries and book collections over the centuries is intricately linked with the history of the Polish nation and the Polish state. Following the failed Kościuszko Uprising, on the eve of Poland's third partition and the collapse of Polish statehood, the Russian Empress Catherine II decided to close down the Załuski Library of the Republic (Biblioteka Rzeczypospolitej Załuskich zwana), the first Polish national library and one of the largest and grandest libraries of eighteenth-century Europe, and move its collection to St Petersburg, where it formed the basis of the National Library of Russia. If anything, this was an augur of things to come. The destruction suffered by the Polish nation and the Polish state during the Second World War did not spare many Polish libraries, whose collections were to a great degree destroyed by shelling and bombing, and also the target of deliberate destruction. The libraries that suffered the most were those located in Warsaw, the centre of academic and cultural life in pre-Second World War Poland. The ashes of manuscripts and early printed books burnt by Nazi soldiers in the Library of the Krasiński Family Entail (Biblioteka Ordynacji Krasińskich) in autumn 1944, contained in an urn which today stands inside the Palace of the Polish Republic, are a potent symbol of the tragic fate suffered by Polish libraries in general.

KEYWORDS: Second World War, cultural policy of the Third Reich, occupation of Poland by Germany, losses to Polish cultural heritage in the Second World War, libraries in the Second World War, libricide, bibliocide

THE SEPTEMBER CAMPAIGN

Already in 1939, Warsaw suffered the biggest losses of any of the country's major cities. The first German bombs fell on the capital on September 1, and between September 8 and 27 the Wehrmacht conducted artillery shelling with varying levels of intensity. Before the outbreak of the war, parts of the most valuable library collections had already been hidden in safe locations. Thus, over 20 manuscripts from the treasury of the National Library of Poland (Biblioteka Narodowa), including the Old Annals of the Holy Cross, the Saint Florian Psalter, the Holy Cross Sermons, the Chronicles of Gallus Anonymus and Wincenty Kadłubek, and a collection of Chopin manuscripts had been removed from the Library in the first days of August. On September 6, 1939 all these materials, together with the treasuries of the National Development Bank (Bank Gospodarstwa Krajowego) and the Polish National Bank were evacuated from Warsaw. They found shelter in Canada, from where they were recovered at the end of the Second World War.¹

In the course of the September campaign, many libraries were destroyed by German troops and numerous library buildings suffered substantial damage. Bombing of the Central Military Library (*Centralna Biblioteka Wojskowa*), located within the complex of the General Inspectorate of the Armed Forces, commenced in the first days of the war. On September 24 the Library building was burnt to the ground and its 400,000-volume collection consumed by the

¹ For an overview of the efforts made to save the most valuable items of written heritage, see Andrzej Mężyński, *Biblioteki Warszawy w latach 1939–1945*, Warszawa 2010, pp. 45–53. Mężyński considers the actions taken by the state authorities and librarians to be greatly lacking. Further research is required into the plans that were made to secure cultural goods in the event of armed conflict and their evacuation during the September campaign, not just with reference to Warsaw but also to other Polish cities.

flames. The most valuable historical items in the collection, which came from the Rapperswil Library and included early printed books and manuscripts, had been removed from the Library on the eve of the fire; however, they were destroyed during the suppression of the Warsaw Uprising.²

The Library of the Zamoyski Family Entail (*Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej*), one of the oldest and most extensive Polish familyowned libraries, stretching back to the second half of the sixteenth century, was also subjected to repeated bombing. It boasted illuminated manuscripts, incunabula, early printed books and historic cartographic, iconographic and numismatic items. The hail of bullets which shelled the Library building on September 25 damaged about 50,000 volumes, almost a third of the Entail's collection. A large number of manuscripts and printed materials that survived the Nazi occupation were eventually burnt by German soldiers on September 8, 1944 with only individual items in the collection surviving the war.³

On September 25 the Przezdziecki Palace, which housed the Library of the Przezdziecki Family Entail (*Biblioteka Ordynacji Przezdzieckich*), was also reduced to dust, along with the majority of the valuable books in its collection, which contained over 60,000 volumes, 500 manuscripts, almost 800 parchment documents, more than 350 historic cartographic items and nearly 10,000 prints and drawings. A minor part of the collection which was rescued

² See Grzegorz Nowik, 'Skarby (po wielokroć) utracone. Ratowanie zbiorów Centralnej Biblioteki Wojskowej podczas II wojny światowej i po wojnie' Studia i Materiały Centralnej Biblioteki Wojskowej im. Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego, 1 (2019), 10, pp. 9-18.

³ Konrad Ajewski, a researcher into the Zamoyski Family Entail, writes as follows: 'The life of the wonderful tradition of collecting, dating back to the Renaissance [...] in the Zamoyski family [...], embodied in the Library and Museum of the Zamoyski Family Entail, was violently interrupted by the Nazi invaders in September 1939'. For details of archival, library and museum items in the Zamoyski Family Entail, see Konrad Ajewski, *Zbiory artystyczne i galeria muzealne Ordynacji Zamojskiej w Warszawie*, Kozłówka 1997 (quotation on p. 257). See also Bohdan Horodyski, *Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej w latach wojny*, ed. Hanna Łaskarzewska, Warszawa 2005.

from the destroyed building was later burnt by German soldiers in September 1944.⁴

Nor did the ravages of war spare the other large Warsaw libraries. The Potocki Palace, which stored the National Library manuscripts, was also damaged as was the building of the Library of the Krasiński Family Entail,⁵ university buildings housing the collections of the University of Warsaw Library (*Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie*) and the libraries of the University's individual faculties and departments.⁶ Fortunately, in the case of the faculties and departments, the losses were not significant. Fires caused by bombing and large-scale shelling also devastated public, educational, school and parish libraries. For example, the entire Library of the Free Polish University (*Wolna Wszechnica Polska*), comprising over 100,000 volumes, went up in flames and almost 20 percent of the branches of the Warsaw Public Library were destroyed.⁷

7 For more on the losses suffered by Polish libraries within Poland's 1945 borders, see: Straty bibliotek w czasie II wojny światowej w granicach Polski z 1945 roku. Wstępny raport o stanie wiedzy, ed. Andrzej Mężyński, Warszawa 1994 (general principles of the German policy on Polish libraries, pp. 13-116; lists of losses, pp. 143-424); Informator o stratach bibliotek i księgozbiorów domowych na terytoriach polskich okupowanych w latach 1939-1945 (bez ziem wschodnich), ed. Barbara Bieńskowska, Poznań 2000. An invaluable report was published in 1944 by the Polish government in London: Cultural losses of Poland. Index of Polish cultural losses during the German occupation, 1939–1944, ed. Karol Estreicher, London 1944 (also published in Polish as Straty kultury polskiej pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1944 wraz z oryginalnymi dokumentami grabieży, Kraków 2003). See also: Straty kulturalne Warszawy, vol. 1, ed. Władysław Tomkiewicz, Warszawa 1948; Straty bibliotek i archiwów warszawskich w zakresie rękopiśmiennych źródeł historycznych, vol. 3: Biblioteki, ed. Piotr Bańkowski, Warszawa 1955.

⁴ See: Konrad Ajewski, 'O trzech bibliotekach ordynackich w Warszawie w 60. Rocznicę ich zniszczenia", *Muzealnictwo*, 2004, 45, pp. 9–18; Patryk Sapała, 'Biblioteka Przezdzieckich i jej zbiory", *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, 2011, 42, pp. 273–318.

⁵ For more on the history of the Library of the Krasiński Family Entail during the Second World War, see Konrad Ajewski, *Zbiory artystyczne Biblioteki i Muzeum Ordynacji Krasińskich w Warszawie*, Warszawa 2004, pp. 241–271.

⁶ For more on the history of the University of Warsaw Library during the Second World War, see: Wanda Sokołowska, Dzieje Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie, Warszawa 1959; Helena Kozerska, Straty w zbiorze rękopisów Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie w czasie I i II wojny światowej, Warszawa 1960; Stanisława Sawicka, Teresa Sulerzyska, Straty w rysunkach z Gabinetu Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej, 1939-1945, Warszawa 1960. Further research is required into the losses suffered by the libraries of the various faculties, institutes, departments and so on within these institutions, not only during the Warsaw Uprising but also after it was put down.

NAZI POLICY IN OCCUPIED POLAND

Following the September 1939 defeat, the Nazis soon installed a strict regime in the occupied territories. In the regions incorporated into the Reich – Silesia, Pomerania, Greater Poland, the Suwałki Region, the Łódź Region and part of Mazovia – it was the residents that suffered the most; all these areas were to be quickly Germanised. Almost a million Poles went into exile. Tens of thousands of members of the intellectual, cultural and social elite were murdered in the Stutthof Concentration Camp, the Piaśnica Forest and other places of mass execution, the Nazis following meticulously drawn up lists of the individuals to be murdered. Almost all Polish schools and cultural institutions were closed down.⁸ Albert Forster, Gauleiter of the Gdansk-Western Prussia District, declared on the first days of November 1939 that 'in five years from now we will not hear a single Polish word spoken in Toruń.'⁹

Following the maxim coined by Hitler in 1935 that 'No nation lives longer than the material testimony to its culture',¹⁰ which appears on a plaque affixed to the House of Art (*Haus der Kunst*) in Munich, the Nazis launched a systematic process of destroying Polish libraries. In Greater Poland in late autumn 1939 the occupiers ordered the confiscation of libraries belonging to state, local government, church and social institutions, in addition to private book collections. Many publications were pulped; such was the fate, for example, of the collections of over 360 libraries belonging to the Polish People's Libraries Society (*Towarzystwo Czytelni Ludowych*). Volumes which were not destroyed ended up in the Poznań state and university libraries – these libraries catered for Germans and were therefore being extended.

⁸ See, for example: Janusz Deresiewicz, *Okupacja niemiecka na ziemiach polskich włączonych do Rzeszy, 1939–1945,* Poznań 1950; Ludwik Gomolec, Stanisław Kubiak, Terror hitlerowski w Wielkopolsce 1939–1945, Poznań 1962.

^{9 &#}x27;[...] dass man in fünf Jahren hier kein polnisches Wort mehr hören wird!' *Thorn*er Freiheit, Toruń, 39, November 3, 1939, p. 1.

¹⁰ See Hitler's speech on culture addressed to the NSDAP Congress in 1935, in: *Reden zur Kunst- und Kulturpolitik*, 1933-1939, ed. Robert Eikmeyer, Frankfurt am Main 2004, p. 90.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

Lack of storage space forced the Nazis to create makeshift repositories, where over two million volumes found temporary shelter. At least one million were destroyed during the course of the war. Among the collections irrevocably lost was the collection of the Poznań Archdiocese Library, boasting over 150,000 volumes, including almost 1,000 incunabula. Almost 90 percent of this was destroyed during the Allied bombing in May 1944. Poznań's libraries suffered further still in the battles to take the city in January and February 1945. While withdrawing from the city, the Germans burned down numerous public buildings, destroying the Raczyński Library, the City Library and the book collection of the State Archives, which contained over 100,000 printed works.¹¹

The persecutions of civilians also affected the residents of other territories occupied by the Nazis and included in the General Government in October 1939.¹² As in the territories incorporated directly into the Reich, the occupation authorities planned first to rid themselves of the government and social elites. In autumn 1939, professors from many Polish universities were arrested. In perhaps the best-known example, in the course of the Sonderaktion Krakau of November 6, 1939 no less than 184 professors of the Jagiellonian University and Mining Academy were taken to Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp. In spring 1940 an extraordinary pacification action ('AB action') was launched, which led to the murder of several thousand individuals, symbolised by the mass execution site at Palmiry near Warsaw. Similarly, after Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union on the night of July 2, 1941, almost 50 academics from Lwów were executed at the Wuleckie HillsLwów.¹³

¹¹ See: Jan Baumgart, 'Biblioteki wielkopolskie w okresie okupacji niemieckiej (1939-1945)', in Jan Baumgart, Bibliotekarstwo, biblioteki i bibliotekarze. Wybór prac, Warszawa 1983, pp. 113-169; Kazimierz Kaczmarczyk, 'Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu w czasie okupacji niemieckiej', Archeion, 1948, 17, pp. 84-100.

¹² See: Czesław Łuczak, *Polska i Polacy w drugiej wojnie światowej*, (Polska. Dzieje narodu, państwa i kultury, 5), Poznań 1993, pp. 89–506; Czesław Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce*, vols. 1–2, 2nd edition, Warszawa 2019.

¹³ See Maria Wardzyńska, Był rok 1939. Operacja niemieckiej policji bezpieczeństwa w Polsce Intelligenzaktion, Warszawa 2009.

Gradually, Nazi cultural policy took shape.¹⁴ All universities, higher education institutions and secondary schools were banned, with only primary schools and vocational schools permitted to operate, to a limited degree.¹⁵ Already in late October 1939 Ernst Otto Fick, a fervent exponent of Nazi ideology, threatened a total ban on cultural activity by Poles. In compliance with Nazi regulations, from January 1940 German administrative bodies were not permitted to support any cultural life except 'primitive entertainment'. In November 1939 an order was issued to confiscate the assets of the former Polish state; in January 1940 this was extended to private assets. In December 1939 the authorities issued an order enabling the confiscation of art works. This also obliged owners to declare any historical objects in their possession dating from before 1850, including manuscripts, printed materials and so on.¹⁶ In May 1940 the decision was made to withdraw 'all anti-German, harmful or undesirable materials' from bookshops and libraries. This included works by Mickiewicz, Sienkiewicz, Zofia Kossak-Szczucka and Melchior Wańkowicz.¹⁷

Systematic looting of cultural goods

Before the General Government's scope of competence fully crystallised and legislation was properly enacted, the territories of the Polish state occupied by Nazi troops was a battlefield for influence by the various institutions representing the military, the police and the Nazi party. This affected the operations of cultural insti-

¹⁴ For more on German cultural policy in the General Government, see: Piotr Majewski, Wojna i kultura. Instytucje kultury polskiej w okupacyjnych realiach Generalnego Gubernatorstwa 1939–1945, Warszawa 2005, pp. 71–98; Czesław Madajczyk, 'Trzecia Rzesza i życie kulturalne na terytoriach przez nią okupowanych' in: Inter arma non silent Musae. Wojna i kultura, 1939–1945, ed. Czesław Madajczyk, Warszawa 1982, pp. 177–207; Karol Jonca, 'Założenia hitlerowskiej polityki kulturalnej (i ich realizacje w stosunku do Polaków)', ibidem, pp. 239–247.

¹⁵ See: Czesław Madajczyk, Polityka III Rzeszy, vol. 2, pp. 337–362; Eugeniusz C. Król, Polityka hitlerowska wobec szkolnictwa polskiego na terenie Generalnej Guberni (1939– 1945), Warszawa 1979.

¹⁶ See Piotr Majewski, Wojna i kultura, pp. 80, 91-97.

¹⁷ See Liste des deutschfeindlichen, schädlichen und unerwünschten polnischen Schrifttums, drawn up by the Department of People's Education and Propaganda of the Office of the General Governor, published by Kraków Buchverlag Ost: No. 1, April 1940; No. 2, October 1940; No.3, March 1942; supplement to No. 3, December 1943.

tutions, including libraries, which were subject to looting. A team of archaeologists operated in the General Government on behalf of the Reich Security Main Office, headed by Peter Paulsen, Professor of the University of Berlin. Although the original purpose of the *Kommando Paulsen* was to secure archaeological sites and confiscate prehistoric items, in October 1939 its members were assigned the task of seizing 'all cultural assets in Poland if they have any worth or relevance for Germanic or German affairs'. As justly observed by Andrzej Mężyński, in practice Paulsen's team 'turned into a group taking out of Poland anything they considered valuable'. It was this unit that was responsible among other things for removing the Veit Stoss high altar from the Church of St Mary in Kraków.

The Reich Security Main Office was also interested in libraries. Initially, they focused on collections of political books - mainly Marxist collections, but also Jewish and Masonic collections. Among other things, Paulsen seized and sent to Berlin the Library of the Sejm and Senate, boasting over 80,000 volumes, the collections of the French. Danish and Hungarian Institutes, the Library of the Linguistics Seminar of the Indo-European Institute of the University of Warsaw, and parts of the collections amassed in the libraries of the State Archaeological Museum, the Polish Institute of Foreign Cooperation and the Ukrainian Scientific Institute. Some 40,000 volumes were sent to Germany from the Main Judaic Library, the largest Jewish library in Warsaw. Of the collections in Kraków. Paulsen seized the more than 10,000-volume library of the School of Political Sciences at the Faculty of Law of the Jagiellonian University. He also planned to seize valuable illuminated manuscripts from the collection of the Library of the Zamoyski Family Entail, although ultimately he only managed to send the Codex Suprasliensis to Berlin, an Old Church Slavonic manuscript dating from the eleventh century. In total, the Kommando Paulsen removed at least 160,000 books from Poland; with a few exceptions, these works have never been returned to Poland.¹⁸

¹⁸ See: Andrzej Mężyński, Kommando Paulsen, październik-grudzień 1939, Warszawa 1939 (also published in German as Kommando Paulsen. Organisierter Kusntraub in Polen, Köln 2000); Andrzej Mężyński 'Okupacyjne dzieje księgozbioru Biblioteki Sejmowej' Przegląd Sejmowy, 1994, 2, 4 (8), pp. 188-200.

The looting of cultural goods was also the domain of the Austrian art historian Kajetan Mühlmann, who enjoyed the trust of Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring. In November 1939, Mühlmann was appointed Special Delegate for the Securing of Artistic Treasures in the Former Polish Territories. The Mühlmann Commission, as it was known, was predominantly interested in museum collections; however, they also plundered libraries. From the collection of the University of Warsaw Library, about 600 drawings, six volumes of maps, 18 albums and almost 16,500 prints, including works by Albrecht Dürer and a set of prints from the library of Stanislaus II August, were relocated to Kraków. From the National Library of Poland, the Commission confiscated 410 parchment manuscripts. The Commission also intended to loot the Library's incunabula, comprising over 2,000 items; ultimately, however, these remained in Warsaw. In addition, 21 illuminated manuscripts were stolen from the Library of the Zamoyski Family Entail and an unknown number of items confiscated from the Library of the Krasiński Family Entail - the precise number is unknown as the entire collection was later destroyed.¹⁹

LIBRARIES DURING THE OCCUPATION

In the first months of the Nazi occupation, Polish librarians attempted to adjust to the new situation. The largest libraries, including the National Library of Poland and the University of Warsaw Library, together with the book collections of their faculties and professorial chairs, were closed to readers and the number of librarians' jobs was significantly reduced. Librarians were faced

¹⁹ See Andrzej Mężyński, *Biblioteki Warszawy*, pp. 85-91. According to Mężyński and his colleagues, Mühlmann's goal was to 'draw up an inventory of all the valuable art works in the territory of the General Government and move the majority of them to Kraków' (ibidem, p. 85). Mühlmann himself, when interrogated by American troops at the end of the war, admitted that 'art works were indeed confiscated'. He added that he was aware that if 'Germany were to win, [the confiscated works] would not stay in Poland, but would be used to complement German art collections' – quoted in 'Z zeznań Kajetana Mühlmanna w sprawie grabieży dzieł sztuki' in: *Walka o dobra kultury*, vol. 2, p. 437. The activities of the Mühlmann' Commission deserve a separate study.

with the task of estimating the losses, putting the collections in order and carrying out makeshift repairs to damaged buildings. Part of the collections of the Library of the Warsaw University of Life Sciences was relocated by the Germans to the Agronomic Institute in Puławy. The library of the Warsaw University of Technology operated to a limited extent for the use of the *Höhere Technische Fachschule* which the Nazi authorities had opened in Warsaw. The collections of other high education institutions also suffered damage, namely those of the School of Political Sciences, the Military Engineering School, the Higher School of Journalism and the War College.²⁰

The Nazi authorities destroyed school libraries with particular rigour. It is estimated that these libraries lost 92 percent of their collections during the war.²¹ Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa writes as follows:

Poland... was to become a reservoir of ignorant labour, so a book or any instrument of education or science was useless – and cultural items were considered almost harmful. Therefore school and other

21 It is hard to accept Andrzej Mężyński's statement that: 'In Bezug auf die Sammlungen der öffentlichen Büchereien und Schulbibliotheken konnte hingegen von planmäßiger Politik keine Rede sein" ["With regard to the collections of public and school libraries, on the other hand, there could be no question of a planned policy'] – in Andrzej Mężyński, 'Polnische Bibliotheken in den Jahren 1939 bis 1945', in: Bibliotheken in der NS-Zeit. Provenienzforschung und Bibliotheksgeschichte, ed. Stefan Alker et al., Wien 2008, p. 295. The closure of schools, and with them school libraries, indicates that the Third Reich methodically implemented its cultural policies in Poland. The policy of the German authorities towards public and school libraries is an important area for further research, as is the Nazis' creation of a network of German public libraries.'

²⁰ See Andrzej Mężyński, Biblioteki Warszawy, pp. 100-121. For more on the Nazi policy on libraries (in particular academic libraries, without taking into account the fundamental principles of the Berlin government towards Poland see: Manfred Komorowski, 'Die wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken im Generalgouvernement Polen (1940-1945)' Bibliothek – Forschung und Praxis, 1983, 7, 1, pp. 69–75; Jan Pirożyński, Krystyna Ruszajowa, "Die nationalsozialistische Bibliothekspolitik" inPolen während des Zweiten Weltkrieges", in: Bibliotheken während des Nationalsozialismus, ed. Peter Vodosek, Manfred Komorowski, vol. 1, Wiesbaden 1989, pp. 199–222. A study by Helena Gregor, Die nationalsozialistische Bibliothekspolitik in den annektierten und besetzten Gebieten 1938 bis 1945, Berlin 1978 (see pp. 35-45 on libraries in Polish territories) reproduces the policies formulated during the war in the bibliological journals Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswensen and Zeitschrift der Reichsstelle für volkstümliches Büchereiwesen.

educational libraries were ruthlessly burned down or flooded, or their collections pulped.²²

Parts of some collections, however, were saved and secured in the National Library of Poland building. This action was approved by the German authorities. Many librarians, including Adam Lewak, the pre-war Director of the University of Warsaw Library, suspected that this was because the Nazi administration actually wanted to concentrate larger book collections in one place so that they could later relocate them to the Reich or sell them off. The National Library also became home to book collections belonging to different bodies, such as the over 30,000-volume library of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, the book collections of various societies, associations and publishing houses, and the collections of the Polish School Motherland and the Polish Academy of Literature. It is estimated that the stores of the National Library of Poland became home to over 200,000 books and magazines.²³ The Public Library of Warsaw, together with most of its branches, did not stop operating until November 1942.²⁴

In June 1940, in line with similar rules applied to archival facilities, the General Governor established the Central Administra-

²² Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, 'Ochrona zbiorów Biblioteki Narodowej' in: *Walka o dobra kultury*. Warszawa, 1939–1945, ed. Stanisław Lorentz, vol. 1, Warszawa 1970, p. 194.

²³ Andrzej Mężyński, *Biblioteki Warszawy*, pp. 101-112. Mężyński took issue with the views of Polish librarians. He was of the opinion that 'the ethos of a German librarian' would not permit the destruction of printed materials seized from school libraries and amassed in the building of the National Library - see ibidem, p. 110. In fact, public and school libraries did not report to the Central Administration for Libraries but to the Department of People's Education and Propaganda. Mężyński also fails to take into account the fact that the very closure of libraries, which deprived readers of access to books, was a loss in itself. Moreover, it should be remembered that only a fraction of the school book collections and other collections, access to which was prevented by the Nazi authorities, escaped destruction. By contrast, Mężyński saw the relocation of collections from libraries that had been dissolved to the National Library and other libraries as a rescue operation: '[...] to a reader, confused by the situation [...] it must have sounded terrifying: yet another robbery. In fact, it was a rescue' (ibidem, p. 69).

²⁴ See: Ryszard Przelaskowski, 'Wspomnienia o pracy w Bibliotece Publicznej m. st. Warszawy w okresie drugiej wojny światowej' in: Walka o dobra kultury, vol. 1, pp. 368–397; Elżbieta Skierkowska, Warszawska Biblioteka Publiczna na tle wydarzeń ostatniej wojny (1939–1945), ibidem, pp. 398–422.

tion for Libraries headed by Gustav Abb, Director of the University Library in Berlin. Abb created a network of state libraries (Staatsbibliotheken) consisting of branches in Warsaw, Kraków, Lublin and - following the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union - Lwów.²⁵ According to Abb, state libraries were to become 'places for nurturing German science in the General Government [...] and providing it with appropriate published materials". This, he continued, was why 'German librarians not only took over Polish libraries, secured them and rearranged them,' but also 'built them up into German state libraries by acquiring German scientific literature, thanks to major funding'.²⁶ In Warsaw a state library was created with branches at the University of Warsaw Library (Branch One) and the National Library of Poland (Branch Two). After the death of Edward Krasiński in the Dachau concentration camp in December 1940, the Library of the Krasiński Family Entail was also incorporated into the state library system.²⁷ These undertakings were criticised by the Polish press in exile. For example, Dziennik Polski, which was published in London, wrote as follows: 'The goal of all this reorganisation... is undoubtedly a new looting of Polish cultural goods, this time conducted by professional German librarians'.²⁸

The general running of the Warsaw state library was assigned to Wilhelm Witte, an employee of the Wrocław University Library. Day-to-day operations were to be supervised by 'persons of trust', namely Adam Lewak in Branch One and Józef Grycz in Branch Two. The collection of the *Staatsbibliothek Warschau*, similar to that of its sister institutions, was extended to include German litera-

²⁵ See Andrzej Mężyński, Biblioteki Warszawy, pp. 123-161.

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 135. The question of the relevance of the 'ethos of a German librarian' (see footnote 23) requires further investigation, including a systematic examination of the materials produced by German librarians – for example, those preserved in the archives of the Central Administration for Libraries at the Institute of National Remembrance and, in the case of documents produced by Wilhelm Witte, Head of the Warsaw State Library during the Nazi occupation, in the archives of the University of Warsaw Library.

²⁷ See footnote 25.

^{28 &#}x27;Grabież księgozbiorów polskich', *Dziennik Polski*, Londyn, 105, November 11, 1940, p. 1.

ture. Attempts were made to standardise the way work was organised in line with the German model. Many projects failed, however, such as attempts to Germanise the subject catalogue. The number of readers in state libraries was limited as they were only open to German citizens and Poles working for German offices; the latter group could only use them for official purposes.Lwów.²⁹

In the spring of 1941 Wilhelm Witte ordered a thorough reorganisation of Warsaw's library collections.³⁰ The man behind this idea was Julian Pulikowski, who was born and raised in Germany and completed his doctoral studies in Austria. From 1934 onwards he was head of the Central Phonographic Archives. In Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa's judgment, 'he did not feel either instinctive or cultural reserve towards the Germans, unlike the rest of us'.³¹ The actions of Pulikowski, who died in the Warsaw Uprising, were generally assessed negatively by the community of librarians.³²

According to the planned reorganisation, the building of the Library of the Krasiński Family Entail on Okólnik Street, whose own collection amounted to over 700 parchment diplomas and just over 7,500 manuscripts, was to house special collections: manuscripts, incunabula, sixteenth-century printed materials and seventeenth and eighteenth-century Polonica. The following items were transported to the Library: almost 18,000 manuscripts from the National Library of Poland and nearly 4,000 manuscripts from the University of Warsaw Library. The building on Okólnik also received over

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

²⁹ See Andrzej Mężyński, Biblioteki Warszawy, pp. 123-161 and 209-233.

³⁰ Polish librarians were particularly concerned about such moves. In July 1941, when preparing to meet Gustav Abb during his first visit to Warsaw, the employees of Warsaw libraries followed the guidelines proposed by Józef Grycz, which were to 'attempt to keep institutions whole, oppose the relocation of collections and try to ensure their inviolability', Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Ochrona zbiorów*, p. 200.

³¹ Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Ochrona zbiorów, p. 198.

³² Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa describes Pulikowski as follows: '[...] a restless schemer of policeman-like' inclinations, he could be a real nuisance, ready to side with the German library authorities against his Polish colleagues'. At the same time she also states that he 'helped many colleagues and [...] represented the interests of the National Library and many other collections', ibidem, p. 198.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

5,600 musical manuscripts and almost 13,000 theatre manuscripts. In total over 50,000 manuscripts were amassed there. To this should be added slightly under 34,000 historic cartographic items, mainly from the National Library, and almost 160,000 historic prints, drawings and photographs. The building also received the more than 2,000 incunabula and 50,000 early printed books (sixteenth-century publications and later Polonica) that made up the collection of the Załuski Library, recovered from Russia under the Treaty of Riga. Fortunately, as it later turned out, the early printed books from the University of Warsaw Library never reached Okólnik. Furthermore, foreign printed books from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, about 32,000 volumes, were transported to the University of Warsaw Library of the Krasiński Family Entail. These actions ceased in autumn 1941.³³

Warsaw's libraries also suffered to some degree from bombing by the Allies. In August and September 1942 Allied bombing destroyed the Library of the Ministry of Communication, which boasted about 27,000 volumes. In autumn 1942 steps were taken to secure the collections of various branches of the Warsaw *Staatsbibliothek*. A fireproof ceiling was installed over the storerooms of the University of Warsaw Library, while a small section of the collections kept in the Library of the Krasiński Family Entail was move to the cellars of the Library of the Zamoyski Family Entail. No more serious preparations were made at Okólnik other than relocating the collections to the cellars and lower floors. In July 1944 the possibility of transporting the most valuable historical items to the West was discussed. Gustav Abb, among others, favoured such a solution. However, this could not be implemented owing to the shortage of resources and limited technical capacity.³⁴

³³ See Andrzej Mężyński, Biblioteki Warszawy, pp. 163-182. The librarians participating in the reorganisation of the collection also discussed this matter, see: Walka o dobra kultury, vols. 1-2.

³⁴ See Andrzej Mężyński, Biblioteki Warszawy, pp. 243-249.

THE WARSAW UPRISING (1944)

During the Warsaw Uprising, and after it was put down, Warsaw's library collections were decimated. On the first days of August 1944, as mentioned above, the Nazi troops set fire to the building of the Library of the Zamoyski Family Entail. During the Uprising, the Library of the Warsaw University of Technology was burnt to the ground. In late August, miraculously, the blowing up of the National Library of Poland was aborted. Several days later SS-Obersturmführer Moritz Arnhardt, acting on behalf of SS General Hermann Fegelein, as part of his task of 'securing Warsaw's cultural goods' from the National Library, transported out of the country 50 crates of valuable printed books and other historical written materials from the Wilanów Library (Biblioteka Wilanowska), over 200 crates with the collections of the University of Warsaw Library and an unknown number of German manuscripts from the Library of the Krasiński Family Entail. Having reached Austria, they were deposited at Fischhorn Castle. Józef Grycz saw Arhnardt's action as offering some hope for these historical items: 'Our policy was to release the greatest number possible of objects, since we thought it was better to have them returned afterwards than to put them at risk of being burnt, which was a risk we constantly faced'. And, indeed, the majority of the items taken by the SS were recovered by Poland soon after the war.'35

On September 4, German bombs fell on the building of the Library of the Krasiński Family Entail, setting several floors on fire. While trying to put out the conflagration and so save the building, the librarians threw books rescued from the blaze into the courtyard. In the fire the upper floors of the building were destroyed, but the lower floor and the cellars, where the most valuable items were kept, survived. On September 6 the building was seized by Nazi troops. Polish librarians returned to Okólnik only several weeks later. On October 14 they could see for themselves that the

35 See ibidem, pp. 249-260.

basement of the Library was still smouldering.³⁶ They were not able to examine the charred remains until November. Theatre historian and translator Bohdan Korzeniowski wrote as follows:

The descent to the basement was not blocked with rubble. I thus reached the cellar. At first glance I felt an overwhelming sense of joy. I wanted to cry out, 'the collection has survived!' It lay there in various thick layers. What struck me was that there was some kind of order - we had not left it like that when camouflaging the entrance to the shelter. There were no metal sheets, no sandbags. Also striking was the fact that the layers appeared to be much lower now. The volumes no longer touched the vaulted ceiling as they had done when we put them there. Closer inspection revealed the reason for this change. It was hideous. Touch a layer of the evenly arranged copies and they didn't fall apart - they vanished! The collection had been completely consumed by the fire, which must have devoured them slowly over many days. It wasn't hard to guess how they were destroyed, either. [...] They had pulled the books on the top out from under the ceiling, poured petrol on them and set them on fire. Even with a foot on their throats, they continued to carry out the sentence of extermination that they had imposed on their neighbouring country. Besides being capable of genocide, they were also capable of libricide.37

Korzeniowski was accompanied by Tadeusz Makowiecki, a literary critic and historian of art and literature, who wrote in his memoirs as follows:

Silence. All the windows of the storeroom black and empty (but we know that the Library survived the Uprising). We descend (our shoes sticking in the ashes) to the huge cellars. They must have each been set fire to separately, systematically. This was where the greatest treasures were collected: manuscripts, early printed books, drawings, engravings, musical manuscripts, maps, the Załuski Library [the first Polish National Library, the largest in Europe in the eighteenth

³⁶ See footnote 5. See also Droga do Okólnika. W sto sześćdziesiątą rocznicę powstania Biblioteki Ordynacji Krasińskich i w sześćdziesiątą spalenia gmachu BOK na Okólniku, ed. Hanna Tchórzewska-Kabata, Warszawa 2005, especially the paper by Hanna Łaskarzewska, 'Straty Okólnika w czasie powstania warszawskiego i po jego upadku', ibidem, pp. 149–181.

³⁷ Bohdan Korzeniowski, 'Książki' in: Walka o dobra kultury, vol. 2, p. 293.

century], the collection of Stanisław II Augustus, the remnants of the Rapperswil Collection, the Krasiński archives, the treasures of all the Warsaw libraries. Nothing. Nothing left of the more than 100,000 manuscripts, never made use of, never printed, now never to be printed. From gold-illuminated fifteenth-century miniatures to priceless Polish silva rerum and unknown letters by Żeromski, Reymont, Berent. Nothing. Again helplessness - like one felt at the cruel reports of loved ones lost. Powerless, we drag ourselves along the dark corridors of the cellars. In the deepest room, the large boiler room, there are maybe as many as a hundred wooden crates, quite empty (ready for evacuating the collections). They were the only thing the Germans didn't set fire to. Why would they? We stand there, lighting up the vaulted cavern with a few candles. Finally, we take the empty crates, two each - they will be useful in other libraries - and slowly move on. Stumbling across the rubble, passing through the mountains of bricks to the level of the first floor, we walk across the street in silence, a cortège bearing ten long wooden crates empty, not even with ashes in them.³⁸

The destruction of the building of the Library of the Krasiński Family Entail was carried out by the Nazi authorities contrary to the provisions of the *Treaty to Cease Hostilities in Warsaw* signed on the night of October 2 and early morning of October 3 in Ożarów. Article 10 of the Treaty contained a commitment by the German side to enable 'the evacuation of objects of artistic, cultural and ecclesiastical worth'. The soldiers of the *Brandkommando*, a Wehrmacht unit specialising in the systematic destruction and burning down of Warsaw, set the surviving floors and cellars of the Library on fire.

The Library suffered the same destiny as other Warsaw cultural institutions. On the first days of September 1944 high-explosive bombs turned the building of the Central Archives of Historical Records, home to over 40,000 records from the nineteenth century, to ruins. Several days later the storerooms of the Treasury Records caught on fire: records that were saved from the conflagration

³⁸ Tadeusz Makowiecki, 'W obronie zbiorów bibliotecznych. Wspomnienie z 1944 r.' in: Walka o dobra kultury, vol. 2, pp. 245–246.

were later destroyed by the Nazi troops after the insurgents withdrew from the Old Town in the first days of September. During the Uprising, the building of the City Archives caught fire and 70,000 records were burnt. The Central Archives of Historical Records suffered relatively minor damage in the course of the Uprising, but on September 2 German soldiers entered the Archives and set its cellars, storerooms and offices on fire, destroying over 1,600,000 archival items. And on November 3, 1944 Nazi troops set the previously intact building of the Central Archives of Modern Records on fire, completely destroying the records it housed.

THE PRUSZKÓW ACTION

A late chapter in the vicissitudes suffered by Warsaw's libraries during The Second World War was what is known as the Pruszków Action. This was an attempt to remove surviving books and manuscripts from Warsaw, as on Hitler's orders the city was to be razed to the ground. Under the leadership of Stanisław Lorentz, archivists and museum curators worked hand-in-hand with librarians to evacuate their institutions' collections, doing so, as recalled by Władysław Bartoszewski, 'amidst the eerie scenery of ruins, often under shelling, in a silent vet continuous race against daily destruction'. Thanks to the Pruszków Action almost 300.000 volumes were transported by the German troops to the West, specifically to Adelsdorf (Zagrodno) in Lower Silesia and to Görbitsch (Garbicz) near Frankfurt an der Oder. An important part of the evacuated items was deposited in the transit camp (Durchgangslager) that the Nazis had set up in Pruszków. Contrary to Gustav Abb's promises, the books were kept in poor conditions, in stables and farm buildings, without any supervision by German librarians. Numerous volumes were plundered and many were destroyed.'39

³⁹ See: Marian Łodyński, "'Pruszkowska akcja zabezpieczenia warszawskich zbiorów bibliotecznych (1944-1945)'", in: Walka o dobra kultury, vol. 2, pp. 266-282; Maria Dembowska, " "Akcja pruszkowska". Ratowanie zbiorów bibliotecznych po Powstaniu Warszawskim", *Przegląd Biblioteczny* 1995, 63, 1, pp. 5-14.

The final blow to Warsaw's libraries was the burning of the Public Library of Warsaw. The Library building had been seriously damaged during the Uprising, but the storerooms had survived, containing many of the books that were successfully evacuated in the Pruszków Action. On January 16, 1945 on the eve of the Soviet seizure of Warsaw, the German troops set the building on fire while withdrawing from the city. The storerooms and their books were completely destroyed. Ryszard Przelaskowski remembered the scene as follows:

The fleeing Nazis set fire to the library at the last moment. This was done entirely deliberately. How do we know? Because it was not the front building that was set on fire but rather the lower floors of the storage facilities. The iron structure of the storage facilities broke away from the wall, slowly collapsing together with the entire collection of books onto the funeral pyre. Moreover, fire devoured the major part of the pavilion from the courtyard... Of the rich book collection, only small parts remained. Thus the basis of the cultural institution, with its long-standing tradition and activities, one of the largest library buildings, was burnt down – literally the last candle burning as Warsaw went up in flames.⁴⁰

Warsaw's libraries were the subject of destructive actions by the Nazis from the first days of the war. Already in September 1939, bombing and artillery shelling caused great destruction. In the subsequent months and years of the occupation, many libraries were closed down, their collections looted, removed or destroyed. The devoted efforts of Poland's librarians, who did all they could to preserve the Polish and European heritage stored in Warsaw's libraries, were thwarted by the invaders, even in the final weeks of the war. This thorough and deliberate act of destroying the most valuable historical documents, the written heritage of the country housed in its libraries, was unprecedented in history.

In the winter of 1945, soon after the National Library of Poland had resumed its activities, the librarians collected some of the

⁴⁰ Ryszard Przelaskowski, Wspomnienia o pracy w Bibliotece Publicznej, pp. 394-395.



FIG.1. The urn containing ashes of manuscripts and early printed books burnt down by the Nazi soldiers in the Library of the Krasiński Family Entail in autumn 1944. Collections of the National Library of Poland.

ashes of these items of Polish and European written heritage from the building of the Library of the Krasiński Family Entail and placed them in a monument at the National Library of Poland. Despite the intervening decades, some lines of writing are still visible on the charred remnants. This historic monument (FIG. 1) is a potent reminder to anyone who visits the National Library of Poland of the decimation of Warsaw's libraries and other cultural institutions in the Second World War.'

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

THE LITERARY ADDITIONS OF PRINTED MATTER FROM THE FIRST PRINTING HOUSE OF FLORIAN UNGLER (1510–1516) AS AN EXPRESSION OF THE RENAISSANCE AS IT FLOURISHED IN POLISH TYPOGRAPHY DOI: 10.36155/PLib.10.00002

ABSTRACT

The article discusses the shape of the literary framing of prints published by Florian Ungler in Krakow in the years 1510–1516. The Bavarian publisher, in order to successfully compete with other Polish printers, significantly enriched his publications with various supplements. He used woodcut illustrations on great scale, unprecedented before in Krakow, which undoubtedly made his books visually more attractive. He also introduced new typefaces, typical of humanistic culture, especially Antique, which he used to press classical authors. While he consistently used Schwabacher and Fraktur for publications in Polish. However, the literary additions seem to be much more important: prefaces, dedication poems, epigrams addressed to the reader or to Zoil, as well as various forms that combine a visual element with a poetic one: proto-emblems and stemmata. The article provides statistical data on this issue, as well as discusses and interprets texts representative of various mentioned above categories. Ungler made them a standard element of an Old Polish book. The article proves that they were an important tool for him to communicate with the reading community. They also gave his publications a modern, renaissance character, which allows us to perceive his enterprise as the first fully humanistic Polish printing house.

KEYWORDS: Florian Ungler, Krakow printing, Polish renaissance, preface, proto-emblems, stemmata

It is assumed that Renaissance culture took hold in the territories of the Kingdom of Poland at the turn of the 16th century, gaining particular momentum under King Sigismund the Old, especially following his marriage to the Italian Princess Bona Sforza.¹ Around that time, new aesthetic and intellectual influences clearly became evident not only in architecture and literature, but also in the shape of books printed at the foot of the Wawel Hill. The publishing output of the first Polish permanent printing houses that belonged to Kasper Hochfeder, active in Krakow in 1503–1505 when he ran his first own company, and in 1505-c. 1509 when he ran the printing house that belonged to Jan Haller, is still closer to the aesthetics of the late Middle Ages. Additionally, their repertory of texts aligned more closely to pre-Renaissance principles than those of humanism.² A similar conclusion can be formulated

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

S. Łempicki, 'Renesans i humanizm w Polsce', in: *Kultura staropolska*, Warszawa 1932, pp. 212–214; J. Pelc, 'Renesans w literaturze polskiej. Początki i rozwój', in: *Problemy literatury staropolskiej. Seria pierwsza*, ed. J. Pelc, Wrocław 1972, pp. 29–37; H. B. Segel, *Renaissance culture in Poland. The rise of humanism*, 1470–1543, Ithaca-London 1989; J. Glomsky, 'Humanizm renesansowy w Krakowie a znaczenie włoskiego piśmiennictwa nowo-łacińskiego', *Terminus*, 2000, vol. 2, fascs. 1–2, pp. 27–36. A recent overview of the problem of the caesura for the humanist movement in Poland: A. Horeczy, 'Początki humanizmu w Polsce – problemy z cezurą', *Prace Filologiczne. Literaturoznawstwo*, 2021, no. 11(14), pp. 31–43 – https://doi.org/10.32798/pflit.536 [accessed: 17 February 2022].

² Hochfeder mainly published university textbooks in liberal arts and liturgical works in his printing house. The typographic features of his books and his publishing repertory are discussed in *Polonia typographica saeculi sedecimi: zbiór podobizn zasobu drukarskiego tłoczni polskich XVI stulecia*, fasc. 1, [Kasper Hochfelder], Kraków 1503–1505, comp. K. Piekarski, Warszawa 1936 - https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/ publication/553143 [accessed 17 February 2022] and idem, comp. M. Błońska,

The Literary Additions of Printed Matter from the First Printing House of Florian Ungler

with respect to Jan Haller's workshop in the early years of his typographic and printing activity. The shape of books, their aesthetics, and the list of the published titles are characterised more in terms of late-mediaeval tendencies.³

FLORIAN UNGLER'S FIRST PRINTING HOUSE

One of the first Krakow printing houses that can be regarded as fully Renaissance in character is that of Florian Ungler, a typographer who arrived in Krakow from Bavaria, rich in experience from the German zone. ⁴ It is certain that his company was already open on 25 July 1510. From that time on he published works by the first Polish humanists: Paulus Crosnensis Ruthenus, Johannes Dantiscus, John of Głogów, Andrzej Krzycki, John of Stobnica, and itinerant scholars such as Rudolf Agricola and Valentin Eck, among others. His press also printed the famous *Hortulus animae* ('Little Garden of the Soul') in 1513, often regarded as the first book written in Polish, although this precedence has been questioned. ⁵

²nd edition revised and supplemented, Wrocław 1968; *Drukarze dawnej Polski: od XV do XVIII wieku, praca zbiorowa,* vol. 1, *Małopolska,* part 1, *Wiek XV–XVI,* ed. A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, Wrocław 1983, pp. 62–68.

³ Polonia typographica saeculi sedecimi: zbiór podobizn zasobu drukarskiego tłoczni polskich XVI stulecia, fasc. 4, Jan Haller Kraków, 1505-1525, comp. H. Kapełuś, Wrocław 1962; Drukarze dawnej Polski..., pp. 44-62. A change in this respect occurred after Florian Ungler had become Manager of the establishment in 1516. Ungler imported the printing materials he had used to Haller's printing house and transformed aspects of the books printed there.

⁴ On Florian Ungler's activity in Krakow see K. Piekarski, Pierwsza drukarnia Florjana Unglera 1510–1516: chronologia druków i zasobu typograficznego, Kraków 1926 — https:// kpbc.umk.pl/dlibra/publication/17339/edition/27003/content?ref=L3B1YmxpY-2F0aW9uLzEOMTEzL2VkaXRpb24vMjMONzM [accessed 17 February 2022]; Drukarze dawnej Polski..., pp. 299–305; Polonia typographica saeculi sedecimi: zbiór podobizn zasobu drukarskiego tłoczni polskich XVI stulecia, fasc. 3, Pierwsza drukarnia Floriana Unglera, 1510–1516, comp. H. Bułhak, Wrocław 1964. The most recent study: A. Kocot, Artyści "czarnej sztuki". Typografia druków Floriana Unglera i Macieja Wirzbięty, Kraków 2015, pp. 33–40.

⁵ K. Krzak-Weiss, 'Wątpliwości wokół Unglerowskiego wydania modlitewnika Hortulus animae. (Uwagi na marginesie Pierwszej książki polskiej Ludwika Bernackiego)', Roczniki Humanistyczne, 2013, vol. 61, pp. 63–82; eadem, W ogrodzie duszy. Studia nad wyposażeniem ilustracyjnym polskich edycji modlitewnika "Hortulus animae", Poznań 2014, pp. 127–131, 308; Drukowane teksty polskie sprzed 1543 roku, comps. K. Krzak-Weiss, K. Meller, W. Wydra, Poznań 2019, pp. 32–50.

However, despite ambitious plans and significant achievements, Ungler faced quite a serious challenge in Krakow since he had to compete with Jan Haller, who boasted greater financial advantage over him and, owing to numerous privileges, he also enjoyed stronger legal standing.⁶ The Bavarian coped effectively until 1516, when he finally was forced to acknowledge his competitor's superiority and decided to wind down his own workshop. Yet, Ungler accepted Haller's proposal to become the manager in his business. Earlier, in order to stay on the market, Ungler had established a partnership with, e.g., Wolfgang Lern⁷ (1513–1514). His financial difficulties on the market are testified by the fact that, on several occasions, he had published books financed by his main competition Jan Haller and another entrepreneurial Krakow bookseller, Marek Szarfengerg.⁸ He thus accepted commissions from other individuals.

Maybe the ease with which Ungler gave his publications Renaissance features resulted from a thoroughly thought-out strategy to fight against his strong competition. Their Renaissance characteristics would then not only have been a reflection of his individual taste and worldview, but also a means to draw customers' attention, persuading them to purchase the books he published. The Bavarian typographer certainly made sure that the books printed in his printing house differed from the output of other Krakow printers at that time. At first sight, a key difference lay in the graphic design of his publications, although various textual additions linked them more closely to Humanism: a formation focused more strongly on philology, which I will explore later in this paper. From 1510–1516, Ungler used as many as 170 wood engravings. By comparison, Hochfeder used 59 wood engravings his Kra-

⁶ On printing privileges and the advantages they gave Haller over his competition, see e.g., M. Juda, *Przywileje drukarskie w Polsce*, Lublin 1992 - http://dlibra.umcs. lublin.pl/dlibra/plain-content?id=410 [accessed 17 February 2022].

⁷ On this printer see e.g., H. Bułhak, 'Miscellanea bibliographica. Druki krakowskie XVI w.: Wolfgang Lern, Jan Haller', *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, 1997, vol. 46, nos. 1-2, pp. 31-39.

⁸ Drukarze dawnej Polski..., pp. 252-254.

kow publications from 1503–1505. According to the opinion of Irena Jakimowicz, the Bavarian typographer was strongly influenced by publications from Strasbourg, particularly those from the printing houses of Hans Baldung Grien and Georg Reusch, with respect to the use of ornamentation and illustrations. To a certain degree, he may have also drawn upon models from the Nuremberg-published books influenced by the circle of Albrecht Dürer.⁹

However, it is not merely the volume of graphic material used that matters in this respect, but also its location within a book structure. What strikes the eye are decorative wood engraving frames, borders, used both on the title page and inside the books. Ungler only left 16 known title pages without any ornamentation. This demonstrates a quick and substantial increase in the importance of Polish book illustration, which occurred in large part thanks to this typographer. Furthermore, the printer's marks he used are interesting. While Hochfeder and Haller applied devices referring to state or municipal heraldry and house marks, the Bavarian typographer was the first in the Polish territories to individualize and personalize his company emblem. He used the depiction of St Florian (Fig. 1), who was both the patron saint of the Kingdom of Poland¹⁰ and the personal patron saint of Florian Ungler. Some researchers would be eager to discern the printer's facial features in the Saint's face.¹¹ This visual connection could be related to individualism often attributed to Renais-

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

⁹ I. Jakimowicz, *Pięć wieków grafiki polskiej*, Warszawa 1997, p. 11. On book graphic in Poland in Ungler's time see E. Chojecka, *Ilustracja polskiej książki drukowanej XVI i XVII w.*, Warszawa 1980.

¹⁰ The patrons of the Kingdom of Poland are the topic of the following study: P. Kołpak, 'Rola patronów Królestwa Polskiego w geografii sakralnej późnośredniowiecznego Krakowa', in: Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne, 2014, vol. 6 (10), pp. 158-190 — https://bazhum.muzhp.pl/media//files/Sredniowiecze_Polskie_i_Powszechne/Sredniowiecze_Polskie_i_Powszechne-r2014-t6_(10)/Sredniowiecze_Polskie_i_Powszechne-r2014-t6_(10)-s158-190/Sredniowiecze_Polskie_i_ Powszechne-r2014-t6_(10)-s158-190.pdf [accessed 30 June 2022]; and particularly the monograph: idem, Kult świętych patronów Królestwa Polskiego w czasach Jagiellonów, Kraków 2020.

¹¹ See e.g., K. Piekarski, *Pierwsza drukarnia...*, p. 21. The printer's mark placed at the end: Wacław z Krakowa, *Introductorium astrologiae compendiosum* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1515, k. B6v. [the printer's mark present only in variant A of the publication].



FIG.1. St Florian as the Ungler's printer's mark: Wacław z Krakowa, Introductorium astrologiae compendiosum [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1515, fol. B6v. [variant A].

sance culture and the desire to emphasize the importance of one's creative output. However, there are no proofs to support the thesis that the depiction of St Florian on the printer's mark illustrates the face of the Krakow publisher, so this idea needs to be approached with reservation.

Furthermore, as the first printer in Poland, Ungler used Antiqua, a popular typeface during Renaissance often used for the Latin publications of classic authors and works by Southern and Northern European humanists. Additionally, he was also the first in Poland to adjust Schwabacher and Fraktur to printing books in the vernacular.¹²

However, the Renaissance character of printed materials produced by Ungler is not only testified by its visual features - the

¹² Ibidem, pp. 18-19. More on the old typography, the typefaces, and their use: M. Juda, *Pismo drukowane w Polsce XV-XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2001, p. 55-144 (Blaskletter and post-Gothic scripts).

typeface, aesthetics of the wood engravings, text and image composition, nor by the repertory of the published titles. In the latter case, Ungler is not entirely consistent, as some examples of books closer to medieval culture can be indicated.¹³ A characteristic element of the new Renaissance era, and substantially developed in Ungler-printed works, can be found in the rich and varied textual additions that pervade the majority of his publications, even the earliest ones. I understand this practice of literary framing as including all the texts added to a published work, placed at different points of the book: on the title page, on its reverse, at the end of the volume, directly before or immediately following the main text.¹⁴ These can be minor epigrams, more extensive poems, stemmata, prefaces, dedicatory epistles, mottos, maxims, and paroemias. Such literary additions usually boast different authors and different addressees. Nonetheless, they always create a connection between the content of the published work and the circumstances under which it was published. They serve an embracing function. opening and closing the main text. Therefore, in compliance with Gérard Genette's definition, they should be regarded as paratexts. ¹⁵

DEDICATIONS AND PROLOGUES

Importantly, during the first period of his Krakow activity, Ungler was not personally involved in preparing paratextual additions. They were written by his various affiliates: editors, proofreaders, and translators. The printer's role in the process was most likely that of an inventor. However, the situation may have differed in various cases. Some of the paratexts, particularly the

15 G. Gérard, Seuils, Paris 1987. See also I. Loewe, *Gatunki paratekstowe w komunikacji medialnej*, Katowice 2007, pp. 11-39.

¹³ Examples of this given by A. Kocot, Artyści "czarnej sztuki"..., pp. 40-109.

¹⁴ The origin and meaning of this term is presented by: R. Ocieczek, 'Rama utworu i rama literacko-wydawnicza książki', in: eadem, *Studia o dawnej książce*, Katowice 2002, pp. 7, 17. See also eadem, *Sławorodne wizerunki. O wierszowanych listach dedykacyjnych z XVII wieku*, Katowice 1982, p. 17; eadem, 'Rama utworu', in: *Słownik literatury staropolskiej: średniowiecze, renesans, barok*, ed. T. Michałowska, 3rd edition, Wrocław 2002, p. 776. See also the opinion of S. Skwarczyńska, *Wstęp do nauki o literaturze*, Vol. 1, Warszawa 1954, pp. 452, 455.

dedications, are sometimes very personal, almost intimate, which may suggest that the author of the work, and not so much the publisher, first thought to add them to a specific work. However, in some cases it is difficult to judge whose thought to add elements of literary framing to a book.

The abundance of the above-described paratextual additions is striking in Ungler-printed matter. Only three dedications can be found in 31 publications by Kasper Hochfeder, among which two were repeated after earlier foreign publications. It was only once that Hochfeder additionally placed a poem addressed to the reader on a title page.¹⁶ Meanwhile, Florian Ungler included dedications and various meta-literary poetic forms, most frequently epigrams *ad lectorem*, in 40 among the 80 known printed books known today released from 1510–1516.¹⁷ Dedications can be found on 20 of them, of which only two were copied from foreign publications. The remaining texts were composed exclusively for Ungler's printing establishment.

The humanistic features of these publications are most often found among the group of the authors of the prologues. The dedicatory epistles were signed by representatives of Renaissance of the following format: Johannes Dantiscus (one dedication), Rudolf Agricola (2 dedications), Johannes of Łańcut (1 dedication), Jan Solfa (1 dedication), Paulus Crosnensis (3 dedications), Valentin Eck (2 dedications), Nicolaus of Tuliszkow (1 dedication). Several lesser known individuals and foreign authors complement this group:

¹⁶ B. Mantuanus, Contra poetas impudica scribentes carmen, Kraków: Kasper Hochfeder, 1504.

¹⁷ See also P. Tafiłowski, 'Dedykacje w drukach krakowskich 1503-1531', Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej, 2003, vol. 35, pp. 235-252 — https://www.academia.edu/26963586/ Dedykacje_w_drukach_krakowskich_1503-1531 [accessed 17 February 2022]. Tadeusz Ulewicz conducted important research into 16th-century dedicatory epistles, who noted their high promotional potential, which was an extremely innovative quality. His interest, however, focused on texts later than the ones discussed in the present paper, particularly dedicatory epistles preceding Hieronymus Vietor's publications, see idem, 'O reklamie wydawniczej w pierwszej połowie XVI wieku, krakowskich impresorach-nakładcach oraz o polskich listach dedykacyjnych oficyny Wietora', in: idem, Wśród impresorów krakowskich doby renesansu, Kraków 1977, pp. 95-189.

the Hungarian Sebastian Pauschner, the German Heinrich Schreyber, the music theorist of Slovakian descent Stefan Monetarius, as well as the Italians Albert Fantini and Ricardo Bartolini (all featuring one dedication). In Ungler-printed matter, dedications are generally phrased by the authors of the text and the editors who prepared the text for publishing.

An equally interesting element of literary framing can be found in the identification of the recipients of the prologues. They are, to a great degree, secular and clerical magnates who had often assumed the role of patrons of individuals who practiced writing and science. The dedications in Ungler-printed works from the first period of his Krakow activity are addressed, among others, to Jan Lubrański, Piotr Tomicki, Jan Łaski, Franciszek Boner, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, Stanisław Kurozwęcki. Apart from these individuals, foreign dignitaries are worth mentioning: Gabor Perenyi, chamberlain of Louis II of Hungary, Georgius III Turzo, and Christophorus de Nigromonte ac Boskowytz, Lord of Trebowa. Some feature a more personal character, such as the dedications of Sebastian Pauschner to his younger brother Georg, or that of Rudolf Agricola to two Franciscans who came from Alsace, Jakob Wirtenberger and Ottonon Vinerius (Binder). Furthermore, some prologues are addressed to reputed humanists active in Krakow, Valentin Eck and Jodocus Ludovicus Decius.

An exceptional situation occurred with the publication of *Ordo missae* by Johann Burchard (1521). That very work was printed in as many as eight variants. They differ in terms of their title pages – each version features a different coat of arms depending on which bishop this edition portion was intended to reach. However, a traditional dedication is found in one of the variants only, and it is addressed to Primate Jan Łaski. In other cases, dedicatory functions are fulfilled by the individualized heraldry that appears through the book.¹⁸

Interestingly, no prologue addressee appears twice in Unglerprinted materials. Each addressee is addressed by a single dedica-

¹⁸ This edition is discussed by A. Kocot, *Artyści "czarnej sztuki"*..., pp. 117-120.

tion. The extensive and varied group of recipients of the materials printed by the Bavarian publisher also speaks to his aspirations. By dedicating respective titles to known and respected representatives of state authorities, the Church, and the humanist movement, he sought to consolidate the prestige of his establishment. It is also clear that he did not intend to limit himself to the domestic bookselling market. He aspired to achieve influence outside the Kingdom of Poland. This is suggested by the foreign recipients of some of the dedications.

Two dedications contained in Ungler's publications were repeated after older editions, published earlier by other printers. They are addressed to respectively: Jan Turzon,¹⁹ the Bishop of Wrocław, and Arthur, Prince of Wales and Cornwall.²⁰ Only the latter addressee does not concern Polish issues in any way or any individual connected to the Kingdom of Poland. It was authored by Thomas Linacre, translator of the astronomical treatise De Sphaera, a text attributed to Proclus. In the modern era, this translation was reprinted many times, generally maintaining the dedication to the English prince, as was the case in Ungler's edition. The remaining dedications of interest to us from the collection are to a greater or lesser degree related to Poland.

The multitude of dedications demonstrates that Ungler had adopted the rhetorical system of Renaissance humanists. Thanks to the literary framing of printed books, relations were consolidated among scholars, writers, and secular and clerical magnates. Works were dedicated to humanist individuals, views were presented, contacts established, and ideas were exchanged.²¹ With

¹⁹ M. Falkener, Introductorium astronomie Cracouiense elucidans Almanach, Kraków: Florian Ungler, 1513.

²⁰ Procli Diadochi Sphera Thomae Linacro Britanno interprete, Kraków: Florian Ungler, 1512.

²¹ In general on Old-Polish dedicatory writing see A. Czekajewska, 'O listach dedykacyjnych w polskiej książce XVI w.', *Roczniki Biblioteczne*, 1962, vol. 6, fascs. 1-2, pp. 21–55; eadem, 'Kultura umysłowa Polski XVI w. w świetle listów dedykacyjnych', *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej, Seria A*, *Historia Nauk Społecznych*, 1965, fasc. 7, pp. 47–109.

time, more frequent and more strongly panegyrical ideas were voiced, in effect ending the humanist discourse. However, they do not dominate so much in Ungler's publications. The dedications from his books predominantly take the form of epistles, referring to the format of the most popular medium in the communication of Renaissance intellectuals forming the *respublica literaria*.²² This follows the praxis of European printing establishments that implements a humanistic publishing approach.²³

The epistolary tradition provides a primary model for the salutations, according to which the author begins by sending greetings to the addressee (although the term *epistola* does not show up once).²⁴ This practice already appears in early materials printed by Ungler, such as the preface to *Introductio in Ptolomei Cosmographiam* by John of Stobnica.²⁵ (Fig. 2) The author of the dissertation uses the following phrasing to address Jan Lubrański, Poznan Bishop: *Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino Ioanni Dei gratia episcopo Posnaniensi Ioannes de Stobnicz salutem dicit* ['John of Stobnica gives regards to reverend in Christ father and lord Jan, Poznan Bishop by God's grace']. ²⁶ Formulas dictating the closing dedicatory texts are derived also from letters. The phrase vale ['be well!'] is often found there, as well as in Ungler; it is a traditional farewell deriving from the ancient Roman culture, and used as an epistolary closing. An epistolary format is also reflected in the day and year the introduc-

- 25 Jan ze Stobnicy, *Introductio in Ptolomei Cosmographiam*, Kraków: Florian Ungler, 1512, k. A1r.
- 26 All Latin quotations are provided in a modernized version in terms of spelling and punctuation. Translations from Latin into Polish are the author's own. The English version is by the English translator of the paper.

²² On this phenomenon see e.g., F. Waquet, 'The Republic of Letters', in: A guide to Neo-Latin literature, ed. by V. Moul, Cambridge 2017, pp. 66–80; P. Casanova, The World Republic of Letters, transl. M. DeBevoise, Cambridge, MA 2004; S. Dalton, Engendering the Republic of Letters. Reconnecting Public and Private Spheres, Montreal 2003.

²³ D. Verbeke, 'The dedicatory epistle in an historical perspective: a brief overview', *Gulden Passer*, 2011, vol. 89, issue 2, s. 269–274 – https://hcommons.org/deposits/ item/hc:24753/ [accessed 17 February 2022].

On salutation formulas in ancient letters see Cicero, *Listy do Attyka*, vol. 1, transl.
 K. Różycka-Tomaszuk, prologue K. Stebnicka, Wrocław 2016, pp. 33–35.



FIG. 2. The preface to Jan ze Stobnicy, *Introductio in Ptolomei Cosmographiam*, Kraków: Florian Ungler, 1512, fol. A1r.

tion was written on, just as it was done in letters.²⁷ We are often able to identify the *terminus post quem* of a publication due to this convention.

Interestingly, dedications in the form of epistles in Ungler's printed materials are often complemented with rhymed dedications. This may also be a distant derivative of the epistolary tradition: 15th- and 16th-century humanists would often include their own or other individuals' poetical works in their correspondence, usually to win the appreciation of the letter's addressee. As an example, let us examine the above-mentioned dedication of John of Stobnica to Jan Lubrański, enriched with a relatively long Sapphic stanza composed by Rudolf Agricola. The poem was titled according to the same format as the earlier prose prologue: *Ad reverendissmum*

²⁷ On modern Latin epistolary praxis see: J. Glomski, 'Epistolary writing', in: *A guide to Neo-Latin literature*, ed. V. Moul, Cambridge 2017, pp. 255–271.

in Christo patrem et dominum, dominum Ioannem Lubranskii, benignitate divina episcopum Posnaniensem carmen sapphicum endecassyllabum Rudolfi Wasserburngensis ['A Lay in Sapphic Hendecasyllables by Rudolf Agricola addressed to the most reverend in Christ father and master, lord Jan Lubrański, Poznan Bishop by God's goodness'].²⁸ The care of the printer to develop an appropriate and modern framing strategy for his published works is certainly complemented by the choice to complement the preface with a substantial poem, in this case composed of 13 stanzas. The poetic format gave more freedom to express praise, as best testified to by the beginning of Agricola's composition:

In tuas quamvis mea Musa laudes Torpeat, presul, teneris sub annis, Te tamen versu, celebrande, gestit Dicere Sapphus. Gentis, antistes, decus es potentis Ipse Lubranae patriaeque splendor. Sic tuum nomen trifidae pererrat Climata terrae.²⁹

[Honourable Bishop, although my immature Muse loses selfconfidence facing your glory, I still want to praise you with Sapphic stanza. Dignitary, you are an adornment to the powerful Lubrański family and homeland's pride. Your name wanders across the countries of the tri-partite world]

The 'tri-partite world' (*trifidae climata terrae*) most likely refers to the sky, lands, as well as the oceans and seas. Another possible interpretation of the term derives from mythology to refer to the harmony of the heavenly and earthly worlds and the underworld. Regardless of how we read this fragment, it is a hyperbole illustrating the widespread fame of the dedication's addressee. The addressee's status is further emphasized by the author's self-deprecation of his own creative capacities: when faced with Lubrański's accomplishments, he feels uncertain and shy (*topos modestiae*).

29 Ibidem.

²⁸ Jan ze Stobnicy, Introductio..., k. A1r.

Such an opening sends a clear suggestion that the poem is a panegyric, and thus that the reader can expect other conventions of Renaissance praise to be employed further on. In respective stanzas Agricola praises the chosen virtues and merits of the Poznan bishop. He begins with the virtue that the bishop inherited thanks to his lineage and from his ancestors:

Inclitae virtus generosa gentis Sic tuae floret Pylios in annos Ut tripertita haec remanet virenti Pinus honore.³⁰

[The noble virtue of your famed family has been blossoming for long years, just like this pine tree of three arms continues green in glory]

Agricola's praise alludes to the Godziemba coat of arms that the Lubrańskis used as their seal.³¹ The emblem depicts a pine tree with three branches and five roots. The tree, which does not lose its needles in winter, graphically expresses the durability of the virtues and glory of the family of the Poznan Bishop. These qualities resist the course of time, as did the mythological Nestor, a legendary ruler of Pylos, the oldest among the Greek warriors who fought at Troy, who is referenced in the phrase *floret Pylios in annos*: blossoming for as many years as was the age of the ruler of Pylos'. Such an allusion harmonizes well with the tendency of panegyric authors to refer to imagery from coats of arms. They were considered symbols and allegories of the virtues upheld by lay and secular dignitaries. Heraldry allusions appeared in panegyrics, sermons,

³⁰ Ibidem.

³¹ On this coat of arms and associated families: J. Pakulski, 'Godziembowie w monarchii jagiellońskiej. Desygnaty i skład rodu', in: Genealogia. Studia nad wspólnotami krewniaczymi i terytorialnymi w Polsce średniowiecznej na tle porównawczym, eds. J. Hertl, J. Wroniszewski, Toruń 1987, pp. 47-74. The coat of arms is also mentioned by J. Długosz, Insignia seu Clenodia Regis et Regni Poloniae, from the Kórnik Code published by Z. Celichowski, Poznań 1885, p. 27 — https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/publication/811 [accessed 17 February 2022]. The emblem's description e.g., in: K. Niesiecki, Herbarz Polski, vol. 4, [E-J], published by J. N. Bobrowicz, Lipsk 1839, pp. 164-167 — https://crispa.uw.edu.pl/object/files/416445/display/PDF [accessed 17 February 2022].

epigrams, yet their particular examples can be seen in the socalled stemmata: text-image compositions, often applied as a sophisticated complement to a traditional prose dedication.³² Thus, Ungler once again appears like an extremely modern publisher by adopting the practices of Western European Renaissance printers. These forms will considered more closely below, since they also appeared for the first time in Ungler-printed materials in Poland.

Furthermore, the use of mythology, both Greek and Latin, also coincides with Renaissance tendencies. In the discussed poem, more mythological references can be found in Agricola's dedication, since the author did not limit himself only to recalling Nestor. When praising Lubrański's religiousness, the poet compares the bishop to the legendary King of Rome Numa Pompilius, who was said to have ordered religious life and customs in his newly established state. This figure was upheld in the Renaissance as a manifestation of piety and the close contact of secular and religious authority.³³ Jan Lubrański is presented almost as a new embodiment of the mythic ruler:

Alter in sacris Numa praedicaris Aedibus, regem recolens tonantem, Ut tuae genti faveat nec ullo Deserat aevo.³⁴

[At holy places you are called the second Numa, and you incessantly pray to the thundering ruler to support your people and never to abandon them]

In accordance with the humanist tradition, the Christian God is here defined by a classical phrase referring to Jupiter (*rex tonans*).

³² On early modern Slavic coats of arms in literature and culture see W. Kroll, Heraldische Dichtungbei den Slaven. Mit einer Bibliographie zur Rezeption der Heraldik und Emblematik bei den Slaven (16.–18. Jahrhundert), Wiesbaden 1986. The role of stemmata in Renaissance culture is discussed by: F. Pilarczyk, Stemmata w drukach polskich XVI wieku, Zielona Góra 1982; B. Czarski, Stemmaty w staropolskich książkach, czyli rzecz o poezji heraldycznej, Warszawa 2012.

³³ A study dedicated to this individual is: J.B. Carter, The Religion of Numa and Other Essays on the Religion of Ancient Rome, Good Press 2019; See also the classic study: J.-P.C. de Florian, Numa Pompilius, second roi de Rome, A Londres: Chez Dulau, 1805.

³⁴ Jan ze Stobnicy, Introductio..., k. A1r.

It is important to emphasize that similar poetic conclusions to dedicatory epistles fulfilled promotional functions in addition to praising their addressee. Their goal was to recommend and advertise the text contained in the book. The instruction to the addressee to read the text was in fact meant to encourage all potential buyers of the book. Interestingly, when concluding his poem, Agricola does not end it with a summatory praise that emphasizes everything said earlier. Instead, he voices an appeal to receive the study of John of Stebnica with favour:

Nunc velim vultu capias sereno Codicem doctus modo Stobnicensis, Quem tibi multa dicat arte factum Rite magister.³⁵

[I would now like you, as a scholar, to look favourably at the book by John of Stobnica, which, having written it with extreme artistry, the professor dedicated to you]

Similar situations, in which a prose dedication is enriched with a rhymed dedication, distinguish Ungler-printed materials from other printed works by Krakow printing houses at the time. However, in due course other printers also applied similar practices, which quickly became widespread.

POETIC BOOKENDS OF TEXTS

Already during the first period of his publishing, activity in Krakow Florain Ungler used various poetic forms to a much broader extent than his competitors. The application of short poems placed directly on title pages is characteristic.³⁶ In total, over the period 1510–1516, he added shorter or longer metric texts in 32 publications. A vast majority of them were entirely new works, composed specifically for Ungler's establishment. Only two poems were copied after earlier publications. In the case of two other works, their

³⁵ Ibidem, k. A1v.

³⁶ See B. Czarski, 'The poetic design of the first Cracovian prints', Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis, 2021, nos. 101-102, pp. 69-97 — https://doi.org/10.37522/ aaav.101.2021.65 [accessed 17 February 2022].

state of preservation does not allow us unequivocally to decide whether they are new works, or whether they had been used by earlier printers.

The authors of those literary additions were generally publishers cooperating with the printer. Their set roughly covers the list of authors who wrote dedications. The above-mentioned Rudolf Agricola composed the largest number of epigrams for Ungler; eight of his poems were pressed directly on title pages. Other authors active in this manner were Paulus Crosnensis and Valentin Eck: each of them wrote four epigrams added to a title page. Jan Solfa and Johannes Lupulus Bodmanensis were authors of two such poems. Johannes Dantiscus, Tomasz Bederman, Laurentius Corvinus, and Georg Werner of Paczków each authored an epigram. All of them were specified in undersigns or referenced in the titles of the texts, therefore their attribution is almost certain. However, authors were not provided in the case of four works, though it can be suspected that they were authored by publishers who also wrote prologues. If this is true, three of the supplements may be attributed to Sebastian Pauschner, Paulus Crosnensis, and Laurentius Corvinus.

The above-mentioned individuals were representatives of Renaissance culture; some of them came to Krakow from countries where humanism was more strongly rooted than in the Kingdom of Poland. As is obvious by his collaborations, Ungler was open to cooperation with that circle. He eagerly used the services of Rudolf Agricola and Valentin Eck, who supported him with their writings in various of his publishing projects, giving a Renaissance character to his publications.

In one example, Ungler placed two poems on the title page (Fig. 3). He made this choice for the release of an anthology containing various texts on the Passion, which he published in cooperation with Wolfgang Lern.³⁷ The collection contained *Iesuida seu De passione Domini* by Hierronymus de Vallibus, *Oratio matutina ad Deum*

³⁷ Penitentionarius de confessione [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, W. Lern, 1514.



FIG.3. Two poems on the title page of *Penitentionarius de confessione* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, W. Lern, 1514.

omnipotentem by Pseudo-Ausonius (in the print the text was attributed to Ausonius), Ode Saphica de passione Christi by Pio II, De resurrectionis Dominicae die by Venantius Fortunatus (erroneously attributed in print to Lactantius), and three works by Paulus Crosnensis: Saphicon de inferorum vastatione et triumpho Christi, Hymnus in diem paschalem, Oratio dominica in carmen translata. The latter works had been published frequently, yet without accompanying texts by the Polish poet. They were often accompanied by an epigram authored by Christoph Schürpf from St Gallen, which was addressed to the readers (Christophorus Schurpf Gallensis Lectoribus). Such is the case, for example, in the Viennese publication of Hieronymus Vietor from 1510,³⁸ which may have reached the Krakow publishing market, as with many other publications by that printer.³⁹ The above-

³⁸ Hieronimi Patavini Carmen de Iesu Christi passione ad Petrum Donatum [...], Wiedeń: Hieronim Wietor, 1510.

³⁹ On the Viennese printed works of Hieronymus Vietor see: H. Bułhak, 'Wiedeńska oficyna Hieronima Wietora. Materiały do dziejów zasobu typograficznego

mentioned epigram was preserved in Ungler's Krakow edition. However, an additional poem by Paulus Crosnensis was added below the epigram. This addition may have resulted from the inclusion of three of the poet's works in the book. The new epigram on the title page takes on form of elegiac prosopopoeia in distich format, in which the book speaks to the reader (*Libellus ad lectorem*):

Non ego Cypriacos decano, crede, triumphos, Non refero veterum facta profana patrum, Verum salvifici durissima proelia Christi, Fractaque siderea Tartara nigra manu, Claustraque sulphurei spoliata tenacia regis, Et ducta ad superos clara tropaea polos.⁴⁰

[Believe me, I do not extol Cyprus' triumphs; nor do I praise the earthly accomplishments of our ancestors, but the hard struggles of Christ the Saviour, as well as the grim Tartarus destroyed by the heavenly hand, pillaged castles of the hellish king, and exquisite trophies raised to heaven]

Such a convention was well rooted in the epigrammatic tradition. Many poems from the *Greek Anthology* feature the prosopopoeia form. Additionally, a *topos*, for example, from Ovid, includes a conversation with a book containing other literary works by the writer (*Amores* 1, *Epigramma*: an elegy volume reveals to the reader how it was created; *Tristia* 1,1: the poet teaches his own elegies). We thus have to do with a repetition of a popular Renaissance approach. The message of the epigram, obviously referring to the content of the volume, aligns with the Christian humanism tendency to prioritize biblical content and Catholic morality before the themes of pagan antiquity.⁴¹ The book only contains religious

oraz bibliografia druków z lat 1510–1518', in: Z badań nad dawną książką. Studia ofiarowane prof. Alodii Kaweckiej-Gryczowej w 85-lecie urodzin, Warszawa 1989.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, k. A1r.

⁴¹ On this trend in Polish culture: M. Hanusiewicz-Lavalle, 'Czy był i czym był humanizm chrześcijański w Polsce?', in: *Humanitas i christianitas w kulturze polskiej*, ed. eadem, Warszawa 2009, pp. 53-86 — https://www.academia.edu/24818877/ Czy_by%C5%82_i_czym_by%C5%82_humanizm_chrze%C5%9Bcija%C5%84ski_w_ Polsce_w_Humanitas_i_christianitas_w_kulturze_polskiej_red_Miros%C5%82awa_Hanusiewicz_Lavallee_Warszawa_2009_s_53_86 [accessed 17 February 2022].

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

texts. Readers will not find love poems here (*Non Cypriacos decano triumphos*); nor will they find heroic-historical works (*Non refero veterum facta profana patrum*). However, Christian motifs are tackled with the use of lexis and topoi typical of humanist poetry drawing inspiration from ancient models. Hell is thus defined as 'grim Tartarus', the deepest cavern of Hades (*Tartara nigra*), while heaven is the conceived as the 'highest raised pole' (*ad superos polos*).

The discussed epigram by Paulus Crosnensis was also used on another occasion, though not accompanied by an additional poem. Ungler pressed it on the title page of a separate publication of Crosnensis' religious songs in 1513.⁴² The printer found the text appropriate to use in both contexts so he did not see a reason to commission a new piece, since he could use the existing one. A similar approach was adopted when additional literary pieces were copied after publications by other, often foreign, printing houses.

The poems Ungler placed on his printed matter copy solutions common to Western and Southern European publications. Most frequently addressed to the reader or student, they often advertise the text in the book, encouraging its purchase. Furthermore, epigrams dedicated to a definite individual are referenced in the title. Such cases recall poetic dedications. They are only exceptional when placed on an exposed title page. As an example, let us consider the epigram, most likely a dedication titled *Ad Christophorum de Schydlouiecz* [...] and addressed to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, a magnate whose favour Ungler certainly hoped to win. ⁴³ The text by Rudolf Agricola, composed of Phalaecian hendecasyllable, was placed on the title page of a popular work by Filippo Beroaldo the Elder, *Declamatio an orator sit philosopho et medico anteponendus*, printed in

⁴² Paweł z Krosna, Sapphicon de inferorum vastatione et triumpho Christi [...], Kraków: Florian Ungler, 1513.

⁴³ At the time of the text's publication Szydłowiecki was Sandomierz Castellan and Vice-Chancellor of the Crown. For more on this individual see: M. Lubczyński, J. Pielas,' Szydłowiecki Krzysztof', in: Polski Słownik Biograficzny, vol. 49, Warszawa-Kraków 2014, pp. 551-566; J. Kieszkowski, Kanclerz Krzysztof Szydłowiecki: z dziejów kultury i sztuki Zygmuntowskich czasów, Poznań 1912 — https://pbc.biaman. pl/publication/6506 [accessed 30 June 2022].

Krakow in 1514. This edition is considered lost and all related information derives from old bibliographical studies.⁴⁴

Interestingly, a relation between the Szydłowiecki family and the figure of Filippo Beroaldo the Elder may be traced, which may partially justifies the dedication. Krzysztof's brother Pawel Szydłowiecki, Custodian of the Cracow Cathedral and Sandomierz Canon,⁴⁵ was among the famous humanist's group of students, and an addressee of one of Beroaldo's epistles. On that occasion, Beroaldo also mentioned the addressee's various relatives, among them the more affluent and prominent Krzysztof. ⁴⁶ Therefore, poems of this type, similar to dedicatory epistles, constitute a form of clientelism and illustrate efforts to win the favour and patronage of influential individuals.

Moreover, title pages were also areas were authors of the main text were addressed by name and with praise. On the one hand, such formal epigrams promoted the very work, but on the other hand, they served as an instrument of communication among men of letters and humanists. They ennobled scholars whose ideas and practices aligned with the Renaissance ideal that true nobility consisted in supporting values that enabled one to fully appreciate human life.⁴⁷ Thus, men of letters often felt that they had more justification to feel proud of their accomplishments than the individuals who owed their nobility to their ancestors, most often through armed exploits. We may read Jan Solfa's poem addressed

Ianociana sive clarorum atque illustrium Poloniae autorum maecenatumque memoriae miscellae, vol. 1, Varsaviae-Lipsiae 1776, p. 9. This item is recorded after Janocki:
 K. Estreicher, Bibliografia polska, vol. 12, Kraków 1891, p. 509.

⁴⁵ On this individual see S.A. Sroka, 'Szydłowiecki Paweł', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 49. Warszawa-Kraków 2014, pp. 574-576.

⁴⁶ The letter e.g., in: F. Beroaldo, Varia opuscula [...], Bazylea: S. Gossinger, 1509, k. CXLIv.

⁴⁷ See e.g., S. Baczewski, Szlachectwo. Studium z dziejów idei w piśmiennictwie polskim. Druga połowa XVI wieku, wiek XVII, Lublin 2009; B. Milewska-Waźbińska, 'Vera nobilitas. Etos szlachecki na podstawie herbarzy staropolskich', in: Etos humanistyczny, academic ed. P. Urbański, Warszawa 2010, pp. 177-193; A. Raubo, 'Z dziejów synkretyzmu filozoficznego w epoce renesansu — Jana Grotowskiego "Socrates albo o szlachectwie rozmowa...", Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne. Seria Literacka, 2011, no. 18, pp. 285-316 — https://pressto.amu.edu.pl/index.php/pspsl/ article/view/2318/2306 [accessed 17 February 2022].

to Valentin Eck (*Magistri Ioannis Solfa ad Valentinum Ekium carmen phaleutium* [Phalaecian lay of Master Jan Solfa to Valentin Eck], placed on the title page of a panegyric to another humanist Augustin Käsenbrot (Augustinus Moravus),⁴⁸ which Ungler printed jointly with Lern in 1513, in accordance with these humanist beliefs.⁴⁹

However, most of this type of epigrams are addressed directly to readers, signalled by the phrase *ad lectorem* or *lectoribus* in the title. In Ungler-printed materials, this convention is found in *Partitiones oratoriae*, published under the name of Cicero.⁵⁰ A relatively long poem is placed below the title, consisting of 26 Phalaecian hendeca-syllables by Jan Solfa (*Magister Joannes Solfa ad lectores*). The text is so long that it was divided into two columns to fit on the title page (Fig. 4). The poem praises, above all, the intellectual value of the book as useful to studying youth. It defines the potential buyers of the publication, namely students of the Krakow Academy.



FIG. 4. The poem divided into two columns on the title page of M.T. Cicero, Partitiones oratoriae [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1513, fol. A1r.

- 48 On this individual see e.g.: R.G. Czapla, 'Augustinus Moravus', in: Deutscher Humanismus 1480–1520. Verfasserlexikon, vol. 1, A-K, F. J. Worstbrock [Hrsg.], Berlin 2005, pp. 61–72.
- 49 V. Eck, Panegyricus in laudem praestantissimi viri doctoris Augustini Moravi [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, W. Lern, 1513.
- 50 M.T. Cicero, Partitiones oratoriae [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1513.

The epigram of Rudolf Agricola added to Aristotle's *Libri de anima* from 1512 exhibits similar characteristics.⁵¹ That text was also conceived as an academic textbook. Not only does the phrase *Ad lectorem* placed on its title page underline the benefits of reading the Greek philosopher, but in the final part it reveals that the present edition has been prepared with great diligence, while certain errors from previous editions that hindered the reading of the text had been removed. The text also praises Ungler's printing company.

Et quamvis lacer ante fuit mendosus et asper, Iam tamen hic Phoebi clarior orbe nitet. Nunc lege sub gemino procusum interprete nuper, Hic ubi Croca suos tendit ad astra lares.⁵²

[Although the book was earlier injured, difficult, and full of errors, it now shines brighter than the Sun. Read it thus freshly published with two translations, here where Krakow houses rise to the sky]

In some cases, such poems do not only praise the author, addressee, the book, or the typographer, but also a discipline of knowledge. In Ungler's publications, for example, we find a eulogy to legal skills (Fig. 5), again voiced by Agricola for Johann Auerbach's dissertation Processus iudiciarius.⁵³ The poem, titled In iuridicae facultatis laudem epigramma ['Epigram to Praise Legal Skills'], begins by enumerating other disciplines that form part of the mediaeval artium liberalium schooling system, and concludes by pointing to legal studies as the most worthy discipline crowning the entire educational system.

Discordes firmo foedere nectit avos, Iustitiam servare docet, convicia pellit, Et facit ut vitiis poena sit aequa tetris. Ista gubernandi ratio pariterqua magistra Artibus est reliquis anteferenda bonis.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Arystoteles, Libri de anima [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1512.

⁵² Ibidem, k. A1r.

⁵³ J. Auerbach, Processus iudicarius [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, [1512-1514].

⁵⁴ Ibidem, k. [1]r.



FIG. 5. The eulogy to legal skills on the title page of J. Auerbach, *Processus iudicarius* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, [1512-1514], fol. A1r.

[It binds quarrelsome ancestors in lasting harmony, and teaches how to keep justice, it chases away conflicts, it makes horrid offences punished in a justified manner. It teaches how to rule, and it should be given precedence over other good arts]

This evaluation of legal studies is consonant with the humanist concept of science, which gives the priority to law, moral philosophy, and philology as subject originally forming *trivium*. These disciplines were defined bonae artes and treated as a system differing from mediaeval *artes liberals*.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ See e.g.: C. Revest, 'La naissance de l'humanisme comme mouvement au tournant du XVe siècle', Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales, 2013, vol. 68, no. 3, pp. 679–681 https://www.academia.edu/4447573/_La_naissance_de_l_humanisme_comme_mouvement_au_tournant_du_XVe_si%C3%A8cle_Annales_Histoire_Sciences_Sociales_68_3_juillet_septembre_2013_p_665_696 [accessed 17 February 2022]; D. Nowakowski, 'Plutarch i jego praktyczne znaczenie: bonae litterae Erazma z Rotterdamu', Argument. Biannual Philosophical Journal, 2017, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 283-297 — http://cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.ojsdoi-10_24917_20841043_7_2_7 [accessed 17 February 2022]. On the meaning of law

A message like that above can also be found in the epigram from the title page of *Latinum ideoma* by the Silesian humanist Laurentius Corvinus.⁵⁶ It is another piece encouraging the reader to study, in this case Latin. The content of the published work intends to help the reader master the language of the Romans in harmony with the latest methods in Renaissance philology. In practice, *Latinum ideoma* is made up of dialogues tackling various topics, focusing to a great degree on ethical matters and youth education. Its high quality was testified by its popularity: Corvinus' textbook was re-issued in 40 editions over almost 40 years.⁵⁷ According to the epigram on its title page, its readers supposed to master the Latin grammar in addition to stylistics, proper pronunciation, and metrics. These are key linguistic skills from the point of view of *studia humanitatis*. Apart from promoting an incentive to study, the poem also praises the discipline it promotes.

Another element of the Renaissance literary context prevalent in Ungler's publications is the anticipation of potential, and often highly unjustified, criticism of the author or text by an unfriendly reader. Poems of this type are commonly referred to as 'poems to Zoilus'. Written both in Latin and in vernacular languages, they boast a long and interesting tradition, dating almost to the onset of the European Renaissance and the development of the printed book.⁵⁸ Among Ungler-published books, this *topos* appears on the title page of *Modus epistolandi* by Filippo Beroaldo the Elder from

in humanist culture see also P. Święcicka, 'Prawo rzymskie w okresie Renesansu i Baroku. Humanistyczny wymiar europejskiej kultury prawnej', *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*, 2012, vol. 64, fasc. 1, pp. 9-37 — https://pressto.amu.edu.pl/ index.php/cph/article/view/15291/15052 [accessed 17 February 2022].

⁵⁶ W. Korwin, Latinum ideoma [...] ab innumeris fere mendis, quibus antehac scatebat, penitus emptum, Kraków: F. Ungler, 1513.

⁵⁷ On Laurentius Corvinus and his oeuvre see first of all R.K. Zawadzki, *Wawrzyniec* Korwin — życie i twórczość renesansowego humanisty (studium, tekst łaciński, komentarz i przekład), Częstochowa 2013.

⁵⁸ T. Mikulski, Ród Zoilów. Rzecz z dziejów staropolskiej krytyki literackiej, Kraków1933 - https://bc.radom.pl/publication/33377 [accessed 17 February 2022]; E. Sarnows-ka-Temeriusz, 'Wypowiedzi do czytelnika i wiersze do zoila', in: E. Tarnows-ka-Temeriusz, T. Kostkiewiczowa, Krytyka literacka w Polsce w XVI i XVII wieku oraz w epoce oświecenia, Wrocław 1990, pp. 124-144.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

1512, a manual on the correct structure of epistles.⁵⁹ Authored by Valentin Eck, the epigram does not follow the standard *Ad Zoilum* but is addressed directly to the reader (*Ad lectorem Valentinus Eckius Philyripolitanus*). The first part of the poem contains the traditional encouragement to read the published text, while its true intention is revealed only at its ending.

Haec lege, care puer, docti praecepta Philippi:

Ordine sub pulchro texere verba docet. Utilis atque brevis modus est ambage relicta. Regula scribendi talis amanda venit. Hic nil Momus habet, nil Zoilus, ilia Codro Rumpantur. Procul hinc, livide livor, abi!⁶⁰

[Dear boy, read these remarks of the learned Filippo; he tells us how to give a beautiful order to the fabric of words. The method is useful and concise, everything has been explained clearly. Learning how to write wins much appreciation. There is nothing to do here for Momus, Zoilus, and Codrus' stomachs burst. Go away, run, jealous envy!]

The names at the end of the epigram refer to traditionally unjust critics. Zoilus, the most frequently cited individual in this context, was a Greek rhetor and historian. According to tradition, he forwarded unfavourable opinions on Homer's poems in his works, leading his name to become synonymous with scathing criticism. Momus, in turn, was an ancient deity of irony and sarcasm, often associated with unjustified criticism.⁶¹ Codrus, the last figure on the list, was a poet whom Virgil ridiculed due to his vanity. The phrase describing a 'bursting stomach' (*ilia Codro rumpantur*) derives from the *Eclogues* (7, 26), as the quotation of a classical author signalled the writer's humanist erudition. The fact that this was

⁵⁹ F. Beroaldo, Modus epistolandi [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1512.

⁶⁰ Ibidem, k. [1]r.

⁶¹ F. Tupper, 'The envy theme in prologues and epilogues', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1917, vol. 16, no. 4, p. 567 — https://www.jstor.org/sta-ble/27700836 [accessed 17 February 2022]; R. B. Gill, 'The Renaissance conventions of envy', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 1979, vol. 9, pp. 215-230.

done on the title page of a book in turn elevates the cultural profile of the publishing house that printed the book. Eck's work should similarly be perceived as a conventional adoption of a Renaissance formation. Interestingly, however, the modern tradition of 'poems to Zoilus' was rooted in ancient poetry, reaching at least to the times of Ovid, who addressed the unjust critic addressing him by name in *Remedia amoris* (lines 365–366). This fragment unquestionably inspired later poets who faced excessive criticism, including Eck. However, similar texts were rare in Poland at the time; they cannot be found in earlier publications by Hochfeder or Haller.

It is worth noting that literary supplements in the Bavarian typographer's publications were also placed elsewhere in the book and not only on the title page. Yet they a played a special role because of their placement in such a key part of a book, which is why this present paper has dedicated more attention to them. Meanwhile, Ungler placed similar poems on the reverse of the title page and at the end of the text. Thus, epigrams addressed to readers, the author, or Zoilus frequently bookended the materials he printed. Importantly, fewer poems were published at the end of the book, following the main text, than at the beginning. Only seven cases are known, out of which merely four new poems were composed for Ungler. One was published anonymously and its attribution remains uncertain, while two were copied after publications from other printing houses. The authors of those supplements are partially the same individuals as those who wrote dedications and poems for Ungler's title pages, including Valentin Eck, Paulus Crosnensis, Joachim Vadian, and Johann Wölfflin von Bodman. A poem by Vadian is especially of interest, as it does not praise any specific scholarly discipline, but rather the art of printing (Fig. 6). It was added at the end of Epistolarum Turci Magni libellus from 1513.62 Although published for the first time in the country on the Vistula, it had earlier appeared in publications by printers from German

⁶² Epistolarum Turci Magni per Laudinum libellus sententiarum grauitate refertissimus, additis non nullis lectu dignis epistolis [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, nakł. J. Haller, 1513.



FIG. 6. The eulogy to art of printing at the end of Epistolarum Turci Magni per Laudinum libellus sententiarum grauitate refertissimus, additis non nullis lectu diqnis epistolis [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, impensis J. Haller, 1513, fol. J2r.

circles, including Hieronymus Vietor, who had strong connections to Krakow. 63

Among the works placed at the end of books, special attention should be paid to the epitaph by Johann Wölfflin von Bodman composed for Jan Sommerfeld the Elder (Fig. 7), one of Krakow's first philologists and humanists.⁶⁴ The epigram, which bids farewell to Sommerfeld, was published after *Modus epistolandi* from 1513 and repeated in the publication from 1515.⁶⁵ The following is a tribute to the local scholar:

Hic ego Ioannes quondam notissimus orbe Deliteo cippo conditus ipse modo,

⁶³ lS. Füssel, *Gutenberg and the impact of printing*, transl. D. Martin, London 2020, pp. 34-36.

⁶⁴ On this individual see: C. Mielczarski, Między gramatyką scholastyczną a humanistyczną. Komentarz Jana Sommerfelda Starszego do "Traktatu gramatycznego" Eberharda Hiszpańskiego (Strasburg 1499), Warszawa 2003.

⁶⁵ J. Sommerfeld, Modus epistolandi [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1513.



FIG. 7. The epitaph for Jan Sommerfeld the Elder at the end of J. Sommerfeld, *Modus epistolandi* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1513, fol. D4v.

Qui logicae nodos et operta enigmata solvi, Quemque sophistarum garulla turba timens, Qui tenui celsa naturae mente potentis Iura hominum et quicquid fas didicisse fuit.⁶⁶

[Here I hide, Johannus, once famous in the world, and now deposited in the grave. I who solved knots and puzzles of logics, who made the noisy mob of sophists tremble, I who with the lofty mind could master the laws of powerful nature and people, and all that is worthy of cognition]

The poem takes the form of an address of the deceased to a passer-by visiting or simply walking past his grave. It is obviously a literary epitaph that has nothing to do with the context of the burial.⁶⁷ Pieces of this kind were very popular during the Renais-

⁶⁶ Ibidem, k. D4v.

⁶⁷ The phenomenon of Latin literary epitaphs in the Polish Renaissance is discussed by B. Milewska-Waźbińska, Ars epitaphica. Z problematyki łacińskojęzycznych wierszy nagrobnych, Warszawa 2006. On funerary poetry more generally see S. Zabłocki, Polsko-łacińskie epicedium renesansowe na tle europejskim, Wrocław 1968.

sance. Sometimes they were assembled into separate collection, like *De tumulis* by Giovanni Pontano⁵⁸. What is interesting in this respect is the fact that the epitaph, authored by Wölfflin von Bodman, commemorates a Polish scholar. Therefore, it is not only a tribute paid to his person, but also to the knowledge he amassed, and more generally a praise to Renaissance erudition.

Interestingly, humanistic disciplines mix with scholastic ones. in the text. The first group included law, as previously discussed, while the latter covered logic and natural philosophy. The humanist undertone of the poem is confirmed by mentions of sophists trembling at the thought of Sommerfield; to Renaissance humanists, sophists were popular antagonists of scholars in the search of true cognition. Fame resulting from learning is evoked in the poem as a typical value of Renaissance culture.

STEMMATA AND PROTO-EMBLEMS

Various verbal and visual compositions form another group of additions found in the front and back matter of Ungler's printed material. They parallel the use of wood engraving illustrations and poems inspired by humanism. It is important to stress that these proto-emblematic forms significantly precede the publication of Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum liber*, first published in 1531).⁶⁹ Similar cases, however, were not rare, and Ungler coincides with the trend visible for some time for researchers into emblems, as well as into early European printing.⁷⁰ Similar proto-emblems dating to

However, as this study is focused on more developed forms, the topic of epitaph is marginal.

⁶⁸ G. Pontano, *Carmina, ecloghe, elegie, liriche,* a cura di J. Oeschger, Bari 1948 (Scrittori d'Italia; vol. 198).

⁶⁹ On the first edition of Alciato's collection see B. F. Scholz, 'The 1531 Augsburg edition of Alciato's Emblemata. A survey of research', *Emblematica*, 1995, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 213–254.

S. Plotke, 'Pre-Alciato Emblems? Daniel Agricola's, Vita Beati" from the year 1511', in: The international emblem from incunabula to the internet: selected proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of the Society for Emblem Studies, 28th July–1st August, 2008, Winchester College, ed. S. McKeown, Newcastle upon Tyne 2010, pp. 69–81. See also B. Czarski, 'Old Polish stemmata and "Proto-emblems" prior to the publishing of Emblematum Liber by Alciatus (1531)', in: Non-Classical genres. Theory and practice, eds. M. Piskała, J. Krauze-Karpińaka, Warszawa, pp. 163–179.

the latter half of the 15th century differ from Alciato's collection, primarily by the fact that they are, in the majority of cases, are unique, and do not create a homogenous series. This is the case with materials printed by Ungler.

In the materials produced by Ungler, we first of all find stemmata: epigrams connected to a heraldic woodcut.⁷¹ Ungler was the first Krakow printer to use such a composition.⁷² In total, five stemmata can be found in his publications from 1510-1516. Most likely, the Bavarian was inspired by the examples of combining poems with coat of arms from the German states he knew. The books featuring this type of forms reached the Polish market from various sources. One of them being the above-mentioned Vienna printing house of Hieronymus Vietor, who as of 1512 even published stemmata based on Polish emblems.⁷³ Ungler promptly picked up the idea, and he published his first stemma in 1514. One can be found on the title page of the song by Johannes Dantiscus speaking of the victory of the Polish-Lithuanian troops over Muscovy in the battle of Orsha.⁷⁴ The print shows various Jagiellonian emblems, with Valentin Eck's epigram below addressed to the reader, titled Ekius lectori (Fig. 8). Notably, the poem contains an important allusion to the print it accompanies.

Perlege Sarmatici victricia principis arma, Deque Boristhenio rapta tropaea duce, Perlege quam modico Moschorum milia multa Milite sub Stygios sint modo missa lacus.⁷⁵

⁷¹ The phenomenon definition by R. Krzywy, 'Stemmat', Zagadnienia Rodzajów Literackich, 2012, vol. 55, fac. 1, pp. 252-254 — https://www.academia.edu/49124209/ Stemmat [accessed 17 February 2022].

⁷² On the topic of the oldest Polish stemmata see B. Czarski, 'W poszukiwaniu najstarszego polskiego stemmatu – pytania i propozycje odpowiedzi', Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce, 2021, vol. 65, pp. 5-33 — https://doi.org/10.12775/OiRwP.2021.01 [accessed 17 February 2022].

⁷³ Ibidem, pp. 23-29.

J. Dantyszek, Carmen extemporarium de victoria insigni ex Moschis [...], Kraków:
 F. Ungler, 1514. The stemma discussed: B. Czarski, W poszukiwaniu...,
 s. 16-17.

⁷⁵ J. Dantyszek, Carmen extemporarium..., k. A1r.



FIG. 8. Jagiellonian emblems and stemma at the title page of J. Dantyszek, Carmen extemporarium de victoria insigni ex Moschis [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1514, fol. A1r.

[Look at the victorious arms of the Sarmatian ruler and the trophies grabbed from the commander from on the Dnieper. Consider the handful of soldiers who made thousands of Muscovites go to the waters of the Styx]

Eck evokes the double meaning of the word *arma*, which in Latin means first of all arms, here praised by Johannes Dantiscus as part of the triumph of the Polish-Lithuanian troops. This is also how Virgil eulogized the arms of Aeneas and his companions in *Aeneid*. The first line of the epigram below the heraldic print echoes the beginning of the Roman epic. From the Middle Ages, the word *arma* was also used to denominate 'coat of arms' or 'emblem'. The reader is thus encouraged to read the song on the victory at Orsha, at the same time taking a closer look at Jagiellonian emblems.

Other similar composition by Paulus Crosnensis, Johann Wölfflin von Bodman, or Laurentius Corvinus, Ungler's regular collaborators, for his use. They were always placed on the title page. This must have been a way for the printer to make his publica-

tions appear more attractive, and to encourage potential buyers to take a closer look at the book. One printed text contained two stemmata, both composed by Paulus Crosnensis. The publication in question is *Heroicum de triumpho Christi* by Macario Muzio, published alongside the *Elegiacum ad divam virginem Mariam* by Paulus Crosnensis.⁷⁶ The first stemma is the Poraj emblem, which features a five-petal rose and two epigrams.⁷⁷ In this case the coat of arms was impressed at the top, while the book's title was placed between it and the poems (Fig. 9). The compositional structure of the title page was fragmented, however both epigrams clearly refer to the rose visible in the emblem. The first is titled *Epigramma* magistri Pauli Crosnensis ad Rosam magnifici domini Stanislai Craepicii capitanei Vielumensis [Epigram by Master Paulus Crosnensis on the Rose of honourable Master Stanisław Krzepicki, Wieluń Starost]. The second, a much shorter one, employs the coat of arms to address the reader (prosopopeia): Rosa ad lectorem ['Rose to the reader']. One more stemma by the same author was placed on the last page. Its poem recalls a heraldic figure, in this case the eagle from the emblem of the Kingdom of Poland: Aquila Polona loquitur. Epigramma Pauli Crosnensis ['The Polish Eagle Speaks. Epigram by Paulus Crosnensis']. Interestingly, Ungler uses the same woodcut as in the stemma by Valentin Eck added to Carmen extemporarium by Dantiscus. Thus, the illustration shows the Eagle of the Kingdom of Poland, Pahonia, Columns of Gediminias, as well the coat of arms of Krakow and Sceptres of the Krakow Academy. However, no references are made in the poem to the its standard heraldic symbolism. The speaking eagle instead references a black eagle known from the German imperial heraldry and an eagle as a bird of Jupiter, an important symbol in Roman culture.

Not only royal emblems and emblems of leading families can be found in stemmata from Ungler's first printing house. For example, consider the figures of *Prognosticon Vratislaviensis* [sic], a calen-

⁷⁶ M. Muzio, Heroicum de triumpho Christi [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1515.

⁷⁷ The composition discussed in B. Czarski, W poszukiwaniu..., pp. 14-15.



FIG. 9. Stemma at the title page of M. Muzio, *Heroicum de triumpho Christi* [...], Kraków: F. Ungler, 1515, fol. A1r.

dar published in 1516.⁷⁸ On the title page of its printed material, the Wroclaw coat of arms is accompanied by an epigram by Laurentius Corvinus. The poem references the 'W' shape, visible on the shield held by an angel. This sign is interpreted as double 'V'. As a result, it refers to the fact that the Silesian city and its residents boast two important characteristics related to the letter 'v' in Latin: *virtus* ('valor') and *vis* ('strength'). Ungler's use of a figure based on the civic coat of arms must have been connected to the fact that Ungler and Haller were planning to allocate a large part, or even the whole print run, of the calendar to the Wrocław bookselling market. For this reason, Laurentius Corvinus e from Silesia (Ruda Śląska) was involved in the project.

There are also other cases of combining word with image as a part of the publication apparatus. Most common are woodprint

⁷⁸ G. Grussen, PrognosticonVratislaviensis ad annum Christi milesimumquingentesimumsedecimum[...]supputatum, Kraków: F. Ungler, nakł. J. Haller, [1515]. The stemma discussed in B. Czarski, W poszukiwaniu..., pp. 12–14.

illustrations, some of them symbolic, to which a rhymed text is added. However, in Ungler's case the relations between these two elements are not always close. The Bavarian typographer had begun applying such proto-emblems in his publications much earlier than stemmata. Three such examples can be found in his output.

In 1512, Somnia Danielis was published. A figure resembling an emblem is placed on the title page. Its layout is, however, reversed if compared to the scheme known from Alciato's *Emblematum liber*: the poem is placed first, followed by the wood engraving.⁷⁹ The latter depicts the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar paying tribute to the Prophet Daniel, who extensively decoded the ruler's mysterious dreams. The poem found under the print was written by Agricola who cooperated with Ungler a lot. The epigram may have been composed in 1511 when the poet left Krakow for Buda. The piece follows the well-known Ad lectorem formula. Its content encourages the reader to read all the prophecies published in Krakow. Agricola attempts to create an aura of mystery with his poem, asking questions about the meaning of various visions, possible to intrigue a potential buyer of the book. By composing the text with an illustration of a corresponding biblical scene, the persuasive undertone of the epigram is emphasized. However, there are no other clear intersections between the literary and visual elements.

A closer connection can be found on the title page of *Passio Iesu Christi Salvatoris mundi* by Benedictus Chalidonius.⁸⁰ It features a print depicting a crucified Jesus with St Mary and St Magdalene on his sides. (Fig. 10). Below, an epigram titled *Christus ad peccatorem* ['Christ to a Sinner'] is printed.

O mihi tantorum iusto mihi causa dolorum! O crucis, o mortis causa cruenta mihi! O homo, sat fuerit tibi me semel ista tulisse, O cessa culpis me cruciare novis.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Somnia Danielis, Kraków: Florian Ungler, 1512, k. A1r.

⁸⁰ B. Chalidonius, *Passio Iesu Christi Salvatoris mundi*, Kraków: F. Ungler, W. Lern, 1514.

⁸¹ Ibidem, k. A1r.



FIG.10. Proto-emblem at the title page of B. Chalidonius, *Passio Iesu Christi Salvatoris mundi*, Kraków: F. Ungler, W. Lern, 1514, fol. A1r.

[Oh, the reason for my great suffering, and I am righteous! Oh, the bloody reason for my crucifixion and my death! Oh, man, it suffices that you have brought that unhappiness on me once! Oh, do not crucify me because of your new sins!]

This poem is addressed to every reader, aiming to incite their guilt for his own sins. The image of the crucified leads a reader realize the importance of His sacrifice. The expression of this work also aligns with the work by Chalidonius. This, however, is not a composition designed specifically for Ungler. The Bavarian copied it after German publications. Only a new wood engraving was prepared in Krakow, its quality inferior to the illustrations found in other versions of this proto-emblem. The difference in quality is evidence when compared to the second edition from Nuremberg published in 1511 with Albrecht Dürer's wood engravings.⁸²

⁸² B. Chalidonius, Passio Christi ab Alberto Durer Nurenbergensi effigata, Nurnberge, Impressum per A. Durer, 1511 - https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.rbc/Rosenwald.0617 [accessed 17 February 2022].

The above examples demonstrate how highly innovative Ungler was in comparison to other Krakow printers in the early 16th century. Many of the novel solutions he advanced, which he adopted from the German states, were promptly taken up by printers in Krakow. The characteristic feature of Ungler's output stems from the visual elements of his publications, such as the richness of wood engravings or new fonts. It is important to emphasize his introduction of the Antiqua typeface to Polish painting, which aligned Ungler's approach to publishing with European humanist models. The changes to the structure of the book as such, particularly in terms of the literary additions that Ungler developed more strongly that competitor printing houses, must not be neglected. These choices must have been the result of decisions made by the publisher himself. Such alterations would not have been possible if not for Ungler's collaboration with a wide range of humanist scholars, both local and foreign. Ungler demonstrated his entrepreneurial nature in this respect. He succeeded in developing affiliations with a group of interesting artists who helped him to design a modern face for the books he published. The printer may not have held sufficient skills in this respect, yet he was able to achieve his goals by cooperating with specialists, most of whom came to Krakow from neighbouring countries.

The contribution of individuals such as Rudolf Agricola, Paulus Crosnensis, and Valentin Eck, yielded interesting dedications that sought to strengthen relations between intellectual circles and affluent patrons. They were most frequently expressed in an epistolary format, related to the practice of vivid correspondence so important to humanists. In some cases, traditional prose introductions were also complemented by a poetical dedication composed in classical metrics: elegiac distich, but also lyrical stanzas. Thanks to the humanists who collaborated with Ungler, a variety of poems were created to accompany the texts he published. The poems encouraged reading; they also spoke about the content of the published work, its author, or the discipline the book con-

cerned. These additions boast a Renaissance fascination with ancient forms and conventions. Numerous, often erudite, references to Roman poets can be found in their texts. Mythological allusions are a standard component of these additions, which testify to the competences and tastes of the addressees of Ungler's books. When deciding to give such a literary framing to his publications, Ungler must have been convinced that they would be well received and appreciated by buyers. In alignment with a common Western practice, Ungler usually placed such literary additions on the title page, on its reverse, or at the end of the printed material. In some cases, the poems featured an illustration, most commonly a coat of arms. To this end, they functioned as an innovative complement to the traditional form of the dedication. This allowed for a closer relationship to be forged between the publisher's circle and readers.

Evidence seems to confirm that the expectations and tastes of Krakow book users were correctly identified and evaluated by the Bavarian, since competitors adopted his solutions, and his original innovations soon became a standard within Krakow publishing. The financial failure did not put an end to his career. Ungler continued as a manager, printing works of his main competition, before setting up his own printing business again. This allowed him to continue to implement his publishing ideas, contributing to a nascent humanist culture in the Kingdom of Poland.

Identifying the qualities of the above-discussed publications, the fruit of Florian Ungler's publishing activity from 1510–1516, allows us to assess his company as a fully Renaissance publishing house, highly innovative in comparison to others active in the Polish territories at the time. Interestingly, such an assessment of the books published by the Bavarian owes to the literary framing of the books he published more than to their visual aspect. Humanism, after all, found its highest accomplishment in textual productions.⁸³

⁸³ See the study *Humanizm i filologia*, ed. A. Karpiński, Warszawa 2001 (particularly the chapters: J. Domański, 'Filologia a humanizm. Starożytne precedensy hu-

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

The richness of literary forms and content of the literary frame Ungler applied to his printed matter testifies to his strong and conscious connection to this Renaissance trend.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

manistycznej koncepcji filologii', pp. 25–67; J. S. Gruchała, 'Polska renesansowa filologia humanistyczna. Filologowie polscy czasów renesansu wobec problemów tekstu i języka', pp. 69–99; J. Krauze-Karpińska, 'Polscy drukarze wieku XVI a filologia humanistyczna', pp. 173–232).

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INCUNABULA FROM THE HOUSE OF THE CONGREGATION OF THE MISSION IN THE PŁOCK DIOCESE KEPT IN THE SEMINARY LIBRARY PRIOR TO WW II

ABSTRACT

The Congregation of the Mission was founded by Vincent de Paul in France in 1625. Its goal was to work with the poor, preach sermons and provide Christian education in general. In the 18th century, two mission houses were established in Mława and Płock, both within the Płock Diocese. The preserved collection of thirteen 15th-century printed books, kept before 1865 in the two aforementioned houses, was interesting in many respects: because of the authors of the works, the fields of knowledge they concerned, their provenance records, the publishing houses the books came from or their bindings. This collections reflects the mentality, culture of spirit and intellectual interests of its owners. After the dissolution of the houses, together with other books from the dissolved monasteries of the Płock Diocese, the books were first transported to the Płock cathedral library and then, in the 1920s, included in the newly built library building on the premises of the Theological Seminary. The present article contains a catalogue of this collection together with a commentary on its history.

KEYWORDS: incunables, provenance research, Płock Diocese, dissolution of monasteries

The Congregation of the Mission was founded by Vincent de Paul in France in 1625 with its main goal of working with the poor to preach, and to disseminate Christian education broadly conceived. The first group of missionaries was dispatched to Poland by Vincent de Paul at the request of Queen Marie Louise Gonzaga in November 1651.¹ The Queen offered them a wooden building located close to the Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw, following which she acquired for them a Sokółka benefice near Białystok. Subsequently, in 1653, she installed them at the Parish of the Holy Cross in Warsaw. The Warsaw foundation was authorized on 1 December 1653 by Bishop Kazimierz Florian Czartoryski and this also coincided with the transfer of patronage to the Church of the Holy Cross.² In the 17th and 18th centuries, a total of over 30 houses of the Congregation of the Mission were founded throughout the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which testifies to the intense development of the Congregation.³

¹ W. Umiński, Polska prowincja zgromadzenia księży misjonarzy w latach 1918-1939, Kraków 2009, p. 25.

² In 1679-1699, the Congregation of the Mission raised a sumptuous church consecrated in 1694. The Monastery was suppressed in 1864. See. J. Nowacki, *Archidiecezja poznańska w granicach historycznych i jej ustrój*, vol. 2, Poznań 1964, p. 772.

By the late 17th century four houses had been created, in: Vilnius (Góra Zbawiciela 1685), Cracow (Stradom 1686), Przemyśl (1687), and Łowicz (1689). In the 18th century, 33 houses were founded: Mława (1712), Św. Wojciech n. Gdańsk (1713), Lublin (1714), Płock (1717), Siemiatycze (1717), Gniezno (1718), Włocławek (1719), Krasnystaw (1739), Horodenka (1743), Sambor (1743), Brzozów (1745), Śmiłowicze (1747), Lipowiec (1748), Lviv (1748), Zasław (1748), Tykocin (1751), Łysków (1751), Orsza (1752), Krasław (1755), Warszawa (General Hospital 1761), Głogów Małopolski (1762), Wilno (St George Seminary 1764), Lviv (Cathedral Seminary 1765), Wornie (1775), Mikulińce (1779), Poznań (1781), Żytomierz (1783), Oświej (1786), Iłłukszta (1787), Mohylew (1788). See. W. Umiński, *Polska prowincja zgromadzenia księży misjonarzy w latach 1918-1939*, p. 30, footnote 20.

This history of the growth of the Congregation of the Mission in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was enriched in the early 18th century with the foundation of the mission houses within the Płock Diocese in Mława and Płock.⁴ Chronologically speaking, the first Congregation of the Mission house was founded in Mława in 1712. This settling down in Mława was inspired by the Chełmno Suffragan and Płock Canon Seweryn Szczuka who came from the Płock Diocese.⁵ The first missionaries arrived from the Warsaw house of the Congregation of the Mission (Jakub Stanisław Mroczek, Michał Józef Melchier, Maciej Stanisław Znamięcki), and Wawrzyniec Stanisław Benik was assigned as their superior.⁶ The missionaries undertook the responsibilities of running a parish in Mława following the 1712 death from plague of its parish priest and Mława Dean, Fr. Andrzej Mączkowski.⁷ They contributed to consolidating religious life and preaching in Mława with much zeal for almost 150 years, until the moment when, as a result of the persecution following the January Uprising, the Congregation of the Mission was suppressed in the Płock Diocese.⁸

7 Ibidemem, pp. 137-138.

⁴ W. Graczyk, 'Płocka diecezja', in: *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 15, ed. E. Gigilewicz, Lublin 2011, column 861.

⁵ Bishop Seweryn Szczuka was born in Gacki n. Grajewo (within the Płock Diocese) in 1651 Having been educated at the Reszel Jesuit College in Warmia in 1670-1672, he joined the Congregation of the Mission in 1678, to be ordained to the priest-hood in 1682. Having been appointed the Chełmno Cathedral Canon in 1687, in 1712-1719, following the assignment of Bishop Teodor Potocki to the Warmia Bishopric, he served as *sede vacante* administrator of the Chełmno Diocese. See W. Jezusek, 'Biskup Seweryn Kazimierz Szczuka', *Miesięcznik Pasterski Płocki*, 1960, 4-5, p.126; A. Mańkowski, *Prałaci i kanonicy katedralni chełmińscy od założenia kapituły do naszych czasów*, Toruń 1928, p. 208; J.M. Marszalska, 'Kościół i duszpasterstwo w parafii xx. Misjonarzy w Mławie w świetle wizytacji biskupa Michała Jerzego Poniatowskiego z 1775 roku', in: *Zakony rzymskokatolickie na Mazowszu*, Ostrołęka 2008, p. 103; A. Nadolny, 'Szczuka Seweryn', in: *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 19, ed. E. Gigilewicz, Lublin 2011, column 14.

⁶ L. Zygner, 'Działalność misjonarzy św. Wincentego a Paulo w parafii mławskiej (1712-1864)', Nasza Przeszłość, 1995, 84, pp. 138-139.

⁸ J.M. Marszalska, 'Kościół i duszpasterstwo w parafii xx. Misjonarzy w Mławie w świetle wizytacji biskupa Michała Jerzego Poniatowskiego z 1775 roku', in: Zakony rzymskokatolickie Mazowszu (Z uwzględnieniem Kurpiowszczyzny). Materiały z sesji naukowej "Zakony męskie na Północnym Mazowszu do 1864 roku", ed. B. Kalinowska, Ostrołęka 2008, pp. 102-113; T. Żebrowski, Zarys dziejów diecezji płockiej, Płock

The second house of the Congregation of the Mission in the Płock Diocese was founded in the capital of Płock. Its foundation was associated with the canonical erection of the second seminary in the Diocese located by Bishop Ludwik Bartłomiej Załuski on 6 May 1710. The missionaries were asked to run this formative institution for future clergy. On the same day (6 May 1710), a contract was signed between the Congregation of the Mission and the Płock Diocese specifying the tasks for the fathers coming there.⁹ The responsibility of the missionaries included running missions, retreats, and the Seminary in Płock. They were given the villages of Ościsłowo and Kuniewko and a part of the foundation of Bishop Łubieński¹⁰ to provide for their seminarians. Complying with the instructions of the Council of Trent, the Seminary was to have two provisors: one assigned by the bishop, and the other elected by the Chapter. Additionally, the Superior of the house and of the Seminary was given full authority to admit and dismiss seminarians.¹¹ The Seminary was to be located in the house of Canon Stanisław Spinka and the house that belonged to Bishop Stanisław's foundation, with the latter also to be used by the missionaries. However, the missionaries did not move in right away to begin their educational and teaching formation. At first, the Chapter used their own resources to adapt those buildings to serve as a seminary. Further, the missionaries erected a new house, payed the street by the town gate, and built

^{1976,} p. 83. On the grounds of the ukase of Tsar Alexander II of 27 Oct (8 Nov) 1864 on the suppression of 115 male religious orders, including the Płock and Mława houses of the Congregation of the Mission in the Kingdom of Poland. See Życie zakonne w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1832-1864. Polityka caratu - kasaty - represje, eds. W. Graczyk, J.M. Marszalska, Kraków 2015, p. 7.

⁹ The following were representatives of Bartłomiej Tarło, Inspector of the Congregation of the Mission: Michał Walter and Tomasz Strzegocki; meanwhile, Bishop Adam Rostkowski, Dobrzyń Archdeacon, and Prelate-Custodian Bartłomiej Tłubicki represented him in the Płock Diocese. M.M. Grzybowski, 'Z dziejów Seminarium Płockiego 1710-1939', *Studia Płockie*, 1994, 22, p. 44.

¹⁰ W. Graczyk, *Stanisław Łubieński, pasterz polityk i pisarz 1578-1640,* Kraków-Tyniec 2005, p. 141.

¹¹ Archives of the Płock Diocese (ADP)], Akta Kapituły Płockiej, cat. no. 15, p. 35.

a bridge over the moat connecting the seminary with the cathedral. However, after the seminary building was completed in 1717,¹² the missionaries came to Płock, and undertook the task of running the seminary.¹³ The missionaries and the Seminary remained at that location until 1781 when Bishop Michał Jerzy Poniatowski decided they should be transferred to the abbey abandoned by the Benedictines located across the street from the Cathedral. The seminary operated at this new location until 1865 when Bishop Wincenty Teofil Chościak-Popiel transferred it to the premises of the dissolved Monastery of the Reformed Friars Minor. Subsequent to the removal of the missionaries, the running of the seminary was assigned to the Diocesan clergy.¹⁴

The preserved set of thirteen 15th-century printed books kept before 1865 in the two houses of the missionaries in Płock and Mława were considered to be of great interest in terms of their authorship, the disciplines they represented, their provenance entries, the publishing houses that produced them, and their bindings. Following the suppression of the houses of the Collegiate of the Mission, the books together with others from other suppressed monasteries were first transferred to the Płock Cathedral Library to be subsequently moved to the newly erected library building on the premises of the Seminary.¹⁵

Before WW II, Kazimierz Piekarski made several attempts at registering the incunabula kept in the Płock Seminary Library. Kazimierz made records based on public, ecclesiastical, and private collections, thereby, providing the grounds for the creation, in the 1990s, of the second volume of the catalogue of incunabula cov-

¹² D. Majewski, 'Seminarium Duchowne w Płocku w latach 1710-1864', in: *Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne 1710-2010*, ed. W. Graczyk, Płock 2010, pp. 18-20.

¹³ A.J. Nowowiejski, *Płock. Monografia historyczna*, Płock 1930, p. 461; F. Kacprzycki, 'Założenie Seminarium Duchownego w Płocku', *Studia Płockie*, 1974, 3, p. 150.

¹⁴ W. Jezusek, 'Troska biskupa Wincentego Popiela o seminarium duchowne 1863-1875', Miesięcznik Pasterski Płocki, 1966, 1, p. 42.

¹⁵ M.M. Grzybowski, 'Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego od 1710 do 1990 roku', in: Biblioteka Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Płocku, ed. W. Graczyk, Płock 2003, pp. 86-92.

ering the list of losses suffered by Polish culture in the course of WW II.¹⁶ The notebook filled in by Piekarski, currently preserved in the National Library collection, registering the incunabula kept in the Płock Seminary Library before 1939, serves as the source for the present paper.¹⁷

According to scholars, the Płock Seminary Library until 1939 possessed one of the most precious collections of old books in Poland (about 80 mediaeval code manuscripts and 422 incunabula). In 1941, the collection was taken to Königsberg.¹⁸ To date, not a single item from that set has been returned to the genuine owner. From the set of 13 incunabula discussed, five featured an earlier provenance testifying to the fact that they had been the property of the Dominican Monastery of St Dominic in Płock. This was established by the following inscriptions: 'Idem pro Bibliotheca conventem Plocen[sem] S[ancti] D[o]minici Ord[inis] Praed[icatorum] A[nno] D[omini] 1603', featured on the work Expositio mysteriorum missae by Balthasar de Porta;¹⁹ 'Conventus Plocen[sis] S[anti] Dominici liber' on the work Sermones de tempore et de sanctis et de diversis by St Bernard;²⁰ 'Conventui Plocen[sis] S[ancti] Dominici tempore P[atris] Antonini Prioris Donatus' on Opera, the work by Jan Gerson;²¹ 'Conventus Plocensis a P[atri] Aegidio dono accessit' on *Dialogorum libri quattuor* by Gregory the Great,²² and 'Conventus

¹⁶ Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur. Moderante Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, composuerunt Maria Bohonos, Michael Spandowski et Elisa Szandordowska. vol. 2. Addenda. Indices.Vratislaviae - Varsaviae - Cracoviae 1993.

¹⁷ National Library (BN), Inkunabuły Biblioteki Seminarium Duchownego w Płocku. Rejestracja Kazimierza Piekarskiego sprzed 1 IX 1939 (Kazimierz Piekarski's Register). (No cat.no.)

¹⁸ M. Spandowski, 'Polskie zbiory inkunabułów zniszczone, rozproszone i przemieszczone w czasie i w wyniku II wojny światowej', Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej, 2013, 44, pp. 19-20; W. Graczyk, J.M. Marszalska, Księgi rękopiśmienne i stare druki w zbiorach Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Płocku. Z dziejów kultury polskich bibliotek kościelnych w dawnych wiekach, Płock 2010, pp. 20-30. S. Sawicka, Straty wojenne zbiorów polskich w dziedzinie rękopisów iluminowanych, Warszawa 1952, p. 43.

¹⁹ BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, item 159

²⁰ Ibidem, item 494.

²¹ Ibidem, item 479.

²² Ibidem, item 117.

Plocensis S[anti] Dominici' on *Sententiarum libri IV* by Pierre Lombard.²³ Before they were incorporated into the Seminary collection, the further six incunabula from the collection of the Congregation of the Mission had featured merely the provenance record indicating that they belonged to the house of the missionaries. These are: Congr[egatio] Miss[ionis] Dom[us] Ploc[ensis] in *The Bible*;²⁴ Ex libris Cong[regationis] Miss[ionis] Dom[us] Ploc[ensis] - Guillermus Parisiensis in *Postilla super Epistolas et Evangelia*;²⁵ and Congr[egatio] Miss[ionis] Domus Ploc[ensis] in Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiarum libri IV*.²⁶ Last but not least, two incunables, before they were incorporated into the collection of the missionaries had earlier been the property of either an individual owner, e.g., Mikołaj Scherppnigk: Nider Ioannes, *Praeceptorium divinae legis, sive Expositio decalogi*, or of a parish institution (Gradzanowo Parish, *The Bible*).²⁷

As for the Congregation of the Mission houses, out of the set covering 13 incunabula in total, 12 came from the Płock house of the missionaries and one from Mława. There is one work included in Kazimierz Piekarski's list of incunables, yet not covered in the discussed resource. The work in question is *Synonyma et aequivoca cum commento* by John of Garland published in Cologne in 1500 in Henri Quentell's typography.²⁸ It forms accedit /It is bound together with

²³ Ibidem, item 417. The Church and Monastery of St Dominic survived until 1804 when the Prussians suppressed the Order and gave the Monastery buildings to Protestants. Following the suppression of the Dominican Monastery in Płock, the Seminary Library run by the missionaries received the Dominicans' book collection. The books transferred at that time included 96 volumes as the legacy of the Goślicki brothers of Goślice Wielkie: that of Fr Marcin, Płock Canon in the 16th century, and of his nephew Wawrzyniec Goślicki, Poznan Bishop. That was also the time when a large 120-volume collection, earlier property of Fr Cypran Stefanowski, Abbot of the Płock Dominicans, reached the Seminary library. See M. M. Grzybowski, 'Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego od 1710 do 1990 roku', in: *Biblioteka Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Płocku*, ed. W. Graczyk, p. 76; J.M. Marszalska, W. Graczyk, 'Zakony na Mazowszu od XVI do końca XVIII wieku', in: *Dzieje Mazowsza lata 1527-1794*, vol. 2, ed. J. Tyszkiewicz, Pułtusk 2015, pp. 386-387.

²⁴ BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, items 329, 408, 410, 419.

²⁵ Ibidem, item 388.

²⁶ Ibidem, item 444.

²⁷ Ibidem, item 379.

²⁸ Ibidem, item 201.

the following post-incunabula: 1. Nicolaus de Błonie. Tractat/us/ de sacramentis. Strassbourg, Martinus Flach 1503. 4°. [defect from page b₂ poor];²⁹ 2. Donatis [...] *et moralitatis*. Nürberg, Ioannes Weissenburger 1507. 4°; 3. Lilium grammaticae magistri Wilhelmi Weert modo discipulis imo magistris etiam prouectis necessarium. [Köln, Henricus Quentell] [16th c.?]; 4. [Methodius: *Opusculum divinorum revelationum*]. [16th c.] 4°. [a₃-l₆ defect], binding: card[board], parch[ment]. [17th c.]; 5. Nicasius de Voerda. *Lectura quattuor librorum Institutionum*. [Köln, Ioannes Koelhoff Senior] [early 16th c.]; 6. Regulae grammaticales antiquorum, [Basel, Michael Furter] [16th c.]. Post-incunabulum No. 4 features information referring to the binding, while the provenance on post-incunabulum No. 6 reads: *Ex libris Congr[egationis]* Miss[ionis] Mlavien[sis] [19th c.]; Plock Sem[inary] XII.6.6.- stamp. [1st half of the 20th c.]. The fact that Kazimierz Piekarski classified the work with the provenance of the Mława Congregation as 16th-century led to its exclusion from the analysis within the set.

It is hard to retrace today the process that allowed the books which had previously been in private hands or owned by institutions of which we know hardly know anything to reach the houses of the missionaries being discussed. Such an example can be found in provenance records: '1529 liber [illegible] D[omi]ni Stanislai Prepositi et commendarij Sendzischoviensis', found in the work *Dialogorum libri quattuor* by St Gregory the Great;³⁰ 'Liber d[omi]ni Nicolai Scherppnigk emptus pro 4 [quattuor] marcis Anno D[omi]ni 1483' in the work *Praeceptorium divinae legis, sive Expositio decalogi* by Nider Ioannes;³¹ or 'Ex libr[is] Eccl[esiae] Gradzanoviensis' [18th c.], found in the *Bible*. ³² After the suppression of the Congregation of the Mission houses (1864) in the Płock Diocese, the books were first incorporated into the collection of the Cathedral Library, and sub-

²⁹ The square brackets contain quotes from Piekarski. He recorded that the incunabulum was damaged.

³⁰ Ibidem, item 117. Księga dochodów beneficjów diecezji krakowskiej z roku 1529 (tzw. Liber retaxationum), ed. Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, Wrocław 1968.

³¹ Ibidem, item 328.

³² Ibidem, item 379; 'Gradzanowo,' in: *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*, vol. 2, eds. F. Sulimierski, B. Chlebowski, Warszawa 1881, p. 790.

sequently the Seminary Library. The fact that they were included in the Seminary Library is testified to by the preserved stamps defining their location among the library's resources, e.g.: Płock Sem. XI.10.22 – stamp [1st half of the 20th c.].³³ About 40 per cent of the discussed set features the earlier provenance of the Dominican Monastery in Płock. In this very case, it is known that the incunabula were added to the house of the Płock missionaries after the Prussian oppressor had occupied both the St Dominic Monastery and the Church, moved out the monks, and had given the premises to Protestants.³⁴

The map of printing centres which can be identified on the grounds of the discussed set of incunabula covers Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. In total, that small set represents eight printing centres: Germany (Leipzig, Speyer, Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Reutlingen, Cologne), Switzerland (Basel), and Italy (Venice). The largest number, as many as four, are the output of the Basel typography from three different printers: Johann Amerbach (Bible, 1482³⁵), Michael Furter (St Gregory the Great, *Dialogorum libri quat*tuor, 1496³⁶), and Nicolaus Kessler (Peter Lombard, Sententiarum libri IV, 1488, 1489³⁷). German printing centres are represented by two works each: in Speyer printed by Peter Drach (St Bernard, Sermones de tempore et de sanctis et de diversis, 1481/1482; The Bible, 1489)³⁸, and from Strasbourg: in Martin Flach's typography (John Gerson, Opera, P. I-IV, 1494-1502)³⁹ and that by Johann Prüss (*The Bible*, 1489).⁴⁰ The remaining works are represented by the following publishing centres and printers: Leipzig (Balthasar de Porta, Expositio myste-

- 35 Ibidem, item 410.
- 36 Ibidem, item 117.
- 37 Ibidem, item 418, 444.
- 38 Ibidem, item 329, 494.
- 39 Ibidem, item 479.
- 40 Ibidem, item 379.

³³ BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, itemitem 159.

³⁴ As a result of the third partition of Poland on 24 Octobr 1795 Płock together with the whole Diocese was incorporated into the Prussian partition [ta sama informacja przypis 23]. T. Żebrowski, Zarys dziejów diecezji płockiej, Płock 1976, p. 81.

Incunabula from the House of the Congregation of the Mission in the Plock Diocese Kept in the

riorum missae, 1494; typographer: Konrad Kachelofen),⁴¹ Venice (*The Bible*, 1483; typographer: Johannes Herbort),⁴² and Reutlingen (Johannes Nider, *Praeceptorium divinae legis, sive Expositio decalogi*, 1479; and typographer: Michael Greyff).⁴³ With respect to one work, Guillermus Parisiensis' *Postilla super Epistolas et Evangelia*, neither the second volume of the incunabulum catalogue containing the list of losses, nor the Kazimierz Piekarski's register contains its typographic description.⁴⁴

The common feature of all the discussed 15th-century printed books is that they were all printed in Latin. Although the discussed set of incunabula is not large quantity-wise, it deserves some analysis because of its content, particularly more so, since the majority of its 12 items come from the house of the Congregation of the Mission in Płock, where until the 1864 suppression, the Seminary for the Płock Diocese was run.⁴⁵

In the view of scholars studying 15th-century books, the whole typographic output at the time was focused on theology, so it is not surprising that the majority of the 15th-century works preserved to-date contain theological pieces and the Bible.⁴⁶ The Bible as the source of revealed scholarship was always the most important and, undoubtedly, the most disseminated book. Biblical questions were most commonly discussed in combination with dogmatic theology. It was only in the late 17th century that biblical exegesis was added to seminary studies.⁴⁷ The new *Ratio studiorum*

- 43 Ibidem, item 328.
- 44 Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur, vol. 2, item 1108, p. 298; BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, item 388.
- 45 ADP. 'Catalogus librorum Congregationis Missionis domus in seminaria Plocensis comparatus AD 1777', in: *Akta Seminarium Plockiego*, no cat. no. The first catalogue of the books of the Plock Seminary Library was made on 25 May 1777. It includes the list of ca 850 titles classified in 21 sections.
- 46 M. Spandowski, 'Inkunabuły dawnej biblioteki miejskiej w Lubaniu,' *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, 2013, 44, p. 16.
- 47 D. Majewski, 'Seminarium Duchowne w Płocku w latach 1710-1864', in: *Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne 1719-2010*, ed. W. Graczyk, p. 37.

⁴¹ Ibidem, item 159.

⁴² Ibidem, item 419.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

introduced into the Płock Seminary by Michał Jerzy Poniatowski, Płock Bishop, on 30 September 1774, assumed three weekly hours of biblical exegesis.⁴⁸ The set contained in total four different Bible editions from four different printers: Johannes Amberbach (Basel), Johannes Herbort (Venice), Peter Drach (Spever), and Johann Prüss (Strasbourg). They were, namely, Biblia. (Basel, Ioannes Amerbach 1482);49 Biblia, cum additionibus Francisci Moneliensis et Quintii Aemiliani. (Venezia, Ioannes Herbort, 31 October 1483),⁵⁰ Biblia. (Spever, Petrer Drach 1489);⁵¹ Biblia. (Strassburg, Ioannes Prüss 1489).⁵² One of the tendencies in the Middle Ages was to bring closer 'the world of the Bible' to that of man and his surrounding world, and also to facilitate man's understanding of the Bible and assimilating it with the latter assisted by the scholarly discipline called exegesis. Importantly, the discussed set could not do without the work Pos*tilla super Epistolas et Evangelia* by Guillermus Parisensis⁵³ which in the 15th century alone boasted hundreds of editions.⁵⁴

The best-known and most disseminated work in the Middle Ages, serving as the grounds for academic lectures on theology, was Libri IV Sententiarum by Peter Lombard. In his work, the author included the theological thoughts of St. Augustine as well as of the representatives of scholasticism, such as, Walafrid Strabon, Anselm of Laon, Gratian, Hugh of St Victor, and Abelard. The work was divided into four sections: res guibs fruendum on God, His unity and three natures of God: *quibus utendum*. on creation, angels, man. and grace; res quae fruuntur et utuntur, on incarnation, redemption, virtues, and gifts of the Holy Spirit; and finally, signa, on the sacra-

52 Ibidem, item 379.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, pp. 34-35.

⁴⁹ BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, item 410.

Ibidem, item 419. 50

Ibidem, item 329. 51

Ibidem, item 388. 53

⁵⁴ Encyklopedia Wiedzy o Książce, eds. A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, H. Więckowska, S. Pazyra, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1971, column 1955.

ments and the eschata.⁵⁵ The discussed set contains two copies of this work, both printed by Nicolaus Kessler in Basel in 1488 (*Sententiarum libri IV, cum Conclusionibus Henrici de Gorichen et Problematibus s. Thomae Articulisque Parisiensibus. Basel, Nicolaus Kessler, 22 September 1488*). ⁵⁶

The theology, called practical, is provided in *Dialogues*: a hagiographic work by Pope Gregory the Great. *The Dialogues* are composed of four books showing daily sanctification through numerous examples, both positive and negative, referring to three evangelical counsels: poverty, chastity, and obedience.⁵⁷ The prewar collection of the Płock Seminary Library owned that work published in Basel by Michael Furter in 1496 (*Dialogorum libri quattuor*, *Lat. Basel, Mich. Furter, 1496*).⁵⁸ Another book that can be classified into this scholarship category is *Praeceptorium divinae legis, sive Expositio decalogi* by Johannes Nider printed in Michael Greyff's typography in 1479⁵⁹ in which the author explains the Decalogue. ⁶⁰

Apart from the theological works contained in the set of the 15thcentury Płock books, there are also those addressing preaching. For many centuries, preaching was considered in the Church to be an important form of religious teaching.⁶¹ In the discussed set of incunabula, preaching is represented by the work *Sermones de tempore et de Sanctis et de diversis* (Speyer, 1481-1482) by St Bernard of Clairvaux. ⁶² A historic work bearing testimony to mediaeval preaching can also be seen in *Sermones Dormi secure de Sanctis* by Johannes de

- 58 BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, item 117.
- 59 Ibidem, item 328.
- 60 Nider Johannes, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft. The Western Tradition*, ed. Richard M. Golden, vol. 3, Santa Barbara 2006, pp. 826-828.
- 61 J.M. Marszalska, 'Piętnastowieczny księgozbiór Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Tarnowie', Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne, 2003, 80, p. 189.
- 62 BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, item 494

⁵⁵ E. Wójcik, 'Piotr Lombard, Petrus Lombardus', in: Encyklopedia Katolicka, vol. 15, ed. E. Gigilewicz, Lublin 2011, column 679.

⁵⁶ BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, item 418, 444.

⁵⁷ A. Pawlak, 'Nauka o cnotach w dialogach św. Grzegorza Wielkiego', *Łódzkie Studia Teologiczne*, 2019, 2, pp. 189, 202.

Verdena, an outstanding canonist and preacher of his times. These were published in the Nuremberg typography by Anton Koberger in 1494. $^{\rm 63}$

The output of theological and reformatory thought of the turn of the 15th century is also contained in *Opera*, P. I-IV by John Gerson (printed in Martinus Flach's typography in 1494-1502).⁶⁴ Affiliated with the Paris University circles, its author being a disciple of Pierre d'Ailly and follower of the views of William of Ockham (nominalism), emphasized the supremacy of Church councils over the pope (conciliarism), and proclaimed that deepening faith should occur through a mystical union with God.⁶⁵

Some attention should also be paid to the bindings of the discussed incunabula. They are contemporary with the printing time, which is the piece of information provided by Kazimierz Piekarski recording the binding as 'contemporary'.⁶⁶ On other occasions, he would specify its type by referring to it as, e.g., Polish,⁶⁷ Polish-Cracow,⁶⁸ Cracow,⁶⁹ Gdansk-type,⁷⁰ or Wrocław-type.⁷¹ In one case, Piekarski remarked that the binding was made of cardboard with leather stretched over it. ⁷² We can speculate that the last was provided in the 18th century, since this binding type dominated then. In the vast majority of the incunabula, lime or beechwood board was the basis for the brown leather stretched over it. Some bindings featured elaborate protective brass corner bosses and the centre one. ⁷³ With respect to some incunabula, Piekarski recorded the item as

- 64 Ibidem, item 479.
- 65 J. Rajman, Encyklopedia średniowiecza, Kraków 2006, p. 322.
- 66 BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, items 329, 418, 444, 479
- 67 Ibidem, item 117.
- 68 Ibidem, item 479.
- 69 Ibidem, item 418.
- 70 Ibidem, item 328.
- 71 Ibidem, item 329.
- 72 Ibidem, item 410.
- 73 Ibidem, items 117, 328, 329, 418.

⁶³ Ibidem, item 408.

missing binding or merely that it remained preserved. ⁷⁴ When discussing the binding, attention should be drawn to the copy of the work *Expositio mysteriorum missae* by Balthasar de Porta, published in Leipzig in 1494 and typographed by Konrad Kachelofen,⁷⁵ featuring the 'Ogończyk' stamp on the book cover (supralibross) with the following initials: F-B-K-O-P-C-P.⁷⁶ Before the incunabulum was incorporated into the library of the Congregation of the Mission in Płock, it had been part of St Dominic Monastery, also in Płock. Two preserved provenances testify to this fact: 1. F[ratri] Benedicti Konopinskij Ord[inis] Praed[icatorum] Conv[entus] Plocen[sis] sunt [illegible] v[a]ria opuscula in quatro volumine [illegible] Anno D[omi]ni 1600; 2. Idem pro Bibliotheca conventem Plocen[sem] S[ancti] D[o]minici Ord[inis] Praed[icatorum] A[nno] D[omini] 1603. Thus, the work was initially the property of the Dominican Friar Benedykt Konopiński, and following his death, it was transferred to the Monastery library collection.

Recapitulating, let us emphasize that the preserved 15th-century set of incunabula, legacy of the missionaries active in the Płock Diocese in the 18th and 19th centuries, although not homogenous as for the books' provenance, in a way reflects the intellectual background and interests, and the spiritual culture of its owners. The content of the set allows us to draw the conclusion that it represented a typical book collection satisfying the spiritual need for education. It was also meant to help shape the religious awareness of the faithful, thus, assisting the pastoral work. The practical function of the set was applicable to that part of theological literature which went beyond the framework of speculative considerations, focusing first of all on the practical needs of the faithful. Thus, the set contains the Bible, sermon collections, treatises on practical theology as well as those which reflected the current theological debates and polemics.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, items 408, 419, 494.

⁷⁵ IbidIbidem, item 159.

⁷⁶ F-B-K-O-P-C-P F[rater] Benedicti Konopinskij Ord[inis] Praed[icatorum] Conv[entus] Plocen[sis]

LIST OF INCUNABULA

HOUSE OF THE COLLEGIATE OF THE MISSION IN PŁOCK

1. BALTHASAR de Porta, Expositio mysteriorum missae.- Ioannes Faber de Werdea: Carmen de vita s. Onufrii. Leipzig, Conr. Kachelofen, 1494. 4°.

IBP II (copy on the list of losses+322).

Provenance:

1. F[ratri] Benedicti Konopinskij Ord[inis] Praed[icatorum] Conv[entus] Plocen[sis] sunt [illegible] v[a]ria opuscula in quatro volumine [illegible] Anno D[omi]ni 1600.

2. Idem pro Bibliotheca conventem Plocen[sem] S[ancti] D[o]minici Ord[inis] Praed[icatorum] A[nno] D[omini] 1603

3. Ex libris Congreg[ationis] Missionis Domus Plocen[sis] [19th c.]4. Płock Sem. XI.10.22 - stamp [1st half of the 20th c.]

Binding: board, [leather] br[own], [embossed] 'Ogończyk; coat of arms, initials: F[rater] B[enedicti] K[onopinskij] O[rdinis] P[raedicatorum] C[onventus] P[locensis], [supralibros], damaged [16th/17th c.?]

Inc. Piekarski 159; bound together with items 20, 25, 45, 115

2. BERNARDUS Claravallensis s., Sermones de tempore et de sanctis et de diversis.[Speyer] Petr. Drach [post 31 August 1481, non post 1482]. 2°.

IBP II (copy on the list of losses+428).

Provenance:

1.Frater Michael de [ven ...] [15th c.]

2.Conventus Plocen[sis] S[anti] Dominici liber [late 16th c.]

3.Congr[egatio] Miss[ionis] Dom[us] Ploc[ensis] [18th/19th c.]

4. Płock Sem. XX.1.1.- stamp [1st half of the 20th c.]

Binding: remains of the boards Inc. Piekarski 494

3. Bible. [Basel, Io. Amerbach] 1482. 2°. IBP II (copy on the list of losses+461).

Provenance:

Congr[egatio] Miss[ionis] Dom[us] Ploc[ensis] [19th c.]
 Płock Sem. "1854" - stamp [1st half of the 20th c.]

Binding: cardboard, leather [18th c.] Inc. Piekarski 410

4. Biblia, cum additionibus Francisci Moneliensis et Quintii Aemiliani. Venezia, Io. Herbort, 31 X 1483. 2°. IBP II (copy on the list of losses+464).

Provenance:

1. Ex libris Congr
[egationis] Miss[ionis] Dom[us] Plocen[sis] $[18^{\rm th}/19^{\rm th}~c.]$

2. Płock Sem. I.1.12.- stamp [1st half of the 20th c.]

Binding: no information on the binding Inc. Piekarski 419

5. Bible. [Speyer, Petr. Drach] 1489. 2°. IBP II (copy on the list of losses+472).

Provenance:

1.Congr[egatio] Miss[ionis] Dom[us] Ploc[ensis] [19th c.]

Binding: board, [leather] br[own], [embossment] bl[ind], bosses and parts missing on the spine 'A 87', Wroc[ław], contemp[orary], damaged [15th/16th c.]

Inc.Piekarski 329

6. GERSON Ioannes, Opera. P. I-IV. Strassburg, Mart. Flach, I-II) 13 December 1494, III) 11 August 1494, IV) 1502. 2°. IBP II (copy on the list of losses+990).

Provenance:

1. Conventui Plocen[sis] S[ancti] Dominici tempore P[atris] Antonini Prioris Donatus [18th c.]

Binding: board, [leather] br[own], [embossment] bl[ind], Cra[cow], Pol[ish], contemp[orary] [ca 1510] Inc.Piekarski 479

7. GREGORIUS I Magnus papa s., Dialogorum libri quattuor, Lat. Basel, Mich. Furter, 1496. 4°.

IBP II (copy on the list of losses+1046).

Provenance:

1. 1529 liber [illegible] D[omi]ni Stanislai Prepositi et commendarij Sendzischoviensis

2. Fr[ater] Antonius Grodicius emit et Fr[at]ri Melchior donavit quod postea Fr[atr]i Aegidio Leopolitae vendidit (16th c.)

1. Conventus Plocensis a P[atri] Aegidio dono accesit (16th c.)

2. Liber Congr[egationis] Missionis Domus Plocensis (19th c.)

5. Płock Sem. V.4.35 - stamp [1st half of the 20th c.]

Binding: board [leather] br[own], [embossment] bl[ind] clasps, Polish [15th c.],

Inc. Piekarski 117

8. GUILLERMUS Parisiensis, Postilla super Epistolas et Evangelia. [Sine ulla nota]. 2º.

IBP II (copy on the list of losses+1108).

Provenance:

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    Ex libris Cong[regationis] Miss[ionis] Dom[us] Ploc[ensis] [19<sup>th</sup> c.]
    Płock Sem. XVII.2.4.- stamp [1st half of the 20<sup>th</sup> c.]
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Binding: board, leather, on the sp[ine]: 'F. 476' [17th/18th c.] Inc.Piekarski 388

9. IOANNES de Verdena, Sermones Dormi secure de sanctis. Nürnberg, Ant. Koberger, 5 I 1494. 2°. IBP II (copy on the list of losses+1378). Provenance:

1. [Remains of the signature] House of the Mi[ssionaries] Płock [18th c.]

Binding: remains of the back [binding]: board, no leather, [16th c.?] Inc.Piekarski 408

10. NIDER Ioannes, Praeceptorium divinae legis, sive Expositio decalogi. [Reutlingen, Mich. Greyff, ante 8 July 1479]. 2°. IBP II (copy on the list of losses+1689).

Provenance:

1. Liber d[omi]ni Nicolai Scherppnigk emptus pro 4 [quattuor] marcis Anno D[omi]ni 1483

2. Congr[egatio] Missionis Domus Plocen[sis] [19th c.]

3. Płock Sem. IV.10.4.- stamp [1st half of the 20th c.]

Binding: board, [leather] br[own], [embossment] bl[ind], bosses, on the spi[ne]: 'D-302', Gd[ansk] [1483] Inc.Piekarski 328

11. PETRUS Lombardus, Sententiarum libri IV, cum Conclusionibus Henrici de Gorichen et Problematibus s. Thomae Articulisque Parisiensibus. Basel, Nic. Kessler, 22 September 1488. 2°. IBP II (copy on the list of losses+1829).

Provenance:

Conventus Plocensis S[anti] Dominici [16th/17th c.]
 Congr[egatio] Miss[ionis] Dom[us] Ploc[ensis] [18th/19th c.]
 Płock Sem. V.11.5.- stamp [1st half of the 20th c.]

Binding: board, [leather] br[own], [embossment] bl[ind] bosses, on the spine: 'B.75', Cra[cow], contemp[orary] [15th/16th c.] Inc.Piekarski 418

12. PETRUS Lombardus, Sententiarum libri IV, cum Conclusionibus Henrici de Gorichen et Problematibus s. Thomae Articulisque Parisiensibus. Basel, Nic. Kessler, 29 November 1489. 2°. IBP II (copy on the list of losses+1830).

Provenance:

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    Congr[egatio] Miss[ionis] Domus Ploc[ensis] [18<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> c.]
    Płock Sem. V.11.4.- stamp [1st half of the 20<sup>th</sup> c.]
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Binding: board, h[alf] binding, tra[ces] of emboss[ment], on the sp[ine] Cat. No.: 'B. 76', contemp[orary] [15th/16th c.] Inc.Piekarski 444

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HOUSE OF THE CONGREGATION OF THE MISSION IN MŁAWA
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1. Biblia. [Strassburg, Io. Prüss] 1489. 2°. IBP II (copy on the list of losses+473).

Provenance:

Ex libr[is] Eccl[esiae] Gradzanoviensis [17th c.]

Ex libr[is] Cong[regationis] Miss[ionum] Dom[us] Mlaven[sis] [18th c.] Płock Sem. Stamp '1852'

Binding: leather, embossment, damaged [1st half of the 16th c.] Inc.Piekarski 379

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INCUNABULA LEFT BY FRIARS MINOR AS FOUND IN THE REGISTER OF THE COLLECTION OF THE PŁOCK SEMINARY LIBRARY, COMPILED BY KAZIMIERZ PIEKARSKI BEFORE 1939

DOI: 10.36155/PLib.10.00004

ABSTRACT

Among the library resources registered by Kazimierz Piekarski before World War II, there is a collection of incunabula stored in the Library of the Theological Seminary in Plock. This great testimony to human thought is contained in 15th-century books printed in the vicinity of the Plock cathedral, the Pułtusk Collegiate Church, and the book collections of several orders from the Diocese of Plock, whose books in the 2nd half of the 19th century found their way to the collection of the library of the Seminary. Twelve incunabula included in the list were connected with four monasteries of the Friars Minort, founded in the estates which in the 19th century administratively belonged to the Diocese of Plock. These were monasteries in Plock, Pułtusk, Zaręby Kościelne and Szczawin Kościelny. After 1864, these monasteries were dissolved. The fate of the discussed collection of 15th-century books is part of the process of destroying the culture of the Polish book. Their provenance data, preserved to this day thanks to Kazimierz Piekarski, show us their owners the intricate history of their journey.

KEYWORDS: Kazimierz Piekarski, Theological Seminary in Płock, incunabula, Order of Friars Minor

Polish culture suffered enormous material and spiritual losses over the past centuries. The wars raged by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, troops marching across its territories, and lootings did not spare its numerous churches, palaces, and castles. History, natural disasters such as fires and floods acted as an especially destructive force, ruining cultural heritage across many historical periods. Books collected in magnates' and noblemen's libraries, as well as those in the libraries of churches (Diocese), monasteries, and convents, were vulnerable to destruction. Many of them are only recorded in scarce sources, mentioned in brief textual, or occasionally oral, records, which are important for a Polish history of books. These brief notes often remain the only source of knowledge on once extensive and precious book collections.¹

The so-called records of old books, compiled before WWII by the Polish scholar of incunabula Kazimierz Piekarski, is a priceless written source that enables us partially to recreate the collections of former ecclesiastical libraries owned by religious orders, cathedrals, collegiate churches.² Thanks to the register, we can today identify the former owners of books and identify their bindings or the content of marginalia. The record later provided grounds

¹ The manuscripts and incunabula have not survived to our times untouched because of the improvement of library resources; J. Zathey, 'Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1364–1492' in; J. Zathey, A. Lewicka-Kamińska, L. Hajdukiewicz, *Historia Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej. Tom I, 1364–1775*, ed. I. Zarębski, Kraków 1966, p. 77.

S. Konarski, 'Piekarski Kazimierz, Stanisław Kostka, Irydion (1893-1944)', in: Polski Słownik Biograficzny, vol. 26/1, fasc. 108, eds. E. Rostworowski, H. Kowalska-Kossobudzka, A. Szklarska-Lohmannowa, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1981, pp. 66-69; H. Barycz, 'Kazimierz Piekarski', Pamiętnik Literacki, 1946, 36, fasc. 304, pp. 313-326; A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, 'Piekarski Kazimierz Stanisław Irydion (30 III 1893- 7 II 1944)', in: Słownik Pracowników Książki Polskiej, Warszawa-Łódź 1972, p. 674.

for the National Library team to develop a second volume of the *Incunabula in Polish Libraries, Central Catalogue. Supplements. Indexes* (*Inkunabuły w bibliotekach polskich. Centralny katalog. Uzupełnienia. Indeksy*), which records the losses of Polish libraries after 1939,³ edited by Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa.

A set of incunabula kept in the Płock Seminary Library until WWII is among the library resources recorded by Kazimierz Piekarski. The list compiled by Piekarski, who worked at the National Library in Warsaw in 1931-1943, and later called *Incunabula from the Plock Seminary. Kazimierz Piekarski's Register from before 1 September 1939*, was luckily saved from the ravages of the war.⁴ The lost set of incunabula was a treasure of human knowledge, contained in 15th-century books kept in the Płock Cathedral or Pułtusk Collegiate Church, as well as in the book collections belonging to several orders in the territory of the Diocese of Płock, which enriched the Seminary Library in the latter half of the 19th century.⁵ 12 of the listed incu-

³ Inkunabuły w Bibliotekach Polskich. Centralny Katalog. Uzupełnienia. Indeksy, ed. A. Kawecka - Gryczowa, comps. M. Bohonos, M. Spandowski, E. Szandorowska, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1993, pp. XIX-XX.

^{4 422} titles were in the set of the Płock incunabula lost during WWII, according to Kazimierz Piekarski's register, a sizable and precious collection. Piekarski handwrote the list of the collection, providing the author and the work's title. Additionally, he tried to decipher ownership entries found on the pages of volumes, also briefly describing their binding. Furthermore, he recorded the former catalogue numbers of the 15th-century Płock texts. In many cases he added his own comments related to a book's state of preservation, missing pages, or information on an incunabulum. The present paper is based on the list of 15th-century books made by Kazimierz Piekarski and preserved in the collection of the National Library in Warsaw: Inkunabuły Biblioteki Seminarium Duchownego w Płocku. Rejestracja Kazimierza Piekarskiego sprzed 1 IX 1939 roku (Early Printed Book Department, no cat.no.).

⁵ After the January Uprising, the next stage of the suppression of monasteries in the Kingdom of Poland took place in late 1864 and early 1865. At this time, an attempt was made to assess the value of monastic properties taken over by the tsarist authorities. This evaluation also covered books located in the sacristies of the monastic churches as well as library books in suppressed monasteries. Based on issued instructions, tsarist liquidators usually transferred book collections into the custody of a local parish priest, curate, or dean. Michał Juszyńsk, the administrator of the Warsaw Diocese Bishop Paweł Rzewuski and Sandomierz Bishop Józef, presented a case for the dissolution of former monastic book collections in 1865 to the Director of Government Commission for Interior and Religion of the Congress Kingdom of Poland (Włodzimierz Czerkasski), and requested the deposition of the former monastic book collections at the Seminary in Warsaw (P. Rzewuski) and the Seminary in Sandomierz (J.M. Juszyński). The tsarist authorities

nabula were associated with four monasteries of the Friars Minor, founded on estates located in the administrations of the Diocese of Płock in the 19th century. Three of the discussed monasteries formed part of the Order's Prussian province (Ordo Fratrum Minorum Strictionis Observantiae Reformatorum, Provincia Prussiae) in Płock, Pułtusk, and Zareby Kościelne,⁶ while the monastery in Szczawin Kościelny formed part of the greater province of St Anthony of Padua (Ordo Fratrum Minorum Reformatorum Provincia Maioris Poloniae S. Antonii de Padua).⁷ The first Friars Minor to settle in the Diocese of Płock were those in Pułtusk, since it was founded as early as in 1648 (Church of St Joseph the Bridegroom of the Blessed Virgin Mary). Later foundations within the Diocese included those in Zareby Kościelne (residence) in 1765-1774, the Church of the Most Holy Name of Jesus and the Church of St Apostles Simon and Jude, and the Church of St John the Baptist founded in 1755 in Płock.8 After 1864, the monasteries of the Reformed Friars Minor in the Diocese of Płock were suppressed.

87

agreed that the existing seminaries were the most appropriate to receive and use the former monastic book collections. The transportation of the book collections was conducted most throughout the Diocese of Sandomierz (1865), the Diocese of Włocław (1868), The Diocese of Warsaw (1869), and the Diocese of Płock (1870). The books reached the Płock Seminary Library as early as in 1865, thus enriching the already existing Seminary book collection. See P.P. Gach, *Mienie polskich zakonów i jego losy w XIX wieku*, Rome 1979, pp. 34-36; eadem, *Kasaty zakonów na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej i Śląska 1773–1914*, Lublin 1984, pp.106–109, 113, 182; J.M. Marszalska, 'Księgi ze skasowanych w XIX wieku klasztorów w Królestwie Polskim w obecnym zasobie starych druków Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Płocku', in: Życie zakonne w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1832 -1864. Polityka caratu – Kasaty – Represje, eds. W. Graczyk, J.M. Marszalska, Kraków 2015, pp. 42–43.

⁶ L. Bieńkowski, E. Janicka-Olczakowa, L. Mullerowa, 'Tabele źródłowe: tab. 62 mapa XXXIII', in: *Zakony męskie w Polsce w 1772 roku*, eds. L. Bieńkowski, J. Kłoczowski, Z. Sułowski, Lublin 1972.

⁷ Ibidem, Table 64, map XXXIII. As of 1818 the Monastery of the Friars Minor in Szczawin Kościelny belonged to the administrative unit of the Dioceses of Warsaw. In his bull Vixdum Poloniae unitas of 28 October 1925 that reorganized the territorial structure of the Catholic Church in Poland, Pope Pius XI excluded the Gostynin Deanery from the Diocese of Warsaw, incorporating it into the Diocese of Płock. It included the following parishes: Czermno, Gąbin, Dobrzyków, Gostynin, Osmolin, Pacyna, Radziwie, Sanniki, Słubice, Soczewka, Sokołów, Solec, Suserz, Szczawin, Trębki, and Zyck. See B. Kumor, 'Granice diecezji płockiej', Studia Płockie, 1975, 3, p. 56.

⁸ T. Żebrowski, Zarys dziejów Diecezji Płockiej, Płock 1976, p. 83.

After 1864, the book collections formerly belonging to the suppressed monasteries of the Reformed Friars Minor were dispersed; some were also destroyed or robbed, while others reached the Seminary Library. Included among the books brought to and deposited in the Seminary building are nine incunabula from the monasteries in Szczawina, Płock, Pułtusk, and Zaręby Kościelne, and three featuring ownership notes of the Monastery of the Reformed Friars Minor in Nowe Miasto Lubawskie (Diocese of Chełmno).⁹

Thanks to the provenance records compiled by Piekarski, we can trace the intricate history of some dozen incunabula and their former owners. Saved after the suppression of religious orders, monasteries, nunneries, these books found refuge on the shelves of the Płock Seminary Library until 1939, after which they were taken to Königsberg at the beginning of WWII by the Germans. An attempt to reconstruct their contents can be made due to the preserved register.

In this context, the question arises as to the importance that the reconstruction of a small part of the book collection belonging to

⁹ On the Monastery of the Reformed Friars Minor of the Assumption of Mary at Łąki Bratiańskie (Chełmno Diocese, Chełmno Voivodeship, Prussian Province) see L. Bieńkowski, E. Janicka-Olczakowa, L. Müllerowa, Source tables nos. 1-69, in: Zakony męskie w Polsce w 1772. Materiały do atlasu historycznego chrześcijaństwa w Polsce, vol. 1, Lublin 1972, Table 62, Map XXXIII. Interestingly, the monasteries of the Reformed Friars Minor in Mazovia were mostly founded by generous secular aristocrats. The Reformed Friars Minor arrived at Szczawin thanks to the efforts of Jakub Olbracht Szczawiński, the village's owner, Inowrocław Voivode, who reiterated his request for their arrival to the superior of the Greater Poland Province of the Reformed Friars Minor. The decision for the friars to take over the church in Szczawin, once by Jakub Olbracht's parents Jakub and Łęczyca Voivode, and his wife Zofia née Sokołowski, was taken at the Chapter meeting held in Pakość on 9 August 1661. Jakub Olbracht committed to raising a monastery at Zaręby Kościelne. The initiative originated from Franciszek Straszewski, Dobrzyń Gamekeeper, in 1764. The history of the Zaręby Kościelne followed the same pattern. On 25 May 1764, the Superior General of the Order agreed to the foundation of the monastery. Following Straszewski's death, Szymon Zaremba, Sieradz Iudex Terrestris, continued the project, and on 23 October 1765, the Płock Bishop Hieronim Antoni Szeptycki (1759-1773) authorised the structure. The friars persisted at Zareby until 1864. See J.M. Marszalska, W. Graczyk, 'Zakony na Mazowszu od XVI do końca XVIII wieku', in: Dzieje Mazowsza lata 1527-1794, ed. J. Tyszkiewicz, Pułtusk 2015, pp. 359 - 396; P. Nowogórski, 'Architektura i wystrój kościoła franciszkanów reformatów w Szczawinie Kościelnym', Notatki Płockie 1998, 43, pp. 3-6; K. R. Prokop, Nekropolie biskupie w nowożytnej Rzeczypospolitej (XVI-XVIII), Kraków-Warszawa 2020, p. 140.

a former monastery library might have for the study of 15th-century Polish book culture, particularly bearing in mind that the majority of the aforementioned monasteries do not exist, while the former monastery churches were incorporated into the Diocese parish structure (e.g., the former Monastery of the Reformed Friars Minor in Płock, Szczawina, or Zaręby Kościelne). Despite the richness of historical accounts, scholarship has not accounted for the losses suffered by Polish book collection because of WWII, particularly as entire historical ecclesiastical collections were taken out of the country and destroyed, as with the case of the Płock Seminary book collection.

Before 1939, the Diocesan Płock collection of handwritten and printed books from the 15th century ranked among the most precious in Poland in terms of quantity and content, recognised mainly for the authors included in the collection. It was a subject of interest for many notable Polish historians, including the mediaevalist and lawyer Adam Vetulani¹⁰ and Piekarski.¹¹

Already at the beginning of WWII, the Płock ecclesiastical book collection aroused the interest of several German historians who, in early 1940, came to Płock to evaluate its scholarly worth. These included Dr Kurt Forstreuter, a historian and archivist based in Königsberg, Dr Max Hein, director of the Königsberg Archives, and Dr Karl Diesch, Director of the University Library in Königsberg. Based on their evaluation, the library and archive were to be secured and brought to Königsberg. The Waffen SS took care of the transportation. In the spring of 1941, the most precious works and

¹⁰ W. Uruszczak, 'Adam Joachim Vetulani (1901-1976)', in: 600-lecie odnowienia Akademii Krakowskiej. Wydział Prawa i Administracji. Złota księga. Uniwersytet Jagielloński, eds. J. Stelmach, W. Uruszczak, Kraków 2000, pp. 393-399.

¹¹ Both researchers visited the Płock Seminary Library in the 1930s. Prof. Adam Vetulani recorded the manuscripts kept in the library, producing a compilation of and publication on medieval manuscripts in the Płock Cathedral Library titled: 'Średniowieczne rękopisy płockiej biblioteki katedralnej', *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 1963, 7, fascs. 3-4, pp. 313-443. Today, it serves as a key source of information on the manuscripts kept in the Płock ecclesiastical collections until WWII, and their authors and content. Vetulani is a source book, similarly to Kazimierz Piekarski's *Registers of Books from before 1939*.

documents in the Płock Library collection were created and taken to Sierpc, from where they were transported by train to Königsberg.¹² Dr Karl Diesch and Prof. Stefan Götz von Selle supervised the looting of the Płock collection.¹³ This looting led to the unprecedented destruction of one of the most valuable ecclesiastical book collections in Poland, composed of books from the early Middle Ages in the libraries of the Płock Cathedral and the Pułtusk Chapter as well as those from the monasteries once belonging to the Diocese of Płock (Ciechanów, Przasnysz, Ratowo, Skępe, Wyszogród on the Vistula, Pułtusk, or Płock). whose book collections were taken to the Płock Seminary following the suppression of the monastery in the 19th century.

The analysed set of 15th-century books from several monasteries previously owned by the Reformed Friars Minor reflects the historical destruction of Polish book culture. Book provenance entries preserved by Piekarski reveal the owners of the books, and sometimes trace their intricate itineraries. With this information, we can analyse in which monastery the books were located. Based on these examples, we learn that they did not all originate in monastic settings but often reached the shelves of monastic libraries through donations by their earlier owners, such as Plock canons or private individuals. The inscription *legavit*, *donavit*, or *offered* referred to the donor's will to donate the book to the monastery alongside their request for a intercessory prayer. This practice is evidenced by the handwritten notes left in many books, which specify the following after the donation inscription: *oretur pro eo*, *or oretur pro illo*.

13 For more on this topic, see W. Graczyk, J. M. Marszalska, Księgi rękopiśmienne i stare druki w zbiorach Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Płocku. Z dziejów kultury polskich bibliotek kościelnych w dawnych wiekach, Kraków 2010, pp. 30–32.

¹² S. Sawicka, Straty wojenne zbiorów polskich w dziedzinie rękopisów iluminowanych, Warszawa 1952, p. 43; M. M. Grzybowski, 'Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego od 1710 do 1990', ink: Biblioteka Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Płocku, ed. W. Graczyk, Płock 2003 pp. 97-98; W. Graczyk, J.M. Marszalska, Księgi rękopiśmienne i stare druki w zbiorach Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Płocku. Z dziejów kultury polskich bibliotek kościelnych w dawnych wiekach, Kraków 2010, pp. 29-32; Sawicka, Straty wojenne zbiorów polskich w dziedzinie rękopisów iluminowanych..., p. 43; W. Kalicki, M. Kuhnke, Sztuka zagrabiona. Uprowadzone Madonny, Warszawa 2014, p. 207.

Three books previously owned by the Reformed Friars Minor from the Monastery of St Joseph the Bridegroom of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pułtusk¹⁴ reached the Płock Seminary Library: the *Summa theologica*, (P. I-IV) published in Venice by Leon Wild [P. IV, Reyn. de Novimagio] in 1481, a work by the Italian theologian and Dominican Antoninus of Florence;¹⁵ the *Sermones ad heremitas* from 1486, attributed to Pseudo-Augustine, (Brescia, Iac. Britannicus);¹⁶ and the Nuremberg edition of *Biblia*, cum postillis by Nicholas of Lyra (et expositionibus Guillelmi Britonis in omnes prologos s. Hieronymi et additionibus Pauli Burgensis replicisque Matthiae Doering.-Nicolaus de Lyra: Contra perfidiam Iudaeorum), published by Anton Koberger in 1497.¹⁷ The entries preserved by Piekarski reveal the lifespan of the books, and the ways they passed from some owners to others through donations. Two among the three incunabula featured the entry of the Maków preacher Franciszek Grabowski dated to 1655; he donated the books to the monastery and requested a prayer of intercession, as testified to by the inscription *oretur pro eo*. Judging from the recorded note likely on the first page of Antoninus Florentinus' Summa theologica from 1481, we may glean that Franciszek Grabowski was the book's first owner, which was donated for reasons unknown to the Pułtusk monastery of St Joseph the Bridegroom of the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1655. It is difficult to ascertain how the Summa theologica ended up

¹⁴ On the Monastery of the Reformed Friars Minor in Pułtusk (Diocese of Płock, Mazovian Voivodeship, Prussian Province, of St Joseph the Bridegroom of the Blessed Virgin Mary) see: L. Bieńkowski, E. Janicka-Olczakowa, L. Mullerowa, 'Tabele źródłowe nr 1-69', in: Zakony męskie w Polsce w 1772. Materiały do atlasu historycznego chrześcijaństwa w Polsce, vol. 1, Lublin 1972, Table 62, Map XXXIII. No documents have been preserved in the archives of the Płock Seminary that the refer to how the former book collection of the Reformed Friars Minor ended up in the Cathedral Library, and, in the Seminary Library after 1926. The rich Seminary archives and the library had already suffered extensive damage at the onset of WWII, hence the substantial limits to documentary evidence regarding provenance. See more W. Graczyk, J. M. Marszalska, Księgi rękopiśmienne i stare druki w zbiorach Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Płocku. Z dziejów kultury polskich bibliotek kościelnych w dawnych wiekach, Kraków 2010, pp. 25-32.

¹⁵ National Library (henceforth BN) Inkunabuły Biblioteki Seminarium Duchownego w Płocku. Rejestracja Kazimierza Piekarskiego sprzed 1 IX 1939 roku, (henceforth Kazimierz Piekarski's Register), item 480.

¹⁶ Ibidem, item 7.

¹⁷ Ibidem, item 509.

in the collection of the Pułtusk Benedictines, as confirmed by the final notes on the title page of Florentinus' work *Bened[yktyni] Pułtusk* 'Nr 2 F'.¹⁸ The 1497 Bible with postilles by Nicholas of Lyra featured a preserved donation note by the Maków preacher bearing the date 1655. However, in the case of the latter book. Grabowski was not the book's first owner. Under the date 1601 Bartłomiej Dalen is recorded as parochi in [Lidzenau?].¹⁹ We do not know circumstances where the book entered Grabowski's property. Similar to the text by Antoninus of Florence, the Maków preacher donated the book to the Monastery of the Pułtusk Reformed Friars Minor in 1655, a fact noted by the following inscription: Pro Conven[tu] Pultoviensi F[ratrum] Min[orum] Ord[inis] S[ancti] Fran[cisci] Refor[matorum] A[nno] D[omini] 1655 donavit Adm[odum] R[evere]ndus D[omi]nus Franciscus Grabowski Concionator Makovien[sis]. Oretur pro eo. This book also bears evidence of having belonged to the library of the Pułtusk Benedictines in 1833, according to the recorded note: Bibl[iotheca] Pult[oviensi] Ord/inis] S[ancti] Ben[edicti] 1833, 'Nr 1 A'. Possibly borrowed by one of the monks and not returned in time, the book remained on the shelves of the Pułtusk Benedictine library until the suppression of the monastery in 1864, later transferred to Płock with the remainder of the former Benedictine books.

Piekarski recorded and deciphered the most interesting ownership marks on Pseudo- Augustine's *Sermones ad heremitas* from 1486.²⁰ The book featured traces of as many as seven owners, with the first three not dated by a year. Jan Langhannigk was the first owner of the book, a parish priest in Lidzbark Warmiński (1532-1559), bishop's steward (1541-1547), honorary Canon of Dobre Miasto, and Frombork Canon from 1560,²¹ according to the following

¹⁸ BN, *Kazimierz Piekarski's Register*, item 480. Franciszek Grabowski was a preacher at St Joseph's Parish in Maków Mazowiecki.

¹⁹ Ibidem, item 509.

²⁰ Ibidem, item 7.

²¹ On 19 August 1560, he sold the Holtzenhoff Allodia and furnished the hospital for the poor in Lidzbark Warmiński. See A. Kopiczko, 'Langhannigk Jan (Langanki, Langhannki)(zm. 29 X 1567)', in: Słownik Biograficzny Kapituły Kolegiackiej w Dobrym Mieście, Olsztyn 1999, p. 75; eadem, 'Langhannigk Jan (Langanki, Langhannki) (zm. 29 X 1567)', in: Duchowieństwo Katolickie Diecezji Warmińskiej w latach 1525-1821,

record: *Ioannis Langhannigk economo Var[miensis], parochus Lidzbergensis, Dom[inu]s huius libri est.* Urban Rosenvalt (Rosenwald), a parish priest in Tolkowiec, was the next to own the book,²² also recorded: *nunc vero Urbanum Rosenvalth possessorum habet.* Later, the book was the property of Grzegorz Langwald, *comendarius* of the Frankowo Parish, and parish priest in Lutry and Bisztynek: *Gregorium Langwald possessorum habet.* ²³

The work by Pseudo-Augustine was offered to the Reformed Friars Minor from Pułtusk in 1726 under unknown circumstances, according to an inscription likely inscribed on its front page: Pro conventu Pultoviensi Ord/inis] Min[orum] S[ancti] F[rancisci] Reform[atorum] ad S/anctum/ Josephum a [1]726.²⁴ Slightly later, its owner Ignacy Bartochowski lent the Sermones ad heremitas to an unknown user who wrote down, by Bartochowski's name, Requiescat in pace. We don't know who and under what circumstances the book was presented to the Reformed Friars Minor in Zaręby Kościelne; we only know with certainty that the book was incorporated into the monastery collection in 1822, as testified by an inscription on a stamp: Applicatus hic liber pro conventu Zarembensi P[atrum] Reformatorum 1822. The long itinerary of the work and its subsequent owners left peculiar traces of their use of the book. The last book's owner (before its disappearance) was the Płock Seminary. This is accounted for by the stamp pointing to the book's location in the Seminary Library: Plock Sem. - V.4.47 - stamp [1st half of the 20th c.].²⁵

cz. 2: Słownik, Olsztyn 2000, p. 188, (see bibliographic sources and literature).

²² Born in Lidzbark Warmiński in 1539, Rosenwald Urban studied in Braniewo and in Vidzeme; from 1563, he was parish priest at Tolkowiec where he stayed until 1581, see A. Kopiczko, 'Rosenwald Urban' born in 1539, in: *Duchowieństwo katolickie Diecezji Warmińskiej w latach 1525–1821*, part 2: *Słownik*, Olsztyn 2000, p. 274.

²³ Langwald Grzegorz was born in Braniewo in 1583 where he studied for 11 years. In 1609, he was appointed commendarius of the Frankowo Parish by Fr Jerzy Fahl, Jeziorany Archpresbyter. Parish priest of Frankowo from 1610; on 7 June 1612 he was installed at the Lutry Parish (1612-1624); from 1627 Bisztynek Parish Priest (1627-1632), see A. Kopiczko, 'Langwald Grzegorz, ur. w 1583', in: Duchowieństwo katolickie Diecezji Warmińskiej w latach 1525–1821, part 2: Słownik, Olsztyn 2000, p. 189 (there literature).

²⁴ BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, item 7.

²⁵ BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, item 7.

The Legenda aurea by the Italian Dominican Iacobus de Voragine was another work in the collection of the Zareby Kościelne Monastery of the Reformed Friars Minor²⁶, its edition published in Strasbourg [Typographus Georgius Husner] in 1483. This was an extremely popular text in the Middle Ages and could be found in almost all monastic or ecclesiastical libraries.²⁷ A stamp that bore the inscription Bibl/iotheca] XX. R[eformatorum] w Zarembach testified to the fact that this collection of saints' lives and hagiographic legends, ordered in harmony with the Church calendar, belonged to the library of the Zaręby Kościelne Monastery of the Reformed Friars Minor.²⁸ The preserved entries allow us to assume that Henricus Andreas Geret was the book's first owner²⁹ and maybe its donor, though this cannot be confirmed. In his notes, Piekarski merely recorded the brief inscription, which he dated to the 17th century: Eccl[esiae] Christ[i] Henr[icus] Andr[eas] Geret. The Płock Seminary was the last owner of the book, as was the case with Pseudo-Augustine's Sermones ad heremitas from 1486, as evidenced by the stamp pointing to its catalogue number in the Seminary Library, dating to the first half of the 20th century: *Płock Sem. II.10.1*.

Explanatio Psalmorum by St Augustine, published in Basel by Johann Amerbach in 1479,³⁰ was connected to the Płock Monastery of the Reformed Friars Minor of John the Baptist.³¹ Piotr Lubarth, called Aurifaber, a doctor of theology, philosopher, and bibliophile, Płock Canon, and, from 1514, Płock Auxiliary Bishop, was

- 27 BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, item 332.
- 28 Ibidem.
- 29 Christophorus Henricus Andreas Geret (1666-1757), a parish priest in Toruń.
- 30 BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, item 433.
- 31 On the Monastery of the Reformed Friars Minor in Płock (Płock Diocese, Płock Voivode, Prussian Province, of John the Baptist) see L. Bieńkowski, E. Janic-ka-Olczakowa, L. Müllerowa, 'Tabele źródłowe nr 1–69', in: Zakony męskie w Polsce w 1772. Materiały do atlasu historycznego chrześcijaństwa w Polsce, vol. 1, Lublin 1972, Table 62, Map XXXIII.

²⁶ On the Monastery of the Reformed Friars Minor at Zaręby Kościelne (Płock Diocese, Mazovian Voivodeship, Prussian Province, of the Most Holy Name of Jesus and of St Apostles Simon and Jude) see L. Bieńkowski, E. Janicka-Olczakowa, L. Müllerowa, 'Tabele źródłowe nr 1-69', in: Zakony męskie w Polsce w 1772. Materiały do atlasu historycznego chrześcijaństwa w Polsce, vol. 1, Lublin 1972, Table 62, Map XXXIII.

the book's first owner.³² An author of theological and philosophical works, he was a great bibliophile who amassed a sizeable collection of manuscripts and incunabula. Following his death, a substantial part of his collection was given to the Płock Cathedral Library, with his brother and the executor of his estate. Stanisław Lubart. granted right of use.³³ Piotr Lubart provided this permission in the form of an ownership note, a sticker featuring information on the year when the book was purchased: Liber M[a]qis[tri] Petri Lubarth de Crac[ovia] Sacrae Theologiae Proffessoris ad Sanctam Annam Plebani Anno D/omi/ni 1510 comparatus.³⁴ Two centuries later, another Płock Canon, Maurycy Jan Jeżewski, owned the Explanatio Psalmorum,³⁵ which was donated most likely before his death to the Płock Monastery of the Reformed Friars Minor in 1768 with a request for an intercessory prayer: hic liber post fata p[hilosofiae] d[octoris] Ill[ustrissi] mi M. Jeżewski Can[onici] Cath[edralis] Ploc[ensis] donatus est conventui *Plocen*[*sis*] *P*[*atrum*] *Reformat*[*orum*] 1768 *oretur pro eo.*³⁶ This book also bore a catalogue number referring to the Płock Seminary Library: Plock Sem. VIII.1.30, while its incorporation into the Seminary's collection is testified by the stamps preserved in the book specifying its location in the Library collection.

Four incunabula preserved in the Płock Seminary Library until 1939 originated from the Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed

³² Lubart Piotr called Aurifaber (d. 1530), was a Doctor of Theology, professor at the Cracow Academy, philosopher, and bibliophile. Thanks to the patronage of Płock Bishop Erazm Ciołek, he became Commendatory Abbot at the Płock Benedictine Monastery (1513-1514), and from 1514 was Płock Auxiliary Bishop as titulary Bishop Suffragan of Lacedemon. On the order of Bishop Andrzej Krzycki, he was responsible for collecting a special tax *pro fabrica ecclesiae* aimed at embellishing the Płock Cathedral; in 1523, he became Płock Archdean. See W. Graczyk, 'Lubart Piotr zw. Aurifaber (zm. 20 XII 1530)' w Krakowie, in: *Encyklopedia Katolicka* [EK], vol. 11, Lublin 2006, column 11.

³³ M. Zwiercan, 'Piotr Aurifaber z Krakowa', in: Encyklopedia filozofii polskiej, ed. A. Młynarczyk, vol. 2, Lublin 2011, pp. 252-253;

³⁴ BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, item 433.

³⁵ Maurycy Jan Jeżewski of the Jastrzębiec coat of arms, Płock and Włocławek Canon. He was son of Adam Jeżewski, Płock Chamberlain. See K. Niesiecki, Herbarz Polski, vol. 4, J.N. Bobrowicz, Leipzig 1839–1845, pp. 494-499.

³⁶ BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, item 433.

Incunabula left by Friars Minor as Found in the Register of the Collection of the Plock Seminary

Virgin Mary in the Greater Poland Province of St Anthony of Padua (Ordo Fratrum Minorum Reformatorum Provincia Maioris Poloniae S. Antonii de Padua) in Szczawin Kościelny:³⁷: Biblia, cum additione Menardi monachi, published in Nuremberg by Anton Koberger in 1479;³⁸ Postilla super Epistolas et Evangelia by Guillermus Parisiensis, also published in Nuremberg by Kasper Hochfeder in 1496, ³⁹ bound with the postincunabulum Stellarium Coronae Mariae Virginis by Pelbartus Ladislaus de Temesvar from 1501 (Henricus Gran pro Ioannes Rynman);⁴⁰ Sermones quadragesimales Thesauri novi by Pseudo-Petrus de Palude, published in Nuremberg by Anton Koberger in 1496;⁴¹ and Catena aurea super quattuor Evangelistas by St Thomas Aquinas, published in Venice in 1493, featuring the typography Locatellus (pro Oct. Scoto).⁴²

It is hard to specify when and how the 15th-century books ended up in the collection of the Monastery of the Reformed Friars Minor in Szczawin Kościelny, which was founded in the 17th century. Circumstances likely varied: the books may have been donated by the founder, or purchased, bequeathed, and borrowed by one of its first priors from another monastery. The first three among the four books featured the first, and possibly only, provenance note pointing to the Monastery of the Szczawin Reformed Friars Minor as the direct owner of the respective books. The 1479 Bible featured the following inscription - Pro Con[ven]tu Sczavinensi adonad S[anctam] *M*[*ariam*] *Visitantem* - dated to the 17th century, while a numerical stamp signalled that the book was part of the Płock Seminary collection: Plock Sem. 'nr 1989';43 Postilla super epistolas by Guillermus Parisiensis had a different briefer inscription: Pro Conv[entu] Szczavinensi 'C. 68'.44 A full record of the book's incorporation into the monastery collection is found in Sermones quadragesimales...

- 40 Ibidem, item 178.
- 41 Ibidem, item 495.
- 42 Ibidem, item 368.
- 43 Ibidem, item 572.
- 44 Ibidem, item 178.

³⁷ See footnote 7.

³⁸ BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, item 572.

³⁹ Ibidem, item 178.

by Pseudo-Petrus de Palude, and reads: 'Pro Conventu Szczavinensi P[atrum] Reform[atorum] 1737 - sygn. D.25'.⁴⁵

The edition of St Thomas Aquinas' *Catena aurea super quattuor Evangelistas* published in Venice in 1493 by Bonetus Locatellus (pro Octavianus Scoto) is exceptional in this respect.⁴⁶ Based on the preserved records deciphered by Piekarski, the Doctor of Theology Pio [Loga?], a Płock Dominican monk, was the first owner of the book. Jacek Miaszkiewicz, Provost of the Pacyna Parish Church, later was owned the book and donated it to the Prior of the Reformed Friars Minor Florian Niwiński in 1822. The last recorded undated entry, *Pro Bibliotheca Con[ven]tus Szczavinensis PP. Reformatorum*, notes that the book had been given to the Szczawin Monastery of the Reformed Friars Minor, and thus the monastery was not its first owner.

Based on the authors and topics of the enumerated 15th-century books from the former reformed monasteries in the Płock Diocese. it is difficult to speak about the academic or theological interests of the reformed monastic circles in the 17th century. As can be ascertained by the deciphered records, they mostly referred to books previously owned by Płock Canons who offered them to monasteries for various reasons, almost always with a request for an intercessory prayer for the donor's soul. The Bible and accompanying commentaries such as, Explanatio Psalmorum by Aurelius Augustinus, Catena aurea super quattuor Evangelistas by St Thomas Aquinas or Summa theologica by Antoninus Florentinus, present in almost all mediaeval ecclesiastical collections, or one of the most popular mediaeval works, the Legenda aurea by Iacobus de Voragine, could all be found on the library shelves of the monasteries of the Reformed Friars Minor in the Płock Diocese. Were they studied or read by Franciscan monks, or did they merely complement monastery collections as valuable works of early European printing? It is almost impossible to answer this question since the material analysis of pages with visible underlining or marginalia cannot be conducted.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, item 495.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, item 368.

Interestingly, the preserved list of incunabula also featured three 15th-century books which from the no longer extant Monastery of the Reformed Friars Minor in Nowe Miasto Lubawskie (Łąki Bratiańskie),⁴⁷ founded by Paweł Działyński, Pomeranian Voivode, and Bratian Starost.⁴⁸ The first of the three books is the work by the theologian Ludolph of Saxony (Ludolph the Carthusian), Meditationes de vita Christi, published by the Nuremberg printer Anton Koberger in 1478.⁴⁹ Compilations of the mysteries of the life of Christ, popular throughout the Middle Ages, were called a summa evangelica. Meditationes de vita Christi by Ludolph of Saxony had a great impact on Carthusian spirituality, particularly within the religious practice known as *devotio moderna*, as well as on a substantial group of estimated theologians including St Ignatius of Loyola, St Francis de Sales, and the great reformers of the Spanish Carmelites, St Teresa of Avila and St John of the Cross.⁵⁰ The book had formerly been owned by Hermanus Wejer (Weiher,

49 BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, item 561.

⁴⁷ On the Monastery of the Reformed Friars Minor at Łąki Bratiańskie of the Assumption of Mary (Chełmno Diocese, Chełmno Voivodeship, Prussian Province) see L. Bieńkowski, E. Janicka-Olczakowa, L. Müllerowa, 'Tabele źródłowe nr 1-69', in: Zakony męskie w Polsce w 1772. Materiały do atlasu historycznego chrześcijaństwa w Polsce, vol. 1, Lublin 1972, Table 62, Map XXXIII.

The Reformed Friars Minor were connected with Nowe Miasto Lubawskie from the 48 time they were brought there by an advocate of Counter-Reformation, Pomerania Voivode and Bratian Starost, Paweł Działyński, in 1624. The Monastery of the Reformed Friars Minor at the Church of St George in Nowe Miasto Lubawskie was twice destroyed in that period. Its first destruction occurred after the attack of the Lisowczyks in 1625, while its second destruction occurred in 1629 when the town was seized by the Swedes. Following these events, Paweł Działyński decided to found a new wooden monastery at Łąki Bratiańskie (1631), to where the order moved from Nowe Miasto Lubawskie. In the 17th century, the Łąki Bratiańskie Monastery was part of the Prussian Province of the Assumption of Mary of the Reformed Friars Minor. After the suppression of that Church and its Monastery in 1875 by the Prussian authorities, the miraculous statue of Our Lady of Bratian was transferred to the high altar of the Parish Church of St Thomas in Nowe Miasto Lubawskie in 1882, which thereby became a centre of Marian devotion. See W. Rozynkowski, 'Nowe Miasto Lubawskie, sanktuarium maryjne w diecezji toruńskiej', in: EK, vol.14, Lublin 2010, columns 46-47 (and accompanying bibliography).

J. Misiurek, 'Ludolf z Saksonii, Ludolf Kartuz (1300–1378), teolog, pisarz religijny', in: EK, vol.11, Lublin 2006, column 132 (and accompanying bibliography);
 P. Pawłowski, 'Ludolf z Saksonii i jego Vita Christi w edycji z 1495 roku ze zbiorów Biblioteki Zgromadzenia Księży Misjonarzy na Stradomiu w Krakowie (część B)', *Fides. Biuletyn Bibliotek Kościelnych* 2011, 1/2, pp. 54–63 (pp. 32–33, 54–55).

Weyber),⁵¹ a judicial vicar in Pomesanias and a temporary judicial vicar from Lubawa and Chełmno Canon, as noted on the title page by the inscription Hermanus Wejer officialis Pomezanensis me possidet. It remains unknown as to how the Meditationes de vita Christi ended up in the library of the Monastery of the Reformed Friars Minor in Nowe Miasto Lubawskie, as testified by the following note Usui Fratrum Minorum Refor[matorum] Conventus Neofor[ensis] deputatis [17th c.]), although it may be supposed that Wejer bequeathed part of his book collection to the Reformed Friars Minor, that which is how the books ended up in the library of the Lubawa Reformed Friars Minor.⁵² Father Antoni Brykczyński from the Pułtusk Canon, a historian of sacred art and a bibliographer, owned the second book, as recorded by Piekarski in a stamp: X. A[ntoni] Brykczyński.⁵³ The third book belonged to the Seminary in Płock, confirmed by a stamp referring to its library collection: Płock Sem, XVII.1.4.54

51 Weiher (Weyber) Hermanus (1552–1637) was born in Brabant, Belgium, and his father or relative was a court physician of Duke Johann Wilhelm of Jülich-Cleves-Berg. Having studied at the Papal Seminary in Vilnius, he was ordained to the priesthood in 1590 and served a parish priest in Welmar, Livonia. After 1601, he served as a parish priest in many parishes in the Pomesanias Officiality. He was judicial vicar of Pomesanias in 1611–1636, and from 1628 he served as the temporary judicial vicar of Lubawa and Chełmno Canon. He was Cantor of the Livonia Chapter in Wenden as of 1601. In compliance with his last will, he was buried in the Pelplin Cathedral by the altar of Mary Magdalene on 2 December 1637. He bequeathed his possessions to several orders (the Pelplin Cistercians, Malbork Jesuits, Nowe Miasto Lubawskie Franciscans, and the Bridgettines from Gdansk); see W. Zawadzki, 'Duchowieństwo Katolickie Oficjalatu Pomezańskiego w latach 1525–1821', vol. 2, *Słownik*, Elbląg 2009, pp. 258–259 (and accompanying bibliography).

⁵² Ibidem.

⁵³ Fr Antoni Brykczyński, nom de plume Gwiaździec, was an art historian, professor of sacred art at the Płock Seminary, author of numerous publications on sacred buildings and architecture in the Diocese of Płock. In recognition of his merits within sacred art he was conferred the honour of the Pułtusk Canon in 1888; see M. Brykczyńska, 'Antoni Brykczyński (pseud. Gwiaździc) (1843-1913)', duchowny, historyk sztuki, bibliograf, powstaniec styczniowy, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, [supplement], vol.3, pp. 27-28; M. Banaszak, 'Antoni Brykczyński pseud. Gwiaździec (1843 - 1913)', prałat papieski, kanonik pułtuski, profesor Seminarium Duchownego w Płocku, in: *Słownik Polskich Teologów Katolickich* [SPTK], ed. H. E. Wyczawski, Warszawa 1981, pp. 222-233 (and accompanying bibliography); M. Wójcik, 'Antoni Brykczyński pseud. Gwiaździec (1843-1913)', in: EK, vol. 2, Lublin 1995, column 1119.

⁵⁴ BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, item 561.

Biblia, cum Tabula Gabrielis Bruni, published by Iohannes Froben in Basel on 27 October 1495, is the second work whose provenance was connected to the Lubawa Monastery of the Reformed Friars Minor.⁵⁵ According to the provenance inscription deciphered by Piekarski: '*Fr[ater] Bernardinus Żurawiński Gw[ardiani] Lub[aviensi] Fr[atri] Ioachimo Skrzinski ad usum dedit oretur pro eo*', likely on the title page of the Bible, it is known that the book was owned by Bernardinus Żurawiński, the prior of the Lubawa Monastery who gave the book to his fellow friar Joachim Skrzyński with a request for an intercessory prayer. Another recorded ownership stamp points to the Płock Seminary as the next, and last, owner of the book: *Płock Sem. I.2.6.-N.45.-"1895*".- stamp, dated to the first half of the 20th century.

Sermones de tempore et de Sanctis, conventionally attributed to Pseudo-Bonaventure and published in Ulm featuring Ioannes Zainder's typography, is the third 15th-century book whose provenance is associated with the Lubawa Monastery.⁵⁶ Judging from the notes recorded by Piekarski, most likely taken from the book's title page, it was purchased shortly following its publication in Leipzig in 1485 by Tomasz Werulesi of Braniewo. This provenance is confirmed by the inscription deciphered by Piekarski on the sticker: '1485 Liber Magistri Thomae Werulesi de Brunsberga emptus in studio Lipsnen[si] Anno D[omi]ni 1485 in habe*tur [...]*^{7,57} It is hard to determine when and under what circumstances the book reached the Lubawa Monastery Library. Piekarski dates the note specifying that the work was owned by the Lubawa Monastery to the latter half of the 17th century: Loci Lubavien[sis] Fratrum Minorum de *Observ[antia] extra muros perpetuo legatus et [emigratus?].*⁵⁸ Similar to the books whose provenance is associated with the Szczawin Kościelny and Zaręby monasteries, it was given a stamped catalogue number of the Płock Seminary in the first half of the 20th century, where it had ended up in the late 19th century: Plock Sem. XIX.1.2.59

- 57 Ibidem.
- 58 Ibidem.
- 59 Ibidem.

⁵⁵ Ibidem, item 3.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, item 395.

Furthermore, Kazimierz Piekarski described the bindings of the incunabula he recorded.⁶⁰ In most cases, his descriptions are succinct and superficial. However, they allow us to imagine the state of bindings of several 15th-century books in 1939, several centuries after they were made. The bindings were dated by Piekarski and in several cases featured a question mark alongside the date. According to the preserved records, the 13 discussed incunabula that came from the monasteries of the Reformed Friars Minor featured both contemporary and later bindings; in one case, Piekarski did not provide the binding's description. While this may have been a casual oversight, it is most likely that the 1496 Postilla super Epistolas et Evangelia... by Guillermus Parisiensis did not have a binding.⁶¹ St Augustine's work *Explanatio Psalmorum*..., published in 1497 in Basel by Ioannes Amerbach, is of interest both due to its former owner Piotr Lubarch and as it bears an impression of the date '1510' on the binding, possibly referring to the year in which the book was bound. Piekarski did not only mark the characteristic features of the old binding, recording the colour of the leather or parchment used, visible blind tooling on the leather surfaces, clasps or their preserved fragments, corner bosses or tying elements. He also provided extensive information on the books he described, enabling us to learn where it could have been bound by defining their 'binding type', e.g., Gdansk, Torun, or Leipzig. According to Piekarski, the books bound there boasted certain characteristic features of bindings from the German or Flemish circles, particularly visible in bindings from the Gdansk and Torun workshops.⁶² The work Ser-

⁶⁰ Piekarski used shorthand abbreviations to describe the bindings. He did not provide descriptions of bindings in any orderly manner, possible due to haste and lack of sufficient time. He provided full dating only when the bookbinder's impression with the date was visible. His most common remark was "contemporary binding," which meant that it was 'contemporary with the printing'. He also provided approximate dating, such as 15th century or later, which suggests that a book's binding may have been replaced, or that the first one had been damaged. This aspect will be analysed more thoroughly in a forthcoming publication on the missing set of Plock incunabula.

⁶¹ BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, item 178.

^{62 &#}x27;Oprawa w dawnej Polsce', in: *Słownik Pracowników Książki Polskiej*, Wrocław – Warszawa-Kraków 1971, columns 689–1690.

mones de tempore et de Sanctis by Pseudo-Bonaventure, published in Ulm in 1481, was bound in one of the bookbinding workshops from Leipzig in 1485, four years after it had left the printing press. The binding type defined as 'Gdansk' was featured on two works from the discussed set: the 1497 Nuremberg edition of The Bible by Anton Koberger⁶³ and the *Legenda aurea* by Iacobus de Voragine, published in Strasbourg in 1483.⁶⁴ Piekarski recorded the 'Torun-type' binding on Antoninus Florentinus' Summa theologica from 1481, although it was published in Venice.⁶⁵ A binding dated later than published book is found on Ludolph of Saxony's Meditationes de vita Christi, published by Anton Koberger in Nuremberg in 1478. Piekarski recorded a late 18th-century smooth parchment binding66 on the Sermones quadragesimales Thesauri novi by Pseudo-Petrus de Palude published by Koberger's Nuremberg printing house in 1496.67 The description of incunabulum bindings constitutes an essential element of bibliographical knowledge. Thanks to the register left by Piekarski, we are provided with a fuller image of old books, such as where the workshops that produced them may have been located as well as their characteristic features. In a way, this allows us to trace the vicissitudes of the book and its history of ownership, and to become acquainted with European typography and bookbinding workshops.

This small set of 15th-century books only familiar to Piekarski did not completely reflect the academic, that is, theological philosophical, profile of the described libraries of the Reformed Friars Minor. The book collections of those monasteries were widely dispersed after 1870. The crucial feature of these collections consisted, however, in another aspect: through the record of their subsequent owners or users, the changing lives of the books were recorded for posterity. This register is thus an important contri-

- 66 Ibidem, item 561.
- 67 Ibidem, item 495.

⁶³ BN, Kazimierz Piekarski's Register, item 509.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, item 332.

⁶⁵ Ibidem, item 480.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

bution to knowledge of the former owners and their collection practices within broad ecclesiastical circles. Thanks to the priceless records compiled by Kazimierz Piekarski, the book collection, missing since 1940, can be recreated, albeit to a limited degree and with a certain margin of error. It reflects but a small fragment of the once thriving monastic libraries, dispersed after the suppression of religious orders in the second half of the 19th century; regrettably, after 1940, they disappeared, this time forever, from the Płock Seminary Library. The books, lost because of wartime strife, reflect the dramatic fate of culture placed in the hands of people, which has been inseparably interlaced with the dramatic destruction of knowledge, scholarship, and heritage over the centuries.

Incunabula described by Kazimierz Piekarski in the *Register from* before 1 September 1939.

1. ANTONINUS Florentinus, Summa theologica. P. I-IV. Venezia, Leon Wild [P. IV, 2: Reyn. de Novimagio] I) 1481, II) 1481, III)1480, IV) 1481. 2°.

Provenance: 1.Francisci Grabowski mpp. [17th c.]; 2. [Augustinus] [...]ki [18th c.]; 3. Pro Conv[entu] Pultoviensi Fr[atrum] Min[orum] S[ancti] Franci[sci] Reform[atorum] 1655 donavit R[everendi] D[omini] Franciscus Grabowski Concion[ator] Makovien[sis] 1655 oretur pro eo; 4. Bened[yktyni] Pułtusk 'Nr 2 F'

Binding: board, leather, br[own], [embossment] bl[ind], impres[sion] dest[royed], clasps, Torun, contemp[orary] [15th/16th c.]

Inc. Piekarski 480

2. AUGUSTINUS Aurelius s., Explanatio Psalmorum. P. I-III. Basel, Io. Amerbach, 1497. 2°.

IBP II (copy on the list of losses: +278).

Provenance: 1.Liber M[a]gis[tri] Petri Lubarth de Crac[ovia] Sacrae Theologiae Proffessoris ad Sanctam Annam Plebani Anno D[omi]ni 1510 comparatus (sticker); 2. Hic liber post fata p[hilosofiae] d[octoris] Ill[ustrissi]mi M. Jeżewski Can[onici] Cath[edralis] Ploc[ensis] donatus est conventui Plocen[sis] P[atrum] Reformat[orum] 1768 oretur pro eo; 3.Płock Sem. VIII.1.30.- stamp [1st half of the 20th c.]

Binding: board, h[alf] binding br[own], [embossment] bl[ind], [remains] clasps, impression [date] '1510', contemp[orary] [15th/16th c.]

Inc. Piekarski 433

3. Pseudo-AUGUSTINUS s.Sermones ad heremitas. Brescia, Iac. Britannicus, 5 I 1486. 8°.

IBP II (copy on the list of losses: +294).

Provenance: 1. Ioannis Langhannigk economo Var[miensis], parochus Lidzbergensis, Dom[inu]s huius libri est [15th/16th c.]; 2. Nunc vero Urbanum Rosenvalth possessorum habet [1st half of the 16th c.]; 3. Nunc Gregorium Langwald possessorum habet [16th/17th c.]; 4. Pro conventu Pultoviensi Ord[inis] Min[orum] S[ancti] F[rancisci] Reform[atorum] ad S[anctum] Josephum a [1]726; 5. Ta xiążka jest pożyczona mi od J. X Bartochowskiego Societatis Jesu [illegible] Requiescat in pace [17th/18th c.]; 6. Applicatus hic liber pro conventu Zarembensi P[atrum] Reformatorum 1822-stamp; 7. Płock Sem.-V.4.47-stamp [1st half of the 20th c.]

Binding: board, h[alf] binding, [embossment] blind, [remained?] bosses [15th/16th c.]

Inc. Piekarski 7

4. Biblia, cum additione Menardi monachi. Nürnberg, Ant. Koberger, 6 August 1479. 2°.

IBP II (copy on the list of losses: +457).

Provenance: 1. Pro Con[ven]tu Sczavinensi ad S[anctam] M[ariam] Visitantem [17th c.]; 2. Płock Sem. 'nr 1989'-stamp [1st half of the 20th c.]

Binding: board, [leather] br[own], [embossment] bl[ind], bosses, pouch, dest[royed] $[15^{\rm th}/16^{\rm th}\,c.]$

Inc. Piekarski 572

5. Biblia, cum Tabula Gabrielis Bruni in forma mutata. Basel, Io. Froben, 27 October 1495. 8°.

IBP II (copy on the list of losses: +478).

Provenance: 1. Fr[ater] Bernardinus Żurawiński Gw[ardiani] Lub[aviensi] Fr[atri] Ioachimo Skrzinski ad usum dedit oretur pro eo. 2nd half of the 16th c.; 2. Płock Sem. I.2.6.-N. 45.-'1895'.- stamp [1st half of the 20th c.]

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cardboard binding, Pol[ish] [late 16^{th} c.]
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Inc. Piekarski 3

6. Biblia, cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra et expositionibus Guillelmi Britonis in omnes prologos s. Hieronymi et additionibus Pauli Burgensis replicisque Matthiae Doering.-Nicolaus de Lyra: Contra perfidiam Iudaeorum. P. I-IV. Nürnberg, Ant. Koberger, 6 September 1497. 2°.

IBP II (copy on the list of losses: +493).

Provenance: 1. Ex libris Bartholomaei Dalen parochi in [Lidzenau?] [1601]; 2. Pro Conven[tu] Pultoviensi F[ratrum] Min[orum] Ord[inis] S[ancti] Fran[cisci] Refor[matorum] A[nno] D[omini] 1655 donavit Adm[odum] R[evere]ndus D[omi]nus Franciscus Grabowski Concionator Makovien[sis]. Oretur pro eo.; 3. Bibl[iotheca] Pult[oviensi] Ord[inis] S[ancti] Ben[edicti] 1833, 'Nr 1 A'.

Binding: board, [leather] br[own], [embossment] bl[ind], Gdansk, contemp[orary] [15th/16th c.] [inscription added]: 'LXXII. 15'

Inc. Piekarski 509

7. Pseudo-BONAVENTURA s.

Sermones de tempore et de sanctis. [Ulm] Io. Zainer, 1481. 2°. IBP II (copy on the list of losses: +542).

Provenance: 1. 1485 Liber Magistri Thomae Werulesi de Brunsberga emptus in studio Lipsnen[si] Anno D[omi]ni 1485 in habetur [...] on sticker.; 2. Loci Lubavien[sis] Fratrum Minorum de Observ[antia] extra muros perpetuo legatus et [emigratus?] [2^{nd} half of the 16^{th} c.]; 3. Płock Sem. XIX.1.2.- stamp [1^{st} half of the 20^{th} c.]

Binding: board, [leather] br[own], [embossment] bl[ind], clasps, '1485' Leipzig

Inc. Piekarski 395

8. GUILLERMUS Parisiensis Postilla super Epistolas et Evangelia. Nürnberg, Casp. Hochfeder, 25 March 1496. 4º.

IBP II (copy on the list of losses: +1127).

Provenance: 1. Pro Conv[entu] Szczaviensi 'C. 68'

Binding: no description available; bound together with the work: *Pelbartus de Themeswar, Stellarium Coronae Mariae Virginis.* Hagenau, Her. Gran pro Io. Rynman, 28 January 1501. 4°.

Inc. Piekarski 178

9. IACOBUS de Voragine, Legenda aurea. Strassburg [Typ. Iordani=Ge. Husner] 1483. 2°.

IBP II (copy on the list of losses: +1269).

Provenance: 1. 'Iacobi Comest[ori]?' [16th c.]; 2. Eccl[esiae] Christ[i] Henr[icus] Andr[eas] Geret [17th c.]; 3.Bibl[iotheca] XX. R[eformatorum] w Zarembach-stamp [19th c.?]; 4. Płock Sem. II.10.1.-stamp [1st half of the 20th c.]

Binding: board, [leather] br[own], [embossment] bl[ind], Gd[ansk] [early 16th c.]

Inc. Piekarski 332

10.LUDOLPHUS de Saxonia Meditationes de vita Christi. P. I-II. Nürnberg, Ant. Koberger, 20 XII 1478. 2º.

IBP II (copy on the list of losses: +1475).

Provenance: 1.Hermanus Wejer officialis Pomezanensis me possidet [1st half of the 16th c.]; 2.Usui Fratrum Minorum Refor[matorum]

Inc. Piekarski 561

11. Pseudo-PETRUS de Palude, Sermones quadragesimales Thesauri novi. Nürnberg, Ant. Koberger, 1496. 2°.

IBP II (copy on the list of losses: +1838).

Provenance:1.ProConventuSzczavinensiP[atrum]Reform[atorum] 1737-cat.no. D.25

Binding: leather [18th c.]

Inc. Piekarski 495

12. THOMAS de Aquino s., Catena aurea super quattuor Evangelistas. Venezia, Bon. Locatellus pro Oct. Scoto 4 June 1493. 2º.

IBP II (copy on the list of losses: +2164).

Provenance: 1.Ad usum Fr[atr]is Pij [Loga?] S[anctae] Theol[ogiae] D[octo]ris Filij Conventus Ploc[ensis] Ord[inis] Praed[icatorum] [18th c.]; 2.Hic liber oblatus est dono ab A[dmodum] R[evere]ndo Hyacintho Miaszkiewicz Praeposito Paczynensi suis Guardianatu Patris Floriani Niwiński Anno D[omi]ni 1822; 3. Pro Bibliotheca Con[ven]tus Szczavinensis PP. Reformatorum

Binding: h[alf] binding, cat.no on the spine: 'A.16' [18th c.]

Inc. Piekarski 368

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'OFFICIAL PUSHKIN'. **ALEXANDER PUSHKIN'S OEUVRE IN THE GYMNASIA** OF THE KINGDOM OF POLAND (1869-1905)

DOI: 10.36155/PLib.10.00005

ABSTRACT

The work of Alexander Pushkin considered politically suspect and even potentially subversive in the first half of the 19th century, was finally approved by the Russian educational authorities in the 1860s. This resulted not only from the appreciation of the artistic value of his writing, but above all from the recognition of the poet as a Russian bard a eulogist of the empire and Russian folk culture (narodnost). Since then, Pushkin's literary work have permanently appeared on the pages of the school textbooks. With the education reform of Dmitry Tolstoy, the same school books that were used in other parts of the empire were introduced in schools of the Russian Poland (Kingdom of Poland). For Polish readers, Pushkin was considered as the central figure of Russian culture. The article presents which works of the Russian Romantic poet were included into school textbooks and books recommended for additional reading, what were the didactic and political functions of these works and how they were assessed by Polish readers. The aim of the article is therefore to present the role of school books in making of the 'imperial Pole' understood not only as the subject loyal to the Russian state and culture, but also as one who accepts its 'civilizing mission' in Poland.

KEYWORDS: Alexander Pushkin, Kingdom of Poland, Russian folk culture, school texbooks, imperial Pole

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Already beginning with his tragic death on 10 February 1837, both the person and oeuvre of Alexander Pushkin turned into the subject to mythologization and varied interpretations. To his contemporaries he was both a 'pure poet' and the essence of a 'Russian man' (Gogol), while at the same time a conveyor of revolutionary and democratic principles (Belinsky). The two concepts did not essentially oppose one another until the publication of the book by Pavel V. Annenkov Materialy dlia biografii A. S. Pushkina when the democratically-oriented intellectuals distanced themselves from Pushkin seeing in the Russian poet only a 'great stylist' (Pisarev) and a hostage to aristocracy.1 Simultaneously to the process of absorbing/rejecting Pushkin's oeuvre by the Russian intelligentsia being formed at the time, the process of the reception of his oeuvre among the 'official' circles was taking place, thus among the higher bureaucracy and at court, including the Emperor himself.

Bearing in mind his quasi-revolutionary *Ode to Liberty* (*Vol'nost'*) and the poet's unclear connections with the Decembrists (whom the poet dissociated himself from), the Russian authorities' approach to Pushkin was ambivalent. Accompanying the mistrust best expressed by the poet's exile to southern guberniyas, this followed by the personal supervision of Nicholas I, there grew interest in his oeuvre. In my view, this not only caused by aesthetical

O. S. Murav'eva, 'Obraz Pushkina: istoricheskie metamorfozy', in: Legendy i mify o Pushkine. Sbornik statej, ed. M. Virolajnen, St. Peterburg 1990, pp. 116-118;
 S. Sandler, 'The Pushkin Myth in Russia', in: The Pushkin Handbook, ed. D. Bethea, Wisconsin 2005, pp. 403-424; A. Nowak, 'Pod kopytami Miedzianego jeźdźca -'geopoetyka' rosyjska i polska', in: Metamorfozy imperium rosyjskiego, 1721–1921. Geopolityka. Ody i narody, Kraków 2018, pp. 73-74.

values of his poetry, but also its setting in the imperial context. The expression of tribute that Pushkin paid to imperial Russia can be found in his poems, particularly *The Prisoner of the Caucasus* (1822), *Poltava* (1828), and *The Bronze Horseman* (1834), the so-called anti-Polish lyrical trilogy composed of the poems *To the Slanderers of Russia, Before the Holy Tomb* (1830-31), as well as the novels *The Moor of Peter the Great* (1837), and *The Captain's Daughter* (1836). Although not all the afore-mentioned works were published during Pushkin's life, they boosted the poet's prestige as the 'state poet' (*derzhavnyi poet*) and a great Russian patriot.²

The fact that Pushkin's oeuvre was appreciated resulted in the gradual incorporating of his pieces into school curricula, both in central Russia and in its borderlands, including the Kingdom of Poland. Initially, the included works were mainly elegies and songs: Pushkin appeared in them as a continuator of classical poetry and heir to the poetics of Vasily Zhukovsky and Gavrila Derzhavin, eulogists of the Empire of Catherine II.³ With time, the selection of Pushkin's poetry increasingly extended, to reach its peak in 1899: on the hundredth birthday of the poet, when he was perceived both by the authorities and the intelligentsia as a national bard and a 'Russian genius'.

The paper aims at describing how the oeuvre of Alexander Pushkin was presented in the government-run gymnasia of the Kingdom of Poland in 1869-1905. Following the January Uprising, this small state was finally deprived of its autonomy, gaining an equal status with the remaining provinces of the Russian state. The loss of autonomy also applied to education: from that time in Russian with a homogenous curriculum throughout the whole Empire. My intention is to present Pushkin's oeuvre used in Russian Poland through the presentation of the canon of his works in textbooks and in studies advised for voluntary reading; through the presen-

² C. Whittaker, The Origins of Modern Russian Education: An intellectual Biography of Count Sergiei Uvarov. 1786–1855, North. Illionois Univ. Press 1984, pp. 153, 239

³ P. Debreczeny, The Social Function of Literature. Alexander Pushkin and Russian Culture, Stanford 1997, pp. 163-165.

tation of the views of the authorities of the Warsaw Educational District and of the Russian intellectuals on the political and didactic functions of Pushkin's oeuvre in the Kingdom of Poland, as well as through the reception of his poetry and prose by Polish readers.

PUSHKIN'S CANON AND EXTRACURRICULAR LITERATURE

As mentioned above, in the first half of the 19th century, Pushkin did not take a dominating position in chrestomathies addressed to secondary schools in the Kingdom of Poland. In the period between the Uprisings (when education was still in Polish), he remained overshadowed by authors of the Enlightenment. In compliance with the requirements of the didactics of the first half of the 19th century, at that time particular attention was paid to poetics and rhetoric which prepared for public activity. Thus school textbooks were merely to provide appropriate examples of poetic and prose texts for practical training. ⁴ Nevertheless, already in that period there was a clear tendency to treat school classes as a means 'to instil in Polish youth the closeness to the Russian people as belonging to the same tribe [through] the love of Russian literature and history'.⁵ This dual goal remained valid also in the period after the January Uprising, with the only difference that together with the reforms of Dmitry A. Tolstoy what increased was the importance of the poetry of the Romanticism making references not only to the grandeur of the state and the impact of particular rulers, but also to folk culture (understood in a protonational, and not just utilitarian way)⁶ meant to define Russian national identity.⁷

The reforms from 1869–1873 cannot be easily and unambiguously classified. Their basic goal was not so much to make education na-

⁴ J. Wołczuk, Rosja i Rosjanie w szkołach Królestwa Polskiego, 1833–1862, Wrocław 2005, pp. 119–135.

⁵ Ibidem, p. 119.

⁶ See footnote 8.

⁷ O. Maiorova, From the Shadow of Empire. Defining the Russian Nation through Cultural Mythology, 1855-1870, Madison, 2010, pp. 67-69; D. Aberbach, National Poetry, Empires and War, Routledge, New York 2019, p. 19.;

tional, but to approximate it to the Prussian model, with the first quality being its elitist character: gymnasia were to be available, first of all, to the children of the nobility and from affluent families; the emphasis was to be put on teaching ancient languages, logic, and mathematics, with much mistrust towards speculation and debate essential in natural sciences. The curriculum of teaching Russian and Russian literature was to be of philological character, strictly connected with teaching Greek and Latin literature. Such curriculum was seen as reliable and appropriately educating the minds of the future elites.⁸ On the other hand, however, the ideological basis of teaching was provided by the theory of 'official folk character/nationality' echoing the famous triad of Sergei Uvarov: 'Orthodoxy, Autocracy, Nationality' in which increasingly more frequently the stress was put on the last element. Together with appreciating Russian culture as mature and autonomous, growing tendencies aimed at perceiving the Russian Empire not only as an important actor on the international arena, but also as a representative of Slavic civilization as such, going beyond the narrowly perceived 'European character', additionally boasting the mission to unite all Slavs. Its basic quality was the autocracy of the tsar 'by God's grace', the Orthodox religion regarded as the main element of the cultural identity of the Russians, yet, first and foremost, the culture of the Russian 'people' perceived as of the 1860s increasingly more in national-ethnic terms. In the conviction of the Russian pedagogues of the latter half of the century, Pushkin elevated this culture which found expression in songs, legends, and folk tales, to the rank of the basic source of inspiration for Russian high

⁸ A. Sinnel, The Classroom and the Chancellery: State Educational Reform in Russia under Count Dmitry Tolstoi, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, pp. 131-133, There is extensive literature on Dmitry Tolstoy's reform of secondary schools in the Kingdom of Poland: W. Studnicki, Polityka Rosji względem szkolnictwa zaboru rosyjskiego. Studium polityczno-historyczne, Kraków 1906, pp. 232-236; E. Staszyński, Polityka oświatowa caratu w Królestwie Polskim, Warszawa 1968, pp. 18-19, 23-26, 93-96; L. Szymański, Zarys polityki caratu wobec szkolnictwa ogólnokształcącego w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1815-1915, Wrocław 1983, pp. 39-42, 50-58; E. Kula, Opera et studio. Wizerunek nauczycieli rządowych szkół średnich w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1862-1873, Kielce 2012, pp. 39-54.

culture'.⁹ Poetry of the Russians was thus becoming both the imagined embodiment of the 'Russian spirit' and a convenient tool of patriotic upbringing of all the subjects of the Romanov Empire.¹⁰

Still before the official introduction of Tolstoy's reform, the list of readings in the higher classes of the classical gymnasium in Kingdom of Poland had been added the following pieces (the date of their first publication in parenthesis): *The Poet* (1827), *The Prophet* (1826), *Echo* (1831), *Wandering the Noisy Streets* (1829), *I Revisited Once Again/Once Again Did I Revisit* (1835), elegy *Frantic Years' Enchants and Feasts* (1834), *The Statue* (1841), *Boris Godunov* (1831), *Poor Knight* (1830), and fragments of *Eugene Onegin* (1833).¹¹

In subsequent years, the class reading lists included the following: the poem *Poltava*¹² (1828-29), the novel *The Captain's Daughter* (1836), *To the Slanderers of Russia* (1831), *The Song of Oleg* (1822),¹³ fragments of the drama *Mozart and Salieri* (1832), and *The Bronze Horseman* (1837).¹⁴ In junior classes excerpts from the poem *Eugene Onegin* were read, and also some fairy tales (e.g., *The Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish*) or lyrical poems (e.g., *Winter Morning/Winter Evening*, *The Cloud, The Winter Road*) with their brief analysis, explanation of the more difficult words and phrases, also accompanied by auxiliary questions facilitating the reading.¹⁵ The poems were mainly

- 13 Ibidem, 9, 1877, p. 33.
- 14 Ibidem, 10, 1880, p. 274.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

 ⁹ Tsirkuljar' po upravleniu Varshavskogo Uchebnogo Okruga (1867-1868) (from 1869 published as Tsirkular' Varshavskogo Uchebnogo Okruga, TsVUO),1, 1870, p. 39;
 V. Stoiunin, Pushkin, Sankt-Peterburg 1881 (2nd edition 1905), p. 84.

¹⁰ There is extensive literature on Dmitry Tolstoy's reform of secondary schools in the Kingdom of Poland: W. Studnicki, Polityka Rosji względem szkolnictwa zaboru rosyjskiego. Studium polityczno-historyczne, Kraków 1906, pp. 232-236; E. Staszyński, Polityka oświatowa caratu w Królestwie Polskim, Warszawa 1968, pp. 18-19, 23-26, 93-96; L. Szymański, Zarys polityki caratu wobec szkolnictwa ogólnokształcącego w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1815-1915, Wrocław 1983, pp. 39-42, 50-58; E. Kula, Opera et studio. Wizerunek nauczycieli rządowych szkół średnich w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1862-1873, Kielce 2012, pp. 39-54.

¹¹ Uchebnye plany - primernaia programma predmetov, Varshava 1889 - prilozhenie k, TsVUO, 8, 1888, p. 5.

¹² TsVUO, 11, 1874, p. 373.

¹⁵ See Programmy prepodavania uchebnykh predmetov v muzhskikh gimnazijah i progimnazijah Varshavskogo Uchebnogo Okruga, Varshava 1868, pp. 4–8; Programmy prepodavanija

meant to be memorized, this considered both memory training, rhetoric practice, and in the case of the Polish-speaking students also a reliable means of teaching correct stress in Russian and pronunciation. ¹⁶ In senior classes, apart from learning the poems by heart, elements of the history of literature were included.

Gymnasium students could learn about Pushkin's oeuvre from the book New Russian Literature by Pyotr Evstafiev (republished on numerous occasions in 1875-1909), which, although not enjoying the status of an obligatory text, served as a frequently used didactic aid. Pushkin's oeuvre was analysed there in as many as 11 chapters (for the sake of comparison, Lomonosov was dedicated two chapters, Derzhavin two, Krylov one, Lermontov four, while Gogol was analysed in five chapters). In the author's view, the poet was the most outstanding representative of Russian literature, while his output was presented in the biographical context interwoven with extensive quotes from poetic works.¹⁷ The History of Russian Litera*ture* by Alexey Galakhov presents Pushkin first of all as the national poet thanks to whom Russian literature had overcome the stage of imitating Western poetry, and gained its own unique qualities based on the 'native existence' and 'Russian nature'. At the same time, as the author put it, 'it is in this nature that authentic principles of the Russian spirit are rooted; these distinguish us as a nation-people (narod) from other nationalities (narodnostei)'.

The concept of national (natsional'nyj), in turn, should imply spontaneous (...) qualities of a (....) nation based on which members

uchebnykh predmetov v zhenskikh gimnaziakh i progimnaziakh Varshavskogo Uchebnogo Okruga, Varshava 1868, pp. 3–4; Programmy prepodavania uchebnyh predmetov v zhenskih gimnaziakh i progimnaziakh Varshavskogo Uchebnogo Okruga, Varshava 1898, pp. 15–31; Programmy predmetov prepodavovaemykh v zhenskikh gimnaziakh Varshavskogo Uchebnogo Okruga, Varshava 1907, pp. 15–31; E. Roshal', Plany i kratkie obzory tem literaturnogo kharaktera, Varshava 1898–1901.

¹⁶ TsVUO; On teaching Russian in classical gymnasia: R. Kucha, Szkoła czterech wieków. Liceum Ogólnokształcące im. Stanisława Staszica w Lublinie, Lublin 1992; idem, Szkolnictwo Lublina w latach 1864–1915, Lublin 1995, pp. 95–117; on didactic in Russian secondary schools: I. Aleshincev, Istoria gimnazicheskogo obrazowania v Rossii XVIII-XIX vek., Sankt-Peterburg 1912, p. 321.

¹⁷ P. Evstafiev, Novaia russkaia literatura. Ot Petra Velikogo do nastoiashchego vremeni, Sankt-Peterburg 1879, pp. 131-208.

of the same nationality, regardless of their age, condition/?status, and development stage are akin, creating one whole distinguishing it from all the other nationalities. ¹⁸

An intermediary form between a textbook and an anthology could be found in the *Guide to Teaching History of Russian Literature* by Pyotr Smyrnovsky (Moscow 1899) showing the poet's biography and output on over a hundred pages (of the total of 246). Classifying this oeuvre into poems, romances, and novels, plays and lyrical poems, he focused on their presentation and stylistic analysis; to him, Pushkin was, first and foremost, a master of the word, and an example to other authors of Russian Literature of the 19th Century by Vladimir Savodnik published between 1905 and 1915, apart from showing the poet's extensive biography (covering almost 40 pages), the author emphasized the aesthetical worth of Pushkin's prose, drama, and lyrical pieces,²⁰ this followed by the analysis of the poet's best known works.

Among the school chrestomathies the best-known work (and used for the longest period of time, since boasting almost 35 editions!) was the reader by above-mentioned Galakhov. In the first volume the poet's oeuvre was presented on the example of his lyrical pieces. Interestingly, a frequent means used by the author was to place Pushkin's works side by side with pieces by other authors dealing with a similar subject (e.g., *The Caucasus/?The Prisoner of the Caucasus by Pushkin and The Caucasus by Lermontov, Monastery on Kazbech next to Lermontov's Ruins of the Gudala Castle, or Autumn and Winter next to the autumn landscape description from Sergey Aksakov's writings), which provided students with the possibility to compare such two works and conduct their shared analysis. Another popular literature anthology could be found in the work by Lev Polivanov <i>Russian Chrestomathy* (Moscow 1889) who similarly

¹⁸ A. Galakhov, Istoria russkoj slovesnosti, Moskva 1907, pp. 186, 188, 192-193.

¹⁹ P. Smirnovskij, Posobie pri izuchenii istorii russkoi slovesnosti. Kurs starshikh klassov, Moskva 1899, ch. 4, pp. 1-124.

²⁰ V. Savodnik, Ocherki po istorii russkoj literatury, Moskva 1908, pp. 173-271.

as Galkhov put together works by various authors to facilitate a comparative analysis.²¹

When analysing Pushkin's works the authorities of the Warsaw Educational District proposed two apparently contradicting interpretation 'keys'. The first of them was to present the Russian artist as a poet of the Romanticism: alienated, lonely, burdened with a challenging mission.²² The other was to show Pushkin as a patriot, a bard of the Russian state and of the Russian people. These two manners of interpreting the oeuvre of Pushkin provided Russian teachers, on the one hand, with the possibility to discuss Pushkin's works from a formal perspective, with a particular emphasis on the correct identification of literary genres, discussion of the functions of structural elements, poems' stylistic and aesthetic, while, on the other hand, this 'dry' analysis was a pretext to show the beauty of the power of the Russian state,

As of the 1880s, apart from school readers and textbooks read and discussed in class, secondary-school students were also obliged to do some extra-class reading. Home reading (*domashnee*, *dopolnitel'noe chtenie*) did not imply only reading the fragments of literature discussed in class, but also whole works meant to be available in school libraries (using the libraries was to serve as a touchstone of students' loyalty).²³ With respect to Pushkin, this applied mainly to his longer works, both poetry and prose. The central educational authorities, followed by those of the Warsaw Educational District, divided this literature into recommendable (*rekomendovannuiu*), used during classes, and admissible (*dopuskaemuiu*), meant for school libraries and forming a book collection which was to serve as voluntary reading. The latter included biog-

²¹ L. Polivanov, *Russkaia khrestomatia*, Moskva 1889, ch. 3 (dlja V, VI, VII i VIII klassov), Moskva 1889.

²² TSVUO, IX, 1880, p. 186, TSVUO, X 1880, p. 336. This was unquestionably reflected in Pushkin's views, see S. Evdokimova, Pushkin's Historical Imagination, Yale 1999, pp. 13-14; 31-56; S. Dixon, 'Pushkin and history', in: The Cambridge Companion to Pushkin, ed. A. Kahn, Oxford 2007, pp. 118-129.

²³ A. Kraushar, Czasy szkolne za Apuchtina..., p. 12.

raphies of illustrious Russian writers. What enjoyed the highest popularity, in turn, was the work by Vladimir Stoiunin Pushkin (St Petersburg 1881 and 1905), as well as anthologies and collective editions of the works by the Russian poet and books from the St Petersburg 'Social Benefit' ('Obshhestvennaia pol'za') Publishing House owned by Florentiv Pavlenkov, a publisher and a pedagogue, who created a new edition type of classical works of Russian literature in a large format addressed to mass readers. Before Pushkin's hundredth birthday, Pavlenkov published, among others, A.S. Pushkin's Collection of Works in One Volume (St Petersburg 1890) and A.S. Pushkin's Collection of Works in Ten Volumes (St Petersburg 1891) edited by the well-known and highly-esteemed promoter of Russian literature Alexander Skabichevsky. Another publisher of Pushkin's oeuvre whose books reached the school libraries of the Kingdom of Poland was above-mentioned Lev Polivanov. The A.S. Pushkin's Works with Commentary (Moscow 1893-1898) addressed to students and their families was composed of five volumes containing subsequently lyrical poetry, fairy tales and ballads, plays, Eugene Onegin (dedicated a separate volume), and finally prose.²⁴ Another editor of Pushkin's works was Alexei Suvorin, a feature writer, journalist, and a theatre critic who won popularity thanks to the mass editions of the 'Russian Calendar' (as of 1872). An owner of a profitable publishing house, he focused on reasonably-priced editions of the Russian classics. Pushkin's oeuvre was published in 10 volumes of A.S. Pushkin's Works (St Petersburg, 1887), recension by Pyotr Morozov, an illustrious historian of literature. ²⁵

²⁴ Pavlenkov F. F., in: Enciklopedicheskii Slovar' Brokgausa i Efrona, t. XXIIa, Sankt-Peterburg 1897, p. 557; Dopolnenie k Enciklopedicheskomu Slovar'iu Brokgausa i Efrona, Sankt-Peterburg 1906, vol. 2, p. 369; I. Barenbaum, N. Kostyleva Knizhnyj Peterburg, Leningrad 1986, pp. 239-244.

²⁵ Suvorin A. S., in: *Eniklopedicheskii Slovar' Brokgausa i Efrona*, t LXXXII, Sankt-Peterburg 1901, pp. 894-896; Lists of books for libraries of the gymnasia of the Warsaw Educational District before 1889: Tsuvo, XII, 1884, p. 384; VIII, 1888, p. 352; V, 1894, p. 223; see the entry 'Pushkin' in the card file of the University of Warsaw Library.

An important element of school libraries were also magazines addressed to children. Pushkin's life and works were extensively discussed in the following: Child's World (Detskij mir), Children's Rest (Detskii otdykh), Source (Rodnik), Reading of the Folk School (Chital'nia Narodnoi Shkoly), and Wizard's Lamp (Vol'shebnyi Fonar).²⁶ The magazines provided young readers with a different type of reading than extensive volumes with lengthy explanations and glossaries. Pushkin's oeuvre was popularized in them not only through publishing fragments of his poetic works, a solemn report on the unveiling of the poet's monument in Moscow (1880), but also through interesting and exciting fictionalized fragments of Pushkin's biography with numerous illustrations (including the poet's portraits and photographs of the sites related to him). These magazines emotionally bonded readers with the Russian bard and his poetry, making sure the readings were entertaining and private reading was fun.27

It was the centenary of the poet's birth in 1899 that yielded a real boom in literature dedicated to him. Organized throughout whole Russia in a truly solemn manner, the jubilee celebrated Pushkin as a national poet. It was for the first time that he united on such a grand scale representatives of the authorities, the intelligentsia, as well as the lower classes. The direct result of the anniversary celebration can be seen not only in raising the poet's monument in Tsarskoye Selo and setting a commemorative plaque on the building of the former Alexander Lyceum, but also in giving Pushkin's name to a large number of streets, squares, schools, and libraries in the whole territory of Russia.²⁸ On the occasion, the periodical of the Warsaw Educational District published reading recommendations for school libraries.

²⁶ Tsuvo, V, 1894.

²⁷ E.g., Detskij otdyh, 5, 1899, pp. 24-49; Rodnik, 1899 (the whole issue). Their presence in a school library is confirmed by the stamps of the 2nd Warsaw Gymnasium on the copy in the University of Warsaw Library.

²⁸ V. V. Sipovskij, Pushkinskaia iubileinaia literatura 1899–1900, Kritiko-bibliograficheskij razbor, Sankt-Peterburg 1901, pp. 1-34.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

Similarly as in earlier years, what dominated among them were more recent editions of prose pieces, anthologies, and poetry collections, as well as the poet's biographies. The jubilee literature contained albums, illustrated publications, occasional speeches, and even music pieces (e.g., cantata Pushkin's Monument). Among the albums, let us mention here the 'Pushkin's Recess' Album (Al'bom 'Pushkinskii Ugolok', 1799–1899) by Vasily Ostrogsky illustrated by Vasily Maksimov (Moscow 1899) and A.S.Pushkin's Works with a portrait by Valentin Serov and '66 drawings by [e.g.,] Abram Arkhipov, Alexandr Benois, Apollinary and Victor Vasnetsov, and Ilva Repin' (Moscow 1899). It was an ornamental edition, containing illustrations by the most outstanding Russian painters from the late 19th century, delineating modern publishing and artistic standards, which were first-class examples of the aesthetic of Modernism. Owing to their high prices such books most likely reached very few libraries of the Kingdom of Poland. A much wider circulation was certainly achieved by paperback editions containing occasional speeches or essays dedicated to Pushkin's oeuvre as well as cheap publishing series, e.g., the famous Pushkin's Illustrated Library (Illiustrirovannaia Pushkinskaia Biblioteka) published by afore-mentioned Pavlenkov. Despite large editions and low prices, such books were published with exceptional care, while their artistic layout (co-created by Pavel Sokolov and Mikhail Mikeshin) reflected the artistic tastes of the Silver Age. ²⁹

Additional readings, available in school libraries, contributed to promoting the oeuvre of the Russian bard, expressing the 'Russian spirit' idea to a much larger extent than that obligatory in the classes dealing with Pushkin's oeuvre canon. For this reason Alexander Pushkin was becoming the nation's artist in the eyes of the Russian authorities and the nation's 'symbol and icon', while Romantic poetry was turning into a 'secular religion of the nation'.³⁰

²⁹ Tsuvo, 6, 1899, p. 132; 12, 1899, p. 308; 4, 1900, p. 90; 7, 1900, p. 206; 12, 1900, p. 90; 8, 1902, p. 246; 1, 1903, p. 46; 1., 1906, p. 62.

³⁰ D. Aberbach, National Poetry, Empires and War, New York 2019, p. 19.

BETWEEN CLASSICAL AND NATIONAL EDUCATION

The task of school curricula was to, first of all, reflect the genre and style variety in the oeuvre of the Russian poet (naturally, excluding the poems which might incite suspicion of disloyalty). What dominated in classes was the classical analysis of a literary work based on the stylistic classification of a poem, and identifying its rhetoric, logical, as well as linguistic functions. Poetical works were understood in harmony with Aristotle's poetics as a 'form to express poet's ideas'. Poetry was thus to reflect reality 'not as it is, but as it should be according to the poet'. As emphasized by one of the authors of the official Warsaw Educational District's periodical, 'the moral and educational importance of poetry consisted in the impact of poetical images on man's soul',³¹ which meant that a poem's aesthetic translated directly into its didactic and educational functions.³² The skills of a correct analysis were continuously checked with verifying questions found at the end of every fragment of a literary text in a school textbook, with written homework, and, finally, by means of essays written in class.

Along with the philological and logical analysis of literary texts, the importance of Russian patriotic upbringing was emphasized. For Polish students this meant both their linguistic Russification as well as the intention to turn Russian higher culture into the educational foundation for adolescent Poles.³³ This process was to demonstrate the 'superiority' of Russian culture over Polish culture, the latter regarded as weaker and peripheral³⁴ (thus

³¹ *TSVUO*, 12, 1882, p. 49.

³² Tsuvo,12, 1882, s. 49.

³³ As observed by A. Kraushar when describing the figure of the school superintendent of the Warsaw Educational District Alexander Apukhtin, 'he seemed a minor land owner (...) self-confident about his uncontrollable power and convinced that it was only to him (...) that the grand Russian homeland will owe the inflow of thousands of "foreign' youth enamoured with the genius of Gogols, Pushkins, and Lermontovs, also fluent in the language they speak' (*Czasy szkolne za Apuchtina...*, p. 45).

³⁴ M. Rolf, Rządy imperialne w Kraju Nadwiślańskim. Królestwo Polskie i cesarstwo rosyjskie 1864–1915, transl. W. Woskowicz, Warszawa 2016, p. 129.

of local impact only, and not universal, this quality being attributed to Russian culture); it was also to prove the need to integrate Poles with the Empire. In practical terms, this was expressed in the depreciation of the value of Polish literature³⁵ and in the incessant tracing of 'polonisms': students' interventions supposedly demonstrating an insufficient mastery of the state Russian point of view.³⁶ The goal to boost the knowledge of Russian was to be, first of all, served by the increase in the time dedicated to private reading and memorizing poetry. As mentioned above, such tasks were to eliminate wrongly put stress in Russian words, enrich the vocabulary,³⁷ and to help prepare independently written essays³⁸ in the 'state' language.

Already in the recommendations from the early 1870s the Warsaw Educational District addressed the issue of presenting to students the foundation of Russian cultural identity expressed both through the idea of *folk character* and that of an empire, which meant admiration for the state: 'a European Empire' and its native culture. Fascination with folk culture was present in central Russia already in the 1830s, while in the latter half of the century, it was gradually more distinctly identified with the primacy of Russian culture throughout the whole Empire and with the Slavophile ideal of 'getting closer to the people' (*sblizhenie s narodom*) serving as

38 Tsuvo,12, 1870, pp. 586.

³⁵ Cz. Galek, 'Wychowanie młodzieży szkolnej w Królestwie Polskim na przełomie XIX i XX wieku w świetle literatury memuarystycznej i beletrystycznej', in: Szkolnictwo, opieka i wychowanie w Królestwie Polskim od jego ustanowienia do odzyskania przez Polskę niepodległości, eds. H. Markiewiczowa, I. Czarnecka, Warszawa 2016, p. 140.

³⁶ A. Kraushar, Czasy szkolne za Apuchtina..., p. 20; the concept of 'polonism', however, has a broader meaning: next to 'Jesuitism' it was understood as the greatest danger to the integrality of the Slavic community. As phrased by Samarin, "polonism' transformed Poland into a sharp wedge stuck by Latinism into the very heart of the Slav world in order to splinter it to pieces', A. Walicki, Wkręgu konserwatywnej utopii: struktury i przemiany rosyjskiego słowianofilstwa, 2nd revised edition, Warszawa 2002, p. 360, H. Głębocki, Kresy imperium. Szkice i materiały do dziejów polityki Rosji wobec jej peryferiów, XVIII-XXI wiek, Kraków 2006, p. 170.

³⁷ Tsuvo,1, 1870, pp. 285-286.

Official Pushkin'. Alexander Pushkin's Oeuvre in the Gymnasia of the Kingdom of Poland

the expression of 'native' Russianness.³⁹ In the opinion of the educational authorities in Warsaw, among the Russian authors it was mainly Pushkin 'whose works expressed most strongly Russian folk character/nationality'⁴⁰ and qho responded to such formulated needs. His main quality was not only the knowledge of the 'songs of the Russian people', but the fact that he was 'permeated with their spirit'. According to Pushkin's biographer Vladimir Stoiunin, this meant that the Russian poet:

discovered in poetry one of the social sources which should incite the best emotions among the people. He realized that through poetry it was possible to introduce the sense of unity to society divided into classes, this unity determining the moral strength of the nation.

The task of a poet should be 'to combine poetry with nation's life, giving it the importance of a social force which could instil the best emotions and aspirations in people's awareness'.⁴¹ Briefly speaking, the national poet drawing inspiration from folk culture bestowed a sense on this culture creating through it a 'feeling of unity' among the whole nation. In these words the echo of the famous speech Fyodor Dostoyevsky delivered on the occasion of unveiling Pushkin's monument in Moscow on 6 June 1880 can be heard. The author of *The Karamazov Brothers* suggested in it two interpretation tracks in the oeuvre of the great poet. The first of them was the view that 'Pushkin was the first to mark out the direction in the development of Russia', this being the direction of 'getting closer to the people'. The second Pushkin's merit was, in turn, showing of the 'artistic type of Russian beauty being born directly from the spirit of the Russian nation'.⁴² The central topic in Dostoyevsky's

³⁹ It is the oeuvre of Ivan Aksakov and Mikhail Pogodin that can be regarded as an example of the attitude of Slavophilia combined with 'official nationality/ folk character'. On the evolution of Slavophilia from the period of 'great reforms', A. Walicki, W kręgu konserwatywnej utopii..., pp. 41-44, 366-411.

⁴⁰ Tsuvo,1, 1870, p. 39.

⁴¹ V. Stoiunin, Pushkin..., pp. 72, 84.

⁴² P. Draszek, 'Puszkin w interpretacji Dostojewskiego', Acta Polono-Ruthenica, 1998, vol. 3, pp. 373–375.

view was the necessity to 'appease' Russia in the era of intensified political terrors and assaults on the Tsar-Liberator and the historic reconciliation both between 'the authorities' and 'society', as well as between 'society' and 'the people' who were to become now one nation endowed with Messianic and Ptolemaic qualities. ⁴³

In harmony with such an interpretation, in the book popular in schools Pushkin's poem Napoleon was analysed. According to its author, the most glorious moment in the history of Russian higher classes (obshchestvo) was their 1812 defence of the Russian state together with the Russian people, and subsequently of whole Europe against Napoleon. Russian patriotism, according to Stoiunin, was not at the time selfish or particularistic, but vice versa: it was universalistic and generous. Fighting against the aggressors, the Russians sacrificed the most: their blood, thanks to which 'a new subjugation of peoples was no longer possible'.44 That war demonstrated the necessity to reconcile Russian elites with the state authorities, but also with the Russian people, so that the old patriotism of one class only: of the nobility, could extend to all social classes. In consequence, one community of shared goals and ideas was created: 'all should consider themselves one nation'.⁴⁵ The use of the term nation (natsia) to define both upper and lower classes of the Russian people did not have here 'an unlawful' 'French' connotation according to which the idea of the nation would have independent political aspirations. On the contrary, Pushkin's role of a 'national poet' was to consolidate all Russian classes under the unquestioned rule of the autocratic tsar- emperor, while the binder of this unification was to be found in folk culture given an artistic dimension by the poet thanks to his genius.⁴⁶

The bestowing on Pushkin of the rank of a national poet (bonding the people and the state into one organism) found expression

⁴³ See E. Radziński, Aleksander II. Ostatni wielki car, Warszawa 2005, p. 408.

⁴⁴ V. Stoiunin, Pushkin..., p. 100.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 1436, 'vsem nakonets uznat' sebia odnoj natsiei'.

⁴⁶ See A. Miller, 'Istoria poniatia natsia v Rossii', in: Ponjatia o Rossii. K istoricheskoj semantike imperskogo perioda, eds. D. Sdvizhkov, I. Shirle, Moskva 2012, pp. 7-49.

in test tasks and topics of essays to be written as homework. From among many similar let us mention here the following: 'Explain the importance of the term *national poet* and show what the national importance of Pushkin's works consists in'; 'Pushkin's views following the 1812 events expressed in his poetry'; 'The idea of folk character/nationality in Pushkin's and Gogol's works': ⁴⁷ 'The battle of Poltava according to *Poltava* by Pushkin'; 'What is the main motif of the poem *The Bronze Horseman*?'; 'Discuss Pushkin's ode *To the Slanderers of Russia*'. ⁴⁸

In the view of the authorities of the Warsaw Educational District (and of many Russian intellectuals),⁴⁹ Pushkin's oeuvre entailed the nation-building potential, and could be treated as a shared property of both 'the people' and 'society': namely the Russian educated classes. The question in this paper is, however, what impact was attributed to this oeuvre with respect to the Polish subjects of the Russian Empire, and how Pushkin's works were supposed to affect Polish students in Russian schools of the Kingdom of Poland.

The research into the 'colonial' dimension of Russian literature, undertaken since the 1990s, has drawn attention to the representation of the peripheries of the Russian state among Russian writers.⁵⁰ With respect to Poland, this was expressed with the use of arguments justifying Poland's subjection to Russia and the approval of the disappearance of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the map of Europe. Let us mention the most important of those arguments:

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

⁴⁷ *Tsuvo*, 6, 1904, p. 472.

⁴⁸ Tsuvo, 4, 1869, p. 187.

⁴⁹ See the anthology of essays by Russian intellectuals dedicated to Pushkin: A.S. Pushkin: pro et contra. Lichnost'i tvorchestvo Aleksandra Pushkina v ocenke russkikh myslitelei i issledovatelei, Sankt-Peterburg 2000, vol. 1, pp. 152-397 (particularly interesting are the texts by F. Dostoyevsky, Bishop A, Khrapovitsky, A. Veselovsky, and V. Rozanov).

⁵⁰ See E. Thompson, Trubadurzy imperium. Literatura rosyjska i kolonializm, transl. A. Sierszulska, Kraków 2000, pp. 53-84; S. Layton, Russian Literature and Empire. Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy, Cambridge 2009; H. Ram, The Russian Sublime. A Russian Poetics of Empire, Madison, Wisconsin 2003.

- argument of force; Poland should yield to a great Empire owing to its weakness;
- (2) argument of reason (or Reason): Poland's partitions were a historical necessity;
- (3) argument of the reason of state: Poland is a legitimate Russian property, while its incorporation into the Romanov Empire was merely an act of the compensation of wrongs;
- (4) argument of defence: Russia had to defend against the 'Seine spirit' on the Vistula which constituted a direct threat to her; and finally: (5) the argument of the mission of the Empire blocked by the 'littleness of a particular national idea'. ⁵¹

Unquestionably, such an argumentation clearly present in the oeuvre of the poets stemming from the Russian Enlightenment was consolidated by the poets of the Romanticism. It is particularly strongly visible in Pushkin's oeuvre. Without going into details here of the already investigated questions of how the Russian poet perceived Poland, I would like to merely signal the central motifs of his anti-Polish works (mainly *To the Slanderers of Russia and The Anniversary of Borodino* included in the collection *The Taking of Warsaw* from 1831).

According to Andrzej Nowak, the central topic of Pushkin's oeuvre was the genius of Peter I who was presented as a great master safeguarding Russia's 'freedom of maintaining her own way amidst the nations of Europe'. This destiny was to assume the role of an empire: the only political empire of Eastern Europe bestowed with the task to promote its own version of 'autocratic Enlightenment',⁵² both within the vast Asian territories and in its western borderlands. This obviously meant the need to demonstrate the 'backwardness' of the conquered regions and the neces-

⁵¹ A. Nowak, Metamorfozy imperium..., pp. 107-126; quoted after T. Epsztejn, Polacy a Rosjanie: proceedings from the Conference 'Polska-Rosja. Rola polskich powstań narodowych w kształtowaniu wzajemnych wyobrażeń', Warszawa-Płock, 14-17 May 1998, Warszawa 2000, p. 82.

⁵² A. S. Pushkin, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii v 10 tomah*, Moskva 1962, vol. 10, *Pis'ma 1831–1837*, pp. 307–308.

Official Pushkin'. Alexander Pushkin's Oeuvre in the Gymnasia of the Kingdom of Poland

sity to take them into Empire's care. In Pushkin's view, Poland was dangerous to Russia, since its 'unsatiated appetite' threatened to push Russia far to the east, which would make it impossible for the state of the tsars to 'hack a window onto Europe', thus entering onto the path of a European empire. In the east of the continent there was room only for one empire which was part of the 'civilized world'.⁵³ The danger of the existence of Poland as an independent entity was particularly prominent during the period of the Napoleonic Wars when Russia was haunted by the vision of the resurrection of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as well as during the November Uprising which Pushkin witnessed, and which, in his view, was predominantly inspired by an anti-Russian conspiracy among French revolutionary circles.

In school readings dedicated to Pushkin, and particularly in the afore-mentioned Stoiunin's book, the reference to Polishness appeared, first of all, in the context of Pushkin's attitude to the 1831 Uprising. The stand taken by the author of the poem *To the Slanderers of Russia* resulted from a conviction that the 'Polish question' was entangled in the 'European revolution' headed by France.

'Under the banner of undermining the people's will and the principle of nations' self-determination (*principa nacional'nosti*) France who has just declared this principle, placed itself...amidst the fiercest enemies of Russia. The struggle initiated between two Slavic tribes incited there in press and among the public a storm of hatred, threats, and various accusations against the Russian people and the government which has spread (*soobshhilas'*) also to Russia's closest neighbours.⁷⁵⁴

The above quote from an essay by an illustrious specialist in Pushkin's oeuvre, above-mentioned Pavel Annenkov, placed in a book for extracurricular reading was not so much to show the Russian poet's hostility to Poles (as such), but was to demonstrate his protest against the ideological foundation of the 'Polish revolu-

⁵³ A. Nowak, Metamorfozy imperium..., pp. 23–27.

⁵⁴ B. Stoiunin, Pushkin..., pp. 348-349.

tion' supposedly constituted by 'liberal' principles derived directly from Helvétius and Rousseau. Pushkin was to oppose 'historical principles' to those ideas.

'In his view, in this Polish-Russian struggle the question is not so much to distinguish the nationalities, but to merge them into one Slavic body; it is the Slavic issue that is decided [in it]. This question is *not* new: these two close and akin tribes have been shedding blood for centuries, while a family hostility and not national one can be solved only historically, in the future.' ⁵⁵

The family hostility in which the West bearing in mind the victory of Russia over Napoleon and her 'liberation of Europe' should not interfere can thus be solved only through the approval and the 'absorption of' the Empire by Poles.

Such was the interpretation, attenuating the harsh anti-Polish undertone of Pushkin's poem, at the same time showing Poland's affiliation exclusively from the perspective of its relation with Russia, that the authorities of the Warsaw Educational District referred to. According to the author of the brochure *Russian School in the Vistula Land* (Warsaw 1897) the role of education was to instil in students 'subservient emotions' and loyalty to the monarch, as well as an outlook on their own national community from an imperial perspective. According to the educational authorities in Warsaw, the purpose of Russian education was to maintain loyalty of the unrestful 'Polish element' both towards the foundations of the Russian state and of the Russian culture. ⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Ibidem, p. 352.

⁵⁶ This can be testified to by the following view of Minister Tolstoy expressed in the course of his inspection of the schools of the Warsaw Educational District: 'There is no doubt that school should never and under no circumstance become a tool of propaganda, no matter what the school is like; neither there is any doubt that the government spending state money on upkeeping schools is fully justifiably entitled to, and, so to speak, is obliged to organize them in such a way that they would benefit the whole state. Without the least of propaganda, resorting merely to the organization of scientific departments, the instruction language, the selection and evasion of various subjects taught, it can serve to approximate or distance the generation being educated versus the ruling nationality, to inspire or suppress patriotic feelings, love for the state, and for the common homeland', in: Walka caratu ze szkola polska w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1831-1870. Materialy

This was not possible, according to the author, without a critical attitude of Poles to their own national tradition, while at the same time it justified reminding them of the negative elements from their own past (whose examples could be seen in the 'Golden Liberty' of the nobility, anti-royal confederations, and breaking of the *sevm*). According to the authorities, the 1831 Uprising should be listed among the same negative tradition. Therefore, Pushkin's words about the 'faithful Ros' and 'boastful Lach' published in the textbooks addressed also to Poles (the fact actually criticized by a part of the Russian public opinion) 57 were in his view accounted for both didactically and politically.⁵⁸ Pushkin's role was thus to consolidate all the Russian social classes so that they could create one nation (*nacija*) under the leadership of an autocratic tsar. The cultural foundation was to be provided to that nation by the culture of the Russian people elevated by the poet-genius to the rank of a great world culture of its own civilizational potential. Although their national distinction was not questioned, Poles could do nothing else but vield to the Russian Empire, accept its hegemony, and 'come closer' to it as to the grandest Slavic power. ⁵⁹

Epilogue. Reception of Pushkin among Polish students

In late June 1880, a ceremonious closing of the school year combined with the commemoration of recently passed away Empress Maria Alexandrovna, wife of Alexander II reigning at the time, took place in the first Warsaw gymnasia (for girls and for boys). The ceremony may not have differed from other school events of the type except for the fact that it acquired a special character

źródłowe, selection, introduction, compilation K. Potkański, Warszawa 1993, p. 276

⁵⁷ I. Skvorcov, Russkaia shkola v Privislian'e, Varshava 1897, pp. 41-43.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, pp. 31-38.

⁵⁹ A similar view on teaching Russian in the schools of the Kingdom of Poland in the post-January Uprising period was expressed by the Headmaster of the Radom Gymnasium for Boys, W. Smorodinow, *Tsirkular Varshavskogo Uchebnogo Okruga*, 10, 1884, pp. 25-27.

since simultaneously with paying tribute to the deceased of the ruling House of Romanov also mention was made of the 'grandest from among the Russian poets due to the recent unveiling of his monument in Moscow'. Next to the portrait of the Emperor and Empress, set amidst 'aromatic plants', there was Pushkin's bust. Having heard the occasional speeches and following the giving of prizes to the excelling students, the choir sang *Glory to you (Slav'sia)*, while a female student of grade 2 'read from the podium the poem *Before Pushkin's Monument* by Fyodor Miller. The public applauded generously her excellent intervention. Owing to this poem, clearly showing the importance of Pushkin as a national poet, the choir sang one of Russian folk songs, concluding with the *God Save the Tsar (Bozhe, Tsaria khrani*) anthem'.⁶⁰

The above event perfectly illustrates the strong position Pushkin's poetry had in Russian schools in the Kingdom of Poland. For state educational authorities it was becoming gradually more important to refer to their own high culture understood as national culture. Thus, promoting Russian culture must have been a task as important as the cult of the House of Romanov. Apart from all this, Pushkin's genius was to combine in itself the highest mastery of European art with its rooting in the culture of the Russian people. It was not by accident that poetry reciting was accompanied in this case by the performance of Russian folk songs. A school assembly of this kind did not assume the presence of all Polish students. It is not, therefore, surprising that young Poles resented reading 'official' Pushkin.

The testimony to this reluctance, going, however, beyond the students' circles, could be by all means found in the celebration of the poet's hundredth birthday. The official celebration of Russian literature in the Kingdom of Poland never went beyond the formal state-commemorative character, involving the Polish population to a slight degree only. Focusing on the exhibition 'of portraits, paintings, and photographs related to the celebration' mounted by one of the professors of the Imperial University of Warsaw and on the 'preparation of six display cabinets' featuring 'works' first editions, [...] autographs of Pushkin's contemporaries, albums, watercolours, diaries, [and] translations of Pushkin's works', the celebration was a solemn event closed to the general public, and targeted mainly at the locally-living Russians. Another initiative forming part of the 'official' celebration consisted in a folk party organized in the Alexander (Praski) Park: there, apart from ballet dancers' presentations and slacklining shows, volumes with the works by the Russian bard were distributed.⁶¹ Addressing such an event to the people incited a unanimous agreement to boycott it both within the National Democratic circles and by the Socialists⁶² who perceived it as a 'farce', objecting to being bonded with Russia either in the 'Tsar's' or 'Pushkin's name'. The general silence on the jubilee in the Polish opinion-forming press published in the Kingdom, apart from some vague 'anniversary' presentations of the figure and oeuvre of the Russian poet, ⁶³ confirms both lack of attempts by the Russian authorities to incite Poles' interest in Pushkin, as well as the unfriendly attitudes of Poles themselves to his oeuvre.

One may undoubtedly find the reason for this status quo in the 'official' character bestowed upon Pushkin by the Russian authorities (both the central and local ones). According to the representatives of the Warsaw Educational District, the Russian poet perfectly embodied the Russian ideal of 'Orthodoxy, Autocracy, Nationality', testifying to the superiority of Russian culture over Polish one, while placing Russia at the head of the community of Slavic nations. For this reason, Pushkin was approached either with mistrust or even hostility by the majority of the Polish public opinion. The hostility may have stemmed from the reaction to pro-

⁶¹ Varshavskij Dnevnik, 1889, no. 142, p. 2 - https://crispa.uw.edu.pl/object/ files/672176/display/Default.

⁶² Robotnik, 1889, no. 31, p. 2.

⁶³ See Gazeta Warszawska, 1899, no. 147; Przyjaciel Dzieci, 1899, no. 23, p. 1; Niwa Polska, 1899, no. 23, p. 417; Ziarno, 1899, no. 24, p. 1; Kurier Poranny, 1899, p. 156.

moting Pushkin as an 'official Russian poet'. As convincingly demonstrated by Marian Toporowski, among the Polish intelligentsia of the first half of the 19th century, Pushkin inspired friendly interest as a representative of the opposition trend in poetry, a Decembrist, and Mickiewicz's friend.⁶⁴ Together with overtaking the Polish school system by the Russian Ministry of Education, the 'dissident Pushkin' transformed beyond recognition into a guardian of the Empire and a state poet (thus an enemy to Polishness). For these reasons the jubilee was regarded as a form of anti-Polish propaganda. Thus, representatives of Polish intelligentsia could fully agree with the view of the Russian revolutionist N. A. Tan (Vladimir Bogoraz)⁶⁵ who in his poem *To the Robbers of Pen* translated into Polish by Leon Belmont and published (legally!) in 1900, called for the following:

Away from our ceremony you go! This place is not for you: There is no prey here that might sneering pen robbers entice; On you, Judases, the monument of the bard casts shadow true, And the glimmer of his wreath blinds your sight.⁶⁶

The silence of the Kingdom press about the anniversary celebration was forced by censorship. However, it can be supposed that the true attitudes were shown in the undertone of the articles published in Galicia's press. There dailies and brochures showed sincere hostility when referring to the anniversary celebrations organized and inspired in Krakow by the editors of *Kraj* (thus having nothing to do with the Warsaw 'state' celebration of Pushkin).⁶⁷

⁶⁴ M. Toporowski, Puszkin w Polsce, Warszawa 1950, pp. 13-18.

⁶⁵ Actually Vladimir Bogoraz, member of the Narodnaya Volya, who benefitted from his exile to Kamtchatka to conduct ethnographic research and create poetry, see Bogoraz, *Bol'shaja Rossijskaja Enciklopedia* – https://bigenc.ru/ethnology/ text/3789984 [Accessed 10.11.2022].

⁶⁶ Tan, 'Rozbójnikom pióra (Z powodu jubileuszu Puszkina)', in: L. Belmont, Rymy i rytmy, Warszawa 1900, pp. 208-211. Translation from Polish into English by M. Iwińska.

⁶⁷ The organizers of the jubilee celebrations included such outstanding scholars as Marian Zdziechowski, Jan Baudouin de Courtenay, and Karol Potkański, see M. Toporowski, *Puszkin w Polsce...*, p. 19.

What dominated in the press was the focus on the anti-Polish character of the Russian poet's oeuvre, and on the 'cult of wild force and (\dots) boastful chauvinism'.⁶⁸

Therefore, it is not surprising that we learn about the reading of the Russian Romantic poet by Polish students merely from several preserved sources. On the one hand, they emphasize the 'official' character of the texts read in school classes⁶⁹ and at school jubilee celebrations⁷⁰ simply because their reading was obligatory in the Russian literature curriculum. Reading of the Ode To the Slanderers of Russia or Before the Holy Tomb incited understandable aversion among the young people, yet reports on reading them were not too frequent.⁷¹ On the other hand, there appeared mentions (e.g., in Stefan Żeromski's Sisvphus' Work) of fascination with pieces by Alexander Pushkin by those students who, revolting against their Polishness derived from home (for ideological or opportunist reasons), eagerly absorbed Russian high culture and interest in the poetry of the great Romantic.⁷² One way or another, not 'neutral' to Poles, the reading of Pushkin's works was connected with the fear of losing one's own national identity, with the constantly alarming question whether this might not lead to 'Slavic streams being diluted in the Russian sea'.

CLOSING REMARKS

The Polish public opinion's view on Russian school education in the Vistula Land was most appropriately summed up by Izabela Moszczyńska: a social activist, co-author of the educational programme of the Polish Socialist Party (PSS), as well as a co-organizer of the 1905 school strike:

⁶⁸ Mickiewicz i Puszkin oraz społeczeństwo polskie i rosyjskie, Kraków 1899, pp. 14, 25–37.

Cz. Latawiec, Sandomierz - moja młodość, Warszawa 1976, pp. 83-84; Z. Wasilewski, Życiorys w: Kielce w pamiętnikach i wspomnieniach z XIX wieku, eds. A. Massalski, M. Pawlina-Meducka, Kielce 1992, p. 200.

⁷⁰ S. Żeromski, Dzienniki, Warszawa 1964, ed. J. Kądziela, vol. 1, p. 98.

⁷¹ S. Surzycki, Kartka z dziejów rosyjskiego wychowania państwowego w Polsce, Warszawa 1933, pp. 40; - W. Lednicki, 'Puszkin a my', in: idem, Puszkin. 1837–1937, Kraków 1937 p. 55

⁷² S. Żeromski, Syzyfowe prace, Warszawa 1934, p. 228.

'Society's reluctance to Russian schools resulted not only from the fact that there was a foreign language of instruction there, but from the fact that this school system was bad in every aspect, that it satisfied no needs whatsoever of the nation's cultural development, contrariwise, causing only artificially amassed obstacles.'⁷³

Therefore, the government schools were assessed throughout all their duration as alien institutions, hostile to Polish society, blocking its cultural and social development. The fact that this educational system's authority was to be consolidated by the genius of the Russian 'national poet' made his oeuvre as if automatically rejected as harmonizing with the intention to 'deprive Polish students of their national identity'.

In the light of the analysis of the interventions of the authorities of the Warsaw Educational District and of the content of school books, however, in my view, one should not attribute to Russian schools the entire eradication of the Polish national identity in students and the 'turning of the gymnasium students into Russians'. Alexander Pushkin, regarded to have been the great master of Russianness, was the patron of the Russian nation composed both of representatives of lower classes (narod) as well as of the higher ones (obshchestvo) under the leadership of an autocratic tsar, which, however, was not meant to include Poles.[to zdanie po polsku chyba nielogiczne, tu poprawiłam] In the understanding of Russian officials it was the Russian national territory inhabited by representatives of the 'triune' Russian nation bringing together Great Russia, Little Russia, and White Russia that constituted the 'core of the Empire'. Poles, instead, belonging to the Russian state and not the Russian nation, should, first of all, stay loyal to the Empire, and thoroughly accept their submission and dependence.

Among Poles Pushkin was to symbolize the cultural power of the Russian state. This state, however, was predominantly represented as an empire, and not a national state. The Russian narod, translated both as the 'people, folk' and 'nation', was not actually

⁷³ I. Moszceńska, Nasza szkoła w Królestwie Polskiem. Uwagi na czasie, Lwów 1905, p. 17.

treated as the subject of the Russian statehood, but as its cultural and ethnographic base defining the civilizational status of the Russian state. To conclude, the concept of narod did not coincide with that of the 'state', therefore the schools' role was more to acculturate Polish students to Russianness than to assimilate them.

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RE-CATALOGUING THE VARNHAGEN COLLECTION: A NEW DESCRIPTION SCHEME AND ITS APPLICATION TO THE SELECTED MATERIAL¹

DOI: 10.36155/PLib.10.00006

ABSTRACT

The article presents a proposal of re-cataloguing the Varnhagen Collection, one of the largest and most important European manuscript collections of the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. This collection is part of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin, and is currently kept in the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków. This proposal is a response to the postulate of creating a systematic, possibly complete

¹ The article was written as part of the research jointly financed by the Polish National Science Center (NCN; research project no 2018/31/G/HS2/01585) and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG). The translation was revised and corrected by the authors. It was funded by the program 'Excellence Initiative - Research University' at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków.

and error-free catalogue of this collection, which will enable full use of its resources. The article develops a theoretical scheme of description, tested in practice in teamwork and with archival units of various volumes and structures. The scheme takes into account the archival strategies used in the collection, the tradition of research on the collection (Ludwig Stern's catalogue) and refers to modern solutions (the electronic Kalliope database and the printed catalog of Alexander von Humboldt's papers from 2019). After a short historical outline of the collection (relocation during World War II and the post-war situation) and the reconstruction of the history of its creation and character, the article presents in detail the description scheme and its use on the example of the legacy of the writer Helmina von Chézy (178-1856) belonging to the collection. The full application of the scheme will be found in the currently prepared catalog of parts of the collection, which can be used as a starting point for its comprehensive cataloguing.

KEYWORDS: Varnhagen Collection, Jagiellonian Library, Ludwig Stern, catalogue of manuscripts, Helmina von Chézy

INTRODUCTION - POINT OF DEPARTURE AND OVERVIEW

The Varnhagen Collection, part of the collections of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin, and currently held in the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków, is now fully accessible to all interested researchers. However, readers often cannot use its resources to the full extent due to the lack of a detailed catalogue that would allow precise navigation through this unique collection.² To this day, there has been only one printed catalogue made by Ludwig Stern in 1911, which attempted a comprehensive description of the Varnhagen Collection based on the standards in force at that time.³ The catalogue allows the readers to get an idea of the collection as a whole,

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

² This gap is not filled by general and scattered information about a few documents from this collection available in electronic databases, e.g., Kalliope Union Catalogue (Kalliope Verbundkatalog).

³ L. Stern, Die Varnhagen von Ensesche Sammlung in der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Berlin 1911.

presents its structure, and allows them to find some detailed information, but due to the passage of time, it is actually a historical document. This means that, firstly, it does not meet today's standards for the indexing of manuscripts, and, secondly, the catalogue entries require the documents to be verified first-hand each time.

Calls for the re-cataloguing of the Varnhagen Collection have been made in recent years by both the German researchers associated with the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin) and the Polish researchers working on the collection.⁴ Due to the complexity of this task (given the size of the collection and the variety of documents it includes), they all point out the need for extensive research conducted by individuals and collaboratively by the various scholarly institutions and libraries involved. The main goal would be to ensure that the collection reaches the widest possible audience and, simultaneously, to supplement the available knowledge about it. Furthermore, it should be added that such a detailed study is also a necessary condition for the digitization of the collection.

Responding to the call to create a systematic, possibly complete, and error-free index of the documents, in this article we pose a methodological question: what should the new catalogue look like? What description scheme should be adopted to be applicable to all possible cases, respecting the heterogeneity of the materials and at the same time allowing for their detailed cataloguing? This article then presents a proposal for re-cataloguing the Varnhagen Collection developed as part of the Polish-German project entitled

⁴ See J. Weber, 'Die Sammlung Varnhagen', Briefnetzwerke um Hermann von Pückler-Muskau, ed. J. Kittelmann, Dresden 2015, pp. 185-196 and P. Zarychta, 'Zum Nachlass Rosa Maria und David Assing in Krakau oder: Warum die Sammlung Varnhagen neukatalogisiert werden sollte', Internationales Jahrbuch der Bettina-von-Arnim-Gesellschaft, vol. 28-29 (2017), pp. 31-50. Zarychta points to problems and challenges related, in particular, to the study of larger archival units. Using the Nachlass of Rosa Maria and David Assing as an example, he demonstrates that the information in Stern's catalogue is not only incomplete, but sometimes incorrect, hence the content of some units remains undiscovered to this day. The researcher also recognizes the dispersion of material belonging to one Nachlass among different units (boxes) as a problem. See ibidem, p. 49-50.

"Female Writers in the Varnhagen Collection – Letters, Works, Relations,' carried out in close cooperation with the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków. The aim of this project – apart from cataloguing the documents selected for the project and making them available in electronic databases⁵ – is to create a digital critical edition of these documents available online and in a printed annotated edition of selected letters.

After a short historical outline about the Varnhagen Collection, a description scheme⁶ will be presented, which will then be illustrated using an example of the manuscripts of the writer Helmina von Chézy (1785-1856) included in the collection. The scheme will be applied in full in the cataloguing of all the materials included in the above-mentioned project, which is being prepared by the Polish part of the team.

The history of the Varnhagen Collection as part of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin (relocation during the Second World War and the post-war situation)

The Varnhagen Collection found its way to Kraków as a result of the events of the Second World War. Beginning in 1941, due to the threat of bombing Berlin, the most valuable collections of the Prussian State Library were gradually moved out of the German capital. A total of three million prints and 900,000 objects of special collections were selected for evacuation. They were divided into two categories: the first one included manuscripts, musical manuscripts, autographs, incunabula, Orientalia, and rare art collections. The second category included prints from the following collections:

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

⁵ These will be the following databases: electronic catalogue of the Jagiellonian Library as a part of the linked catalogues of Polish libraries ALMA and Kalliope Union Catalogue (Kalliope Verbundkatalog).

⁶ The scheme was developed by the authors of this article in the first stage of the project, including the inventory and cataloguing of the documents selected for the project. The manuscripts will be examined in the context of the epistolary, cultural, and social exchange network as well as against the background of the entire Varnhagen Collection and its links with other collections of the time.

Judaica, Kriegs-Sammlung, linguistic, Italian, and Slavic prints as well as atlases and periodicals. These collections were placed in various safe places (almost thirty in total) in the southern and eastern territories of the Third Reich. Some of them ended up in Fürstenstein (Książ) in Lower Silesia, from where they were moved to a potentially safer place – Grüssau (Krzeszów near Kamienna Góra). In the Cistercian monastery church located there, 505 boxes containing the so-called 'Prussian treasure' were stored.⁷ In 1945, the Red Army troops that passed through Krzeszów did not find the library collections; they were only found by Stanisław Sierotwiński – the representative of the Polish government administration.



FIG. 1: The Cistercian monastery church in Krzeszów, photograph by Z. Pietrzyk

7 Among the studies on the subject, the work that provides the most comprehensive description of the consecutive stages of securing and evacuating library collections from Berlin is that by Werner Schochow, Bücherschicksale. Die Verlagerungsgeschichte der Preußischen Staatsbibliothek. Auslagerung-Zerstörung-Entfremdung-Rückführung, Berlin, New York 2015. For the newest bibliography concerning the history of the collection see M. Jaglarz, K. Jaśtal, 'Bestände der ehemaligen Preußischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in der Jagiellonen-Bibliothek: Geschichte und Struktur', Bestände der ehemaligen Preußischen Staatsbibliothek Forschungsstand und –perspektiven, eds. M. Jaglarz, K. Jaśtal, Berlin et al. 2018, pp. 15-30.

After the hostilities ended and the peace settlement was concluded, Lower Silesia became part of the reborn Polish state. The Polish authorities founded the institution of the Delegate of the Ministry of Education for abandoned and deserted book collections. In the period from December 1, 1945, to April 30, 1947, the delegate was Dr. Stanisław Sierotwiński, a Polish teacher and employee of the Jagiellonian Library, and the seat of the Delegation was in the building of the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków.⁸ The building, erected in the 1930s, was spacious and modern, and the transfer of the library collections there had been planned in the autumn of 1939. This was prevented by the outbreak of the war, but the relocation was organized by the German occupation authorities, and in April 1941. the Staatsbibliothek zu Krakau, a library to be used exclusively by Germans, was officially opened. It functioned until July 1944, when part of the collection (mainly the acquisitions from 1941-1944) was transported to Lower Silesia. Nevertheless, the building of the library, undamaged during the occupation and the military operations in January 1945, was suitable to be used as the headquarters for Sierotwiński's activity as the Delegate of the Ministry. During the post-war chaos, his task was to secure library collections against theft, dispersion, or devastation. In 1945, in Lower Silesia, Sierotwiński searched for the collections taken from the libraries of Kraków, Warsaw and Lwów, and most probably this was how he found the traces of the Berlin collections in Krzeszów⁹.

Beginning in 1946, on the basis of the decree of March 8, 1946, on former German property, the collections referred to as the 'Prussian treasure' were gradually transported to Kraków. Initially, they were stored in various places throughout the city, including the monasteries of the Missionaries and the Dominicans,¹⁰ but even-

⁸ J. Pirożyński, 'Berlinka. Zbiory Berlińskie w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej', *Dziennik Polski* No 115 (21.5.1993).

⁹ P. Lechowski, 'Sporna Berlinka. Kontrowersje wokół zbiorów byłej Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej przechowywanych w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej', *Biuletyn EBIB* 2008, vol. 99, http://www.ebib.pl/2008/99/index.php (accessed 4.03.2022).

¹⁰ It was probably then that part of the collection had to be separated and remained in the monastery. In 2016, the Dominicans of Kraków donated to the Jagiellonian

tually, for conservation reasons, they were moved in 1947 to the building of the Jagiellonian Library. Some of the chests containing books and manuscripts were damaged, although the collections as a whole remained in good condition. Work on unpacking the chests in the library building (ultimately 490 of them were delivered there) began on November 1, 1947, and the checking of their contents lasted until February 1, 1948.¹¹

In the early 1950s, the Ministry's Delegation was discontinued, and the Berlin collection, colloquially known as 'Berlinka,' was transferred to the care of the Jagiellonian Library. Until the end of the 1970s, the Polish authorities concealed the presence of the collection in Poland, which resulted in its exclusion from research for years. Moreover, they made contradictory, constantly changing decisions about its future. In 1957, the director of the Jagiellonian Library was ordered to prepare the Berlin collection for its return to Berlin. At that time, preparatory work for the microfilming of the most important and valuable materials began. However, the Ministry of Higher Education soon cancelled their decision. A few years later, it was decided to return a large number of periodicals to Germany. Through Łódź, a dozen or so rail carriages filled with periodicals were transferred to the GDR, to the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. The most important collections, however, remained in the Jagiellonian Library.¹² Expert opinions on international law were also prepared by eminent Polish lawyers, who unanimously stated that the collections found in Krzeszów were the property of the Polish state. Indeed, the collection has such status now - that of a state treasury deposit in the Jagiellonian Library.¹³

Library the Latin, Greek, and Roman manuscripts, and albums (diaries) found in the monastery as well as a collection of Oriental manuscripts and prints, mainly Judaica.

¹¹ Z. Pietrzyk, 'Polonica in Albums forming part of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin (now held by the Jagiellonian Library) which were brought to light in 2014', Bestände der ehemaligen Preußischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in der Jagiellonen-Bibliothek. Forschungsstand und -perspektiven, eds. M. Jaglarz, K. Jaśtal, Berlin et al. 2018, pp. 103-104.

¹² Z.Pietrzyk, 'Zbiory z byłej Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej, *Alma Mater* No 100 (2008) pp. 15-19.

¹³ W. Kowalski, "Sytuacja prawna poniemieckich zbiorów bibliotecznych w Polsce', Przegląd Biblioteczny 1997, vol. 1, pp. 17-23; J. Pruszyński, Dziedzictwo kultury Polski.

In 1975, preparations began to incorporate "Berlinka' into the collections of the Jagiellonian Library. The decision was soon annulled, and the plan to open the collection to the public and determine its future was suspended again. Another step in the inconsistent and hardly understandable policy of the Polish state authorities towards the Berlin collection was the handing over in 1977 by the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, Edward Gierek, of 29 selected manuscripts of Ludwig van Beethoven (e.g., an extract from the Ninth Symphony), Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Johann Sebastian Bach 'on behalf of the Polish nation to the GDR nation.'

In 1979, the Berlin collection started to be made available to scholars with a special, individually obtained ministerial permission. The breakthrough came in 1981 when Professor Józef Andrzej Gierowski was nominated Rector of the Jagiellonian University, and Professor Jan Pirożyński Director of the Jagiellonian Library. In July 1981, by the decision of the authorities of the Jagiellonian University, the collection was made available to all interested scholars, in accordance with the general rules for access to special collections.¹⁴

The Berlin collection held in the Jagiellonian Library includes special collections of manuscripts, music, graphics and cartography, and old prints as well as periodicals and books from the 19th and 20th centuries, which are of incomparably lower value.¹⁵ One of the most valuable collections stored in the Manuscript Department of the Library is the Varnhagen Collection.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

Jego straty i ochrona prawna, vol. 2, Kraków 2001; Hanna Łaskarzewska, 'Europa bez roszczeń? Problemy własności zbiorów, pamięć i polityka', *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 2006, vol. 50, pp. 45-91.

¹⁴ Z.Pietrzyk, 'Jan Pirożyński jako bibliotekarz', *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* 2005, vol. 54, pp. 7–29.

¹⁵ The Jagiellonian Library preserves, maintains and makes available the collections from the former Prussian State Library, and also supports the research on them in terms of organization and scholarship. An example of such cooperation with units of the Jagiellonian University was the "Fibula' project. Cf. http://info. filg.uj.edu.pl/fibula/en/node/40 (accessed 5.04.2022).

The origin and nature of the Varnhagen Collection

The Varnhagen Collection is considered to be one of the largest and most important European autograph collections of the 19th century. Through thousands of letters, literary manuscripts, periodicals, and notes, among other things, (200,000 items in total), it documents the literary, cultural, scholarly, and political life of Europe in the late 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. Therefore, unlike the so-called Autograph Collection, which is also part of the Berlin collections, it constitutes a closed collection of autographs contemporary to its founders.

The collection was founded by a Berlin diplomat, writer and journalist, Karl August Varnhagen von Ense (1785-1858). Its basis and core were Varnhagen's own handwritten Nachlass and the rich correspondence of his wife Rahel Varnhagen, *née* Levin (1771-1833). She ran a famous literary salon in Berlin in the years 1790-1806, before she married Varnhagen, and later as his wife in the years 1820-183. This salon was a meeting place for the intellectual elite of contemporary Germany. Among the most distinguished guests were Friedrich and August Wilhelm Schlegel, Ludwig Tieck, Clemens Brentano, Friedrich Schleiermacher, Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué, Prince Hermann von Pückler-Muskau, Wilhelm and Jakob Grimm, Jean Paul Richter, Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt, and many others. The collection includes over 6,000 letters written by Rahel herself, addressed to three hundred correspondents, and which related to her life filled with a rich intellectual exchange.¹⁶

Karl A. Varnhagen, showing an unbridled 'collector's zeal', $^{\scriptscriptstyle 17}$ collected various historical and biographical materials $^{\scriptscriptstyle 18}$ from an early

¹⁶ On the subject of the origin of the collection cf. N. Gatter, '«sie ist vor allem die meine...». Die Sammlung Varnhagen bis zu ihrer Katalogisierung', Wenn die Geschichte um die Ecke geht, eds. Nikolaus Gatter, Eva Feldheim et al., Berlin 2000 (Almanach der Varnhagen Gesellschaft 1), pp. 239-271, 245.

¹⁷ L. Stern also writes about his 'inborn collector's nature' ("naturhafte Sammlernatur'). See L. Stern, op. cit., p. IV.

¹⁸ Varnhagen acquired e.g., part of the precious correspondence of J.H.S. Formey, secretary of the Prussian Academy of Sciences, see La correspondance de Jean Henri

age for over 50 years of his life'. Based on his activities as a journalist, writer, and diplomat, he was able to make acquaintance with numerous personalities from the political and cultural life in Europe, extending his contacts to span almost the entire continent. He bought, exchanged, or received autographs as gifts. Interestingly, his collection documents its own founding as a socio-cultural practice, as it contains numerous letters in which Varnhagen directly addressed people whose collections or whose own autographs interested him. This is illustrated, for example, by the previously unpublished correspondence of Varnhagen with Helmina von Chézy, which proves that the diplomat was interested both in entire legacies and in specific manuscripts, e.g., specific poems.¹⁹ At the same time, he often expressed his regret that he had started collecting so late,²⁰ although at that time his collection was already so famous that it constituted a kind of institution.

The way Varnhagen himself perceived his collections is shown in his letter from 1848 to Karl Falkenstein, the head librarian and councillor of the Royal Library in Dresden. It was made public after his death, in the article entitled 'Ueber Zweck und Werth der Autographensammlungen' (1859). It reads:

For me, too, the desire to collect manuscripts was awakened only in my later years and by chance, after I had until then indifferently given away everything that had come my way and had carelessly passed by the richest sources that had long been open to me. [...] Incidentally, I think of our collecting in a very honourable and serious way; for me, it is not a mere hobby, but a literary matter which will be very important in the future. The whole series of letters, essays of all kinds, historical testimonies, the most diverse

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

Samuel Formey (1711-1797) inventaire alphabétique. Etabli sous la direction de Jens Häseler, Paris 2003, p. 10.

¹⁹ The founding of the collection and searching for valuable manuscripts were constant topics in the correspondence. Cf. e.g., SV 47 Chézy Helmina von, fol. 739-744 and fol. 751-752, Varnhagen's letters of 7 Oct 1854, 30 Oct 1854, 25 Feb 1855, and 25 Jan 1856.

²⁰ As in the letter of May 31, 1852, regarding the writer Henrietta Herz: 'Unfortunately [Herz] destroyed all her papers. It is also a great loss for my autograph collection, to which she would certainly have sent me more than one slip, had I not become a collector too late.' SV 47 Chézy Helmina von, fol. 735-736.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

information, and explanations easily join the slip, and gradually a historical-literary encyclopaedia comes into being, such as many a writer would now like to have at hand when dealing with material from earlier times. I have therefore taken the precaution that my collection will be preserved after my death and handed over to a public library for general use.²¹

After Varnhagen's death, the collection was taken over by his niece and heir, Ludmilla Assing (1821-1880), who had lived with him in Berlin since 1842 and even tried to continue the tradition of the late Rahel's literary salon. Ludmilla enriched the collection with the documents of her parents, Rosa Maria and David Assing, and her own papers. In addition, due to her efforts in the early 1870s, she incorporated into the collection the autographs of the writer and diplomat Apollonius von Maltitz and Prince Hermann von Pückler-Muskau. She also made many copies of manuscript documents, which are an equally valuable part of the collection. Ludmilla Assing faced criminal charges as a result of her editorial activities, which included publishing the correspondence between Alexander von Humboldt and Karl A. Varnhagen. Her work was critical of the contemporary situation in Prussia at that time, and so, in 1862 she was forced to flee via Switzerland to Italy (Florence), taking the collection along. She remained there until her death. In her will, she bequeathed the collection to the Royal Library in Berlin, thus, fulfilling her uncle's will. After her death in the spring of 1881, the collection was donated by the executor of her will, Salvatore Battaglia, to the Royal Library in Berlin.²² In its final form, the collection included documents of over 9,000 persons and was a real "manuscript museum."²³

²¹ K. A. Varnhagen, 'Ueber Zweck und Werth der Autographensammlungen', *Organ für Autographensammler und Autographenhändler*, 3 (1859), ed. Johannes Günther, pp. 33-35, 34 - translated by J. Kita-Huber. This title comprises two articles by Varnhagen: the letter to Karl Falkenstein of 18 Jan 1855, and an entry to the autograph album of Richard Zeune.

²² Briefe von Alexander von Humboldt an Varnhagen von Ense, aus den Jahren 1827 bis 1858: nebst Auszügen aus Varnhagen's Tagebüchern und Briefen von Varnhagen und andern an Humboldt, Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus 1860. Five editions of the volume were published in 1860 alone. Cf. N. Gatter, op. cit., pp. 250-271.

²³ L. Stern, op. cit., p. X.

We know about the form and order in which the collection, among others, reached Berlin from Florence from the foreword in Ludwig Stern's (1846-1911) catalogue. Stern was an Egyptologist, Celticist, and librarian by profession as well as the director of the Manuscripts Department at the Royal Library. He was responsible for cataloguing the collection from 1881 until his death, and so he created a new system based entirely on the alphabet. Thus, the collection was donated to the Royal Library in three sections (Abteilungen), described by the previous owners as autographs, manuscripts, and prints with the boxes containing the original collection of autographs being alphabetically arranged:

Varnhagen had arranged a large number of his autographs alphabetically in boxes of quarto format, but others, especially if there were more of them from one person, were kept in folders. The many notes on people and the copies of letters, as well as his own returned letters and the letter drafts, were also kept in special boxes.²⁴

This order reflected the individual nature of the collection and at the same time its exceptional complexity and diversity. As Stern reminds us, Varnhagen himself did not want to compare his collection with other contemporary collections, seeing something completely different in it. This is illustrated, for example, by Varnhagen's critical reaction to the article by the Prussian general and diplomat Joseph von Radowitz entitled 'Die Autographen-Sammlungen,' in which he proposes the use of systematics in autograph collections based on the social position and the rank of the authors of the manuscripts. In the diary published posthumously (the entry of September 15, 1851), Varnhagen replies as follows: 'My collection is different from the one he [Radowitz] has in mind, it is primarily mine, created according to my circumstances, intentions, and possibilities.'²⁵

²⁴ L. Stern, op. cit., p. VI, all quotes from the catalogue were translated by J. Kita-Huber. Cf. also J. Weber, op. cit., p. 192.

²⁵ K. A. Varnhagen, Tagebücher. Aus dem Nachlass Varnhagens von Ense, Hamburg 1868, vol. 9, p. 369. At that time, a number of textbooks with guidelines for autograph collectors were written. One of the best known is Handbuch für

According to Stern, one of the individual features of the Varnhagen Collection, reflecting the personality of the collector, are handwritten biographical notes usually on separate pages, illustrations and prints.²⁶ Another special feature is its heterogeneity and, at the same time, the presence of documents of different quality due to the mixed nature of the collection. Apart from the manuscripts of eminent representatives of European culture and science, we can also find here documents of less famous people, which – as Stern himself noted – have a great historical value. The collection, thus, presents a maximally complete and varied picture of its time.²⁷

LUDWIG STERN'S CATALOGUE

In total, Stern carried out two stages of cataloguing and organizing the collection. In 1893, he first created a repertory – a handwritten index of all documents or a 'road map' in which he introduced the alphabetical rule. He also marked the original shelf mark numbers, noting at the same time that the 'separation of "manuscripts" from "autographs," [and] copies and notes from the originals, is in places entirely accidental or arbitrary.²⁸ This meant that the alphabetical order was (at this stage) more important than the ordering of the documents by category within each archival unit. For the purposes of the printed catalogue planned for 1911, he rearranged the collection according to the alphabetical index of the material as stated here:

In order to further facilitate its use, the entire collection had to be rearranged according to the alphabetical index and stored in uniform folio boxes with continuous numbering (just as it is done for the other autographs of the Royal Library), and at the same time

28 L. Stern, op. cit., p. XIII.

Autographensammler by J. Günther and O. A. Schulz from 1856, which includes Radowitz's methodological proposal. Cf. also K. Jaśtal, 'Karl August Varnhagen von Ense und seine Autographensammlung', *Briefnetzwerke um Hermann von Pückler-Muskau*, op. cit., pp. 197-206.

²⁶ L. Stern, op. cit., p. XII.

²⁷ L. Stern, op. cit., pp. XI-XII.

the handwritten index of 1893 had to be completed, specified and corrected many times.²⁹

Stern sorted the documents so that all autographs of a given person were always under their name, supplemented with the biographical material from Varnhagen, which in the first index (1893) was in a different place (the register with biographical information) where almost every archival unit began from Varnhagen's notes about a given person. Moreover, in the catalogue, Stern included references to publications of the 19th century based on this collection. Stern describes his principles as follows:

Since the catalogue was to have a certain degree of completeness, it had to be brief and could not be extended beyond general library needs. Due to the overwhelming size of the collection and its diversity, a more detailed description of the content of the letters had to be dispensed with, and only a few exceptions to this rule were permitted. On the other hand, the immediate identification of the persons was made possible by adding their most necessary biographical data. Varnhagen had already prepared the indexing by noting the writer and addressee at the top left of the letters, whose envelopes have rarely been preserved, and the provenance at the bottom left, and in many cases also adding biographical information on coloured slips of paper.³⁰

As he admitted, his catalogue had, therefore, only 'a certain completeness' as Stern often did not specify the number of manuscripts, but wrote only 'circa,' and he did not list all his male and female correspondents and only wrote, "among others.' For example, in the case of the Assing documents, he used phrases such as 'all kinds of other papers and newspaper cuttings,' 'military and other personal papers, including his doctoral diploma and his Königsberg dissertation on 'Oxygenica' (title page missing),' and 'circa 82 letters to Varnhagen von Ense 1813-42'.³¹ In the index of

²⁹ L. Stern, op. cit., p. XIV.

³⁰ Ibidem.

³¹ L. Stern, op. cit., p. 30. The Nachlass of Rosa Maria Assing was systematised by P. Zarychta: Selbstinszenierung und Gedächtnisbildung. Rosa Maria Assing in Briefen

Chézy's Nachlass, he used the terms 'other fragments,' and 'all kinds of printed material from periodicals 1820-45'³², among other things. This tendency can also be seen in the remarks on Pückler's autographs, where Stern explained that this extensive resource, originally completely disordered, was structured and described by him in a general outline ('ist in der Hauptsache nun gleichfalls in übersichtliche Reihenfolge gebracht.') ³³

Therefore, he intended, particularly with regard to large archival units, to maintain the general line of order without the need to separate each document. This did not seem to contradict the archiving standards of the time but does not currently meet modern requirements. The descriptive strategies used in Stern's catalogue are therefore situated at the interface of information science and literary tradition.³⁴ Thus, Stern paved the way for further archival work on the Varnhagen Collection. Firstly, he saw his catalogue as only a contribution (albeit significant) to the complete systematising of the collection and, thus, open to future additions and corrections. It is significant that he ended his foreword as follows: 'I am aware that there is still a lot to be added.'³⁵ Secondly, it determined the way of thinking about the collection and the methodological approach to be used. It was not without reason that his catalogue was once viewed as a 'model masterpiece of modern autograph cataloguing' and was the model for the six-volume general catalogue of manuscripts in the Royal Library of Berlin.³⁶

The proposal for new cataloguing of the Varnhagen Collection presented in this article follows this tradition. In the face of the de-

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

und Lebenszeugnissen aus der Sammlung Varnhagen. Edition und Kommentar, Berlin 2021 (vol. 1) and Berlin 2022 (vol. II).

³² L. Stern, op. cit., p. 147.

³³ L. Stern, op. cit., p. VII.

³⁴ The newest issue of the journal Zeitschrift für Germanistik, NF 32 (2022), vol. 1 is devoted to catalogues as writers' and narrators' strategies. Cl. also K. Jürjens, U. Vedder, Kataloge: Medien und Schreibweisen des Verzeichnens. Zur Einführung, pp. 7-18.

³⁵ L. Stern, op. cit., p. XV.

³⁶ Hans Lülfing, 'Die Handschriftenabteilung', Deutsche Staatsbibliothek. 1661–1961, vol. 1: Geschichte und Gegenwart, Leipzig 1961, pp. 319–380, 352.

velopment of archival science and new possibilities for collecting and sharing data, and in the context of the development of digital technologies, the Varnhagen Collection today requires a more careful classification and cataloguing. The new proposal must comply with the current standards and still draw on both the archival practices used in the collection and its description so far.

The aim is to meet the demand for systematicity, completeness, and detailed description within archival units while marking the 'geological strata,'³⁷ i.e., the arrangement of the documents within the units. Varnhagen's narrative, which was continued but also re-organized and complemented by Stern, is enriched by our proposal as another step towards ordering and supplementing the catalogue. The details of this will now be presented.



FIG. 2. Varnhagen Collection: SV19_Ludmilla Assing, photograph by Paweł Zarychta

³⁷ This term refers to the term 'stratigraphy,' used by Dominik Erdmann in reference to Alexander von Humboldt's Nachlass. Cf. 'Einführung', Der Nachlass Alexander von Humboldt in der Jagiellonen-Bibliotheh, bearbeitet von Dominik Erdmann, ed. M. Jaglarz, Kraków 2019, pp. V-XXXIV, XXXIV.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF MATERIALS IN THE VARNHAGEN COLLECTION

In the Varnhagen Collection, there is a rule that all items related to a specific person are placed in the folder labelled with that person's name. These include original documents, pictures, works and letters as well as publications and press cuttings and, in some cases, also extracts from incoming correspondence as well as materials about it, such as Karl Varnhagen's notes. Nevertheless, there are also exceptions to this rule. Members of royal families are listed under the name of the country in which the families ruled. The large archival units of, for example, Rahel Varnhagen or Prince Herman von Pückler-Muskau are ordered somewhat differently. For example, some of their outgoing correspondences are listed under the addressees' names, thus, contradicting the basic rule. The folders are arranged alphabetically by name and placed in boxes marked with numbers which are combined with the surname to form the shelfmark of the manuscript unit. This enables the locating of a specific document and is a universally used practice in organizing scholarly literature.³⁸ This arrangement is different from the rules used in Polish libraries, where the manuscript Nachlass of a given person is treated collectively as a whole due to its provenance, and is thus preserved and catalogued.³⁹ Therefore, the collection under the name of 'Helmina von Chézy' would contain her autographs and related materials, excluded from documents of other persons that have thus been dispersed. Therefore, the letters are not listed by the addressees, but by the authors, and so are scattered throughout the collection.

This arrangement is reflected in Ludwig Stern's printed catalogue. The materials were described by Stern in the following order: pictures and drawings, personal documents, outgoing and possibly incoming correspondence (here, Stern placed cross-references in-

³⁸ A typical notation: 'SV 47 Chézy Helmina von', where the abbreviation SV 47 stands for 'Sammlung Varnhagen'[Varnhagen Collection] box 47.

³⁹ Cf. Wytyczne opracowania rękopisów w bibliotekach polskich, Wrocław 1955.

dicating under which names to look for incoming correspondence in other parts of the collection), creative works, printed materials and press cuttings, and assorted materials, including foreign ones. Information about Varnhagen's notes was often omitted in Stern's description. At the end of each description appeared the number of the box in square brackets, and if the collection related to one person, it consisted of several boxes, and the number of the boxes were included in the text after each batch of material had been described.

The current project describes eight archival units including the papers of the following people: Charlotte von Ahlefeld, Helmina von Chézy, Caroline de la Motte Fouqué, Amalia Helvig, Amalia Schoppe, Fanny Tarnow, Amalia von Voigt, and Karoline von Woltmann⁴⁰. They comprise one large (Chézy), two medium-sized (Schoppe, Tarnow), and five smaller collections.

Description Scheme

The scheme adopted for the project is an extended and modified version of the description used by Stern and based on current practice and methods⁴¹. This is how it looks:

Shelfmark number of a given unit (SV, box number, name)

- 1. Notes on the person
- 2. Pictures, paintings, and drawings
- 3. Outgoing correspondence
- 4. Creative works
- 5. Personal materials
- 6. Prints and press cuttings

⁴⁰ SV 1 Ahlefeld Charlotte; SV 47 Chézy Helmina von; SV 60 Fouqué Caroline de la Motte; SV 84 Helvig Amalie von; SV 230 Schoppe Amalia; SV 241 Tarnow Fanny; SV 271 Voigt Amalie von; SV 281 Woltmann Karoline.

⁴¹ The authors drew, among other things, on the scheme used in the Kalliope database: https://kalliope-verbund.info, and in the catalogue of Alexander von Humboldt's manuscripts: Der Nachlass Alexander von Humboldt in der Jagiellonen-Bibliothek, op. cit. The catalogue was deliberately left out of the system used in Polish libraries. Any other solution would have been contrary to the historical arrangement of the collection.

- 7. Incoming correspondence
- 8. Foreign materials
- 9. Library materials

The aim of the team was to develop a scheme which would have the following features:

- the description as detailed as possible with the catalogue containing a systematic index of all objects, with each having its own number and the range of pages;
- source material about one person presented not only as a collection of details but also as a whole;
- the description scheme being also a narrative technique where the order adopted allows for an illustration of the structure of the entire collection.

DETAILS OF THE DESCRIPTION

- Notes on a person are described right next to the letters or work extracts. Most often, these were made by Karl A. Varnhagen or Ludmilla Assing and those belonging to the former were frequently about letters and were written on small, coloured slips of paper attached to the manuscripts. All information that does not come from the manuscript is placed in square brackets. This applies not only to literary data, but also to K. Varnhagen's notes.
- 2. Pictures, paintings, and drawings were supplemented, where possible, with information about the author.
- 3. For outgoing correspondence, each letter is described in the following order: sender, addressee, place, and date of writing the letter. When we are not dealing with the original, we provide information on whether it is a copy, a draft, etc. The letters are arranged alphabetically according to the addressees' surnames, and chronologically within the surnames. Letters to undetermined persons are placed at the end, and if necessary for identification the description is supplemented with the incipit. If a document or excerpt is attached to the letter, it is placed directly next to the letter and is also described there.

- 4. Creative works are divided into poetry, prose, and drama. At the end of the section, there are draft materials for literary works and unfinished ones. The works are arranged chronologically or, if it is impossible to determine the time of their writing, first comes the finished texts, then fragments or sketches, and finally draft materials for individual works, most often in the form of notes.
- 5. Personal materials which are, namely, personal documents, diaries, and bills.
- 6. Prints and press cuttings are placed in their chronological order.
- Incoming correspondence, i.e., letters addressed to a person, are described according to the outgoing correspondence model, except that the letters are arranged alphabetically according to the surnames of the senders.
- 8. Foreign materials are usually letters from different senders to different recipients. One shelfmark number may happen to comprise materials concerning different people, which are linked coincidentally by the same name and surname⁴². This is all the more important because in this study it was decided to subsume all documents under a specific shelfmark number, so as to give the reader a full picture of the content.
- 9. Library materials consist of folders, notes and bookmarks constitute an integral part of the unit and are added to it at various stages of the library's work.

Application of the scheme - the Nachlass of Helmina von Chézy as an example

Based on this scheme, the project team identified first-hand and sorted out eight archival units which were then foiled and digitized. Each object was given a new shelfmark number, including

⁴² For example, the folder of the writer Charlotte von Ahlefeld *née* Seebach includes copies of letters from Charlotte von Ahlenfeld-Laurvigen née Hedemann assigned to her by mistake, and the folder of Amalie Voigt née Ludecus includes an obituary of her husband's relative, Amalie Voigt née Hufeland, Osann by her first marriage.

the SV, box number, and name and sheet numbers which makes it possible to uniquely identify each document separately (letter, drawing, manuscript, print) and not only the general archival unit. All the objects described in the new scheme were entered into the electronic Kalliope database together with their shelfmark numbers and the metadata generated during the process. In this way, the reader is able to identify the type of objects with a given unit or box like they would have with Stern's catalogue, but they were also able to obtain a detailed list of all objects. This will be subsequently demonstrated as we apply the scheme to an example of the work on the Nachlass of the writer Helmina von Chézy mentioned earlier by first showing how Stern handled these documents followed by our approach, in contrast.

In the introduction to his catalogue, Ludwig Stern treated the autographs of this 'poet,' granddaughter of the eighteenth-century writer Anna Luisa Karsch, as particularly noteworthy to be considered alongside the documents of the musician and pedagogue Paul Emil Thieriot, theologian and philosopher J.H. Samuel Formey, and the Clemens Brentano family43. The lack of reliable source editions concerning Chézy's life and work makes research on her output only rudimentary in nature. The identification and cataloguing of the documents in the collection, including correspondence, letter drafts, and manuscripts of published and unpublished works, will certainly help to deepen the research. Today, Chézy is known only to a few, although in her day, she played a significant role in the social and cultural life not only of Germany but also of Europe, in particular in German-French relations. She corresponded with the most influential writers, artists, and politicians, and collaborated with a number of leading periodicals and publishing

⁴³ L. Stern, op. cit., p. VI. According to the findings so far, Karl August Varnhagen took over about one third of the documents offered by Chézy for its collection. See Volker Schindler, 'Rahel Varnhagen von Ense (1771-1833). Eine «Sévigné prussienne»? Französische Echos auf Rahel Varnhagens Briefwerke', Vom Salon zur Barrikade. Frauen der Heinezeit, ed. Irina Hundt, Stuttgart, Weimar 2002, pp. 17-46.

houses. This makes the systematising of her correspondence important for research on the 19th century culture.⁴⁴

Stern described Chézy's Nachlass only partially using the order presented above. This consisted of Varnhagen's notes, pictures and drawings, various notes, including letters (personal documents), outgoing correspondence (letters in chronological order), incoming correspondence (surnames of correspondents in alphabetical order with first name initials), poems and manuscripts (creative works), printed materials, miscellaneous materials, and indicating that her remaining manuscripts were stored in the Berliner Literaturarchiv.⁴⁵ Apart from general terms, such as 'other sketches/notes,' the number of letters and their dating were sometimes only indicative. For example, in the case of Chézy's correspondence with Apollonius v. Maltitz and Karl A. Varnhagen: 'about 50 letters to Ap. v. Maltitz 1828-55, together with 34 letters from him to her 1828-50; 25 letters to Varnhagen 1835-56 with poems and drafts of letters to Varnhagen, together with 11 letters from Varnhagen to her 1835-56.⁴⁶ The catalogue is therefore imprecise, not only in terms of the detail of the description but also regarding the structure of the resources.

Chézy's documents, kept in a box with the shelfmark number SV 47, were divided into eight folders with the following titles: 'H. v. Chézy Persönliches,' 'H. v. Chézy Korrespondenz,' 'H. v. Chézy Schriftstellerei,' 'H. v. Chézy und Varnhagen,' 'von Chézy und Ap. v. Maltitz,' 'Die Günderode [Chézy],' 'H. v. Chézy Poesie,' and 'H. v. Chézy Gedrucktes'.' These indicated the arrangement and the main describing 'line.' The folders held a variety of materials with the same types of documents being scattered across various folders and smaller covers within one unit. In addition, one more archiv-

⁴⁴ Chézy kept in touch with Polish aristocrats too, e.g., Countess Ludwika Eleonora Jaraczewska. Cf. also J. Kita-Huber, 'Der Briefwechsel Helmina von Chézys: Erschließung und (Teil)edition', Bestände der ehemaligen Preußischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in der Jagiellonen-Bibliothek, op. cit., pp. 263-278.

⁴⁵ L. Stern, op. cit., p. 147.

⁴⁶ L. Stern, op. cit., p. 142.

ing rule was revealed inside the folders where documents were packed in additional envelopes and covers which were sometimes larger or smaller. Coloured slips, notes, and Varnhagen's comments were not only visibly open in the unit but were also hidden inside it in various places.

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FIG. 3. A typical contents of the folder 'Personal materials':
3a (Varnhagen's note on Helmina von Chézy), 3b (Varnhagen's note fixed to the letter),
3c (portrait of Helmina von Chézy), 3d (personal note of H. v. Chézy)

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

The variety and richness of material at the level of one category is well illustrated by the 'Personal materials' folder, the content of which corresponds to the first group of objects described in Stern's catalogue.⁴⁷ We will find here first a cover with various notes by Varnhagen about Chézy, two newspaper cuttings, a cover with the label 'Bildnisse und Zeichnungen,' with 14 artworks, part of the calendar from 1804 with a wedding wishes card, a cover with Helmina's article for 'Allgemeine Zeitung,' notes in French under the title 'Lettre sur L'Alsace à George Sand,' an excerpt from a diary (December 31, 1841), notes for Varnhagen's own works and three third-party letters about Chézy to Karl A. Varnhagen. The archives contained in this folder seem to reflect the personal collecting and archival rules of Varnhagen and L. Assing where the order introduced is arbitrary. Stern's catalogue, therefore, only enables "orientation' in the collection, leaving gaps and inaccuracies, and at the same time tells a story of the collection by preserving traces of Varnhagen's historical and idiosyncratic system. On the other hand, our new proposal for cataloguing Chézy's Nachlass comprises the following schematic structure:

Helmina von Chézy (1783-1856), née von Klencke

- 1. Notes by Varnhagen on Helmina von Chézy
- 2. Portraits, drawings
- 3. Letters from Helmina von Chézy
- 4. Poetry by Helmina von Chézy
- 5. Writings by Helmina von Chézy
- 6. Personal. Diary entries, notes by Helmina von Chézy
- 7. Prints and newspaper cuttings
- 8. Letters to Helmina von Chézy
- 9. Various letters to Karl A. Varnhagen
- 10. Old library folders and covers

The documents included in the 'Personal materials' category discussed here, which in Stern's catalogue were not clearly delineat-

47 Ibidem.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

ed and labelled due to their nature, have been broken down in the new catalogue proposal into the following four categories:

- 1. Notes by Varnhagen on Helmina von Chézy
- 2. Portraits, drawings
- 6. Personal. Diary entries, notes by Helmina von Chézy
- 9. Various letters to Karl A. Varnhagen

Another advantage of the new scheme is the classification and detailed description of all letters which are mentioned in Stern's catalogue under the category of outgoing correspondence. Thus, under the new scheme, Chézy's correspondence with Varnhagen and Maltitz within the archival unit (SV 47) is divided into incoming and outgoing correspondence, which results in these letters being placed in two categories (3 and 8), while the letters to Varnhagen from the third parties concerning Chézy have been moved to Category 9.

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FIG. 4. Letter of Karl A. Varnhagen to Helmina von Chézy of 30 Oct 1854: 4a (recto) and 4b (verso).

To give an example, Varnhagen's letters to Chézy subsumed under Category 8 'Letters to Helmina von Chézy' are arranged as follows:

8.37 Varnhagen Karl August, Berlin, 18.11.1835 fol. 731-732 8.38 Varnhagen Karl August, Berlin, 11.11.1847 fol. 733-734 8.39 Varnhagen Karl August, Berlin, 31.05.1852 fol. 735-736 8.40 Varnhagen Karl August, Berlin, 18.01.1854 fol. 737-738 8.41 Varnhagen Karl August, Berlin, 07.10.1854 fol. 739-740 8.42 Varnhagen Karl August, Berlin, 30.10.1854 fol. 741-742 8.43 Varnhagen Karl August, Berlin, 25.02.1855 fol. 743-744 8.44 Varnhagen Karl August, Berlin, 01.06.1855 fol. 745-746 8.45 Varnhagen Karl August, Berlin, 13.12.1855 fol. 747-748 8.46 Varnhagen Karl August, Berlin, 21.01.1856 fol. 749-750 8.47 Varnhagen Karl August, Berlin, 25.01.1856 fol. 751-752

In the new catalogue, the above index replaces Stern's remark '11 letters from Varnhagen to her 1835-56,' with each entry identified here (letter) being additionally provided with a detailed reference.

Based on the applied scheme, it was possible to identify and catalogue all Helmina von Chézy's documents, while at the same time drawing on the tradition of research on the Varnhagen Collection (Stern's catalogue) and on modern solutions (the printed catalogue of Humboldt's Nachlass stored in the Jagiellonian Library which was mentioned above).

CONCLUSION

During the re-classification and preparation of the documents for folioing and given that the existing order and catalogue have historical value, care has been taken to ensure that the new proposal to catalogue the Varnhagen Collection generally preserves its existing structure and Stern's order. The modifications are concerned mainly with the arrangement of the objects and the degree of detail in their description inside the archival units, and not the main rule of the catalogue which is the alphabetical order initiated by Varnhagen and introduced for use with the entire collection by Stern. As shown by the example of Helmina von Chézy, changes were made before cataloguing where there were evident errors (made by Varnhagen, Assing, Stern, or later archivists), where there was no division of documents into categories, or where documents of different categories were mixed up (see the original content of the 'Personal materials' category). In the new scheme, the order of documents is represented by the decimal system preceding individual catalogue entries. Sections and sub-sections correspond to the indexed structure of the collection and thus illustrate the stratified arrangement of documents within one archival unit while allowing the position of each document to be traced with reference to the whole collection.

The catalogue - one of the project outcomes - presents the content of eight archival units that have been made accessible to researchers as well as introduced into generally available databases. The work on it allowed us to put forward a theoretical description scheme and to test it in practice in our teamwork on archival units of different sizes and structures. This scheme may be applied to the description of other parts of the Varnhagen Collection to enable its comprehensive cataloguing in the future.

Translated by Władysław Chłopicki

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'[...]I WROTE NEITHER TO PRAISE MY WORK NOR FOR BENEFIT...': ANTON LOSEV'S UNIQUE WORK FOUND IN THE JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY

DOI: 10.36155/PLib.10.00007

ABSTRACT

In October 2020, an 18th-century manuscript containing hand-coloured drawings and featuring a long title in Russian: *Abbreviated Description of the Lena River together with a General Map and Drawings of All Curiosities and Attributes along Its Banks* underwent the digitizing process as part of the Jagiellonian Library digitizing 'Patrimonium' Project. The work seeming from the writing legacy of Ż. Pauli (1814-1895) was authored by the Russian clerk, Anton Ivanonovich Losev (1765?-1829). Losev was well known in Siberia, and particularly Irkutsk as a land surveyor, geographer, cartographer, historian, and tourism lover. However, in the remaining territory of Russia and Poland, his person and his works are practically unknown. The unique manuscript discovered at the Jagiellonian Library is the topic of this paper. Additionally, it contains the translation of the genuine text into English, which is published here for the first time.

KEYWORDS: Anton Losev, Jagiellonian Library, Irkutsk, manuscript, the Lena River, Eastern Siberia In October 2020, a manuscript of Anton Ivanovich Losev (1765-1829, a Russian land surveyor¹ who lived at the turn of the 19th century), was submitted for digitizing as part of the Patrimonium Project² at the Jagiellonian Library (BJ). On handmade paper, apart from the body of the text written in Russian in legible handwriting, it also contains hand-coloured and features a long title in an ornamental frame:³ Abbreviated Description of the Lena River together with a General Map and Drawings of All Curiosities and Attributes along Its Banks made by the District Land Surveyor Anton Losev in 1785–1786 (Fig 1, 2). The manuscript reached the paper's author quite acci-



FIG. 1. Title page of the Abbreviated Description of the Lena River..., BJ, ACNO 5516 III

- 1 Surveyor (also geodesist), from zemlemer, literary: 'land surveyor'.
- 2 Colloquially referred to as 'Patrimonium-2' as distinct from the first Project: 'Patrimonium: digitizing and sharing Polish national heritage from the National Library and the Jagiellonian Library' completed in January 2020.
- 3 BJ, ACNO, Rkp. 5516 III, Sokrashchennoye opisaniye Reki Leny s priobshcheniyem General'noy Karty i risunkov vsem lyubopytnym predmetam po beregam yeya, sochinennoye Uyezdnym zemlemerom Losevym'' v 1785 i v 1786 godakh, pp. 33.

Послутаниение Сокращиниой описание Энки Лены, понсало ле не для прооднотения ото трудоов можно походное чен корнсти: но исполняя по должности повельние вне uninto menantenna, prosimilare comeconomic coemande seperone, матиров течение вода и поломание острововы ся акуратножь проловонокілях ексе алрясь, осимон ваносник на Жарту, и матествани съ вазмажново по. хровностію, что ко пряживчанію и мобетатству ноет замотник они Качуса но сажасо ск устая. Инапостолого поранному мна точет. NINO, MAR NYTHCODECTS SUTALENCE, THE CARDONN CHEL. слу боль всякаго жрасноровние собрання сей осо. Иновий Экстранть съ приващениять Генерале. ной Ласоты и Ресункова оснола ловатоблиция THEAT TRANS COUTER SQUEAMEROCO, YETTO SIGERALINS VICTORIO VIII0 01 000

FIG. 2. Introduction to the Abbreviated Description of the Lena River..., page 2 recto

dentally with the purpose of editing and translating the genuine text. However, when its history was discovered, it became evident that the manuscript is one of the most unique findings in the BJ collection.

In the tsarist offices of the time, many documents were commissioned along with their copies (later handed to applicants if requested). Losev himself made copies, too. In fact, he used to give his friends his watercolours as a present.⁴ In the Irkutsk archive, letters with the surveyor's authentic autographs have been preserved, allowing to distinguish the genuine documents from copies. When comparing Losev's original handwriting⁵ with the man-

⁴ V. Titov, 'Voobrazhayemyy obraz torgovogo dela', Kapitalist. Irkutskiy zhurnal dlya predprinimateley, 2009, 8, p. 33.

⁵ O. Tatarnikova, 'Losev - arkhitektor', Kopeyka, 2010, 13, p. 8.

uscript discovered at BJ, it can be judged that the work found is a copy: either official or private. (At the moment, it is not possible to verify if the manuscript was made in the Irkutsk office at all.)

A part of the itinerary of the manuscript is known: it was donated to BJ in the early 20th century by Dr Władysław Wisłocki (1841–1900), a Jagiellonian University Professor, archivist, and BJ's curator who had received it as an inheritance⁶ from a friend who died heirless. This was Żegota Pauli (actually Ignacy Jakub Pauli⁷, 1814–1895)⁸, a librarian, historian, and a tourism enthusiast to boot. The earlier vicissitudes of other Losev's works were so complicated that finding the description of the Lena River amidst Żegota Pauli's legacy may shed some light on their history and all the puzzles they may entail.

'I WROTE NEITHER TO PRAISE MY WORK NOR FOR BENEFIT'...

The future District (*uezd*)⁹ and Guberniya¹⁰ Land Surveyor, Anton Ivanovich Losev, was born in Irkutsk in 1765, a date that has remained uncertain since his genuine birth certificate was lost (possibly burnt in the 1879 fire in Irkutsk¹¹). While his birthday was unknown for a long time, the scholar, Natalia Sukhova, identified it in the State Historical Archives in St Petersburg Losev's official file (equivalent of a CV at the time) from 1821, where it was written that Losev was 56.¹² In the until-now elaborated lists of families

- 9 Uezd in the original: administrative unit used in Russia until 1929.
- 10 *Guberniya*: higher administrative unit in Russia until 1929, later replaced by oblast.
- 11 A.N. Keshikova, 'Delo svoye znayet sovershenno...', Sibirskoye naslediye, 2004, 3, p. 5.
- 12 N.G. Sukhova, 'A.I. Losev i yego rol' v izuchenii Vostochnoy Sibiri', in: Istochnikovedeniye gorodov Sibiri v kontse XVI – nachale XX v., eds. O.N. Vilkov [et al.], Novosibirsk 1983, p. 44.

⁶ H. Ułaszyn, 'Dr Władysław Wisłocki. Notka biograficzna, *Przewodnik bibliograficzny*, Kraków, 1901, 6, p. 94.

⁷ W. Bieńkowski, 'Pauli Żegota (właściwie Ignacy) Jakub (1814–1895)', in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 25, ed. E. Rostworowski, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1980, pp. 345–347.

⁸ A. Bełcikowski, Nad grobem ś. p. Żegoty Paulego, Kraków 1895, pp. 3-4.

living in Irkutsk in 1801, a piece of information has been preserved, saying that Losev was actually 37; Thus, he may have been born in 1764 or 1765.¹³ It was only in 2021 that a publication was released on the well-known Irkutsk families in which Andrei Cherepanov shared his discovery: Anton Losev was born exactly on the 13th January 1765.¹⁴ Additionally, in the documents preserved in the State Archives of the Irkutsk Oblast, Cherepanov found information on Anton's ancestors (His great-grandfather came to live in Irkutsk in 169) and on Losev's children.

In 1773–1777, Losev went to a so-called navigation school¹⁵ that focused on teaching mathematics, astronomy, geography, optics, mechanics, hydrology, navigation, fortifications, and urban architecture.¹⁶ Following graduation, he was given the military rank of corporal. Losev's career is bonded first of all with Irkutsk: in 1779, he was given the rank of geodesy sergeant and the position of a teacher at the school he had graduated from (at the age of merely 14 or 15!¹⁷). Then in 1781, he was appointed Senior Land Surveyor and the city architect's assistant. In 1786, he was appointed as District Land Surveyor while in 1790, he became an assistant to the architect of the Irkutsk Guberniya. In 1792, Losev was appointed

¹³ A.N. Chikisheva, 'Losev Anton Ivanovich: k 240-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya', in: Priangar'ye ot "A" do "Ya": spravochno-bibliograficheskiy yezhegodnik-2005, sost. D.Ya. Maydachevskiy, T.I. Stepanova, Irkutsk 2005, pp. 27-28.

¹⁴ A.V. Cherepanov, O rodoslovnykh kornyakh A.I. Loseva – vydayushchegosya arkhitektora irkutskoy gubernii, zemlemera, krayeveda i kartografa, [online] https://www.vestarchive.ru/issledovaniia/4760-o-rodoslovnyh-korniah-ai-loseva-vydaushegosia-arhitektora-irkytskoi-gybernii-zemlemera-kraeved.html [accessed 1 August 2022].

¹⁵ The type of university in imperial Russia that targeted at exploration, geodesy, etc. The Irkutsk school was the only such specialist institution in Eastern Siberia; it was founded in 1754 at the initiative of the Danish sailor Vitus Bering who serving in the Russian navy explored Siberia, the strait bearing his name, and Alaska. He was also considered the official founder of Pietropavlovsk in Kamchatka.

¹⁶ A.N. Keshikova, 'Delo svoye znayet...'

¹⁷ This seems highly unlikely; yet the archival documents studied by A. Chikisheva and the latest findings of A. Cherepanov (see the works quoted above) testify to this. It is possible that Losev acted as a teacher's support; however, officially he was referred to as a teacher.

Guberniya Architect, and in 1805, he earned the title of Guberniya Land Surveyor.¹⁸

Losev began his first official assignment in 1785 when he participated in preparing an economic-geographic description of the Irkutsk Guberniya and mapping the East Siberian rivers: the Lena (in 1785-1786), the Selenga (1787), the Nizhnyaya Tunguska (1790, 1792), and also Lake Baikal (1787-1788. The map was released for use in 1792. ¹⁹ From 1792-1803, Losev was the main architect of the Guberniya, entirely focused on designing²⁰ buildings in Irkutsk²¹ and Verkhneudinsk²². (Regrettably, almost none of the edifices he designed has survived, either because of fires or a thorough remodelling).

Losev's motivations for work evolved with age: in 1792, he wrote that 'it was his supervisors' instructions and human curiosity that stimulated him to create the topographic description'. In the manuscript discovered in BJ, he mentioned official assignments: '[...] I wrote neither to praise my work nor for benefit but complying with the instructions of my superiors'. In one of his later works from 1812, he also mentioned his superiors, yet he additionally pointed to the Free Economic Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture and Husbandry, and the tasks assigned by them.

Of note, Losev combined his professional historical curiosity with his life interest – the desire to become acquainted with the history of his own family and life. He writes, 'Inquisitive historians undoubtedly enrich their knowledge: not only a learned man will find in the history of Russia traces of his life'. ²³ There is another

¹⁸ A.N. Keshikova, 'Delo svoye znayet...'; N.G. Sukhova, 'A.I. Losev...', p. 44.

¹⁹ Ibidem, pp. 46-47.

²⁰ V.I. Kochedamov, *Anton Losev – irkutskiy arkhitektor kontsa XVIII – nachala XIX v. Arkhitekturnoye nasledstvo*, Moskva, Vol. 19, 1972, pp. 102–106.

²¹ O. Tatarnikova, *Losev – arkhitektor*, p. 8.

²² The name used until 1934, presently: Ulan Ude, capital of the Republic of Buryatia.

²³ D.Ya. Rezun, 'Anton Ivanovich Losev kak istorik gorodov Vostochnoy Sibiri', in: Lichnost' v istorii Sibiri XVIII–XX vekov. Sbornik biograficheskikh ocherkov, ed. A.K. Kirillov, Novosibirsk 2007, p. 11.

mention of Losev, characterizing him from an entirely different perspective than his previous statement. It is in a letter of Timofey Basnin, an Irkutsk merchant, from 1797 as follows: 'Today [*19 July*] Peter the Redhead came to town to buy out his son from Onton [*sic!*] Ivanovich Losev; Losev gave him the son but instructed him to hire a man as replacement'.²⁴ This testimony preserved in the Irkutsk State Archives suggests that Losev, most likely an affluent clerk already at the time, hired farmhands on his farm.

Siberia General-Governor and Government Auditor, Mikhail Speransky (1772-1839), judged that Losev was one of the best Siberian activists. He further suggested to Tsar Alexander I to decorate him with a medal for devising the atlas of the Irkutsk Guberniya.²⁵ In 1822, upon Speransky's motion, Losev was awarded the Imperial Order of St Vladimir of the 4th class, which gave him a hereditary nobility title and a fixed annual pension. Apart from that, upon the Tsar's decision, he was also given a sizeable plot of land near Irkutsk,²⁶ automatically becoming the owner of the serfs inhabiting this land.²⁷

It is worth adding to Anton Losev's profile some information on his personal life. Regrettably, a great fire in Irkutsk in 1879 caused the local archives and offices to lose most of their documentation. It was only in the early 21st century that the local librarian of the Province Library in Irkutsk, Anna Chikisheva, found materials related to Losev's private life in Irkutsk; these were for the first time fully²⁸

²⁴ E.V. Komleva, 'Pis'ma Timofeya Maksimovicha Basnina detyam (1797 g.)', Izvestiya Irkutskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriya Politologiya. Religiovedeniye, 2017, 22, p. 147.

²⁵ A.N. Keshikova, 'Delo svoye znayet...'

²⁶ According to the preserved order the plot amounted to over 1,000 tithes, namely over 900 hectares.

²⁷ G.F. Bykonya, 'O formirovanii administrativno-territorial'nykh granits Yeniseyskoy gubernii', in: Yeniseyskaya guberniya – Krasnoyarskiy kray, 190 let istorii. Sbornik dokladov i vystupleniy, ed. V.I. Fedorova, Krasnoyarsk 2012, p. 5.

²⁸ The first to mention Losev's sons was Victor Kochedamov, however, providing an erroneous date of birth of the youngest of his sons Andriei; V.I. Kochedamov, *Anton Losev – irkutskiy...*, p. 106.

published in 2005.²⁹ They demonstrate that three years her husband's junior, one Elena Losev, was the daughter of the Orthodox priest Mikhail Mikhaliov. The wedding took place when the groom was around 18, while the bride was not fully 16. They had four sons (born in 1784, 1789, 1791, and 1794, respectively) and two daughters (1795 and 1796). Furthermore, the preserved documents inform that Losev lived with his family in his own wooden house. He had designed it himself on the plot inherited by his wife. Losev's elder son, Ivan, also became a land surveyor at the Irkutsk office at the mere age of 16. The research of the above-mentioned A. Cherepanov confirms these findings.

Losev died in Irkutsk on the 4th of December 1829 and was buried at the Jerusalem Cemetery. Of his legacy, neither the houses he designed nor any printed works have survived. By the irony of fate, his grave was damaged: in the Soviet times, the cemetery was destroyed and the Central Park of Culture and Recreation was raised in its place.³⁰ Fortunately, the date of the surveyor's death is known, thanks to the fact that one of Irkutsk chroniclers, Vasiliy A. Krotov, mentioned his burial in records recounting the major events in the life of Irkutsk.³¹ He was right in doing so: Anton Ivanonich Losev's service and his extraordinary interdisciplinary works merit a worthy position among the best-known researchers on Siberia.

MANUSCRIPTS' WANDERING

Losev's manuscripts are precious and unique, owing to the fact that they are currently the only remaining testimony to his research, service, and extensive works. Guberniya Land Surveyor, Losev, authored several voluminous manuscripts: *The Description of the Irkutsk Guberniya, part* 1³² *General on the Irkutsk Guberniya. De*-

²⁹ A.N. Chikisheva, Losev Anton Ivanovich..., p. 29.

³⁰ A.G. Filippov, 'Anton Ivanovich Losev i peshchery Vostochnoy Sibiri', in: Yeniseyskaya provintsiya. Al'manakh, Vol. 4, eds. M.S. Batashev [et al.], Krasnoyarsk 2009, p. 174.

³¹ N.G. Sukhova, 'A.I. Losev...', p. 58.

³² Here and below the Polish translation of the titles from Russian by the paper's Author.

[...]I Wrote Neither to Praise My Work nor for Benefit...'

rived from various chronicles and matters in archives, complemented with extensive credible information and experience. Made by the Irkutsk Guberniya Land Surveyor of eighth class³³Anton Losev in Irkutsk in December 1805,³⁴ Economic Description of the Irkutsk Guberniya Respectively with Guidance from the Free Economic Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture and Husbandry Made by the Irkutsk Guberniya Land Surveyor Court Councillor Losev' (1811, in 6 volumes); Overview of Various Events of History and Ancient Objects Concerning the Irkutsk Guberniya and Three Countries Bordering on It in Three Parts (1812); Geographical and Statistical Description of the Irkutsk Guberniya Informing on the Cities with Their Provinces Together with Schemes and Drawings Made by the Surveyor Court Councillor Losev in Irkutsk in 1819.

Furthermore, Losev supervised the elaboration of various albums of maps of the Irkutsk and Yeniseyskaya Guberniyas. He also authored short articles published in the Works of the Free Economic Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture and Husbandry periodical, Kazakh News, and Northern Post. Regrettably, the lack of sufficient resources did not permit Losev to publish a monograph. Nonetheless, the manuscripts of his works are currently dispersed throughout Russia's various archives.³⁵ As mentioned, the tsarist offices of the time had precise official copies (spisok) made; if requested, they were later given to applicants/ Losev copied his own works. The Irkutsk archives contains preserved letters with Losey's authentic autographs, allowing us to distinguish the originals from the copies. There is no question of his authorship. The manuscript found at BJ is signed as Losev's work; nonetheless, it is not possible to confirm whether this particular copy was made by the author himself or another unidentified individual. The found manuscript is thus a copy (either an official or private one), which

³³ According to the Table of Ranks introduced by Peter I the eighth class was adequate to court councillor, collegiate assessor (civil rank) or major (military rank).

³⁴ Copies of this work have been preserved in the Library of the State University in Irkutsk and the State Historical Museum in Moscow; D.Ya. *Rezun, Anton Ivanovich Losev...*, p. 9.

³⁵ N.G. Sukhova, 'Trudy A.I. Loseva', in: *Fizichesko-geograficheskiye issledovaniya Vo*stochnoy Sibiri v XIX v., Moskva-Leningrad 1964, p. 21.

does not diminish its worth. (I will return to the manuscript's relevance in due course.)

Quite a substantial portion of Losev's manuscripts reached the library of the University of Irkutsk³⁶ and the State Historical Museum in Moscow.³⁷ Anna Chikisheva informs that the manuscript department the Russian State Library in Moscow has several handwritten documents by Losev.³⁸ In the file of the Free Economic Society for Agriculture and Husbandry at the same library, the manuscript of the work *Economic Description of the Irkutsk Guberniya* has been preserved.³⁹

Some of Losev's manuscripts can be found in the collection of the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg, including information on the dispatching of ships with the merchants Lebedev-Lastochkin and Shelikhov to Matmai⁴⁰ in 1775 and 1777 and the trading experience in Japan, as well as on the expedition of Adam Laxman⁴¹ to Japan, which took place in 1792.⁴² Subsequent works covering the period of Losev's service as an architect have been preserved in the Central State Historical Archive in St Petersburg, while some plans and maps are now kept in the manuscript section of the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences.⁴³

The library of the Russian Geographical Society holds the manuscript of the geographic-statistical description of the Irkutsk

³⁶ D.Ya. Rezun, Anton Ivanovich Losev..., p. 9.

³⁷ State Historical Museum in Moscow, manuscript section, collection 96, portfolio 49/183.

³⁸ A.N. Chikisheva, 'Trudy irkutskogo krayeveda A.I. Loseva kak istochnik po istorii Sibiri pervoy poloviny XIX v.', Izvestiya Irkutskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriya Politologiya. Religiovedeniye, 2012, 1, p. 160.

³⁹ Russian State Library in Moscow, manuscript section, collection 731, no. 478, pp. 1, 3.

⁴⁰ Japan's Hokkaido Island.

⁴¹ Adam E. Laxman (1766-1806), a military, the first Russian to have officially visited Japan on the instruction of Catherine II, was granted the privilege of docking his ship at Nagasaki; records confirm that Losev and Laxman knew each other.

⁴² A.N. Chikisheva, 'Trudy irkutskogo krayeveda...', pp. 160-161.

⁴³ Details provided in the 1983 paper by N. Sukhova; see bibliography for: N.G. Sukhova, *A.I. Losev...*, pp. 58–65.

Guberniya from 1819,⁴⁴ while in the cartographic section, resides the original (most likely⁴⁵) version of the possibly first general map of the Lena River.⁴⁶ It is a supplement of the abbreviated description of the river presented in the BJ copy. The second known copy of the map itself is to be found at the Library of the Georg August University of Göttingen, Germany, in the collection of the 18th-century documents of Georg von Asch.⁴⁷ The copy made in legible handwriting, resembling that of the BJ copy, has been digitized.⁴⁸ A supplement to the map was found in the album of plans, towns, and profiles of the banks of the Lena. Of note, the currently known 19 drawings have been preserved in the archive of the Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg.⁴⁹ The drawings feature no captions, but contain dates - 1785 and 1786 – as well as the names of places marked on the two known maps.⁵⁰ Their authorship has not been officially identified, while the drawings are kept in portfolios amidst 200 maps and atlases.

A similar set of drawings was found in the 1970s in the State Archives of the Kostroma Oblast in Russia by the journalist and tourism lover, Alexandr Chuvarkov.⁵¹ In 2008, Andrei G. Filippov received a reply from the archives staff about the set of drawings (containing maps of the Ice Lena Cave and Nozdrevataya Cave,

- 46 Archives of the Russian Geographical Society, section of cartographic documents, manuscript 134.
- 47 N.G. Sukhova, A.I. Losev..., p. 60.
- 48 A.I. Losev, *General'naya karta reki Leny*, Library of University of Göttingen, manuscript no Asch 259, [*online*] http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.ndlpcoop/mtfxmp.g349593558 [accessed 1 August 2022].
- 49 Archives of the Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg, collection 220, portfolio no.181.
- 50 A.G. Filippov, Anton Ivanovich Losev..., p. 172.
- 51 A.G. Filippov, A.V. Osintse v, 'Peshchera Ledyanaya Lenskaya' in: Atlas peshcher Rossii, ed. A.L. Shelepin, Moskva 2019, p. 594.

⁴⁴ Archives of the Russian Geographical Society, manuscript 55, portfolio no. 49, p. 259; N.G. Sukhova, 'Trudy A.I. Loseva', p. 20.

⁴⁵ Quite a problem can be found in the lack of A.I. Losev's signature on many genuine maps and copies; this problem is mentioned by N. Sukhova and A. Filippov; a pending issue is also the creation of *spisoks* by different individuals (not only clerks).

which were of interest to the researcher) kept in a separate collection of the historian, Nikolai Selifontov (1835–1900).⁵² The documents were brought to Kostroma by his grandfather, Irkutsk Governor Ivan Selifontov (1743–1822); thus, most likely they came from that region. Furthermore, the letter confirms that the author of the drawings remains unidentified, but they feature the date of 1785.⁵³ Neither the drawings nor the schemes contain the general map of the Lena River, but only, as phrased by Losev himself, its 'attributes and curiosities'.

Determined to solve the puzzle of the attribution of these drawings, Andrei Filippov dedicated two years of his investigation to the task. It was for the first time in the history of writing that he published a copy of the drawing of the *Ledyanaya Lenskaya* received from the Kostroma archive (2009). At that point, however, the drawing's author was yet unknown.⁵⁴ Still, on the grounds of Losev's article with his description of the Cave⁵⁵, Filippov hypothesized that Losev indeed the author. In late 2009, the Director of the Irkutsk Museum of Dekabrists, Elena Dobrynina, provided Filippov with a scan of the genuine signature of A.J. Losev. It was the purview of Irkutsk to offer a graphological opinion of the inscriptions in the Kostroma drawings. However, despite the scan of the signature – of a high definition – it did not enable a comparison; therefore the attribution of the drawings could not be confirmed with absolute certainty.

When investigating the Nozdrevataya, Cave Filippov once again referred to the afore-mentioned paper by Losev on caves, remark-

⁵² State Archives of the Kostroma Oblast in Russia, collection 655, acquisition 2, portfolio no. 216.

⁵³ A.G. Filippov's private correspondence with the archive of the Kostroma Oblast, letter no. 261/36 dated 19 March 2008 (copy owned by the Author by courtesy of A. Filippov).

⁵⁴ A.G. Filippov, 'Ledyanaya Lenskaya Peshchera v Yakutii', in: Peshchery. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov, vyp. 32, Podvodnyye peshchery, ed. N.G. Maksimovich, Perm' 2009, p. 132.

⁵⁵ A.I. Losev, 'Opisaniye peshcher v Irkutskoy Gubernii', *Trudy Vol'nogo ekonomicheskogo obshchestva*, 1815, 67, pp. 149–154.

ing that apart from that description, he had been unable to find any other of the cave in 19th-century writing. ⁵⁶ In his work from 2010, based on that description and the investigated copy of the map of the Lena River kept in Göttingen, Filippov confirmed that the authorship of the drawings of the two caves (in the BJ copy they are respectively drawings 7 and 12) can be attributed to Losev.⁵⁷

The BJ copy is undoubtedly one made officially or by private individuals. (It is impossible to decide with certainty that this definite copy was made by the author himself.). So how did it end up in Poland? Regrettably, at this stage, we are most likely unable to find a response to this question. Maybe only a thorough investigation of the handwritten legacy of Żegota Pauli will allow us to solve the puzzle of the unique document reaching him.⁵⁸

Thanks to the copy discovered at the Jagiellonian Library, it will be possible to confirm with high certainty (using the author's marking on the title page) that Anton Losev is the author of the drawings from Kostroma and, in consequence, of the unsigned drawings from the archives of the Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg. It suffices to compare the twin drawings of the Ice Lena (drawing No. 7, Fig. 3, 4) and Nozdrevataya caves (note: drawing No. 12; the copy from the Kostroma archive was also published for the first time by A. Filippov⁵⁹) with the signed BJ copy (see the photo at the paper's end) to decide that yet another of the fascinating puzzles of attribution has once again been definitely solved.

⁵⁶ A.G. Filippov, 'Nozdrevataya peshchera v Yakutii: chertezh 1785 goda', *Speleologiya i karstologiya*, 2010, 5, p. 6.

⁵⁷ Ibidem.

⁵⁸ In the notebooks of revenues and expenditures for 1849–1850 preserved in BJ, as well as in the list of acquired books, manuscripts, paintings, and prints run extremely meticulously by Ż. Pauli, there is no mention of Losev (ACNO BJ Rkp. 5456, 5457).

⁵⁹ A.G. Filippov, 'Nozdrevataya peshchera v Yakutii...', p. 7.

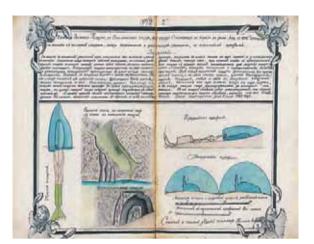


FIG. 3. Drawing No. 7 from the BJ manuscript (Ice Lena Cave), pages 16 verso and 17 recto

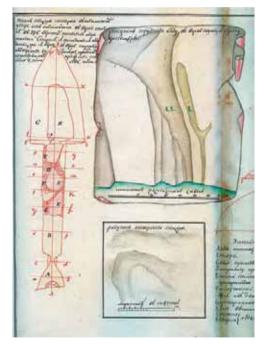


FIG.4. Drawing No.7 (Ice Lena Cave) from the collection of the State Archive of the Kostroma Oblast, Russia, collection 655, acquisition 2, portfolio No. 216, page 43 (courtesy of Andrei Filippov

THE LENA RIVER AND ITS CURIOSITIES

Losev's works were majorly known to the historians and researchers in the Eastern Siberia of the time. Many of them (e.g., Gavriil Baten'kov, Nikolai Shchukin, Piotr Slovcov, Nikolai Semivsky⁶⁰) used the data amassed by Losev, although they did not always mention the source of their information. This led to the unjust oblivion into which the figure of this hard-working clerk and exceptional scientist of his time fell and an almost total ignorance of his works among contemporary researchers.

I believe that the elaboration of the discovered manuscript boasting an unquestionable scientific and historical value and its translation into English will contribute to restoring interest in A.L. Losev's output. Access to the translation may lead to opening up new interpretation spheres for investigators – not just librarians, but also historians, geographers, anthropologists, and ethnologists – while the content of the manuscript may be an interesting source of historical knowledge of Eastern Siberia. Furthermore, the picturesque and unique language of Losev's works should contribute to the research of Russian philologists or linguists.

My purpose is to make the physical aspects of the manuscript and its general content known, which, hopefully, will encourage researchers from other disciplines (not only bibliology) to lend their interpretations of the text. The manuscript is composed of two major parts: the descriptive one (an excerpt of Losev's expedition notes and other minor works on the Lena River that supplement the general map but now is the only worldwide known *spisok*) and images with notes. These contain drawings of some of the points on the river that attracted the attention of the young clerk.

In 1785–1786 following the instructions of his supervisors, Losev mapped out and described the Lena River. The map was very de-

⁶⁰ The latter took over a part of his work from Losev with no referencing, Victor Kochedamov directly says that the whole book by Semivsky was based on Losev's works; see: A.G. Filippov, A.V. Osintsev, *Peshchera Ledyanaya Lenskaya*, p. 593; A.G. Filippov, *Ledyanaya Lenskaya Peshchera...*, p. 136; V.I. Kochedamov, *Anton Losev – irkutskiy...*, p. 106.

tailed (the digitized version from the University of Göttingen can be accessed) and was accompanied by a set of drawings illustrating the 'curiosities' along the river's banks.

This is how Losev recalled his work on the map and in the description of the Lena in 1805:

[...] I was for 28 years assigned to measure and describe many places [...] of the Guberniya between the Arctic Ocean and the beginning of the Lena River, and when doing so I felt obliged by my curiosity to observe every site I visited, I wrote down with the utmost possible precision everything that seemed to me worth recording and worthy of interest.⁶¹

In the chronicle of Yakutsk from 1786, a record has been preserved about member Anton Losev of the Free Economic Society for Agriculture and Husbandry having visited the entire territory of the Lena River from its very beginning to its estuary; he made precise measurements and formulated a description. According to the measurements, the length of the River from its source up to Kachug⁶² stands at 231versts⁶³, then at 4,002 versts to the Arctic Ocean, totalling 4,233 versts long. ⁶⁴ Furthermore, Losev was involved in seeking the answer to the question as to whether any ancient structures had been preserved on the Lena; however, his answer to this issue was negative. ⁶⁵

The descriptive part of the found manuscript shows the excerpt from Anton Losev's notes taken during his expeditions in 1785-1786. In the introduction, the author writes straightforwardly and modesty, yet also with humour and irony: ⁶⁶

⁶¹ N.G. Sukhova, *A.I. Losev...*, pp. 44–45.

⁶² Kachug: a locality in the Irkutsk Oblast founded in 1686.

⁶³ One verst amounted to 1,0668 km; the distance stood roughly at 216.5 km.

⁶⁴ Approximately 3,967 km; the currently assumed length of the Lena River stands at 4,294 km. Bearing in mind the surface and climatic changes of the terrain, as well as measurement errors, Losev was very precise in his calculations, even with no access to contemporary technologies or measuring devices.

⁶⁵ P.A. Slovtsov, Istoriya Sibiri. Ot Ermaka do Ekateriny II, Moskva 2014, p. 320.

⁶⁶ In Polish, the punctuation of the original has been preserved; it has also been attempted to retain A.I. Losev's style and syntax [English syntax and punctuation updated].

[...] I wrote neither to praise my work, nor for benefit; but complying with the instructions of my superiors I observed the natural state of the banks, the initial direction of the flow and island location, with much diligence I drew the contour, I drew daily on the Map and wrote down with the possible care for detail what I could observe and found curious [...] and finally, with the instruction given of my trip notes I made this peculiar excerpt, neither excessively wise nor grandiloquent. I admit with my honesty [...] that readers will not find such an excessive eloquence with which dignified writers embellish their works. However, I am hopeful that my dear readers, possibly only of curiosity with bestow their attention upon the lines of this little work; and this satisfaction for my eagerness will be regarded by me the most precious of prizes.

Losev provides general information on the Lena River, while at the same time a lot of statistical and geographical facts. There is information on the location of its source and its outlet, the towns that lie along its channel (e.g., Yakutsk, Irkutsk, Olyokminsk, Kirensk, Zhigansk), the length and width, the number of navigable tributaries (the Kirenga, Vitim, Olyokma, Aldan, Vilyuy), the distances between particular harbours on the river, the islands' shapes and terrain, meteorological properties, as well as dangers for navigation.

The clerk was also interested in ethnography and local legends. On the descent of the native inhabitants, Lesov quotes the story that they 'multiplied from the Yakut called Tumat'. This is why they say about themselves that they are from the 'Tumat lineage' and are relatives of the tribes living a nomadic life earlier near Yakutsk. The majority had converted to orthodoxy and were trying to adopt Russian customs, whereas the rest 'held onto churl shamanic prejudice'. The nourishment of the locals was composed of fish and poultry, clothes were made of reindeer hide. The Yakuts were in Losev's opinion 'curious, but simple people'.

The imagery portion of the manuscript contains watercolours (in total 17, although according to several records, there were 19). Each was dedicated to one 'curiosity' connected with the Lena, e.g., the amount of yellow and most likely containing semi-precious stones. The 'shamanic rock'⁶⁷ is in the form of a pillar with sculpted primitive figures on all sides. There is a plan of the banks of the Lena in the Kirensk District, ⁶⁸ listing those rocks and cliffs dangerous for sea navigation. One of the mentioned rocks is the Drunken Bull, ⁶⁹ connected with a local legend: when a ship transporting wine barrels crashed against it, and although the majority of the barrels were later retrieved, the losses were sizeable.

The site received an appropriate name with 14 mineral springs in the Kirensk District known for their healing properties and the Ice Lena cave in the Olyokminsk District (details and a copy of this drawing were published by Andrei Filippov). In addition, there is a cross-section of the Gusinye Mountains in the Olyokminsk District, a perspective of the Stolbovyy cliff in the Yakutsk District made of numerous 'pillars in seven rows standing of yellowish, reddish, or greyish rock'. Amidst those pillars, Losev noticed deposits of iron ore and a cave in the Yakutsk District – the Nozdrevataya Cave (Fig. 5, 6).

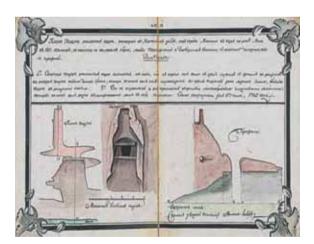


FIG.5. Drawing No. 12 from the BJ manuscript (Nozdrevataya Cave), pages 26 verso and 27 recto

- 67 Proper name as in the original.
- 68 Currently the Kirensk District in the Irkutsk Oblast whose centre is the town of Kiernsk, to where in 1887-1890 Józef Piłsudski was exiled.
- 69 In the original: *P'yanoy Byk* (bull in the meaning of the rock).

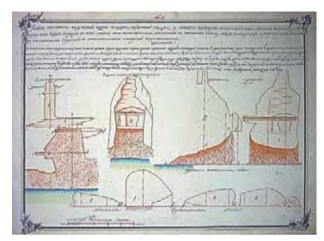


FIG.6. Drawing No. 12 (Nozdrevataya Cave), Archives of the Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg, collection 220, portfolio No.181' (courtesy of Andrei Filippov)

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FIG.7. Description and drawing No. 17 from the BJ manuscript (Agrafena Pillar), page 33 recto

Filippov published the details and a copy of a similar cave⁷⁰). He also noted gravel on Mount Lunkha in the Zhigansk District⁷¹ that contained various types of rocks with iron ore. One of the drawings presents the so-called Agrafenin Pillar⁷² in the Zhigansk District (Fig. 7). Losev informs that the name was connected with the shaman woman, Agrafena. Legend has it that her ghost appeared between two hills called pillars. The imagery part of the manuscript closes with a legend related to the last watercolour told in detail and showing the stone pillar in the Zhigansk District.

Losev tells it in the following way:

[the hill, E.B.] is interesting because of the Yakuts' tale which, for justified reasons, they try to keep alive: on that hill a pillar purposefully polished with slabs by a certain shaman living in the ust'-lensk ulus who together with his daughter, a shaman too, had a conflict with 70 ustiansky inhabitants, and was defeated in a cruel fight with fire arms on the right bank of the Lena by neighbours [...] that is why in a small canoe he wanted to run to the pillar, however, his enemies had not satisfied their fury, and when on the run, his daughter was shot, yet he took the body of his daughter to the hill, and buried her under slabs, leaving the slabs to point to his tomb. At the same time he ordered his relatives, the Yakuts, to perpetually venerate this pillar with sacrifices for his daughter the shaman.

When penning this picturesque legend Losev, a clerk who objectively looked at the world remarked that worshiping a pillar was happening in a similar way in the case of the Agrafenin Pillar, while the site itself was covered with slabs by Russians to serve as a lighthouse and identification mark. This actually does not diminish the charm or ethnographic value of the legends and tales collected by Losev.

⁷⁰ A.G. Filippov, Nozdrevataya peshchera v Yakutii....

⁷¹ Currently the Zhiganskiy Ulus forming part of the Republic of Yakutia whose centre is the village of Zhigansk.

⁷² In the original: *agrafenin stolb*.

MANUSCRIPT'S PRESERVATION STATE AND TRANSLATION PRINCIPLES

The manuscript is kept in the storage room of the manuscript section of the Jagiellonian Library. It comprises 33 pages of handmade paper and is wrapped in protective acid-free paper. Digitized in March of 2021, the manuscript was shared at the Jagiellonian Digital Library. Its dimensions are 31×24 cm, with a thickness oscillating between 1.5 to 1.9 cm, depending upon the pressure (the difference resulting from paper deformation and folds of page corners). The object features soft makeshift covers of machine-made paper (the spine cracked and with many losses, its state is poor) while the flyleafs also made of hand-made paper have been well preserved. Sewn with white threads, the block of the manuscript has been well preserved; only a delicate loosening of the sewing may be observed.

The manuscript paper has been preserved in a rather mediocre state; in several places there is some unprofessional filling of the paper losses (in total eight pages) which had a negative impact both on the possibility to recreate the text of the manuscript and its initial aesthetics (neither paper colour nor texture have been adjusted to the original). Additionally, a slight deformation of some pages can be observed, as well as corner folding throughout the entire object. Furthermore, slight ink fading can be noticed; this, however, does not significantly affect the text's legibility. Of note, there are minor losses at the bottom of pages 14–15, a trace left possibly by small rodents.

Overall, the state of manuscript preservation has been assessed as good and not requiring conservator intervention. The colours of the drawings have retained their differentiation, while the state of the ink makes the text of the document legible. The original text was in Russian. In its translation into English, square brackets with dots mark the places where paper loss does not allow one to unequivocally recreate the missing fragment. Square brackets with text in italics give single letters, word fragments, or whole words whose presence can by supposed from the word forms (conjugation, declination) or the context. Furthermore, the words in italics are additions that permit one to understand the sense of the sentence. The explanation of some archaic or currently unused words, potentially posing problems to the readers with no command of the language of the original, as well as some geographical names, have been provided in footnotes. All the footnotes and any additional information come from the paper's author.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

[page 1r]

Abbreviated Description of the Lena River together with a General Map and Drawings of All Curiosities and Attributes along Its Banks made by the District Land Surveyor Anton Losev in 1785–1786.

[p. 2r] Introduction

I wrote neither to praise my work, nor for benefit; but complying with the instructions of my superiors I observed the natural state of the banks, the initial direction of the flow and islands' location, with much diligence I drew the contour, I drew daily on the Map and wrote down with the possible care for detail what I could observe and found curious, beginning with Kachug up to the very outlet of the river. And finally, with the instruction given, of my trip notes I made this peculiar excerpt, neither excessively wise nor grandiloquent, with the addition of the General Map and Drawings made of all the curious attributes. I admit with my hone[sty]⁷³ [...] that [...] active readers shall not find in it

[*p.* 2*v*]

such an excessive eloquence with which dignified writers embellish their works. However, I am hopeful that my dear readers, possibly only of curiosity shall bestow their attention upon the lines of this little work; and this satisfaction for my eagerness will be regarded by me the most precious of prizes.

⁷³ Here and similarly below in square brackets: the loss of the page is filled in with incidental paper not allowing for partially or entirely recreating the text, without precise marking of the number of missing letters or words.

[p. 3r]

Excerpt or abbreviated description of the Lena River made of the travel notes from 1785 and 1786. According to the tales of the residents who explored the outlet of the Lena and ascertain its beginning in the Irkutsk Oblast, at the distance of 231 and a half versts from the Kachug harbour, from the mountain range stretching along the Baikal Sea. It begins with a spring and flows northwards at a regular speed along the towns of: Kirensk, Olyokminsk, Yakutsk, and Zhigansk, at 73.30 degrees longitude it flows into a bay of the Arctic Ocean known for polar bears multiplying, which often drift on the sea on ice floes; but there are also walruses there. Upstream of the Olyokma outlet even up to the mouth [of the Lena] is what the Yakuts known as *Ulakhan=oryus*', this standing for a large river. Its total length from the very top [...] stands at 4,200 versts; and at that [...] from both sides [...] flow into it [...] sources. With [...] in the Irkutsk Oblast [...] at 140 the Ilga River, for 200 versts [...] the Kuta River in the Kirensk District

[*p. 3v*]

flowing from the west; people say that on the distance longer than 200 versts. There are five navigable rivers, namely: from the east the first in the Kirensk Oblast is the Kirenga, the second is the Vitim River in the Olyokminsk District, the third being the Olyokma River, the fourth is the Aldan in the Yakutsk District, while the fifth from the West is the Vilyuy River. After the confluency of the inflowing rivers and sources [*the Lena*] differs in width: at the Kachug Harbour it is 30 fathoms⁷⁴ wide, across from the city of Kirensk it is up to 140 fathoms wide, near Olyokminsk it is 250 fathoms wide, across from Yakutsk it spreads from 7 to 9 versts, and up to 25 versts on the frequent islands, across from Zhigansk it is 10 versts wide, by the muddy Kumaksurskiy Forest it is merely 2 and a half versts wide, this because of the high mountains on both banks. Its depth with full water happens to reach across from

74 A fathom stood at 2.134 metres.

Kirens[k] [...] fathoms, and around [...] it reaches [...] fathoms [...[[*bu*]ll on it kno[*wn*] of a stone pillar,]...] [*di*]fferent channels [...] of the foreland to the Olyok[*ma*] river to [...]

[k. 4r]

and it has five outlets fit for navigation if only ice floes blown by the wind or sandy dunes close to the seashore do not get in the way. The Abardam-Tyubilyaga, the first outlet eastward, is five fathoms deep, flowing by rocky inland hillside⁷⁵ for 45 versts, flowing into the Sea near Bykovskiy Headland, by which despite it being quite deep, for reasons of the lack of spots for rest during storms navigation is troublesome. The second outlet: Zver',⁷⁶ called Kyllakh by the Yakuts, is as deep as the first one, flowing among isles for 50 versts; the famous channel named Tryupi flows out of it, and owing to the water speed it freezes later than all the other outlets. The third outlet Gagara of Hogostakh flows for 10 fathoms reaching the depth of 3 fathoms. The fourth outlet Abardam flows westwards along high inland mountain ranges. The fifth out[*let*] [...] [*fl*]ows amidst shallows [...] [*is*]lands askew every ten versts [...] [*fo*]ur fathoms. The outlet was named [...] of the islands Tumata family⁷⁷

[p. 4v]

of the Yakuts. Those Yakuts tell their genealogy as follows: that in a small number they come from a certain Yakut called Tumata, thus they call themselves related to the Omogoybaiskiy tribes who had earlier led nomadic life in the uluses⁷⁸ near Yakutsk. The majority of them had converted to Christianity, and are trying to adopt to Russian custom, whereas the rest held onto churl shamanic prejudice. They have food thanks to fishing and hunting, in autumn they store for winter, making *porsa*⁷⁹ of the fish, they

⁷⁵ In the original: the form used instead of *materik*; here in the meaning of mainland.

⁷⁶ In the original: zver'.

⁷⁷ The origin of that name was explained in the sentence which follows.

⁷⁸ Ulus: name of an administrative unit of the Mongolian peoples of Siberia.

⁷⁹ Porsa: fish flour or dried fish in Eastern Siberia.

store bones as feed for dogs, which they ride in winter to hunt polar foxes, making a ski⁸⁰ for 10 dogs.

In the summer they use a *vedny* [meaning a light canoe made of thin wood] for sailing. To live they prepare huts, on the isles covered with coat cloth. They wear clothes made of reindeer hides: parkas and dresses; they exchange some hides for polar foxes from Olensk Tungusic peoples part[ially] during the autumn floods they kill [rein]deer. In speech [...], but curious [...] simple. For [...] from Yakutsk [...], and they bring [...]

[p. 5r]

goods: tobacco, horse tails, and yarn for nets, unworked beech wood for skis, tin dishes to melt for axes, knives, and other tools, cotton and linen scarves, wax candles, incense, beads,⁸¹ combs, and others; from them they take from Yakutsk soft fur animals⁸² of all the species of polar foxes, white bears, also goose and swan feathers. From all these goods owing to the difficulties of the hard journey, expensive hire cost, and transport maintenance, they receive at least a triple margin.

The Lena abounds in all species of red and white fish, the catch includes: the Northern pike, Siberian taimen, burbot, nelma, sterlet, muksun, houting of the *coregonus* and *thymallus* genuses, as well as the Arctic cisco. Fishing of the nelma, muksun, and the sterlet at the outlet of the Vilyuy River provides the main source of nourishment to the Yakutsk residents where they annually fill several ships [...] with fish. At the very outlet there are sufficiently many birds [...] geese and swans, and [...]. It freezes [...] September and October, it opens up [...] mid-April, while in the mi[ddle] of June the water

[p. 5v]

overflowing its banks, floods low terrain, tearing off soft and flat banks. As for air adventures,⁸³ we have to say that earthquakes are

⁸⁰ Here in the meaning: long narrow sledges, sled dog team.

⁸¹ Here in the broad meaning of jewellery.

⁸² Fur industry; name for natural fur in imperial Russia (pushnina).

⁸³ The Author means atmospheric phenomena.

ow lies deep in nders are quite d, while the air vinds. d ferries, from the very fronl. There are no the upper river

gentle here, no spot suffers from shortage of rain, snow lies deep in the Yakutsk land, and although in the summer thunders are quite powerful, other peculiarities have not been observed, while the air is harsh and excessively cooled with northern sea winds.

Navigation on the Lena with pontoons, boats, and ferries, from the harbour in Kachug to Yakutsk, Zhigansk, up to the very frontier of ice floes, in spring continues uninterrupted. There are no rapids on the river, however at some places around the upper river there is some shaking making the boat movement difficult. Downstream of Kirensk, between the Chastinskiy and Dubrovskiy Post Stations,⁸⁴ it flows bending between high and cliffy mountains called the Jaws.

When only the flow speed [...] tops of underwater rocks [...] for this reason noise can be heard, there are five harbours on the Lena [...] within 232 versts of the dist[*ance*] after Irkutsk [...] towards the town; the third one is in the town of Olyokminsk, [...]

[*p.* 6*r*] in Yakutsk; the fifth in Zhigansk. There are five crossings on it too: the first near Kachug, the second near the town of Kirensk, close to the Zaborskaya Post Station; the fourth in Olyokminsk, and the fifth in Yakutsk. There are smaller ones by each settlement on the riverbank. Crossing and ferries can also be found at the outlet of the Kuta and Ilga Rivers where warehouses have been made for the transported private food.

The banks of the Lena from upstream to the Kachug Harbour are mountainous on both sides; when it flows further, mountains and meadows take turns. As soon as the plain finishes, mountains rise immediately: this is how the river continues its movement. At many places mountains are made up of calcareous rock, carbonate rocks, whetstone and millstone. The sands on the banks differ, yet they are mainly yellow, loose, and large-grain. On both banks of the Lena from upstream even down to the Vitim River, the undulating hillsides are populated by Russian farmers: 150 villages,

⁸⁴ Post office station (*stanok, stanciya*): a small post office in Siberia.

5 settlements, and 3 forts. Farming is the main occupation of the population: owing to their efforts except for the high [...] ma[*de*] usable, on which [...] flower beds and fertile layers [...] of corn and hemp; amidst all these [...] with birch, aspen, lar[*ch*], fir trees, and spruce serve

[p. 6v]

the residents for different products. On many islands from the earth interior the fertile multitude of rye emerges, as well as beautiful meadows encircled with birch growths. Below the Vitim River Russians move into the furnished post stations;* however, it is the Yakuts who keep horses there. In the Olyokminsk Oblast high mountains' sloping hillsides are covered with larch forests, extensive meadows are partially grown with perennial plants on which nomadic tribes graze herds of horned cattle whose unprocessed butter is sold to the inhabitants of Olyokminsk.

Within the Yakutsk District thick larch forests cover mountains and deep valleys. Some isles are grown over with birch and willow trees. Near Yakutsk, extensive steppes are covered with salty swamps; it is on them that red and yellow flowers of the martagon lily are overgrown with perennial plants, (their roots are a good source of nourishment for the Yakuts). In the steppes it is the main and profit[able] [...] occupation: so if the horn[*ed cattle*] [...] to feed the Yakutsk citizens, [...] loads a multitude of horses from [...]. Downstream of Yakutsk within 40 versts below, Sergueva Mountain is interesting for the reason

(*) there are 55 post stations from the Vitim River to the town of Zhigansk. $^{\rm 85}$

[p. 7r]

of hard coal. In the Zhigansk District relatively high mountains are overgrown with a bar larch forest down to Snitackiy Suglan;⁵⁶ from there they have it closer to float with the river to the outlet,

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

⁸⁵ A.I. Losev's note.

⁸⁶ *Suglan*: a national assembly (as a political organ or a site) for some of the peoples of Eastern Siberia.

there more stick larches appear; however, these are dwarfish, too, and around the Kumaksurskiy grove they finish within 100 versts. From that point, further down, on both sides of the river you can see gravel: rocky and chaotic, covered with moss which serves as food for wild reindeer. Because of severe frost, on many such bare banks snow never melts. From there plain hollows leading to the foot of cliff mountains are so deep that the sunshine hardly reaches them. It's very outlet where [*the Lena*] spills around with various sources, is filled with the shallow.

The natural state of the banks differs: from Kachug to Olyokma amidst hills the ground is clayish, permeable, and sandy; whereas in valleys and on some isles farmers gr[*ow*] [...] pull from earth's depth ric[*h*] [...]. The quality of soil is here and there soft [...] mo[*re*] fertile; while here and there [...] layers for their impermeability [...] barren ground;

[p. 7v]

for this reason also fertility is not the same everywhere. However, with home savings the inhabitants not only do not have problems, but also for the flow to Yakutsk they sell them to merchants who load food on large boats. Near Yakutsk, close to the Pokrovsk Hermitage, the land of black soil mixed with sand is fit for corn; nonetheless, be it for a small number of inhabitants, be it due to negligence there is very little ploughed land. Further downstream the Lena on scything meadows and on the islands it is quite humid. In the Zhigan District towards the Arctic Ocean the mountains along the banks are rocky, partially wet soil with sand is humid, so it is unfit for growing food.

On the sides of the river in the woods of the large mountain ranges there is a multitude of furry animals to be noted: hares, squirrels, good⁸⁷ wolves, foxes, and sables multiply there; on the islands at the river's outlet all the species of polar foxes are hunted. The interesting attributes are excellent mountains, with altitude, view

⁸⁷ Here in the meaning of wolves which have high-quality fur.

[...] mineral content [...] caves are investigated thorough[*ly*] [...] I am attaching Drawings with a [*detail*]ed desc[*ription*].

District Land Surveyor Anton Losev.

[p. 8v]

No. 1.⁸⁸

Drawing of yellow sand which is found in the Irkutsk District downstream the Lena River of the Kachug Harbour within $16\frac{1}{2}$ versts, in harmony with its flow on the right bank.

Comment⁸⁹

This yellow sand differs from ordinary with shiny drops and small colourful opaque additives. Made geometrically on the 15th day of May, 1785.

[p. 9r]

No. 2.

Drawing of the shaman's rock in the Irkutsk District, downstream the Lena River of the Kachug Harbour, within 20 versts, in harmony with its flow on the right bank.

<u>Comment</u>

The rock is like a pillar on a mountain hillside, interesting in foursided shape with a connection. The rocks hanging over the connection overgrown with turf. Made geometrically on the 15th day of May, 1785.

[p. 10v]

No. 3.

Drawing of a cliff of white rock found in the Kirensk District, across from the Ustkuck settlement at the outlet of the Kuta River on the right.

⁸⁸ See: A.G. Filippov, Anton Ivanovich Losev..., p. 172; A.G. Filippov mentions that in the description attached to the General Map preserved in Germany there is mention of 19 curiosities of the Lena River which correspond to the number of drawings; the BJ copy contains 17 such drawings, however, the last one contains corrections in ink from No. 17 to No. 19 or vice versa.

⁸⁹ Here and below emphasis as in the original.

<u>Comment</u>

Because of a sharp hill angle this cliff of white rock surrounded by a grove of pines, broadleaf trees, and spruces, from afar resembles a building featuring red stripes with glittering quartz embellishing it. Made geometrically on the 24th day of May, 1785.

[p. 11r]

No. 4.

Drawing of a gingerbread cliff found in the Kirensk District, downstream of Kirensk within 16 versts, in harmony with Lena's flow on the right bank.

<u>Comment</u>

This gingerbread cliff contains grey pressed rock, it is interesting for six piles resembling gingerbread cakes polished by water. Made geometrically on the 30th day of May, 1785.

[pp. 12v-13r]⁹⁰

No. 5.

Location plan of the river banks in the Kirensk District, from the town of Kirensk along the Lena River within 286 versts, from the Filatushkov Bull⁹¹ to the Head Bulls within 40 versts, with drawings, views of jaw⁹² cliffs and bulls which are dangerous for navigation of ships and boats.

<u>Comment</u>

[p. 12v]

From the Chastinskiy Post Station the speed of the Lena River beats with waves against the Filatushkov Bull found in harmony with its flow on the left bank, in the fear of which boats navigate towards the right bank. Having passed this bull one has to beware of the cliff of the first jaw which is on the right bank in harmony with the flow of the Lena; then they sail closer to the left bank. From the first river the river flow is as fast until the second jaw, found in harmony with

⁹⁰ Homogenous text written on two pages.

⁹¹ Here the 'bull' in the meaning of a rock sticking out above the water surface.

⁹² It refers to the Jaws Mountain Range.

the river flow on its left bank. In the middle of that jaw from time immemorial a huge rock parted and fell into water; when the river water rises it occasionally reaches 5 fathoms above it, when water is low one can see it under the surface at 1½ fathoms.

The flow of the Lena down to this rock is quite violent, the water noise audible up to within 2½ versts. If ships and boats sail as fast as the water taking them to the rock at this speed they are unable to row; in this situation it is not simply dangerous, but disastrous. It is not as perilous at the regular water level, although the noise of the water from the rock is much louder with powerful waves; the waves usually drift ships and boats onto land. People living around in closer settlements know of some who crashed the boat on that rock and people on planks

[captions for the drawing] The Lena River

Karpachevskiy Cliff

- 1. jaw
- 2. jaw
- 3. jaw
- 4. Karpatchevskaya S[tream]
- 5. Drunken Bull
- 6.4 bulls
- 7. Head Bull.

Dubrovskiy St[ation] Rashchel'e S[stream] Dubrovka S[tream] Ost[d]ora

Filatushkov S[*tream*]

[p. 13r]

sailed to the bank, from that time on they navigate with guides and along the right bank. Only once they pass that rock up to the third jaw which is on the right-hand side, they row to the left bank. They row away from the land and the rock which is between the third jaw and the side source; however, if they do not make the rowing away, and the strong flow takes them onto it, that is why it is so dangerous. Fearful of the Drunken Bull cliff, they row to the right bank. They say that once a boat loaded with wine crashed against that rock, and though they caught barrels downstream, albeit with losses, and since then the cliff has been dubbed Drunken Bull. From the Drunken Bull to the Dubrovskiy Station on the left bank there are 4 bulls, equally dangerous since the speedy current flows against them.

On the right bank of the Lena River there are pillar-like head bulls, these being dangerous, too. They say that a boat with food was damaged against these heads, its body rebounding from it, sank with one man drowning. All these cliffs and rocks never dry at low water. Made geometrically on the $2^{nd} d[ay]$ of June, 1785.

[captions for the drawing]

- 1. The first jaw
- 2. The second jaw
- 3. The third jaw
- 4. Karpachevskiy Cliff
- 5. Drunken Bull.
- 6. Four bulls.
- 7. Head bulls.

[pp. 14v-15r] No. 6.

Drawing of 14 of mineral springs which are in the Kirensk District, downstream the Lena of Kirensk within 362 versts, in harmony with its flow between the Parshinskiy and Chuyskiy Stations.

<u>Comment</u>

[p. 14v]

These mineral springs of milky water flow down from a perpendicular cliff mountain, entering the Lena River at its foot. They all taste salty and sour; the odour is excessively atrocious and so stinky that downstream in harmony with its flow even within two versts⁹³ the stink can be smelt.

[drawing] Bank of the Lena River.

93 It can be smelt for almost 2 km.

[p. 15r]

Of these the most interesting is the eighth spring which foams out of a rocky crack, to the side of which some rocks are covered with mould, some resembling hot sulphur. Made geometrically on the 3rd day of June, 1785.

[pp. 16v–17r]

No. 7.⁹⁴

Plan and drawing of the cave⁹⁵ in the Olyokminsk District, upstream the Lena River of the town of Olyokminsk at the distance of 294 versts, in harmony with its flow on the left-hand side, between the Zherbinskiy⁹⁶ and Ushaganskiy⁹⁷ Stations, with respective profiles.

<u>Comment</u>

[p. 16v]

The cave is in the inclined part of a cliff mountain, in its natural location leaning eastward. From the outside the view of the entrance resembles a simple crevice along which the entrance to the cave opening is narrow, five fathoms long,⁹⁸ and when walking there you have to bend down. With the opening, the cave widens up by 3 fathoms, and continues with an even surface for seven and a half fathoms. Its basis is covered with greenery, rising up straight. The walls and the ceiling are of tightly condensed rock. The even height of two fathoms underlines the cave's natural beauty. From the end of this cave on both sides narrow passages [lead] to another bigger cave: on the right a very tight passage connects with the left passage. Meanwhile, the left passage between the walls of crum-

⁹⁴ See: A.G. Filippov, A.V. Osintsev, Peshchera Ledyanaya Lenskaya, pp. 590–594.

⁹⁵ Ibidem, p. 591; A.G. Filippov considers this drawing to have been the first professional map of the Cave in the Asian part Russia.

⁹⁶ A.G. Filippov gives the contemporary name of the Russkaya Derba Village (*Russkaya Derba*).

⁹⁷ A.G. Filippow gives the contemporary name of the place: Tinnaya.

⁹⁸ A.G. Filippov, A.V. Osintsev, *Peshchera Ledyanaya Lenskaya*, pp. 590-591; see the data of the contemporary on-site measurements of the Cave o by A.G. Filippov and A.W. Osincev.

bling rock is 13½ fathoms long, at places an *arshin*⁹⁹ high, at other places one and a half

[*drawing*] Drawing of the cliff from which you have to go from the bank to the cave entrance.

Cave plan.

Outside look of the entrance to the cave.

[p. 17r]

arshins, a fathom wide at its outlet; by the opening of the second cave the entrance is far narrower. At the entrance to the larger cave at first sight two icicles seem to be hanging, resembling a statue, and with their clearance and transparency looking like crystal. Be-ginning from these icicles the cave widens up to the right by six fathoms. The foundation, walls, and the ceiling are covered with smooth ice. At the entrance the cave is three fathoms high, and at the end the ceiling proportionally lowers towards the foundation. The people who visited that cave claim that in winter the ice figures are white since frost-covered. Made geometrically on the 6th day of June, 1785.

[pp. 18v–19r]

No. 8.

Drawing of the Geese Mountains which are in the Olyokminsk District, upstream the Lena River of Olyokminsk within 169 versts, in harmony with its flow on the right-hand bank between the Maszhenskiy and Kharatyugskiy Stations.

<u>Comment</u>

[p. 18v]

These mountains stretch for 2 and a half versts of length; owing to the mixture of layers of fine loose gravel, blue, green, dark-red and white stone gravel with sand, from afar

⁹⁹ In the Russian partition arshin stood at 0.711167 m, a fathom was an equivalent of three arshins.

[p. 19r]

it looks very pleasantly; yet, from near it is not possible to distinguish the layers.

Made geometrically, on the 9th day of June, 1785.

[pp. 20v–21r]

No. 9.

Drawing of the cliff in the Yakutsk District, upstream the Lena River of the town of Yakutsk within 217½ versts, in harmony with its flow on its left bank between the Onmuranskiy and Sin'skiy Stations.

<u>Comment</u>

The cliff is [*composed of*] yellowish calcareous rock with white layers, reaching fifteen versts and three hundred fathoms, in some places it resembles a crumbling wall, at other places it reminds one of a river bank made of rock.

Made geometrically on the 18^{th} day of June, 1785.

[pp. 22v–23r]

No. 10.

Drawing of the cliff in the Yakutsk District, upstream the Lena River of the town of Yakutsk within 200 versts, in harmony with its flow on the right bank, between the Onmuranskiy and Sin'skiy Stations.

<u>Comment</u>

The cliff is five versts and a half, it is made of pale red rock, in its narrow horizontal stripes of white stone it presents a relatively pleasant sight to a curious observer.

Made geometrically on the $19^{th} d[ay]$ of June, 1785.

[*pp.* 24v–25r]

[No. 11].

The perspective of the Stolbovyy Cliff in the Yakutsk District, upstream the Lena River of the town of Yakutsk within 168 versts, in harmony with its flow on the right bank, across from the Batamayskov and Titarskov Stations. 22 versts and 284 fathoms long, the Cliff presents extraordinary natural objects in the form of a multitude of pillars, standing in up to seven rows, made of strong yellowish, reddish, and grey rock. In the cracks between the pillars there is partially iron ore. Made in perspective from the 20th day of June up to the 14th day of July, 1785.

[pp. 26v–27r]

No. 12.¹⁰⁰

The plan of the cave washed over by water, which is in the Yakutsk District, upstream the Lena River of the town of Yakutsk within 160 versts, in harmony with its flow on the left bank, between the Toenarskiy and Titvarski¹⁰¹ Stations, with the external view and profiles. <u>Comment</u>

Firstly. The swiping the cave with water results from the fact that two fathoms upwards from the ground with the foot in the crevice across the cave a long beam was stuck; it had reached here no otherwise than with the opening of the river and ice flooding happening, high water carried [the beam] to the crevice. Secondly. All its surface on the outside and inside is seasoned with a multitude of small smooth hollows; which shine not otherwise polished than with water.

Made geometrically on the 15^{th} day of June, 1785.

[*drawing*] cave's plan Outside view Profile Beam Separating line

[k. 28v]

[No. 13].

Drawing of the sprinkles on the Lunkha Mountain which is in the Zhigansk District, upstream the Lena River of the town of Zhigansk within 330 versts, in harmony with its flow on the left bank.

¹⁰⁰ A similar drawing or its copy can be found in the afore-mentioned Selifontov collection in the State Archive of the Kostroma Oblast for No. 12.

¹⁰¹ A.G. Filippov gives the contemporary names of the towns: Toyon-Ary, Tith-Ary.

<u>Comment</u>

The sprinkle a verst and a half long is made of gravel, sand, and clay; it is noteworthy because of beautiful heavy rocks resembling spheres and small ones looking like cannonballs hiding iron ore inside.

Made geometrically on the 1st day of September, 1785.

[p. 29r]

[No. 14].

Drawing of the Agrafena Pillar which is in the Zhigansk District, upstream the Lena River of the town of Zhigansk within 75 versts. Drawing

Comment

The Yakuts use the name of this Pillar to define 2 cliff hills at the top of the island hillside; they superstitiously venerate by it a certain shaman woman Agrafena, and tell the story that she once appeared there after her death before her Yakuts, frightening them; for this reason simple and naïve Yakuts when passing by it show their humbleness by offering Agrafena money, and throw card packs into the water saying; 'Here you are, Agrafena, money and cards, play them, and do not play with us!'.

Made geometrically on the 3^{rd} day of June, 1786.

[pp. 30v–31r]

[No. 15].

Drawing of the Kumaksurskiy Zamok Mountain which is in the Zhigansk District, downstream the Lena River of the town of Zhigansk within 660 versts, in harmony with its flow on the right bank. Comment

The Kumaksurskiy Zamok Mountain [*is made up*] of gravel sprinkles and high cliffs which resemble strange rocks similar to pillars between which deep in the cracks winds howl.

Made geometrically on the 15th day of July, 1786.

[drawing] Mountain 3 versts and 220 fathoms long.

Mountain 6 versts long.

Mountain 5^{v[ersts]} 450^{fa[thoms]} long

[p. 32v]

No. 16.

Drawing of the Ogus'oegose Cliff, which is in the Zhigansk District, downstream the Lena River of the town of Zhigansk within 745 versts, in harmony with its flow on the right bank.

<u>Comment</u>

The Cliff is on the headland of the Lena River opposite Desenyaka resembling pillars of yellow and grey rock, 400 fathoms long, 45 fathoms high. Made geometrically on the 18th day of July, 1786.

[p. 33r]

No. 17.

Drawing of a rock pillar which is in the Zhigansk District, downstream the Lena River of the town of Zhigansk within 760 vers[*ts*]. <u>Comment</u>

This rock pillar on a cliff hill stands at the verge of a sandy island, right next to the very current, it is interesting because eastward and westward from it the Lena River flows extensively in a multitude of rivulets towards the Arctic Ocean; it is also interesting because of the tales told by the Ust'-lensk Yakuts which, for justified reasons, they try to keep alive: on that hill a pillar purposefully polished with slabs by a certain shaman living in the ust'-lensk ulus who together with his daughter, a shaman too, had a conflict with 70 ust-iansk inhabitants, who was defeated in a cruel fight with fire arms on the right bank of the Lena by neighbours, since their rising had much more arms, that is why in a small canoe he wanted to run to the pillar, however, his enemies had not satisfied their fury, and when on the run, his daughter was shot, yet he took the body of his daughter to the hill, and buried her under slabs, leaving the slabs to point to this tomb. At the same time he ordered his relatives, the Yakuts, to 'perpetually venerate this pillar with sacrifices for his daughter the shaman'. Since then the legend has it that unbaptized Yakuts venerate [*the pillar*] similarly as it is described above at No.14. It can be, however, also considered whether the pillar of the slabs was not prepared by Russians

for a lighthouse; since within 15 fathoms from the pillar there are signs of a wooden cross which may confirm this thesis.

Made geometrically on the 22nd day of July, 1786. [*drawing*] Sandy island mountain rock pillar pillar [*cross*] [*drawing*] pillar made of slabs 3½ feet a. 3½ feet 6 feet

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ASSESSMENT OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC IMPACT ON THE CHANGES IN THE OPERATION AND STRUCTURE OF POLISH VOIVODESHIP PEDAGOGICAL LIBRARIES DOI: 10.36155/PLib.10.00008

ABSTRACT

The objective of this research was to assess the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the operations and structure of the voivodeship pedagogical libraries in Poland. In the course of the investigation, information on the operations of these over that period was collected as well as the opinions of the users and the administrators of these libraries. The discussion focuses on the actions of the National Library of Poland (BN) and of the Polish Librarians Association (SBP) both of which significantly facilitated the organization of the libraries by releasing appropriate guidelines and recommendations for all types of libraries, and by consolidating the coming together of the various groups of librarians and supporting

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

them in their adoption of remote working. It was observed that between March 2020-March 2022, the libraries were restructured, and the impact of the pandemic on the diagnosed situation was assessed. In order to provide answers to the research questions, the following data gathering methods were used: bibliographic and document analysis as well as a critical analysis of literature. Then, heuristic, and deductive methods were applied in order to identify the reasons for the changes that occurred in the organizational structures of the libraries and to assess their effectiveness.

KEYWORDs: pedagogical libraries, pandemic, COVID-19, voivodeship pedagogical libraries, organizational structure of pedagogical libraries

INTRODUCTION, METHODOLOGY, AND STATE OF RESEARCH

The COVID-19 pandemic broke out in December 2019 in the Chinese town of Wuhan, Hubei Province, and on 11 February 2020 the disease was called 'COVId-19'. Three days later, the pathogen that causes it was named 'SARS-CoV-2'¹. Not fully a month later (5 March 2020) the presence of the virus was detected in 84 countries around the world, and by 5 September 2020, cases of COVID-19 were discovered in all the countries worldwide². This occurrence made it important for libraries to quickly and effectively introduce changes to their organization and operations. The pedagogical libraries, like other libraries, entirely suspended their on-site operations in March 2020³ and did not resume them until May

¹ J. Duszyński, et al., 2020. Zrozumieć COVID-19. Opracowanie zespołu ds. COVID 19 przy prezesie Polskiej Akademii Nauk. Polska Akademia Nauk, pp. 67, [online:] https:// informacje.pan.pl/images/2020/opracowanie-covid19-14-09-2020/Zrozumiec-Covid19_opracowanie_PAN_interactive.pdf, [accessed 6 April 2022].

² Ibidem.

³ The decision to gradually suspend the on-site operation was first made by local authorities, which were later reflected in generally valid legal acts. Initially, e.g., in Lodz 'projects connected with a group presence of students' were suspended. The next step was to close pedagogical libraries to in-situ users and to introduce so-called remote work for librarians' teachers employed and for the majority of

2020⁴. The National Library (BN) played a significant role in reshaping the organization of operation of the libraries during the pandemic threat. Numerous initiatives aimed at the groups of librarians and the readers were also undertaken by the Polish Librarians Association (SBP).

As justly observed by BN's Director, Tomasz Makowski, its recommendations were complied with by over 30,000 libraries within Poland⁵. By the 16th of March 2020, the library's website published the *National Library's opinion on restrictions in public libraries' operations*⁶. Due to the pandemic threat within the country, this document contained the operation, limitations, and commitments resulting from the legal regulations introduced. These guidelines helped to identify the list of activities which librarians could undertake when working remotely and they also defined the optimum range of their responsibilities for maintaining social distancing. Subsequent BN's recommendations and guidelines issued

the administrative staff. These actions were introduced upon the agreement between library directors and the running organizations. See J. Jędrych, 'Biblioteki pedagogiczne w czasie pandemii: wywiad', *Biuletyn EBIB*, 2020, no. 4 (193), p. 2, [online:] http://ebibojs.pl/index.php/ebib/article/view/688/724, [accessed 6 April 2022].

⁴ K. Figurska, M. Wachowicz, 'Działalność Pedagogicznej Biblioteki Wojewódzkiej im. prof. Tadeusza Kotarbińskiego w Łodzi w czasie pandemii', Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Librorum, 2021, no. 2 (33), p. 53; 'Cen-admin. Uwaga! Biblioteka Pedagogiczna CEN w Suwałkach wznowiła wypożyczenia książek dla czytelników. Centrum Edukacji Nauczycieli w Suwałkach' [official website], [online:] https:// cen.suwalki.pl/biblioteka-pedagogiczna-cen-w-suwalkach-wznawia-wypozyczenia-ksiazek-dla-czytelnikow-od-18-maja, [accessed 25 April 2022]; A. Stańczyk. 'Biblioteka Pedagogiczna wznawia działalność'. ePiotrków.pl, [online:] https:// epiotrkow.pl/news.php?url=Biblioteka-Pedagogiczna-wznawia-dzialalnosc,39679 [accessed 18 May 2020]; 'Uwaga! Od 6 maja 2020 r. Biblioteka wznowiła działalność 2020'. Facebook Pedagogicznej Biblioteki Wojewódzkiej im. prof. Tadeusza Kotarbińskiego w Łodzi [post], [online:] https://www.facebook.com/pbwlodz/ posts/10157144329770779, [accessed 25 April 2022].

⁵ T. Makowski, 'The National Library of Poland during the Coronavirus pandemic: A brief history of the first nine months of the state of emergency', *Przegląd Biblio teczny*, 2020, special issue, p. 38, [online:] http://ojs.sbp.pl/index.php/pb/article/ view/771/665, [accessed 30 May 2022].

⁶ Opinia Biblioteki Narodowej dotycząca ograniczenia działalności bibliotek publicznych, [online:] https://www.bn.org.pl/aktualnosci/3930-opinia-biblioteki-narodowej-dotyczaca-ograniczenia-dzialalnosci-bibliotek-publicznych.html, [accessed 30 May 2022].

Assessment of the COVID-19 Pandemic Impact on the Changes in the Operation and Structure of

constituted the policy for the operation of various types of libraries during the pandemic⁷. The announcements made by the BN staff were informative not only for librarians, but also for library users. On 23 March 2020, BN published the first version of the 'epidemic safety principles in libraries' which were frequently updated and adjusted based on the current knowledge of the virus and the actual restriction level⁸. The BN received numerous queries from sanitary inspectors via its email counselling service concerning the recommended re-opening hours for lending as well as stationary libraries ⁹. It should be noted that the operations of Polish libraries during the pandemic were positively assessed on the international arena by The Conference of European National Librarians, CENL, and The International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA)¹⁰.

As emphasized by Barbara Budyńska, acting SBP President, the main challenges librarians faced included a lack of operation stability (alternating loosening and re-tightening of restrictions), fear of cost cuts due to reducing of financing for libraries, and the necessity to maintain communication with users¹¹. Trying to lessen these concerns, SBP decided in the first pandemic phase (by the end of June 2020) to insist on initiatives aimed at maintaining communication with readers using online technologies and tools, and on supporting in-service training and career development for the librarians. SBP conducted a number of remote (in some cases free of charge) training workshops for librarians, and they disseminated interesting projects done by library staff throughout the

B. M. Morawiec, 'Funkcjonowanie bibliotek w Polsce w czasie epidemii COVID-19

 rekomendacje, działania i pomoc Biblioteki Narodowej - raport', *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, 2021, vol. 52, p. 210, [online] https://rocznik.bn.org.pl/upload/
 pdf/73982_Rocznik_52_(8_Morawiec_rec).pdf, [accessed 30 May 2022].

⁸ Ibidem, pp. 211-212.

⁹ Ibidem, p 213.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 220.

¹¹ M. Cyrklaff-Gorczyca, '2021 Biblioteki w obliczu pandemii - rozmowa z dr Barbarą Budyńską, kierującą pracami SBP', *Zarządzanie Biblioteką*, 1 (13), p. 183, [online:] https://czasopisma.bg.ug.edu.pl/index.php/ZB/article/download/6781/6030/10357, [accessed 25 April 2022].

country. This was done by making use of various digital tools (e.g., through a www.sbp.pl for the national library service), social media platforms, academic and trade periodicals, and through their own local structures¹².

Since the paper focuses exclusively on pedagogical libraries, it should be underlined that they play a special role in the Polish educational system by serving the needs for the needs of schools and tertiary institutions in the development of education. Pedagogical libraries have been listed as an element of the education system in Poland on the Eurydice website, the Information Network on Education in Europe¹³. There is currently the following legislation called the Act on Libraries of 1997 which was extended to list the tasks and responsibilities of pedagogical libraries and can be found under the section titled Regulation of the Ministry of National Education of 28 February 2013 on detailed principles of the operations of pedagogical libraries. As part of their stated responsibilities, they are expected to organize and provide support to the schools and educational institutions in executing their educational tasks, including the use of IT. They are also expected to do this for school libraries, particularly with respect to the organization and management of various types of bibliographic and information activities. Publishing, organizing and running educational and cultural projects, (in particular open educational classes), library classes, and sessions with authors are all considered to be part of the service to be provided by these pedagogical libraries.

The operation and organization of pedagogical libraries before the COVID-19 pandemic has been documented by practitioners in many publications, including periodicals: *Zarządzanie Biblioteką*,

¹² A. Grzecznowska, 'Initiatives of the Polish Librarians' Association for libraries and readers in the first phase of the pandemic'. *Przegląd Biblioteczny*, 2020, special issue, pp. 122-124, [online:] http://ojs.sbp.pl/index.php/pb/article/view/771/665, [accessed 30 May 2022].

¹³ Poland. Organisation of the education system and its structure' in: Eurydice. European Commision, [online:] https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/organisation-education-system-and-its-structure-56_en, [accessed 6 June 2022].

paper by Bogumiła Celer (A. Parczewski Pedagogical Library Public Pedagogical Libraries in Kalisz)¹⁴; *Biblioteka i Edukacja*, paper by Anna Walska Golowska (Hugon Kołłataj Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Krakow¹⁵, by Elżbieta Wyrzykowska (Pedagogical Library in Toruń¹⁶, by Lucyna Kurowska-Trudzik and Urszula Tobolska (Pedagogical Library of Lower Silesia in Wrocław)¹⁷. Articles have also appeared in other publications written by representatives of teacher in-service training (, e.g. paper by Bożena Boryczka (Computer Assisted Education and Information Technology Centre, OEIZK, in Warsaw)¹⁸ and those published in collective works dedicated to selected aspects of library operations, e.g., a paper by Kornelia Choryńska and Katarzyna Michalska appearing in the monograph *Mobile Library*¹⁹. Publications on the topic were also included in the proceedings of national conferences like the 'Polish Forum of Pedagogical Libraries' (2013-2015), the Forum Bibliotek *Pedagogicznych* series of publications produced by the cooperation

16 E. Wykrzykowska, 'Finansowanie bibliotek pedagogicznych', *Biuletyn EBIB*, 2009, no. 8(108), [online:] http://ebib.pl/2009/108/a.php?wykrzykowska [accessed 25 April 2022].

17 L. Kurowska-Trudzik, U. Tobolska, 'Biblioteka pedagogiczna... nie tylko wypożyczanie', Biuletyn EBIB, 2020 no. 190, pp. 1-7, [online:] http://ebibojs.pl/index. php/ebib/article/view/660/698, [accessed 12 June 2022]. Interestingly, no. 190 of Biuletyn EBIB from 2020, released on the eve of the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic (29 February 2020) was a theme-focused issue '2019 in Libraries in Brief'. See Biuletyn EBIB no. 190 from 2020 [full] in: Biuletyn EBIB: Archiwum, [online:] http://ebibojs.pl/index.php/ebib/issue/view/75, [accessed 12 June 2022].

18 B. Boryczka, 'Wykorzystanie mediów społecznościowych w bibliotekach pedagogicznych', *Biuletyn EBIB*, 2018, no. 1 (178), pp. 1-14, [online:] Widok Wykorzystanie mediów społecznościowych w bibliotekach pedagogicznych (ebibojs.pl) [accessed 25 May 2022].

19 K. Choryńska, K. Michalska, '"Nauka dla wszystkich". Rola bibliotek pedagogicznych i bibliotek naukowych w Polsce – zarys zagadnienia', in: ed. M. Wojciechowska, *Mobilna biblioteka*, Warszawa, Wydaw. SBP, 2021, [online:] https://depot. ceon.pl/bitstream/handle/123456789/19713/Kornelia%20Chory%20ska.pdf?sequence=1, [accessed 11 June 2022].

¹⁴ B. Celer, 'Wystawy wirtualne jako nowe narzędzie działalności kulturalnej i edukacyjnej bibliotek pedagogicznych', *Zarządzanie Biblioteką*, 2013, no. 1, pp. 31-41, [online:] https://depot.ceon.pl/bitstream/handle/123456789/17449/Bogumi%c5%82a%20Celer.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y, [accessed 1 June 2022].

¹⁵ A. Walska-Golowska, 'Zarys współczesnej działalności bibliotek pedagogicznych na przykładzie Pedagogicznej Biblioteki Wojewódzkiej w Krakowie', [online:] https://bibliotekanauki.pl/articles/555120, [accessed 11 June 2022].

of the Hugon Kołłątaj Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Krakow with the Pedagogical University of Krakow²⁰. In addition were the papers from the New Forum of the National Forum of Pedagogical Libraries organized by the Krakow Library since 2016²¹ which is a conference which brings together theoreticians and practitioners interested in issues relative to pedagogical libraries.

As mentioned at the beginning of the present paper, the assumption made was that the first stage of the COVID-19 pandemic took place in March 2020, and although at the moment when this paper is being written it is hard to predict the level of future threats related to the virus, it seemed that the limitation dates of March 2020 and March 2022 for the chronological range of the investigation were justified. This period covers a two-year span and many articles were found on the topic in the library literature for this time both within Poland²² and abroad ²³. This was also the time when many debates on the state and future of pedagogical libraries were being conducted. In 2021, after a year's break, the Hugon Kołłątaj Pedagogical Library resumed the organization of the New Forum of Pedagogical Libraries. The fifth edition of the

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

²⁰ The following were published in the series: eds. A. Fluda-Krokos, W. Dudek, A. Piotrowska, Miejsce biblioteki pedagogicznej w zmieniającej się przestrzeni edukacji i informacji, Kraków, Wydaw. Nauk. Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego, 2014; A. Fluda-Krokos, B. Janik, Kolekcje w zbiorach bibliotek pedagogicznych, Kraków, Wydaw. Nauk. Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego, 2015; A. Fluda-Krokos, B. Janik, Nauczyciel w bibliotece pedagogicznej - klient wyróżniony, Kraków, Wydaw. Nauk. Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego, 2016.

²¹ The earlier Conference editions were named the National Forum of Pedagogical Libraries and were hosted in cooperation with the Institute of Scientific Information and Library Studies (Institute of Information Science) at the Pedagogical University in Krakow. See E. Andrysiak, E. Obała, 'Nowe Ogólnopolskie Forum Bibliotek Pedagogicznych "Czytelnictwo – nowa jakość" (Kraków, 16-17 czerwca 2016 r.)', [online:] https://czasopisma.uni.lodz.pl/librorum/article/view/2064/1688 [accessed 30 May 2022]; IV [czwarte] Nowe Ogólnopolskie Forum Bibliotek Pedagogicznych [report], [online:] https://www.pbw.edu.pl/4-nofbp-sprawozdanie, [accessed 30 May 2022].

²² See e.g., bibliographical comparisons: M. Kowalska, 'Biblioteki i media w czasie pandemii COVID-19 Bibliografia selektywna', *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Librorum*, 2021, no. 2 (33), pp. 164-170.

²³ See I. Osłowska. 'Biblioteki w dobie pandemii. Przyczynek do badań', [online:] https://apcz.umk.pl/TSB/article/view/31817/30938, [accessed 25 April 2022].

Assessment of the COVID-19 Pandemic Impact on the Changes in the Operation and Structure of

event was conducted online with the use of the Cisco Webex Meetings platform. Representatives from all areas of interest in the activities of pedagogical libraries participated, among whom were staff from the National Library of Poland, academic groups, employees of pedagogical libraries, local government representatives, and others²⁴. From among the papers published by the staff of pedagogical libraries over that period, mention must be made of that by Jarosław Jędrych²⁵ in the no. 193 of *Biuletyn EBIB* titled 'COVID-19: Library Closed Librarian Open', as well as those by Agnieszka Jaworska²⁶, Róża Pomiecińska,²⁷, Monika Wachowicz and Katarzyny Figurska²⁸, and Aldona Zimna²⁹. They were all published in the special issue of *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Librorum* from 2021.

In the course of the research, a special focus was on voivodeship pedagogical libraries with the question investigated being whether the pandemic which took place over the designated two-year period investigated had an impact on their operation and organizational structure, and how effectively they were able to coped in those unfriendly times and still manage to survive and continue operating. Within this context, the following research questions were posed:

²⁴ V [piąte] Nowe Forum Bibliotek Pedagogicznych [sprawozdanie], [online:] https://www.pbw.edu.pl/5-nofbp-sprawozdanie, [accessed 30 May 2022].

²⁵ J. Jędrych, op.cit.

²⁶ A. Jaworska, 'Działalność Pedagogicznej Biblioteki Wojewódzkiej w Łodzi Filii w Pabianicach w roku szkolnym 2020/2021 w trakcie trwania pandemii COVID-19', Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Librorum, 2021, no. 2 (33), pp. 133-141, [online:] http://www.czasopisma.uni.lodz.pl/librorum/article/ view/13039/12626, , [accessed 30 May 2022].

²⁷ R. Pomiecińska, 'Wirtualne escape roomy jako nowy sposób promocji czytelnictwa na przykładzie działań Książnicy Pedagogicznej w Kaliszu'. Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Librorum, 2021, no. 2 (33), pp. 75-87.

²⁸ M. Wachowicz, K. Figurska, 'Działalność pedagogicznej biblioteki wojewódzkiej im. prof. Tadeusza Kotarbińskiego w Łodzi w czasie pandemii', Acta Universitatis Łodzinsis. Folia Librorum, 2021, no. 2(33), pp. 51-63

²⁹ A. Zimna, 'Działania Książnicy Pedagogicznej im. A. Parczewskiego w Kaliszu w czasach pandemii roku 2020/2021'. Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Librorum, 2021, no. 2 (33), pp. 65-74.

- 1) How many voivodeship pedagogical libraries underwent organizational changes and to what extent during the COVID-19 pandemic for the period March 2020 – March 2022)?
- 2) If so, how did the COVID-19 pandemic affect the operation and organization of these voivodeship pedagogical libraries?

To find the answers to the above questions, the following methods were used: bibliographic and documentary analysis, and a critical analysis of the literature to identify the reasons for the changes in the organizational structure of libraries, and for assessing the effectiveness, heuristic and deductive methods were applied.

When planning the research, the following research goals were established:

- To identify the number of libraries which should be regarded as voivodeship pedagogical libraries (prior to, in the course of, and following the COVID-19 pandemic (research question 1);
- To identify the facts about the operation and restructuring of the voivodeship pedagogical libraries in Poland during the COVID-19 pandemic (research question 2);
- To ascertain whether the COVID-19 pandemic affected the operation and restructuring of voivodeship pedagogical libraries (research question 2).

1. The state and operations of voivodeship pedagogical libraries before the pandemic (prior to March 2020)

In order to investigate the state of voivodeship pedagogical libraries for the study, there was the need to first identify them. It was expected that there would have been at least 16 of them, equalling the number of voivodeships in Poland, with one for each voivodeship. However, it was not so and it became a challenge to identify them, depending on the chosen source of information. Prior to attempting to identify them, we had to firstly define the term 'voivodeship pedagogical library'. It was decided that such a library should comply with the following criteria:

- It should be a pedagogical library run by a voivodeship local government as based on Art. 8.22 of the Act of 14 December 2016 on Educational Law³⁰; and
- 2) It should be registered as a pedagogical library in the Register of Schools and Educational Institutions (RSPO)³¹.

The data analysis demonstrates that from 1999, that is, from the time when pedagogical libraries were taken over by voivodeship local governments, their number began to decrease. After 2003, a systematic fall in their number was observed, mainly because of the winding down of their branches. In 2003-2012, the number of pedagogical libraries diminished by 28³². Based on the subsequent Kultura reports (2012-2018), in Poland there were 318 pedagogical libraries in 2012, then for each year 2013-2019, there were 297, 269, 272, 272, 257, 258, 256, respectively³³ (see Fig. 1 below). Following

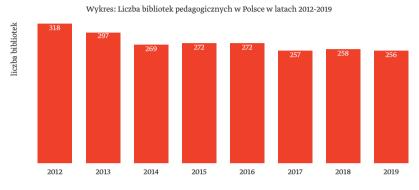
32 A. Krawczuk, 'Biblioteki pedagogiczne i ich zasoby w kontekście nowych zadań', [online:] file:///C:/Users/Acer/Desktop/a.krawczuk_biblioteki_pedagogiczne_ichzasoby-w-kontekscie-nowych-zadan.pdf, s.4-5, [accessed 28 April 2022].

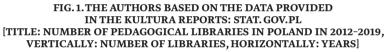
³⁰ Whose provisions specify that the tasks of a voivodeship local government include, among others, founding and running public pedagogical libraries of regional or supra-regional reach. Act of 14 December 2016 on Educational Law, Journal of Laws, 2021, item 1082 with amendments.

³¹ The obligatory character of the entry into RSPO and of the update of the information on schools and educational institutions (including voivodeship pedagogical libraries) stems from the Act of 15 April 2011 on Education Information System, Journal of Laws 2022, item 1116.

Culture in 2012. XLS files, [online:] https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/kultu-33 ra-turystyka-sport/kultura/kultura-w-2012-r-,2,10.html, [accessed 28 April 2022]; Culture in 2013. XLSX files, [online] https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ kultura-turystyka-sport/kultura/kultura-w-2013-r-,2,11.html, [accessed: 28 April 2022]; Culture in 2014. XLSX files, [online:] https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/kultura-turvstvka-sport/kultura/kultura-w-2014-r-.2.12.html, [accessed 28 April 2022]; Culture in 2015. XLSX files, [online:] https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/kultura-turystyka-sport/kultura/kultura-w-2015-roku,2,13.html, [accessed 28 April 2022]: Culture in 2016. XLSX files. [online:] https://stat.gov.pl/ obszary-tematyczne/kultura-turystyka-sport/kultura/kultura-w-2016-roku,2,14. html, [accessed 28 April 2022]; Culture in 2017. XLSX files, [online:] https://stat. gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/kultura-turystyka-sport/kultura/kultura-ŵ-2017roku,2,15.html; Culture in 2018. XLSX files, [online:] ttps://stat.gov.pl/download/ gfx/portalinformacyjny/pl/defaultaktualnosci/5493/2/16/1/kultura_w_2018_roku. zip, [accessed 28 April 2022]; Culture in 2019. XLSX files, [online:] https://stat.gov. pl/download/gfx/portalinformacyjny/pl/defaultaktualnosci/5493/2/17/1/kultura_w_2019.zip, [accessed 25 April 2022].

that period, over the next six years their number fell by 41. The conclusion was that the number of pedagogical libraries has been decreasing, irrespective of the pandemic, and this phenomenon is not only characteristic of recent years. In 2003-2019, the number of such libraries also dropped in total by 69.





It was observed that voivodeship pedagogical libraries did not operate within an orderly hierarchical library network. They took on various organizational forms, such as:

- autonomous pedagogical libraries with or without branches where in the latter case the library was and organizationally and financially part of the parent library,
- 2) libraries with or without branches within educational institution complexes³⁴,
- 3) in-service teacher training centres with or without branches³⁵.

³⁴ A. Krawczuk, Biblioteki pedagogiczne i ich zasoby w kontekście nowych zadań, [online:] file:///C:/Users/Acer/Desktop/a.krawczuk_biblioteki_pedagogiczne_ichzasoby-w-kontekscie-nowych-zadan.pdf, s.4, [accessed 28 April 2022].

³⁵ It is the Pedagogical Library operating within the structures of the Voivodeship Methodological Centre in Gorzów Wielkopolski that operates as a division. See respective Resolution No. XXII/315/20 of the Lubusz Voivodeship Assembly of 7 September 2020 on Assigning the Status to the Voivodeship Methodological Centre in Gorzów Wielkopolski, [online:] https://womgorz.edu.pl/wp-content/ uploads/2022/04/Statutu-WOM-Gorzow-7-IX-2020.pdf, [accessed 2 June 2022].

When verifying the number of pedagogical libraries in Poland, the following sources were identified:

- Annual reports of Statistics Poland (below: GUS) available online,
- National Library's reports on the state of libraries in Poland covered by GUS research,
- Register of Schools and Educational Centres (below: RSPO),
- Bulletin of Public Information (below: BIP),
- Library websites.

The report of the National Library on the state of libraries in Poland recorded by the investigation of GUS in 2017 included 27 voivodeship pedagogical libraries³⁶. The data were gathered via the GUS K-03 form which annually collects self-reported data for various types of libraries³⁷. It is filled in by the library staff and sometimes have discrepancies in the provided data depending on the knowledge and understanding of the person filling out the form regarding the kind of information requested on it³⁸. By consulting the records of RSPO, it could be seen that in the same year there were 17 libraries in Poland designated as 'voivodeship' that were located in 11 voivodeships. In four voivodeships, there were more than one institution that had the word 'voivodeship' in their name [sic!]³⁹.

^{36 &#}x27;Stan bibliotek w Polsce - objętych badaniem Głównego Urzędu Statystycznego -2017 r.' in: Raporty BN, Biblioteka Narodowa, p. 23, [online:] https://www.bn.org. pl/download/document/1554115920.pdf.], [accessed 2 June 2022].

³⁷ Ibidem, p. 1.

³⁸ K-03 Sprawozdanie biblioteki za 2017 r [GUS library reporting form for 2017], [online:] http://form.stat.gov.pl/formularze/2018/passive/K-03.pdf, [accessed 25 April 2022].

³⁹ The libraries were located in the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship: Marian Rajewski Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Bydgoszcz, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/49929, [accessed 5 May 2022]; Lublin Voivodeship: KEN Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Lublin, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/42908, [accessed 5 May 2022]; Lubusz Voivodeship: Maria Grzegorzewska Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Zielona Góra, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/70888, [accessed 5 May 2022]; Lodz Voivodeship: Prof. Tadeusz Kotarbiński Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Lodz, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/70888, [accessed 5 May 2022]; Lodz Voivodeship: Prof. Tadeusz Kotarbiński Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Lodz, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/14754, [accessed 25 April 2022]; Lesser Poland Voivodeship: Hugon Kołłątaj Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Krakow, [online] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/19644 [accessed 30 May 2022]; Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Nowy Sącz, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/18846, [accessed: 25 April 2022]; Mazovian Voivodeship: KEN Voivodeship Pedagogical

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

The voivodeship local government is the most reliable source for determining if a library belongs to the voivodeship group because it is the designated organization responsible for administering these kinds of facilities. This was established in compliance with the *Act of 14 December of 2016 on Educational Law where* it is the responsibility of the local government to establish and administer public regional and supra-regional pedagogical libraries. The Act also sets out the network plan for these pedagogical libraries within a voivodeship⁴⁰. Therefore, the identification of the list of voivodeship pedagogical libraries administered by the voivodeship local government was accomplished by consulting the RSPO, official library websites, and BIP. By comparing the data from all three sources, it was discovered that in March 2020, there were 44 such libraries among which 34 were autonomous budgetary units in a total of 13 voivodeships⁴¹. Only six of them did not have any

Library in Warsaw: RSPO, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/28033 [accessed 25 April 2022]; Opole Voivodeship: Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Opole, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/55538], [accessed 25 April 2022]; Subcarpathian Voivodeship: Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Krosno, [online:] https://rspo. gov.pl/rspo/92374, [accessed 25 April 2022]; J. G. Pawlikowski Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Przemyśl, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/92386, [accessed: 5 May 2022]; Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Rzeszów RSPO, [online:] https:// rspo.gov.pl/rspo/92368, [accessed 25 April 2022]; Pomeranian Voivodeship: School Motherhood Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Gdansk, [online:] https://rspo. gov.pl/rspo/9619, [accessed 25 April 022]; Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Słupsk RSPO, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/9620, [accessed 25 April 2022]; Silesian Voivodeship: Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Bielsko-Biała, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/14886, [accessed 25 April 2022]; J. Lompa Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Katowice, [online:] link; Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewódzka w Rybniku, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/127667, [accessed 30 May 2022]; Holy Cross Voivodeship: Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Kielce, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/6753, [accessed 25 April 2022].

40 Act of 14 December 2016 on Educational Law (Journal of Laws 2021, item 1082) consolidated text with amendments, in: *Internetowy System Aktów Prawnych*, [online:] https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20170000059/U/ D20170059Lj.pdf, [accessed 25 April 2021].

41 Importantly, the identification of the actual number of organizationally autonomous voivodeship pedagogical libraries required looking through all the records concerning pedagogical libraries and functioning in RSPO. Searching through the records with advanced criteria: 'running organ': 'voivodeship local government', 'type of school/institution': 'pedagogical libraries'; 'position within the structure': 'autonomous', with the option: 'cover closed down schools/institutions' permits to find 31 records. Results of the RSPO search https://rspo.gov. pl/?rsc%5Bregon%5D=&rsc%5Brspo%5D=&rsc%5Bwojewodztwo%5D=&rsc%5Bop_ branches in their structure⁴². The remaining libraries formed part of the educational institution complexes in 4 voivodeships. Nine of them preserved a certain organizational identity, and one was reduced to the status of a division. Apart from this, two operated as departments of in-service teacher training institutions located within the Western Pomerania Voivodeship and were not included in RSPO.

The number of pedagogical libraries run by voivodeship local governments varied in different regions of Poland. An orderly network of pedagogical libraries was found in Lower Silesian, Opole,

typ%5D=133&rsc%5Bop_wojewodztwo%5D=&rsc%5Borgan%5D=&rsc%5Bor tvp%5D=&rsc%5Bor wojewodztwo%5D=&rsc%5Brejestrujacv%5D=&rsc%5Btyp%5D%5B%5D=58&rsc%5BrodzajPlacowki%5D%5B%5D=1&rspo_added%5Bzawod%5D=&rsc%5Bnieaktywne%5D=1&rsc%5Bsearch%5D=. This number included 29 of independent currently operating institutions, the figure, however, missing 5 pedagogical libraries which in March 2020 were independent organizational units, and presently form part of educational institution complexes. The libraries in question are: the pedagogical library run the local governments of the Lodz Voivodeship and the Rzeszów one run by the local government of the Subcarpathian Voivodeship. On 1 September 2021, the voivodeship pedagogical libraries in the Lodz Voivodeship were incorporated into educational institution complexes (the libraries in Piotrków Trybunalski, Sieradz, Skierniewice) or schools and educational institutions (the Lodz Pedagogical Library). See Pedagogical Library in Piotrków Trybunalski, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/12703, [accessed 25 April 2022]; Pedagogical Library in Sieradz, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/12847, [accessed 25 April 2022]; Pedagogical Library in Skierniewice, [online:] https://rspo. gov.pl/rspo/12806. [accessed 25 April 2022]: Prof. T. Kotarbiński Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Lodz, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/23222, [accessed: 25 April 2022]. RSPO features an erroneous record of the Pedagogical Library in Zamość, branch in Hrubieszów, marked as an autonomous unit closed down in 2013. Interestingly, the branch continues to operate and has another record reflecting its current status. See Pedagogical Library in Zamość. Branch in Hrubieszów [Closed down], [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/84853, [accessed 25 April 2022]; Pedagogical Library in Zamość. Branch in Hrubieszów. RSPO features as an autonomous unit the division of a pedagogical library run by the Voivodeship Methodological Centre in Gorzów Wielkopolski. See Voivodeship Methodological Centre Pedagogical Library, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/88394, [accessed 25 April 2022].

42 These were: the Pedagogical Library in Chełmno, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/ rspo/41049, [accessed 25 April 2022], Gen. Elżbieta Zawacka Pedagogical Library in Toruń, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/52081, [accessed 25 April 2022]; Marian Rajewski Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Bydgoszcz, [online:] https://rspo. gov.pl/rspo/49929, [accessed 25 April 2022]; Maria Grzegorzewska Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Zielona Góra, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/70888, [accessed 25 April 2022]; Karol Wojtyła Warmian-Masurian Pedagogical Library in Elbląg, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/103461, [accessed 25 April 2022]; Prof. Tadeusz Kotarbiński Warmian-Masurian Pedagogical Library in Olsztyn, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/103454, [accessed 25 April 2022]. and Holy Cross Voivodeships. In the Silesian Voivodeship, there was one library, Lower Silesian Pedagogical Library in Wrocław⁴³, administered by the voivodeship local government. In Opole, there was also the Voivodeship Pedagogical Library⁴⁴ and another in Holy Cross in Kielce ⁴⁵.

According to the data from RSPO, there was no pedagogical library in the West Pomeranian Voivodeship operated by the local voivodeship government in 2019 and 2020⁴⁶ and this remained un-

45 Search in RSPO following the criteria: 'voivodeship': 'Holy Cross', 'running organ': 'Voivodeship local government', 'type of school/ institution': 'pedagogical libraries', using the criterion: 'cover closed down schools/institutions. Search results. RSPO, [online:] https:// rspo.gov.pl/?rsc%5Bregon%5D=&rsc%5Brop%5D=&rsc%5Bwojewodz two%5D=13&rsc%5Borgan%5D=&rsc%5Bor_typ%5D=133&rsc%5Bor_wojewodztwo%5D=&rsc%5Borgan%5D=&rsc%5Bor_typ%5D=58&rspo_added%5Bzawod%5D=&rsc%5Bnieaktywne%5D=1&rsc%5Bsearch%5D=.

46 Search in RSPO following the criteria: 'voivodeship': 'West Pomeranian', 'running organ': 'voivodeship local government', 'type of school/ institution': 'pedagogical libraries', even using the criterion: 'cover closed down schools/ institutions' yields no results. Search results. RSPO, [online:] https://rspo.gov. pl/?rsc%5Bregon%5D=&rsc%5Brspo%5D=&rsc%5Bwojewodztwo%5D=16&rsc%5Be powiat%5D=&rsc%5Bop_typ%5D=133&rsc%5Bop_wojewodztwo%5D=&rsc%5Bor gan%5D=&rsc%5Bor_typ%5D=8rsc%5Bor_wojewodztwo%5D=&rsc%5Brejestru jacy%5D=&rsc%5Btyp%5D%5B%5D=\$8&rspo_added%5Bzawod%5D=&rsc%5Bnieaktywne%5D=1&rsc%5Bsearch%5D=. Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

⁴³ Search in RSPO following the criteria: 'voivodeship': 'Lower Silesian', 'running organ': 'voivodeship local government', 'type of school/ in stitution': 'pedagogical libraries', using the criterion: 'cover closed down schools/institutions. Search results. RSPO, [online:] https:// rspo.gov.pl/?rsc%5Bregon%5D=&rsc%5Brspo%5D=&rsc%5Bwojewodz two%5D=1&rsc%5Bpowiat%5D=&rsc%5Bor_typ%5D=133&rsc%5Bor_wojewodz two%5D=&rsc%5Brejestrujacy%5D=&rsc%5Btyp%5D%5B%5D=58&rspo_add ed%5Bzawod%5D=&rsc%5Bnieaktywne%5D=1&rsc%5Bsearch%5D= [accessed 25 April 2022].

⁴⁴ Search in RSPO following the criteria: 'voivodeship': 'Opole', 'running organ': 'voivodeship local government', 'type of school/ institution': 'pedagogical libraries', using the criterion: 'cover closed down schools/ institutions. Search results. RSPO, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/?rsc%5Bregon%5D=&rsc%5Brsp0%5D=&rsc%5Bwojewodztw0%5D=&krsc%5Bpowiat%5D=&rsc%5Bop_typ%5D=133&rsc%5Bop_wojewodztw0%5D=&rsc%5Borgan%5D=&rsc%5Bor_typ%5D=8xsc%5Bor_wojewodztw0%5D=&rsc%5Brejestrujacy%5D=&rsc%5Btyp%5D=&ssc%5Bor_wojewodztw0%5D=&rsc%5Brejestrujacy%5D=&rsc%5Btyp%5D%5D=&ssc%5Brieaktywne%5D=1&rsc%5Bsearch%5D=&rspo_added%5Dzawod%5D=&ssort=dzialalnosc. nazwa&direction=asc&page=1 [accessed 30 May 2022].

changed even after search of all types of organizations registered in RSPO⁴⁷. Actually, the register records contradicted the status quo as well as the data included in the GUS Kultura w 2017 roku (Culture in 2017) Report which stated that there were almost seven such libraries in West Pomeranian Voivodeship⁴⁸. Identifying institutions which could be potentially regarded as pedagogical libraries run by the West Pomeranian local government required looking through the structure of each of the educational institutions registered in RSPO and administered by the local government. It was ascertained that there were two 'centres for in-service teacher training', namely, the Centre for Teacher Education in Koszalin and the West Pomeranian Centre for Teacher In-service Training⁴⁹ and both were limited to the status of departments in these institutions. These facilities were the West Pomeranian Centre for Teacher In-service Training in Szczecin - H. Radlińska Pedagogical Library Department⁵⁰, and the Centre for Teacher Education CEN Pedagogical Library in Koszalin - Department of Pedagogical Information – Pedagogical Library⁵¹. Considering the issue from

⁴⁷ Search results. https://rspo.gov.pl/?rsc%5Bregon%5D=&rsc%5Brspo%5D=&rsc%5Bwojewodztwo%5D=16&rsc%5Bpowiat%5D=&rsc%5Bop_typ%5D=&rsc%5Bop_wojewodztwo%5D=&rsc%5Borgan%5D=&rsc%5Bor_typ%5D=&rsc%5Bor_wojewodztwo%5D=&rsc%5Brejestrujacy%5D=&rsc%5Btyp%5D%5B%5D=58&rspo_added%5Bzawod%5D=&rsc%5Bnieaktywne%5D=1&rsc%5Bsearch%5D=

⁴⁸ Culture in 2017. XLSX files, [online:] https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/kultura-turystyka-sport/kultura/kultura-w-2017-roku,2,15.html, [accessed 25 April 2022].

⁴⁹ RSPO results for the criteria: 'school or institution location': 'West Pomeranian', 'running organ': 'voivodeship local government', including the criterion 'cover closed up schools/institutions. https://rspo.gov. pl/?rsc%5Bregon%5D=&rsc%5Brspo%5D=&rsc%5Bwojewodztwo%5D=16&rsc%5Bpowiat%5D=&rsc%5Bop_typ%5D=133&rsc%5Bop_wojewodztwo%5D=&rsc%5Borgan%5D=&rsc%5Bor_typ%5D=&rsc%5Bor_wojewodztwo%5D=&rsc%5Brejestrujacy%5D=&rscp_added%5Bzawod%5D=&rsc%5Bnieaktywne%5D=1&rsc%5Bsearch%5D=.

⁵⁰ Statute of the West Pomeranian Teacher In-service Training in: Biuletyn Informacji Publicznej Zachodniopomorskiego Centrum Doskonalenia Nauczycieli w Szczecinie http://bip.zcdn.edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/uchwala.pdf, [accessed 25 April 2022].

⁵¹ Statute in: Biuletyn Informacji Publicznej Centrum Edukacji Nauczycieli w Koszalinie http://www.cen.edu.pl/uploads/publiczne/cen_bip/Uchwala_nr_XIV-186-20_sejmiku_wojewodztwa_zachodniopomorskiego_statut_CEN.pdf, [accessed 25 April 2022].

the RSPO perspective, the West Pomeranian Voivodeship does not have a voivodeship pedagogical library [sic!].

In summary, the research results showed that the number of pedagogical libraries at the voivodeship level was closer to 49, equalling the number of administrative divisions into which of Poland was divided from 1975-1998. The main reason for the difficulty with identifying the actual number of voivodeship pedagogical libraries stemmed from the fact that each voivodeship had its own method of handling the matter and the respective local governments could, at their discretion, administer, transform, and modify the organizational structure of such libraries⁵². Depending on the selected source of information, the actual number of voivodeship pedagogical libraries before the pandemic was as follows:

- 17 which were classified as 'voivodeship' owing to the fact that the term 'voivodeship' was featured in their name;
- 27 registered in the BN's report,
- 44 mentioned in the main RSPO register.

Based on this data, it was concluded that, before the pandemic in Poland, there were 44 voivodeship pedagogical libraries operating.

In the articles appearing before the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, the authors emphasized the strong potential of pedagogical libraries to act as centres for academic purposes, culturecreativity, for the dissemination of information, the promotion of knowledge, and for facilitating the use of digital tools in education. Their highly qualified staff was identified as their major asset who were well-equipped for involvement in creative (also bibliotherapeutic) work with readers in response to their customized needs (see Wanda Matras-Mastalerz⁵³). As quoted by Hanna Batorowska,

⁵² See E. Wykrzykowska, 'Finansowanie bibliotek pedagogicznych', Biuletyn EBIB, 2009, no. 8(108), [online:] http://ebib.pl/2009/108/a.php?wykrzykowska [accessed 25 April 2022].

⁵³ W. Matras-Mastalerz, 'Biblioteka pedagogiczna miejscem biblioterapeutycznych inicjatyw twórczych', in: eds. A. Fluda-Krokos et al, Miejsce biblioteki pedagogicznej w zmieniającej się przestrzeni edukacji i informacji, Kraków, Wydaw. Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego, 2014, pp. 68-76, [online:] https://www.pbw.edu.pl/images/stories/Konferencja/IOFBP/IOFBP_miejsce_biblioteki_pedagogicznej.pdf, [accesed 6 June 2022].

pedagogical libraries support the activities of educational institutions with respect to the in-service training of teacher librarians who were active and fully integrated among the groups of librarians. Moreover, these professionals usually undertook projects aimed at improving the IT and media competencies of in teachers and students operating in the modern educational environment⁵⁴.

2. THE STATE AND OPERATION OF VOIVODESHIP PEDAGOGICAL LIBRARIES DURING THE PANDEMIC

During the course of the second stage of the investigation, the objective was to establish whether the number of pedagogical libraries changed during the pandemic as can be seen in Table 1 below. The categories and number of libraries were arrived at depending on their organizational structure and also based on the classification method used by Anna Krawczuk. Her divisions were: 1) autonomous pedagogical libraries with or without branches; 2) libraries with or without branches which are part of educational institution complexes; and 3) divisions of the institutions of inservice teacher training with or without branches.

TABLE 1: NUMBER OF VOIVODESHIP PEDAGOGICAL LIBRARIES BEFORE AND AFTER THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

Detailed list	Number of voivodeship pedagogical libraries before the COVID-19 pandemic	Number of voivodeship pedagogical libraries after the COVID-19 pandemic
Autonomous libraries without branches	6	6
Autonomous libraries with branches	28	23
Libraries within educational institution complexes without branches	3	3
Libraries within educational institution complexes with branches	6	12
Divisions within the in-service teacher training centres without branches	0	1
Divisions/departments within the in-service teacher training centres with branches	1	0
Total	44	45

Source: The authors based on RSPO.

54 H. Batorowska, 'Biblioteka ośrodkiem pedagogiki informacyjnej', in: eds. A. Fluda-Krokos et al, *Miejsce Biblioteki Pedagogicznej W Zmieniającej Się Przestrzeni Edukacji I Informacji*, Kraków, Wydaw. Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego, 2014, p. 16, [online:] https://www.pbw.edu.pl/images/stories/Konferencja/IOFBP/ IOFBP_miejsce_biblioteki_pedagogicznej.pdf, [accesed 6 June 2022].

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

In March 2020, there were 44 voivodeship pedagogical libraries operating in Poland. Among them, 34 were autonomous budgetary units and the majority (28) of these facilities were located in the capital cities with one or several branches in each voivodeship. A few of them (6) had no branches and a significantly smaller number (9) consisted of libraries operating within educational institution complexes, six of which had branches. Interestingly, RSPO had an autonomous pedagogical library, Voivodeship Methodological Centre Pedagogical Library, in Gorzów, Wielkopolski. However, based on their Charter included in BIP, the library in question operated as a unit within the division.

Currently (as of 31 March 2022), there were 45 voivodeship pedagogical libraries in Poland with the majority (36) being autonomous budgetary units with branches and with only three not having branches. Since some of them had changed their organizational form, an increase in the number of libraries forming part of educational institution complexes was observed (15) with 12 of them having one or more branches in their structure⁵⁵.

Search in RSPO according to the criteria: 'running organ': 'voivodeship local gov-55 ernment' and 'type of school/institution': 'pedagogical library' yielded 201 records which encompassed also branches of the central libraries. Having deducted the branches, we received 45 institutions. In compliance with the names uses in RSPO, they were as follows (for greater transparency, the institutions' name is given in their Polish form): Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewódzka w Kielcach, Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewódzka im. Gdańskiej Macierzy Szkolnej w Gdańsku, Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewódzka w Słupsku, Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Piotrkowie Trybunalskim, Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Skierniewicach, Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Łomży, Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewódzka im. prof. Tadeusza Kotarbińskiego w Łodzi, Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewódzka w Bielsku Białej, Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewódzka w Nowym Sączu, Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Tarnowie, Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewódzka im. J. Lompy w Katowicach, Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewódzka im. Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Warszawie, Biblioteka Pedagogiczna im. Heleny Radlińskiej w Siedlcach, Publiczna Biblioteka Pedagogiczna Ksiażnica Pedagogiczna im. A. Parczewskiego w Kaliszu. Publiczna Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Koninie, Publiczna Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Poznaniu, Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Zamościu, Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Chełmie, Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Białej Podlaskiej. Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewódzka im. KEN w Lublinie. Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewódzka imienia Mariana Rejewskiego w Bydgoszczy, Biblioteka Pedagogiczna im. gen. bryg. Prof. Elżbiety Zawackiej w Toruniu, Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewódzka w Opolu, Dolnoślaska Biblioteka Pedagogiczna we Wrocławiu, Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewódzka im. Marii Grzegorzewskiej w Zielonej Górze, Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewódzka w Rzeszowie, Pedagogiczna

In the Lodz Voivodeship, the change observed in the course of the pandemic was that all four operating voivodeship pedagogical libraries were incorporated into the newly established institution complexes. These were the Centre for Education Development of the Lodz Voivodeship in Lodz - Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Lodz⁵⁶; the Centre for Education Development of the Lodz Voivodeship in Piotrków Trybunalski - Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Piotrków Trybunalski⁵⁷; the Centre for Education Development of the Lodz Voivodeship in Sieradz - Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Sieradz⁵⁸; and the Centre for Education Development of the Lodz Voivodeship in Skierniewice - Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Skierniewice⁵⁹. Pedagogical libraries and in-service training cen-

Biblioteka Wojewódzka w Krośnie, Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewódzka im. Józefa Gwalberta Pawlikowskiego w Przemyślu, Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Tarnobrzegu, Warmińsko-Mazurska Biblioteka Pedagogiczna im. prof. Tadeusza Kotarbińskiego w Olsztynie, Warmińsko-Mazurska Biblioteka Pedagogiczna im. Karola Wojtyły w Elblagu, Publiczna Biblioteka Pedagogiczna Regionalnego Ośrodka Doskonalenia Nauczycieli "WOM" w Częstochowie, Publiczna Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Pile, Publiczna Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Lesznie. Wojewódzki Ośrodek Metodyczny Biblioteka Pedagogiczna, Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Sieradzu, Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Suwałkach, Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Białymstoku, Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewódzka w Rybniku, Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewódzka im. Hugona Kołłątaja w Krakowie, Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Ciechanowie, Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Ostrołęce, Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Płocku, Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Radomiu, Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Zgierzu. Results of the search in harmony with the criteria: 'running organ': 'voivodeship local government' and 'type of school/institution': 'pedagogical libraries', in: RSPO, [online:] https://rspo.gov. pl/?rsc%5Bregon%5D=&rsc%5Brspo%5D=&rsc%5Bwojewodztwo%5D=&rsc%5Bop_ tvp%5D=133&rsc%5Bop wojewodztwo%5D=&rsc%5Borgan%5D=&rsc%5Bor typ%5D=&rsc%5Bor_wojewodztwo%5D=&rsc%5Brejestrujacy%5D=&rsc%5Btyp%5D%5B%5D=58&rspo_added%5Bzawod%5D=&rsc%5Bsearch%5D= [accessed 31April 2022].

- 56 Resolution no. XXXIV/450/21 of the Lodz Voivodeship Assembly of 27 August 2021 on founding the Centre for Education Development of the Lodz Voivodeship in Lodz, [online:] https://bip.lodzkie.pl/files/u450.pdf, [accessed 11 June 2022].
- 57 Resolution no. XXXIV/451/21 of the Lodz Voivodeship Assembly of 27 August 2021 on founding the Centre for Education Development of the Lodz Voivodeship in Piotrków Trybunalski

[online:] https://bip.lodzkie.pl/files/u451.pdf, [accessed 11 June 2022].

58 Resolution no. XXXIV/449/21 of the Lodz Voivodeship Assembly of 27 August 2021 on founding the Centre for Education Development of the Lodz Voivodeship in Sieradz, [online:] https://bip.lodzkie.pl/files/u449.pdf, [accessed 11 June 2022].

59 Resolution no. XXXIV/452/21 of the Lodz Voivodeship Assembly of 27 August 2021 on founding the Centre for Education Development of the Lodz Voivodeship in Skierniewice, [online:] https://bip.lodzkie.pl/files/u452.pdf, [accessed 11 June 2022]. tres ended up within the structures of three of them, while the one in Lodz became a school and an educational institution complex. The Lodz pedagogical library was incorporated into the complex currently comprised of the Centre for Lifelong Learning of the Lodz Voivodeship Local Government together with the M. Skłodowska-Curie Post-Secondary School of the Lodz Voivodeship Local Government; Prof. Tadeusz Kotarbiński Voivodeship Pedagogical Library; Voivodeship Centre for In-Service Training; and the Local Government Post-Secondary School⁶⁰.

Interestingly, the Zgierz branch of the Prof. Tadeusz Kotarbiński Voivodeship Library in Lodz became a new one based on the definition of the term in this paper. At the time of the study, it operated as the pedagogical library in Zgierz and was located within the complex of educational institutions operating as the Centre for Education Development of the Lodz Voivodeship in Zgierz⁶¹. Therefore, currently in the Lodz Voivodeship, there are 5 pedagogical libraries administered by the local government and present in RSPO. Thus, in keeping with the assumptions made for this paper, they can all be called 'voivodeship' pedagogical libraries. In the Subcarpathian Voivodeship, the second one in which changes during the pandemic were observed, the Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Rzeszów was incorporated into the structure of the newly established Subcarpathian Complex of Voivodeship Centres in Rzeszów⁶².

⁶⁰ Resolution no. XXXIV/450/21 of the Lodz Voivodeship Assembly of 27 August 2021 on founding the Centre for Education Development of the Lodz Voivodeship in Lodz, [online:] https://bip.lodzkie.pl/files/u450.pdf, [accessed 11 June 2022].

⁶¹ Pedagogical Library in Zgierz, in: RSPO, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/rspo/279288, [accessed 5 June 2022].

⁶² Annex 2 to Resolution no. XXXVI/579/21 of the Subcarpathian Voivodeship Assembly of 26 April 2021. Statute of the Subcarpathian Complex of Voivodeship Centres in Rzeszów, in: *Bialetyn Informacji Publicznej Podkarpackiego Zespołu Placówek Wojewódzkich w Rzeszowie*, [online:] https://bip.pcen.pl/images/file/ statut/Statut_PZPW.pdf, [accessed 30 May 2022]; Annex 1to Resolution no. XXX-VI/579/21 of the Subcarpathian Voivodeship Assembly of 26 April 2021 with the Statute of the Subcarpathian Centre for Teacher Education in Rzeszów, in: *Bialetyn Informacji Publicznej Podkarpackiego Zespołu Placówek Wojewódzkich w Rzeszowie*, [online:] https://bip.pcen.pl/images/file/statut/Statut_PCEN.pdf, [accessed 30 May 2022].

There are no direct assumptions allowing for the connection of the organizational changes affecting the pedagogical libraries in the Lodz and Subcarpathian Voivodeships with the COVID-19 pandemic. In the Lodz Voivodeship, the implemented changes were justified by the need to combine institutions 'representing a similar or a complementary scope of operations⁶³. The tendency to incorporate pedagogical libraries into complexes of educational institutions had been observed before the pandemic where, for example, the Pedagogical Library in Białystok became part of the Centre for Teacher Education in 202064, the Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Rybnik was incorporated into the 'WOM' Regional Centre for Teacher In-service Training and Pedagogical Information in 2006⁶⁵; the Public Pedagogical Library in Konin formed part of the Centre for Teacher In-service Training in Konin in 2013; the Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Opole was included in the Regional Complex of Education-Supporting Institutions in Opole in 2016⁶⁶; while the Pedagogical Library in Łomża became a part of the Centre for Teacher Education in Łomża in 201867.

During the course of the COVID-19 pandemic, pedagogical libraries tried to maintain communication with their users in many different ways, including developing library websites, and social media and digital lending via platforms like IBUK Libra or Legimi

67 Resolution no. XLIX/458/2018 of the Podlaskie Voivodeship Assembly of 28 May 2018 on formation of the Centre for Teacher Education in Łomża, in: Biuletyn Informacji Publicznej Centrum Edukacji Nauczycieli w Łomży, [online:] http://bip.cenl. wrotapodlasia.pl/statut_prawny_cen/, [accessed 30 May 2022].

⁶³ G. Nowak, 'Za nami 34. Sesja Sejmiku Województwa Łódzkiego' [31 August 2021] Radio ZW Radio Ziemi Wieluńskiej, [online:] https://www.radiozw.com.pl/ za-nami-34-sesja-sejmiku-wojewodztwa-lodzkiego/, [accessed 29 April 2022].

⁶⁴ Pedagogical Library in Białystok, in: RSPO, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/ rspo/17419, [accessed 30 May 2022].

⁶⁵ Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Rybnik, in: RSPO, [online:] https://rspo.gov. pl/rspo/127667, [accessed 30 May 2022].

⁶⁶ Resolution no. XVII/187/2016 of the Opole Voivodeship Assembly of 21 May 2016 on merging the Regional Centre for Education Development in Opole and the Voivodeship Pedagogical Library in Opole to form the Regional Complex of Education-Supporting Institutions, in: *Biuletyn Informacji Publicznej Regionalnego* Zespołu Placówek Wsparcia Edukacji w Opolu, [online:] http://bip.rzpwe.opolskie.pl/ download/attachment/2/rzpwe-uchwala.pdf, [accessed 30 May 2022].

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

with whom the libraries continued or established cooperation. They also did this via the universally accessible resources of libraries and digital services, e.g., Polona, Wirtualne Lektury, which allowed readers to use the digital or audio versions of resources over the periods of severe restrictions⁶⁸. It can be concluded that pedagogical libraries promptly adapted to the restrictions and requirements by working in a digital cancellation of many on-site projects and events as reflected in the GUS statistical reports. For example, in 2020, a significantly lower number of events were held by the pedagogical libraries for their users as seen here where with 3,124 such events in 2020; 5,220 in 2019; 5,085 in 2018; 4,915 in 2017; and 5.218 in 2016)⁶⁹. The same applied to conferences and seminars with 194 in 2020; 457 in 2019; 462 in 2018; 484 in 2017; and 485 in 2016)⁷⁰. Before the pandemic, the number of cultural and educational events were kept at a stable level but dropped substantially only in 2020. Since at the moment of this paper being written a new report for 2021 has not been released, it is hard to state whether the decrease has continued and will be observed in the future, or whether it will stop now that the pandemic has abated⁷¹.

L3. IMPACT OF THE PANDEMIC ON THE RESTRUCTURING OF VOIVODESHIP PEDAGOGICAL LIBRARIES: CONCLUSIONS.

One of the most important research goals established to for this study was to find out whether the COVID-19 pandemic affected

⁶⁸ See K. Figurska, M. Wachowicz, 'COVID-19 nam niestraszny-działalność Pedagogicznej Biblioteki Wojewódzkiej im. prof. Tadeusza Kotarbińskiego w Łodzi z koronawirusem w tle', Biuletyn EBIB, 2020, 4(193), p. 3; J. Jędrych, op.cit., p. 4.

⁶⁹ Culture in 2020. ZIP file with XLSX files, [online:] Kultura w 2020 roku. Tablice w formacie XLSX w pliku, [online:] ZIP.https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ kultura-turystyka-sport/kultura/kultura-w-2020-roku,2,18.html; Culture in 2019. ZIP file with XLSX files, [online:] https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/kultura-turystyka-sport/kultura/kultura-w-2019-roku,2,17.html; Culture in 2018. ZIP file with XLSX files, [online:] https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/kultura-turystyka-sport/kultura/kultura-w-2018-roku,2,16.html, [accessed 25 April 2022].

⁷⁰ Ibidem.

⁷¹ The analysis of the papers authored by employees of different libraries seems to demonstrate that pedagogical libraries coped with the crisis of mounting on-site cultural and educational events, transferring most of them to the Internet, or by applying hybrid solutions to organizing them.

the operation and the organizational structure of the voivodeship pedagogical libraries in Poland. In the course of data analysis, resorting to heuristic and deductive methods, it was ascertained that over the period of the pandemic, five pedagogical libraries were incorporated into the structures of school and educational institution complexes, and only one was established based on the adopted criteria as found in Zgierz. This meant that at the end of the pandemic outbreak, there were 45 such libraries indicating a minor change in the number. However, the data showed that many of them were restructured in a more complex way. The number (6) of autonomous libraries without branches remained unchanged and those with branches decreased from 28 to 23. Similarly, the number of libraries without branches within educational institution complexes remained unaltered (3), but libraries with branches increased from 6 to 12. A division at the centre for in-service teacher training lost its branch. Nevertheless, the restructuring processes revealed no direct connection with the pandemic. Already, before the pandemic outbreak, the number of units of pedagogical libraries had been falling as demonstrated through the analysis of the data for the earlier years beginning with 2012.

These findings justified the need to ask the seemingly awkward question as to whether there was an operating voivodeship pedagogical library in every voivodeship. It was revealed one such library was not present in every voivodeship, although some could have more than one, and that in the West Pomeranian Voivodeship, in compliance with RSPO, there were no records showing the operation of a pedagogical library of a voivodeship status. The findings show that pedagogical libraries, as they did before the pandemic, conducted training workshops and provided assistance for in-service trainings for individuals employed in education. Furthermore, they integrated their services by providing a platform for educational and cultural events which brought individuals together. The availability of advanced technology combined with the pandemic proved to be a change generator over the period, despite the fact that the role of pedagogical libraries was defined much earlier⁷². The comprehensive support which those libraries provide to teachers and schools cannot be reduced to only making their collections available⁷³.

This said, however, it does not change the fact that the subsequent pandemic restrictions forced the staff of the pedagogical libraries to limit their direct contacts with readers and to search for new means of communicating with them. Agnieszka Jaworska wrote about this challenging process in the context of the operation of the Lodz pedagogical library branch:

A pedagogical library is 'the third venue' for education, space for inspiration, for exchange of good practices, and also a partner in the education covering readership, the media, health, or culture. It co-creates the local educational reality, while the success of its activities stems from the direct contact with the public. Therefore, not only did the COVID 19-pandemic and subsequent restrictions introduce a different work organization in the libraries, but more importantly separated them from the local community within which they operate. The library lost the context for its actions, while any planning of further work, its character and course, as well as the current assessment of those actions required a change of the perspective and tools. New means of reaching the public and activating the community under the new realities unfriendly to the library operations had to be found.⁷⁴

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

⁷² Lucyna Kurowska-Trudzik and Urszula Tobolska discussed the educational activity of the Lower Silesian Pedagogical Library in Wrocław in the area of supporting teachers, pedagogues, and school librarians, e.g., within the cooperation network and in-service training for teachers operating at the Library. In 2019, the following such networks operated at the Wrocław Pedagogical Library focused on the following topics: 'Developing digital competences in children', 'Teachers bibliotherapeutic activity: developing reading competences in students', 'The way to encourage reading: forms and tools used in promoting reading'. L. Kurowska-Trudzik, U. Tobolska, 'Biblioteka pedagogiczna... nie tylko wypożyczanie', *Biuletyn EBIB*, 2020, no.190, pp. 1-7, [online:] http://ebibojs.pl/index.php/ebib/article/view/660/698, [accessed 12 June 2022].

⁷³ See e.g., S. Czacharowska, 'Czy biblioteka pedagogiczna jest (jeszcze) potrzebna nauczycielom? - głos w dyskusji', in: eds. A. Fluda-Krokos et al,. *Miejsce biblioteki pedagogicznej w zmieniającej się przestrzeni edukacji i informacji*, [chyba op. cit, bo już w dwóch wcześniejszych przypisach], pp. 97-103, [online:] https://www.pbw.edu. pl/images/stories/Konferencja/IOFBP/IOFBP_miejsce_biblioteki_pedagogicznej. pdf, [accesed 6 June 2022].

⁷⁴ A. Jaworska. 'Działalność Pedagogicznej Biblioteki Wojewódzkiej w Łodzi Filii w Pabianicach w roku szkolnym 2020/2021 w trakcie trwania pandemii

The activity of branches of pedagogical libraries in the context of disseminating science and readership in a local environment was the topic tackled by Kornelia Choryńska and Katarzyna Michalska in 2021 in their report of an example of the activities of the Swarzędz Branch of the Public Pedagogical Library in Poznan. They praised the recently implemented organizational structure of the many voivodeship pedagogical libraries which consisted of one main parent entity with branches in the counties. They commented that such a method of structuring provided an opportunity for an 'even and free access to academic and specialized literature throughout the whole voivodeship⁷⁵ and which provided a 'level the playing field for residents of smaller towns⁷⁷⁶. The authors also emphasized the importance of meetings and conferences participated in by academics, specialists which were held at the Swarzędz branch⁷⁷, the cooperation network it controlled, and the in-service training for teachers as well as of the educational activities for children and adolescents⁷⁸.

To conclude, let us reiterate the role the National Library of Poland and the Polish Librarians Association played through the pandemic, the point tackled more extensively in the introduction to the present paper.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

- 77 Ibidem., p. 184.
- 78 Ibidem.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

COVID-19', *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Librorum*, 2021, no. 2 (33), pp. 133-141, [online:] http://www.czasopisma.uni.lodz.pl/librorum/article/view/13039/12626, [accessed 28 April 2022].

⁷⁵ K. Choryńska, K.Michalska, op.cit., p. 185.

⁷⁶ bidem.

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FORMATION OF THE CENTRALISED PUBLICATION DISTRIBUTION NETWORK IN POLAND. 'DOM KSIĄŻKI' IN 1950-1953 DOI: 10.36155/PLib.10.00009

ABSTRACT

The paper tackles questions related to the formation of the 'Dom Książki' retail network in the early 1950s. This institution, responsible for all forms of book distribution, took over 899 retail facilities that were once property of publishing and bookselling cooperatives and no longer extant state publishers. As a result, an uneven retail network was created, which failed to meet bookselling requirements for quality of premises or territorial spread. The first two years of the operations of 'Dom Książki' were dedicated to the rational planning of the network by closing or merging already existing retail facilities or founding new, already professional, bookshops. Presenting her findings, author shows how the distribution network of 'Dom Książki' changed and what factors affected its size.

KEYWORDS: 'Dom Książki' – book distribution – bookselling – retail network – Communist Poland (Polish People's Republic, PRL)

Not only did WWII bring about unprecedented material and human devastation to Poland, but it also changed its political system. In 1944–1945, the establishment of the new political regime coincided with the simultaneous takeover of Poland's territory by the Red Army, which initiated significant changes to existing ownership and social structures. At the initial stage of transformation, elements of the existing market economy and new corporate systems such as the nationalisation of industry coincided. The same process was observed within publishing and bookselling sectors, which were gradually transformed by new political interests, since the new regime considered the printed word an effective tool of political control and means to shape Communist ways of thought and behaviour. Publishing interested activists in the PPR, the Polish Workers' Party, who decided that it could directly serve doing politics as an instrument to win, hold, and consolidate power.1

The task was to be accomplished by dominating means of social communication means, primarily by taking control of the printing industry. The political monopolisation of the printing industry was not impeded by any legal restrictions for removing previous owners from their companies. In late 1944 and early 1945, when no legal policies on the nationalisation of industries were in place, the state takeover of printing businesses was frequent. The *Law of 3 January 1946 on Nationalisation of Core Branches of National Economy*, which included the printing industry, merely institutionalised the status quo.²

Furthermore, reorganisation of the relatively independent publishing industry, which was based on free-market economy princi-

S. A. Kondek, Władza i wydawcy. Polityczne uwarunkowania produkcji książek w Polsce w latach 1944–1949, Warszawa 1993, pp. 15, 17; M. Tymiński, PZPR i przedsiębiorstwo. Nadzór partyjny nad zakładami przemysłowymi 1956–1970, Warszawa 2001, p. 22; R. Habielski, Polityczna historia mediów w Polsce w XX wieku, Warszawa 2009, pp. 171–172.

² Ustawa z dn. 3 stycznia 1946 r. o przejęciu na własność Państwa podstawowych gałęzi gospodarki narodowej, *Dziennik Ustaw* 1946, No. 3, Item 17; K. Bolesta-Kukułka, *Gra o władzę a gospodarka. Polska 1944–1991*, Warszawa 1992, p. 71.

ples, was conducted to transform it into a centralised book market model following the Soviet model.³ In 1945-1950, private businesses, cooperatives, and state companies simultaneously controlled publishing and bookselling. While this tri-sector division was officially tolerated, the freedom of private publishers was limited by administrative means such as censorship, paper rationing, additional taxes. At the same time, 'socialised', that is state or cooperative, publishing institutions were hastily founded, for example the 'Książka' Publishing Cooperative or 'Czytelnik' Publishing Cooperative. With the consolidation of Communist powers, the private sector was systematically eradicated from the publishing market, and not always legally, since this market was seen by the Communists as an instrument of propaganda and key way to influence public opinion. In the latter half of 1947, the final eradication of the free-market economy began with a state takeover of all the businesses that did not belong to the state or to the Party. These moves also applied to publishing and bookselling institutions. In 1948, the Polish United Workers' Party, PZPR, formed as a hegemonic and absolutist Communist Party. That year, the Party founded the Committee for Book Dissemination to handle planning publishing activities in alignment with Communist mandates. In July 1949, the Central Publishing Committee was established, a state entity responsible for eradicating private publishers and coordinating

It is worth emphasising that monopolies on publishing and bookselling activities 3 and their strong alignment with the ideological principles of the authoritative regime also occurred in other countries of the former Soviet Bloc. On this topic e.g., Y. Gvosdev, 'Publishing and book distribution in the U.S.S.R.', The Library Quarterly, 28 (no. 4), 1958, pp. 269-276; G. Walker, Soviet book publishing policy, Cambridge 1978; M. Friedberg, M. Watanabe, N. Nakamoto, 'The Soviet book market. Supply and demand', Acta Slavica Iaponica, 2,1984, pp. 177-192; Books in Russia and in the Soviet Union. Wiesbaden 1991; A. Möldre, 'The book publishing system in Estonia during The Soviet Rule in 1944-1991', Knygotyra, 47, 2006, pp. 105-121; G. P. Hueting, 'Book publishing in the German Democratic Republic', The Library Quarterly, 52 (no.3), 1982, pp. 240-259; Ch. Links, Das Schicksal der DDR-Verlage, Berlin 2009; S. Barck, M. Langermann and S. Lokatis, "Jedes Buch ein Abenteuer". Zensur-System und literarische Öffentlichkeiten in der DDR bis Ende der sechziger Jahre, Berlin, Boston 2015; E. Forstová. Knihv podle norem: ulturní instituce v svstému řízené kulturv. Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění, Praha 2013. Z. Šimeček, J. Trávníček. Knihv kupovati...: Dějiny knižního trhu v českých zemích, Praha 2014.

the operations of state and cooperative publishing enterprises. One of its mandates was also to prepare central publishing plans. As a result, the autonomy of publishing culture was entirely abandoned within the new socio-economic system.⁴

After 1950, centralised book production and distribution systems were formed following the elimination of private and cooperative businesses. In accordance with prior administrative decisions, printing houses were nationalised, while publishing, printing, and bookselling activities were separated. Private publishing houses that supplied almost half books were closed.

As of 1950 until the end of Communist Poland (Polish People's Republic, PRL), 'Dom Książki' was responsible for book retail and wholesale distribution. As a state institution reorganised on several occasions, it initially operated as the 'Dom Książki' Bookselling Central Office, and subsequently as 'Dom Książki' State Enterprise. In its later period, after it had been incorporated into the Central Office of Publishing Houses of Printing Industries and Bookselling (CUWPGiK), the 'Dom Ksiażki' Central Authority was renamed as the Bookselling Central Authority. The formation of 'Dom Książki' was a direct consequence of the gradual elimination of non-state and non-Party publishing and printing businesses, and of state-led aspirations to nationalise bookselling. Bookselling facilities taken over from independent publishing and bookselling cooperatives, and sometimes also from closed private bookshops, provided the infrastructure for the new institution responsible for book distribution. The book distribution monopoly did, indeed, allow full control of the market, yet it also resulted in economic difficulties. As it operated independently from publishing activities, it had no in-

⁴ S. A. Kondek, Władza i wydawcy..., pp. 172-176, 120-122; idem, Papierowa rewolucja. Oficjalny obieg książek w Polsce w latach 1948-1955, Warszawa 1999, pp. 50-54. See also J. Zmroczek, 'Ruch wydawniczy w Polsce po r. 1945', Zeszyty Historyczne, fasc.100, 1992, pp. 210-212; M. Tobera, 'Władza i księgarze prywatni 1945-1950', in: Nie po myśli władzy. Studia nad cenzurą i zakresem wolności słowa na ziemiach polskich od wieku XIX do czasów współczesnych, eds. D. Degen, M. Żynda, Toruń 2012, pp. 99-128; idem, 'Księgarstwo spółdzielcze i prywatne w okresie trójsektorowości polskiego rynku książki (1945-1950)', Przegląd Biblioteczny, fasc. 4, 2014, pp. 329-363.

fluence on either the selection of publications or number of copies in an edition. The thematic selection of books was dominated by political and ideological literature, which was not of much interest customers. Such titles accumulated in warehouses, new titles were distributed with much delay, and small and poorly stocked bookshops did not fulfil their functions; in effect, the organisation and operations of 'Dom Książki' were criticised on a number of occasions.

In 1950–1953, 'Dom Książki' was a single-state national enterprise with its Head Office in Warsaw and branches in voivodeships. In 1954, the branches were transformed into independent enterprises that operated in accordance with rational economic principles. Therefore, the period spanning 1950–1953 formed a separate stage in the organisational redevelopment of state-run retail and wholesale book production and distribution.

The issue of book production and distribution in post-WWII Poland and in its years as PRL have been extensively studied. Adam Bromberg was one of the first academics to tackle the topic,⁵ publishing a rich archival study on the publishing movement in 1959. The same period also yielded Lucjan Biliński's studies⁶. These publications, however, need to be approached with caution due to period biases from the time they were published; still, they provide us with essential information on the problems of the market at the time and the accomplishments of several publishing houses. After 1989, Stanisław A. Kondek was the first to analyse the post-WWII book market. His work primarily emphasised the political conditions of the publishing sector,⁷ but was also interested in the official

⁵ A. Bromberg, *Książki i wydawcy. Ruch wydawniczy w Polsce Ludowej w latach 1944–1957*, Warszawa 1958, and its second censored edition under a slightly altered title: *Książki i wydawcy. Ruch wydawniczy w Polsce Ludowej w latach 1944–1966*, Warszawa 1966.

⁶ L. Biliński, Ruch wydawniczy i księgarstwo w Polsce Ludowej, Warszawa 1974; idem, Instytucje wydawnicze i dystrybucja książki w Polsce, Warszawa 1975; idem, Zarys rozwoju ruchu wydawniczego w Polsce Ludowej, Warszawa 1977, idem, Książka w Polsce Ludowej: wydawnictwa i księgarstwo, Warszawa 1981.

⁷ S.A. Kondek, Władza i wydawcy..., Warszawa 1993.

circulation of books from 1948–1955.⁸ Dariusz Jarosz was interested in slightly later period in PRL's history, studying questions related to the operations of the publishing and bookselling sectors from a political perspective. ⁹ Jarosz also prepared the *Selection of Sources for the History of Books in 1944–1989*.¹⁰ Tadeusz Hussak, a committed activist and President of the Association of Polish Booksellers, analysed the operations of 'Dom Książki' and booksellers in Communist Poland from the perspective of participants in key historical events. ¹¹ Marek Tobera tackled the topic of the book market from 1945–1950,¹² Grzegorz Nieć addressed questions of bookselling in Polish studies within broader book history.¹³ Agnieszka Chamera-Nowak published an extensive monograph on organisation of the bookselling and publishing movement in Poland from 1951–1956 through a case study of the *Central Office of Publishing, Graphic Industry, and Bookselling.*¹⁴

Most of the above-mentioned publications focus on the production and distribution of publications. However, a more extensive

9 D. Jarosz, 'Władza a książka społeczno-polityczna w PRL1956-1989', Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi, vols. 7-8: 2013-2014, pp. 133-172; idem, 'Jakich książek potrzebują Polacy? Odpowiedź władzy', in: Na co dzień i od święta. Książka w życiu Polaków w XIX-XXI wieku, eds. A. Chamera-Nowak, D. Jarosz, Warszawa 2015, pp. 441-458; idem, 'Jak tworzono książkę socjalistyczną? Narady wydawców i księgarzy państw bloku wschodniego 1965-1988', Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi, vol.10, 2016, pp. 317-334.

10 Idem, Dzieje książki w Polsce 1944–1989. Wybór źródeł, Warszawa 2010.

11 T. Hussak Księgarstwo bliskie czytelnikom. Nie zmarnowaliśmy szansy, Olsztyn 1999; idem, Byliśmy służbą społeczną. Rzecz o Stowarzyszeniu Księgarzy Polskich, Olsztyn 2004.

12 M. Tobera, 'Władza i księgarze prywatni 1945–1950…', pp. 99–128; idem, 'Księgarstwo spółdzielcze i prywatne…', pp. 329–363.

13 G. Nieć, 'Problematyka księgarska w polskich badaniach nad książką do 1989 roku', in: Oblicza współczesnej bibliologii. Konteksty i transgresje, eds. G. Czapnik, Z. Gruszka, J. Ladorucki, Warszawa 2014, pp. 167-184.

14 A. Chamera-Nowak, Książka a stalinizm. Centralny Urząd Wydawnictw, Przemysłu Graficznego i Księgarstwa i jego rola w kształtowaniu ruchu wydawniczo-księgarskiego w Polsce 1951–1956, Warszawa 2019.

³ Idem, Papierowa rewolucja. Oficjalny obieg książek w Polsce w latach 1948–1955, Warszawa 1999. Kondek also discusses the organisation of the book market in PRL in the paper 'Organizacja obiegu książek w PRL jako eksperyment bibliologiczny', in: Bibliologia. Problemy badawcze nauk humanistycznych, ed. D. Kuźminy, Warszawa 2007, pp. 316–325.

study of the operations of 'Dom Książki', which retained a monopoly on book distribution at the time, have yet to be conducts. Only Tobera's paper¹⁵ refers to the beginnings of socialist bookselling. An article by Wanda A. Ciszewska's examines the operations of the 'Dom Książki' facilities from a regional perspective.¹⁶ Ciszewska's recently published paper¹⁷ focuses on the plans to restructure 'Dom Książki' in 1951.

'Dom Książki' began its operations on 1 January 1950, yet the establishment of a state bookselling network had been planned much earlier. The new institution was to be based in bookshops taken over from publishing and bookselling cooperatives. While accepted and even promoted in the first years after WWII, the cooperative movement lost the favour of the regime's decisionmakers over time and was eventually regarded as a form of capitalist entrepreneurship. In 1948, the cooperative movement was restructured, and the Central Cooperative Association was formed, featuring different centralised offices for cooperatives grouped according to their trades. The Central Office of Publishing and Bookselling Cooperatives, CSWiK, was one of these offices, which was grouped with other publishing, bookselling, and bookshop and paper cooperatives. The last months of 1949 witnessed subsequent restructuring phases, which assembled all the cooperatives into 14 central offices that covered operational territories reflecting the administrative division of Poland. These were later nationalised, allowing the state takeover of substantial assets comprising retail facilities, stocks (including books), and staff.¹⁸

¹⁵ M. Tobera, 'Trudne początki księgarstwa socjalistycznego. "Dom Książki" 1950-1953. Struktury detalu i hurtu', in: *Książki mają swoją historię. Studia ofiarowane Profesor Barbarze Bieńkowskiej*, academic ed. J. Puchalski, coop. E. Maruszak, M. Ochmański, D. Pietrzkiewicz, K. Seroka, Warszawa 2021, pp. 441-468.

¹⁶ W. A. Ciszewska, Książka w Toruniu w latach 1945–1950. Ruch wydawniczo-księgarski, Toruń 2005; eadem, Skażone władzą. Ruch wydawniczo-księgarski na Kujawach i Pomorzu w latach 1945–1956, Toruń 2015.

¹⁷ W. Ciszewska-Pawłowska, 'W sprawie zamierzonej reorganizacji "Domu Książki". Projekty i propozycje z 1951 r.', in: Książki mają swoją historię... pp. 424-440.

¹⁸ S. A. Kondek, Władza i wydawcy..., pp. 119–123; W. A. Ciszewska, Skażone władzą..., pp. 170–182, M. Tobera, 'Księgarstwo spółdzielcze i prywatne...', pp. 345–347.

The restructuring of the cooperatives was officially accounted for by claims regarding irregular spread of shops throughout the country, attempts to provide readers with a full range of available titles range, or basic economic motives. Within trade press publications, members of cooperatives commented on contemporary developments.¹⁹ Data from December 1948 tallies the network of bookshops as including 1,523 bookshops and stationers (Table 1). At that point, the average nationwide number of individuals per bookshop stood at 5,400:1. This number was in line with the standard pre-war data point of 5,000 to 7,000 of residents per bookshop. However, regime authorities claimed that cooperative shops were too fragmented geographically and badly located, and proposed the solution to merge small bookshops into larger and better supplied stores.²⁰

	Voivodesip	Bookshops and stationer's also selling books		
No.		Total number	Nationalised	Population (1000 individuals: 1 shop)
1.	Białostockie	44	30	4.1
2.	Gdańskie	67	37	7.1
3.	Kieleckie	108	47	3.4
4.	Krakowskie	130	47	4.5
5.	Lubelskie	87	45	3,5
6.	Łódzkie and the city of Łódź	133	56	6.5
7.	Olsztyńskie	41	31	4.0
8.	Pomorskie	102	51	5.3
9.	Poznańskie	224	76	4.2
10.	Rzeszowskie	54	27	4.4
11.	Szczecińskie	58	34	7.9
12.	Śląsko-Dąbrowskie	169	87	7.4
13.	Warszawskie and the capital city of Warsaw	198	68	4.9
14.	Wrocławskie	108	62	8.8
	Total	1,523	698	5.4

TABLE 1. BOOKSHOP	NETWORK IN	DECEMBER 1948
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Source: Author's study after A. Klimowicz, 'Za mało czy za dużo księgarń?' [Too Few or Too Many Bookshops?], Praca Księgarska, 1949 no. 2, p. 18.

19 The overview of the opinions of cooperative members on the reorganisation of bookselling cooperatives has been presented by W. A. Ciszewska in *Skażone* władzą..., pp. 170, 175-176.

20 A. Klimowicz, 'Za mało czy za dużo księgarń?', Praca Księgarska, no.2, 1949, pp. 18-20.

847 nationalised bookshops existed by end of 1949. 827 private shops operated at that time there still operated,²¹ amounting to a total of over 1,701 bookshops throughout the whole country.²²

Formally established on 15 January 1950 pursuant to the Ordinance of the Prime Minister on Establishing the State Enterprise Called 'Dom Książki' Bookselling Central Office, 'Dom Książki' was responsible for the retail and wholesale of non-periodical publications, stationery, and office supplies in a network of bookshops.²³ The above Ordinance assigned to 'Dom Książki' indefinite possessions of the State Treasury as specified by the Prime Minister, yet stipulated no mention of potential compensation to cooperative members deprived of their property.²⁴

As a result, in early 1950 'Dom Książki' took over 899 bookshop and stationery shops that sold books. Additionally, it took over 94 warehouses housing publications worth 3,393,888,000 zlotys and assumed ownership of paper, office supplies, and other paraphernalia worth 858,710 zlotys. Previously, 43 different institutions, including 29 state publishing houses and cooperative enterprises

²¹ For more on the circumstances surrounding the closing down of private publishing and bookselling businesses see S.A. Kondek, *Władza i wydawcy...*; W. A. Ciszewska, *Książka w Toruniu w latach 1945–1950...*; eadem, *Skażone władzą...*; M. Tobera, 'Księgarstwo spółdzielcze i prywatne...', pp. 345–347; idem, 'Władza i księgarze prywatni 1945–1950...'.

²² Ruch wydawniczy, prasa, drukarstwo i księgarstwo w latach 1945–1954. Biuro Rady Czytelnictwa i Książki, Warszawa 1955, p. 226; S. Siekierski, Książka literacka. Potrzeby i ich realizacji w latach 1944–1986, Warszawa 1992, p. 109.

^{23 &#}x27;Zarządzenie Prezesa Rady Ministrów z dnia 15 stycznia 1950 r. o utworzeniu przedsiębiorstwa państwowego pod nazwą Centrala Obrotu Księgarskiego "Dom Książki", Monitor Polski, no. A-7, 1950, item 72 and D. Jarosz, Dzieje książki w Polsce 1944–1989. Wybór źródeł..., pp. 37-38. See also S. A. Kondek, 'Kontrola, nadzór, sterowanie. Budowa państwowego systemu wydawniczego w Polsce w latach 1945–1951', in: Piśmiennictwo – systemy kontroli – obiegi alternatywne, eds. J. Kostecki, A. Brodzka, vol. 2: Warszawa 1992, p. 213; T. Hussak, Księgarstwo bliskie czytelnikom..., pp. 11-12; D. Degen, Polityka wydawnicza w sferze nauki w latach 1944–1959, Toruń 2014, pp. 110-111.

^{24 &#}x27;Zarządzenie Prezesa Rady Ministrów z dnia 15 stycznia 1950 r...' The question of appropriate compensations for nationalised assets was only settled formally in 1952. See 'Uchwała Prezydium Rządu w sprawie przeprowadzenia rozliczeń za przejęte przez przedsiębiorstwo państwowe "Dom Książki" składniki majątkowe jednostek gospodarki uspołecznionej' of 10 October 1952, *Monitor Polski*, no.A-93, 1952, item 1439.

affiliated with the regime, and 14 centralised offices of bookselling cooperatives, held ownership over these assets.²⁵

14 state-owned bookshops of Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, nine state-owned bookshops of Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 182 shops of the 'Książka i Wiedza' Cooperative, 53 shops of the 'Czytelnik' Cooperative, and 23 bookshops of other publishing houses comprised the newly established bookselling network, with the largest group made up of the 618 facilities belonging to cooperatives grouped within CSWIK.²⁶

An uneven retail network emerged that did not meet local or territorial bookselling requirements. It was assessed that much of the retail network that had been taken over 'was not fit to fulfil the tasks of the new enterprise',²⁷ while out of 899 shops, as many as 500 were 'bookshops in name only'.²⁸ Books and school textbooks were on sale only when children went to school or at Christmas, while the main stock was comprised of office or school supplies. The poor conditions of bookshop premises and their uneven territorial spread resulted from wartime destruction. Initial actions to sort out and reorganise the network had already begun in 1950.²⁹

- 25 AAN CUWPGiK, cat. no, 372, Sprawozdanie z przeprowadzonej kontroli Ekspozytur Wojewódzkich, Biura Handlu Hurtowego, Biura Handlu Zagranicznego i Dyrekcji Naczelnej C.O.K. "Dom Książki" of 22 November 1950; Ruch wydawniczy, prasa, drukarstwo i księgarstwo w latach 1945–1954..., p. 31. The impressive amount of assets acquired by 'Dom Książki' is well documented in the case of one cooperative from the Pomorskie Voivodeship, the 'Jutrzenka' Cooperative Bookshop in Świecie. The handover protocol of this entity included plots, land, edifices and buildings' furnishing, small livestock, materials, and supplies, content of wholesale warehouses, and employees (see W. A. Ciszewska, Skażone władzą..., p 262).
- 26 S. Malawski, Obrót księgarski. Organizacja i technika, Warszawa 1960, p. 33; Cz. Ożarzewski, Zarys dziejów książki i księgarstwa, Poznań 1963, p. 175; L. Biliński, Instytucje wydawnicze..., p. 131.
- 27 AAN CUWPGiK, cat. no. 372, Uwagi na temat rozmieszczenia sieci detalicznej "Domu Książki"..., p.[1].
- 28 K. Majerowicz, 'Dom Książki 1950–1974', Przegląd Księgarski i Wydawniczy, nos.1/2, 1975, p. 1.
- 29 AAN CUWPGIK, cat. no. 372, *Uwagi na temat rozmieszczenia sieci detalicznej "Domu Książki"*..., p.[1]; M. Tobera, 'Trudne początki księgarstwa socjalistycznego. "Dom Książki" 1950–1953...', p. 454.

The initial organisational structure of 'Dom Książki' covered the departments of wholesale, retail, foreign trade, and non-bookselling sales, as well as 14 voivodeship branches. The takeover of assets and stocks of publishing and bookselling cooperatives and the bookselling departments of state publishing houses required largescale inventories to be drawn. This translated into a halt in publication sales in early January 1950. A chaotic turn in the book trade was observed in the aftermath of this interruption, which was only partially overcome in March 1950.³⁰ Despite this chaotic interruption, plans for the further development of the retail network of 'Dom Książki' were already in place in June 1950. These plans envisioned foundation of new bookshops mainly in small towns. workers' districts in cities, and in new housing estates. At the same time, these plans anticipated that private bookshops would be eliminated within six years. Officials aimed for 'Dom Książki' to have 1,928 bookshops in its retail network by 1956.³¹

Reservations were already voiced against the guidelines for the 'Dom Książki' retail network development plans in the first year of its implementation. To boost its poor financial standing and substantially increase sales in paper and other items, 'Dom Książki' introduced small musical instruments, records, toys, and games into their offering from 1951. This range of items was already offered by other trading institutions, such as municipal retail, while the task of 'Dom Książki' was to 'maximally distribute publications.' Besides:

'if "Dom Książki" is to fulfil the political task of reaching wide masses of workers and peasants with books, imposing on them other tasks at the expense of the political assumptions only to improve their questionable financial standing, would be a big mistake.' ³²

³⁰ S. A. Kondek, Papierowa rewolucja..., pp. 56-57.

³¹ AAN CUWPGiK, cat. no. 366, Główne założenia do 6-letniego planu obrotu towarowego of 15 June 1950, pp. 2, 17; W. A. Ciszewska, Skażone władzą..., pp. 264–265.

³² AAN CUWPGiK, cat. no. 372, Notatka dla Obywatela Dyrektora Biura Kontroli i Nadzoru of 6 November 1950, p. 3.

The 1951 plan included an intention to increase the number of kiosks established by 'Dom Książki' at workplaces from 18 to 287. The kiosks did not yield much profit; in fact, they were an uneconomical investment. Opinions were voiced questioning this mode of distribution, particularly as regarded workplace distribution,³³ the activities of social distributors, and the assumption that four out of five of the planned kiosks would be loss-generating.³⁴

The intended development of the 'Dom Książki' retail as outlined in the 1950 plan were unrealistic and not accomplished in its first year. In the *Note to Citizen Director of the Control and Supervision Office* of 6 November 1950, interesting rationale for calculating the proper number of bookshops was quoted:

'... out of 271 rural counties (powiat) ca 170 have small county towns in which one county bookshop would suffice, 100 counties with larger towns where two bookshops would be needed, 33 municipal counties where two additional bookshops should be placed, ten larger voivodeship towns with a need for eight additional bookshops, and ca 50 larger towns which do not house county authorities (one bookshop), this giving in total: 170 + 200 + 66 + 80 + 50 = 566bookshops, rounded to 600 at most.' ³⁵

928 'Dom Książki' bookshops existed by the end of 1950 (Table 2), with one shop catering to 27,977 inhabitants, far below the pre-war standard. $^{\rm 36}$

³³ Workplace distribution developed in Poland in the early 1950s thanks to the support of the political authorities and active support of youth organisations and trade unions. See W.A. Ciszewska, 'Kolportaż zakładowy i instrukcje "Domu Książki" z lat 1950-1951', in: *Książka, biblioteka, informacja. Między podziałami a wspólnotą.* [vol. 5], eds. J. Dzieniakowska, M. Olczak-Kardas, Kielce 2016, p. 161-172.

³⁴ AAN CUWPGiK, cat. no. 372, Notatka dla Obywatela Dyrektora Biura Kontroli i Nadzoru of 6 November 1950, p. 3.

³⁵ Ibid., p. [1].

S. Połeć, 'Z bilansu dziesięciolecia', Praca Księgarska, nos.1-2, 1960, p. 8;
 L. Marszałek, Podstawowe wiadomości z edytorstwa i księgarstwa, Warszawa 1988,
 p. 74.

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF BOOKSHOPS IN 1950			
Number of bookshops	1950		
In total including:	928		
Katowice	100		
Capital City of Warsaw	45		
Wrocław	81		
Kraków	66		
Poznań	78		
Bydgoszcz	67		
Rzeszów	39		
Łódź	72		

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF BOOKSHOPS IN 1950

Source: Author's own study after L. Marszałek, *Podstawowe wiadomości z edytorstwa i księgarst*wa, Warszawa 1988, p. 74.

In the first year of its activity, 'Dom Książki' C.O.K was criticised for its improper structure and faulty distribution practices. Negative opinions against the institution referred to its excessive number of staff and inappropriate division of activities, as well as lack of work regulations and contradictory instructions, lack of internal financial control and cooperation between various departments. Bad organisation and excessive bureaucracy prohibited the proper functioning of the retail network and its goal toward increasing publication sales in bookshops. For example, goods were sold on credit in the Łódź branch, the head of the Wieluń bookshop faked his high turnover to receive a bonus, the Poznań branch ran as many as 13 warehouses, while the Cracow branch kept Soviet newspapers and magazines for up to 10 months in their warehouses. As a result, the Presidium of the Council of Ministers demanded an analysis of the 'Dom Książki' retail network and for a reduction in the 'abnormal density of retail units' in many towns, while at the same time requesting an extension of the retail network in workers' districts in large urban centres.³⁷

³⁷ AAN CUWPGiK, cat. no. 372, Biuro Kontroli i Nadzoru do Dyrekcji Naczelnej C.O.K. "Dom Książki" [post-inspection recommendations] of December 1950, pp. 7, 9-10. For more on the 'Dom Książki' inspection and its results see W. Ciszewska-Pawłowska, 'W sprawie zamierzonej reorganizacji "Domu Książki"...', pp. 428-430.

Formation of the Centralised Publication Distribution Network in Poland

935 of 'Dom Książki' retail shops operated in July 1951, with about as many as 750 acting as book-cum-stationery shops. The dominance of stationery sales in terms of the distribution of goods other than books caused a serious problem. For the 'Dom Książki' Head Office, the distribution of the auxiliary range including paper, office supplies, or toys, impeded the fulfilment of the publication sales plan. Selling of auxiliary goods was a challenge in terms of transportation, warehouse space, and staffing, while transferring distribution to urban retail centres or the Central Office of the Agricultural Cooperatives would facilitate book distribution at the expense of the 'Dom Książki' staff. ³⁸

A solution to such problems of flawed distribution involved incorporating 'Dom Książki' into the structures of the Central Office of Publishing, Graphic Industry, and Bookselling, CUWPGiK, founded on 2 August 1951. ³⁹ Though 'Dom Książki' continued to sell publications within its bookshop network, it was further responsible for book dissemination through distribution at workplaces, schools, institutions, public enterprises, and the dissemination and sale of books in rural areas.⁴⁰ Mass sale formats were adopted to achieve this goal, such as fairs, lotteries, street stands, and subscriptions.

However, 'Dom Książki' continued to operate below its intended financial goals due to its expansive and inappropriately located retail network. According to the Supervision Office of the Presidium of the Council of Minister, the inappropriate location of 'Dom Książki' bookshops resulted from the following circumstances:

³⁸ W. Ciszewska-Pawłowska, 'W sprawie zamierzonej reorganizacji "Domu Książki"...', pp. 433-434.

³⁹ S. A. Kondek, *Papierowa rewolucja...*, p. 66; A. Chamera-Nowak, *Książka a stalinizm. Centralny Urząd Wydawnictw...*, pp. 70, 73.

⁴⁰ For more on distribution of publications in rural areas, for example through the network of commune shops run by the 'Peasants' Self-help' Cooperative and through the structures of 'Peasant Self-help' Agricultural Cooperative Central Office, see A. Chamera-Nowak, '"Książki, szwarc, mydło i powidło..." Dystrybucja książek na wsi w latach pięćdziesiątych XX w. w świetle dokumentów Centralnego Urzędu Wydawnictw, Przemysłu Graficznego i Księgarstwa', Z Badań nad Książka i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi, vol. 6, 2012, pp. 127–141.

- the number of retail facilities in respective branches was not in proportion to plans for publication turnover, e.g., the Rzeszów branch had 41 retail facilities with operational aims to turn over 7.4 million zlotys in publications and 5 million zlotys in other items;
- the number of retail facilities in respective towns was not based on 'certain economic and political premises'; in some cases, two towns from the same voivodeship with the same population and the same 'economic and political structure' differed in number of bookshops;
- despite attempts to set up retail bookshops mainly in county towns and larger urban estates, many branches continued to run facilities in small towns.

The office suggested a close analysis of the spread of the network in county towns with populations of up to 50,000. Additionally, they recommended to wind down or reduce operations or merge bookshops, as well as to transfer retail facilities in small towns of fewer than 4,000 inhabitants to the 'Peasant Self-help' County Cooperatives, ⁴¹ following the Decision of 5 January 1951 in accordance with the Presidium of the Council of Ministers. Between 1 January and 31 August 1951, 110 retail facilities were transferred to county cooperatives or their operations were slowed down, while 140 new ones were created. 'Dom Książki' transferred over 100 bookshops to rural cooperatives, which soon 'changed their business' under their new owners.⁴²

⁴¹ The 'Peasant Self-help' Agricultural Cooperative Central Office (CRS 'Samopoc Chłopska) and its county cooperatives existed from 1948. Their task was to satisfy the needs of the rural public related to education, culture, and entertainment. Beginning in the latter half of 1950, 'Dom Książki' initiated the distribution of books in rural areas through the units of CRS 'Samopomoc Chłopska'. At that time, county bookshops were instructed to supply commune cooperative shops. The former took advantage of this opportunity to get rid of publications that were difficult to sell, a decision that also suited rural consumers. It is estimated only 15% among the supplied books worth 9 million zlotys were sold. See W. A. Ciszewska, *Skażone władza...*, p. 303.

⁴² AAN CUWPGiK, cat. no. 372, Uwagi Biura Nadzoru na temat zagadnień PP "Domu Książki..., p. 5; Uwagi na temat rozmieszczenia sieci detalicznej "Domu Książki"..., p. [1]; S. Połeć, 'Z bilansu dziesięciolecia...', p. 8; W. A. Ciszewska, Skażone władzą...,

Formation of the Centralised Publication Distribution Network in Poland

The *Remarks on the Location of the Retail Network of 'Dom Książki'...* in November 1951 outlined that, in many towns 'Dom Książki' did not have adequate sales floors in their bookshops and, as a result, it had to run several shops to provide appropriate services. Accumulation, rather than consolidation, was the pursued solution. Nonetheless, the Remarks emphasised that a 'mechanical winding down' could make the publication distribution more difficult. Financial resources obtained by credit could facilitate the restructuring of the retail network and increase sales floors so that 'one appropriate retail facility could work more effectively than two or more current ones'.⁴³

Special recommendations were advanced for merging bookshops: instead of 2-3 small bookshop facilities, a facility that would hold one large bookshop should be built to cater to the town's population. Another solution might involve the selection of one centrally located bookshop, with one or two adjacent bookshops to provide corollary services. By means of renovation and interior design, a larger sales floor appropriate for an 'accumulated bookshop' could be developed.⁴⁴

The Remarks also specified conditions for the territorial spread of 'Dom Książki' bookshop facilities. For example, they stipulated that a general urban bookshop, specialised bookshops, and a specialist shop with stationery and non-book related publications should be in the centre of a voivodeship. Meanwhile, general bookshops should be founded in the districts of large cities, while 'mixed assortment' shops were recommended for workers' estates and in the suburbs of large cities. In exceptional cases, permission

p. 280; W. Ciszewska-Pawłowska, 'W sprawie zamierzonej reorganizacji "Domu Książki"...', pp. 435-436.

⁴³ AAN CUWPGiK, cat. no. 372, Uwagi na temat rozmieszczenia sieci detalicznej "Domu Książki"..., p. 5. In 1951, 6 million zlotys were allocated out of the credited financing to rearrange the retail network, while 2 million was allotted for the renovation of the 'Dom Książki' warehouses. See W. Ciszewska-Pawłowska, 'W sprawie zamierzonej reorganizacji "Domu Książki"...', p. 436.

⁴⁴ AAN CUWPGiK, cat. no. 365, *Instrukcja w sprawie zasad opracowywania planu obrotu towarowego na 1952 r.* of 4 February 1952, p. 13.

was granted to run a specialist shop in town to sell non-book publications and stationery, which implied that it was unnecessary always to offer stationery in other bookshops. It was also specified that running 'Dom Książki' bookshops in small towns of under 4,000 residents without the average turnout of 10,000 zlotys per month was not appropriate. ⁴⁵

As of July 1951, 'Dom Książki' retail facilities were classified into four categories depending on their 'assortment profile', in other words, their thematic offerings. These categories were developed because of the insufficient stock of bookshops offering merely 15% of publications available in 'Dom Książki' warehouses. Firstcategory bookshops only set up in large cities offered publications across all sectors of knowledge, amounting to 10,250 copies. Second-category bookshops were run in voivodeship towns and larger county towns, and their assortment was smaller: 7,100 copies. Third-category bookshops, which held 4,100 copies, were typical in county towns. Fourth-category bookshops, which held 2,023 copies, were book-cum-stationery shops that operated in small towns. The bookshops in respective categories were obliged to contain publications from defined thematic groups among their offerings: Group I: Marxism and Leninism; Group II: societal and political publications; Group III: technical and economic publications; Group IV: agricultural publications; Group V: sciences and medical studies; Group VI: literature, art; Group VII: miscellaneous; Group VIII: school textbooks. While nine thematic groups were initially outlined, their number was limited to eight in 1952, when Group IX: imported publications, was eliminated. 46

As of 1951, specialty bookshops were introduced into the 'Dom Książki' retail network, which comprised general assortment bookshops, Soviet bookshops, antiquarian bookshops, bookshops with specific areas of focus, mixed assortment bookshops (books-

⁴⁵ Ibid, pp. 11-12.

⁴⁶ W. A. Ciszewska, Skażone władzą..., pp. 283, 286-291.

cum-stationery shops), distribution sorting offices, and permanent kiosks. The general bookshops offered publications across all knowledge domains, while specialty bookshops sold products related to one area, such as medical, musical, scientific, agricultural, socio-political, educational-pedagogical, technical-economic, or military-sports ones. Those bookshops had all the publications in the domain they represented, both domestic and foreign, in stock. A separate system applied to bookshops offering imported publications, mainly in Russian. Antiquarian bookshops formed another distinct category of bookshops; these were initially established only in voivodeships towns.⁴⁷ In late 1951, shops with non-book publications were introduced that offered propaganda and decorative materials, including posters, painting reproductions, portraits, paper craft letters, and bust or figure plaster casts. ⁴⁸

By October 1951, 69 specialised bookshops had been launched, including thirty Soviet, nine scientific, eight technical, five medical and five musical, four agricultural and four military, two pedagogical, and two technical-agricultural bookshops.⁴⁹ In May 1952, 'Dom Książki' boasted 854 retail shops nationwide (Table 3), which included 180 general assortment bookshops, 86 specialty bookshops, and 529 bookshop-cum-stationery facilities. Additionally, 59 shops operated selling non-book items as did 36 out the 40 planned distribution sorting offices. In total, by May 1952, the 'Dom Książki' retail network, including kiosks, comprised 910 facilities. ⁵⁰

⁴⁷ For more on antiquarian sales see G. Nieć, *Wtórny rynek książki w Polsce. Instytucje, asortyment, uczestnicy.* Kraków 2016.

⁴⁸ W. A. Ciszewska, Skażone władzą..., pp. 284-285.

⁴⁹ M. Tobera, 'Trudne początki księgarstwa socjalistycznego. "Dom Książki" 1950-1953...', p. 460.

⁵⁰ Książka w Polsce Ludowej. Materiały do artykułów, komunikatów i przemówień. Dni Oświaty, Książki i Prasy 3–18 maja 1952 r., Warszawa 1952, pp. 62–63; L. Biliński, Instytucje wydawnicze..., p. 132.

Retail network		Number of facilities
General assortment bookshops		180
Specialised bookshops, including:		86
 foreign publications 	31	
• antiquarian	7	
 socio-political 	8	
 scientific and academic 	13	
• technical	11	
• agricultural	3	
• medical	3	
• musical	6	
legal-economic	1	
• pedagogical	3	
Bookshop-cum-stationery facilities		529
Stationery shops with non-book publications		59
Total		854
Kiosks		20
Distribution sorting offices		36
Total		910

TABLE 3. 'DOM KSIĄŻKI' RETAIL NETWORK AS OF MAY 1952L

Source: Author's own study after Książka w Polsce Ludowej. Materiały do artykulów, komunikatów i przemówień. Dni Oświaty, Książki i Prasy 3-18 maja 1952 r., Warszawa 1952, pp. 62-63.

In the first three years of the book distribution system, the territorial spread of the retail network was substantially rearranged by closing bookshops in many towns and establishing new facilities where there had been none and where, according to decisionmakers, there was a need for them. The number of bookshops was gradually decreasing, and so was the number of bookshop-cumstationery facilities. On several occasions, the central authorities considered excluding the sale of stationery and non-book publications from the operational scope of the 'Dom Książki' retail networks. The Director of the Supervision Office Stanisław Kowalski advanced one such opinion in November 1951, who based on an analysis of the operations and financial results of some branches (Poznań, Koszalin, and Szczecin) in the latter half of October 1951, observed 'the negative impact of the sale of stationery on publication distribution' and recommended the end to paper distribution in the first six months of 1952. His negative opinion led to the closing down of many bookshop-cum-stationery facilities and, in 1952, those that sold school and library materials. 'Dom Książki' later passed these recommendations to urban retail.⁵¹

In August 1953, 831 'Dom Książki' facilities were in operation, including 365 bookshops, 322 bookshop-cum-stationery facilities, 23 artistic and graphic shops, 57 stationery shops, 41 distributing sorting offices, and 23 kiosks. Within the total number of 365 bookshops were 259 general assortment and 106 specialised bookshops, included among these 22 Soviet bookshops, 17 scientific and mail order bookshops, and 12 agricultural bookshops.⁵² Plans were also made for the distribution network to include a 'Dom Książki' bookshop in every county town. These bookshops were to boast at least 50 sq. m surface areas.⁵³

Upon its establishment, 'Dom Książki' took over the responsibility for book distribution, having no impact either on publishing policies or editorial strategies. Meanwhile, the Communist authorities demanded a society favourable to all processes of organisational restructuring and political change, an obedient society existing in harmony with policies advanced by decision-makers'. A 'cultural offensive' aimed at creating a 'new man',⁵⁴ whose identity and values were to be reflected in literature developed under Party guidance and in reformed curricula. The above-mentioned Committee for

⁵¹ AAN CUWPGiK, cat. no. 372, Uwagi na temat rozmieszczenia sieci detalicznej "Domu Książki" ..., pp. 1, 12; 'Obok książek — artykuły papiernicze', Księgarstwo na Pomorzu. Jednodniówka wydana z okazji X-lecia działalności P.P. "Domu Książki" w Bydgoszczy, 1960, p. 15.

⁵² AAN CUWPGiK, cat. no. 54, Projekt Planu rozmieszczenia sieci księgarskiej "Domu Książki" na rok 1955.

⁵³ M. Tobera, 'Trudne początki księgarstwa socjalistycznego. "Dom Książki" 1950-1953...', p. 460.

⁵⁴ On the shaping of socialist attitudes and new public see e.g., K. Kosiński, O nową mentalność. Życie codzienne w szkołach 1945–1956, Warszawa 200; M. Mazur, O człowieku tendencyjnym. Obraz nowego człowieka w propagandzie komunistycznej w okresie Polski Ludowej i PRL 1944–1956, Lubin 2009.

Book Dissemination (1948), responsible for the approval of publishing plans and implementation of centrally organised book circulation, supported these social efforts. ⁵⁵ The regime's administrators aimed on to disseminate culture and win over a mass population of readers, while also 'publishing the best books and limiting the production of the worthless and harmful ones' in harmony with their policies.⁵⁶ Shaping the needs of 'appropriate' readers' by publishing works that boosted socialist awareness was characteristic of a book market model based on centralised state institutions and obedient to the Party's goals. Book production at that time took no interest in the needs and preferences of readers who were not interested in provided titles.⁵⁷ The monopolisation of book distribution networks secured full Party control over the sector and demonstrated a political-ideological success, yet it contributed to the problems of the publishing and bookselling industry still based on consumer wants. The policy on the forced reception of all publishing activities led to an increase in stock reserves deposited in warehouses. 58

The poor financial results of the enterprise and the continuous accumulation of book reserves were heightened by a lack of analysis of sales results, which led to printing additional copies of unsellable titles; irregular supplies from the printing houses; or the poor quality of the books. Attempts were made to meet challenges posed by accumulating stocks of politically correct publications. One solution involved the so-called 'special stocktaking', which excluded propaganda brochures or Marxist-Leninist classics from financial reports. Unsellable titles were either recycled or removed

⁵⁵ S. A. Kondek, Władza i wydawcy..., pp. 178-179; M. Korczyńska-Derkacz, 'Książki szkodliwe politycznie, czyli akcja "oczyszczania" księgozbiorów bibliotek szkolnych, pedagogicznych i publicznych w latach 1947-1956', in: Niewygodne dla władzy. Ograniczanie wolności słowa na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku, eds. D. Degen, J. Gzella, Toruń 2010, p. 337.

⁵⁶ A. Bromberg, Książki i wydawcy...,Warszawa 1958, p. 16.

⁵⁷ See e.g., M. Korczyńska-Derkacz, 'Badania czytelnictwa w Polsce w latach 1945–1950. Między potrzebami czytelniczymi a oczekiwaniami władzy', in: Czytanie, czytelnictwo, czytelnik, eds. A. Żbikowska-Migoń, A. Łuszpak, Wrocław 2011, pp. 323–336.

⁵⁸ S. A. Kondek, Papierowa rewolucja..., pp. 70-73.

from bookshop warehouses and placed directly into library collections as part of the 'Special Assistance to Libraries' actions. ⁵⁹

Upon its establishment, 'Dom Książki' had to reorganise the bookshops they took over to turn them into an effective and evenly spread distribution network. General bookshops or bookshop-cumstationery facilities were either closed, merged, or new ones were established. This reorganisation effort was made more difficult because of ideological issues and economic requirements that contradicted its principles. Decision-makers emphasised the necessity for bookshops to operate among workers' circles, a choice that could not always be economically justified. Furthermore, the first years of the 'Dom Książki' operations unfolded among broader attempts to shape the ideologies and principles of state-run institutions:

- an exclusive monopoly with respect to publishing houses or sharing the responsibility of book distribution with other enterprises, such as commune (*gmina*) cooperatives; the latter finally took over the distribution of books in rural areas,
- a wide range of stock in bookshops (e.g., toys, music-related items, painting reproductions, stationery) focusing beyond the sale of publications, or the transfer of the non-book materials to other shops, which often happened with stationery and artistic materials.

Attempts to solve economic problems of book distribution and sales involved the classification of bookshops into four categories according to thematic specialties, which the so-called 'title distribution list'. Additionally, new forms of publication distribution were explored in the form of kiosks or distribution sorting offices. Nonetheless, these operations faded following the obligatory acceptance of highly ideological publishing standards; 'Dom Książki' had no say on title selections.

Changes occurred in the operations of 'Dom Książki' from 1954. On 1 January, voivodeship branches were transformed into independent enterprises, while the 'Dom Książki' Central Authority

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

became the Central Bookselling Authority, CZK. CZK was a part of CUWPGiK and after it had been dissolved in 1956, formed part of the Ministry of Culture and Art. Beginning in 1954, central distribution lists of publications and bookshop supplies were gradually given up and in 1955 they were entirely rejected, while bookshops were given the right to independently makes choices about their stock.⁶⁰

In 1956, the 'Dom Książki' State Enterprise of Bookshop Wholesale was founded, and its operations were positively judged by booksellers. In 1957, more economical prices for paper and printing services were introduced, leading to an increase in book prices by 50% on average. In 1958, the wholesale enterprise was transformed into the 'Składnica Księgarska' State Enterprise. Relations between publishing enterprises and 'Dom Książki' were altered, and from that time publishers assumed responsibility as well as financial risk for unsold titles. The output size of publications was balanced and the number of copies in each edition was rationally planned; as a result, the distribution lists were rejected.⁶¹

In the following years, the autonomy of publishing houses increased, while some positive changes in publishing programmes were introduced. Regional publishing institutions were formed, while and universities as well as associations were allowed to participate in publishing operations. Nevertheless, a producer market continued to dominate that was not often aligned with reader expectations. Apart from ideological factors, book production was impacted by paper shortages, the limited number of printing houses, and outdated technology. Publishers had to operate within those restrictions, which further impeded their ability to react to the preferences and needs of readers and society.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

^{60 &#}x27;Księgarskie trzydziestolecie', Księgarz, nos.2/3, 1974, p. 8; L. Biliński, Ruch wydawniczy i hsięgarstwo w Polsce Ludowej..., p. 82; S. Dippel, op. cit., p. 252; S. Połeć, '15 lat Domu Książki', Księgarz, no.1, 1965, p. 10.

⁶¹ A. Bromberg, Książki i wydawcy..., Warszawa 1958, pp. 64–65; S. Połeć, '15 lat Domu Książki...', pp. 6–7; idem, Ekonomika księgarstwa. Cz. II, Warszawa 1968, pp. 251, 279; 'Księgarskie trzydziestolecie...', pp. 9–10; T. Hussak, Księgarstwo bliskie czytelnikom..., p. 65.

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THE MICROARCHIVE OF RECOLLECTIONS. ARCHIVAL MATERIALS IN WIESŁAW KĘPIŃSKI'S EGO-DOCUMENTS

DOI: 10.36155/PLib.10.00010

ABSTRACT

The article aims to analyse the memoirs of Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz's fosterling Wiesław Kępiński, with particular attention to the archives they contain (photocopies of manuscript notes and photographs). The article argues that collected ego-documents constitute 'microarchives' for Kępiński, in which he can recall his foster father (who had passed away) and create (and re-create) his own vision of his past next to him. Methodologically, the paper refers to family studies, research on vernacularity, and on melancholy.

KEYWORDS: Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, Wiesław Kępiński, ego-document, archive, family, memoir

The investigation into the relationship between Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz's private life and his literary output has been substantially popular over the last decade.1 However, the omitted aspect from

¹ E.g., M. Radziwon, Iwaszkiewicz. Pisarz po katastrofie, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2010; A. Król, Rzeczy. Iwaszkiewicz intymnie, Wydawnictwo

the current analysis is the writing output created within the poet's family circle, namely, the publications of Maria Iwaszkiewicz-Wojdowska (the artist's daughter),² Ludwika Włodek (Iwaszkiewicz's great-granddaughter),³ and Wiesław Kępiński (the writer's fosterling).⁴ Despite being represented in a substantial number (ten bibliographic items), none has as yet been academically studied in a context of family studies. Importantly, the mentioned books are not merely of a sentimental character, or supplements to Iwaszkiewicz's biography. Owing to the archival materials contained in them (photographs from the collections of the writer's family, the artist's notes or manuscripts, privately printed documents), they present to a wider audience 'documents of the past, knowledge sources and manifestations'⁵, and from the intimist point of view, they constitute even a 'therapy tool' for those who wrote them.⁶

Wiesław Kępiński's ego-documents⁷ seem a particularly interesting research subject because they form a collage of archival materials showing the period of the writer's fosterling's life when

- 4 W. Kępiński, *Sześćdziesiąty pierwszy*, Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza Czytelnik, Warszawa 2006; Idem, *Upragniony syn Iwaszkiewiczów*, Prószyński i S-ka, Warszawa 2019.
- 5 All of the Polish-English translations come from the article's translator, Magdalena Iwińska
- 6 M.P. Markowski, 'O kolekcjach', in: Idem: *Anatomia cieławości*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1999, p. 34.

Wilk&Król, Warszawa 2015; R. Romaniuk, *Inne życie biografia Jarosława Iwaszkiewicza*, vol. I, Wydawnictwo Iskry, Warszawa 2012 (vol. II - 2017).

² M. Iwaszkiewicz, *Kuchnia Iwaszkiewiczów. Przepisy i anegdoty*, Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza Czytelnik, Warszawa 2018; see the following by M. Iwaszkiewicz: *Luźne wspomnienia*, Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Miasta-Ogrodu, Podkowa Leśna 1998; *Z moim ojcem o jedzeniu*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1980; *Z pamięci*, Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza Czytelnik, Warszawa 2006; *Portrety*, Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza Czytelnik, Warszawa 2020; *Portrety i rozmowy*, Wydawnictwo Akademickie SEDNO, Warszawa 2022.

³ L. Włodek, Pra. Iwaszkiewiczowie. Opowieść o rodzinie, Wydawnictwo Marginesy, Warszawa 2021 (First edition: Pra. Opowieść o rodzinie Iwaszkiewiczów, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 2012).

⁷ The term: ego-document used after S. Roszak, 'Ego-documents - some remarks about Polish and European historiographical and methodological experience'. *Biuletyn Polskiej Myśli Historycznej*, 2013, no. 8, pp. 27-41; *Egodokumenty. Tradycje historiograficzne i perspektywy badawcze*, eds. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Pacevicius, S. Roszak, Wydawnictwo, Toruń 2015.

The Microarchive of Recollections. Archival Materials in Wiesław Kępiński's Ego-documents

he lived at Stawisko (Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz's house in Podkowa Leśna near Warsaw). His publication is enriched with the reprints of Iwaszkiewicz's photographs, and photocopies of his manuscripts and letters. The artist's archival records (from the Iwaszkiewicz family's private collection and from the Museum of Anna and Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz in Stawisko) have been complemented with scans of Kępiński's written when he was a boy, photocopies of notes from his notebooks, early drawings, or, among other things, photographs connected with different places (Podkowa Leśna, Warsaw, Sopot).

Kępiński's memoirs are interesting to read if only for the fact that they contain a testimony of a person saved from the two-day massacre of civilians in Warsaw's Wola District in 1944.⁸ His autobiographical books record the recollections of that event, additionally imprinting its reminiscences in the further adult life of of their author. Reading the reprinted manuscripts or drawings of Iwaszkiewicz's fosterling permits an insight into his adolescent attempts to overcome the war trauma. It also allows us to see his ways of establishing relationships with the members of the Iwaszkiewicz family who were looking after him, and who came from an entirely different background than Kępiński. Investigating how he presents his guardian through archival records is not only of relevance for Kępiński's biography, but also because it contributes to the knowledge of the life and oeuvre of Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz.

The present study puts forth a thesis that Wiesław Kępiński, by incorporating in his books archival records related to Iwaszkiewicz and himself, creates a kind of a 'microarchive' of the relationship with his guardian, thus presenting a 'privatised' record parallel to what is contained in the official and institutionalized writer's archive at Stawisko Museum. The archive created by the artist's fosterling plays a performative role, creating his own vision of the

⁸ For more see P. Gursztyn, *Rzeź Woli. Zbrodnia nierozliczona*, Wydawnictwo Demart, Warszawa 2014.

story of his adolescence at Stawisko. This paper tries to interpret how Wiesław Kępiński composes his autobiography by setting in motion cultural contexts connected with the category of melancholy, and trauma since, according to Katarzyna Szalewska, an archive may constitute 'space [...] for a historiographic record of the past and psychoanalytical autotherapy, by working on documents, and working through a trauma',⁹ The paper raises the question of whether Kępiński's 'microarchive', created in his books, can be a space of a 'dialogue' between him and the memory of Iwaszkiewicz. It also reflects on Kępiński's attitude towards his archive: maybe creating family memory traps him in a sort of 'memory chalet', not permitting him to confront the difficult past.

KĘPIŃSKI AND IWASZKIEWICZ: MUTUAL LITERARY INSPIRATIONS

The life story of Iwaszkiewicz's fosterling can be known by reading *Inne życie* [Another Life]¹⁰, the second volume of Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz's biography by Radosław Romaniuk and from a series of interviews and statements appearing in *Spotkać Iwaszkiewicza*. *Nie-biografia* [To meet Iwaszkiewicz. A Non-biography]¹¹ edited by Anna Król. The life of Kępiński, miraculously saved from death and living in the writer's household from the age of 14, was inscribed Iwaszkiewicz's literary works. Kępiński was an inspiration for the 1953 poem *** [Widzisz, wyjeżdżasz na długie czasy] [You See, You Are Leaving for Long] which ending verbalizes a message to the boy who was in his care ('you too grow, gain force/ and be as I always repeat/wise, brave, and nice').¹² The reflection of the

⁹ K. Szalewska, 'Topo-grafie archiwum - o genealogii i melancholii', in: Świadectwa pamięci. W kręgu źródeł i dyskursów (od XIX wieku do dzisiaj), eds. E. Dąbrowicz, B. Larenta, M. Domurad, Wydawnictwo Alter Studio, Białystok 2017, p. 250.

R. Romaniuk, Inne życie. Biografia Jarosława Iwaszkiewicza, vol. II, Wydawnictwo Iskry, Warszawa 2017, pp. 210-214; 275-282.

¹¹ Spotkać Iwaszkiewicza. Nie-biografia, comp. A. Król, Wydawnictwo Wilk&Król, Warszawa 2014, pp. 26-30.

¹² J. Iwaszkiewicz, '*** [Widzisz, wyjeżdżasz na długie czasy]', in: *Wiersze*, vol. II, Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 'Czytelnik', Warszawa 1977, p. 242.

teenager's image can also be found in the short story A Girl and the Pigeons,¹³ which was elaborated on by Robert Papieski (among others) in the introduction to the selection of Iwaszkiewicz's and Kepiński's letters.¹⁴ Additionally, the traces of the writer's fosterling in the oeuvre of Iwaszkiewicz can be identified in the novel for teenagers Wycieczka do Sandomierza [A Trip to Sandomierz]¹⁵ and the short story Jadwinia [Jadwinia],¹⁶ as well as in the unfinished novel Pokolenia [Generations] (dated to 1951 or 1952), which still remains in a manuscript format.¹⁷ In each of the enumerated works, the writer's fosterling served as an artistic inspiration, a model for the character. Interestingly, let us point to the fact raised by Papieski that Kepiński as an adult also looked for literary 'inspiration' in the figure of his guardian, this yielding Kepiński's short story Uniesienie [Elation] (a variation on Iwaszkiewicz's Wzlot [Ascent]) and Marginalia, serving as a set of comments on the works by the writer from Stawisko.18

It seems, however, that the boldest attempt to 'pay back the debt' for the opportunity of having been raised in the artist's household is to be found in Kępiński's ego-documents composed of the abovementioned epistolographic corpus. This includes *Męczymy się obaj. Korespondencja z lat 1948-1980* [We Both Find it Hard. Correspondence from 1948-1980] compiled by Robert and Agnieszka Papieski in 2014 and two memoirs: *Sześćdziesiąty pierwszy* [*Nineteen Sixty-One*] (2006) and *Upragniony syn Iwaszkiewiczów* [The Long-awaited Son of the Iwaszkiewiczs] (2019). Both of the latter publications, essen-

¹³ J. Iwaszkiewicz, 'Dziewczyna i gołębie', in: *Opowiadania zebrane*, vol. II, Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 'Czytelnik', Warszawa 1969, pp. 533-594.

R. Papieski, 'Wstęp', in: Męczymy się obaj. Korespondencja z lat 1948 – 1980, comps.
 R., A. Papieski, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warszawa 2014, p. 12. See also:
 R. Papieski, 'Sierpień w lipcu', Twórczość 2009, no. 10.

¹⁵ J. Iwaszkiewicz, *Wycieczka do Sandomierza*, Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 'Czytelnik', Warszawa 1953.

¹⁶ J. Iwaszkiewicz, 'Jadwinia;, in: *Opowiadania zebrane*, vol. III, Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 'Czytelnik', Warszawa 1969, pp. 144–177.

¹⁷ More on the works with 'Kępiński in the background': R. Papieski, 'Wstęp', in: Męczymy się obaj..., pp. 10–18.

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 27.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

tially approbative of the author of *The Maidens of Wilko*, present their author's autobiography. Substantial differences can be spotted between the two where the first talks of the recollections of the Wola massacre, also containing testimonies of the witnesses to those events, and the second one is dedicated mainly to the description of Kępiński's life in Iwaszkiewicz's home. Nevertheless, both function as a very personal 'first-person' story about their author's past. Bearing in mind the interpretative potential of the 'father-son' relationship contained in Kępiński's reminiscent reports, in this paper, the main investigation subject will be the 2019 publication which, in a way, 'sums up' the writer's fosterling's reflections on his own life at Stawisko.

'THE LONG-AWAITED SON OF THE IWASZKIEWICZS'

The title given by the publisher (Prószyński i S-ka) to Kępiński's memoirs suggests that the Iwaszkiewiczs enthusiastically decided to become the boy's guardians ('long-awaited'), and as could be supposed, it heralds a happy relationship between the guardian and the boy in his custody¹⁹. However, a reader acquainted with the letters collected in *Męczymy się obaj…* already knows that their conversations usually evolved into disputes, followed by attempts at reconciliation. This paradox can be justified with the difference between the stages in life at which Kępiński was as he thought differently as a youth compared to when aged. On top of it, there is this aspect of thoughts being 'confected' (as phrased by Mikołaj Sęp-Szarzyński in his *Sonet V*), that is, being affected by the smoothing power of senile memory. Additionally, the genealogical difference between 'the younger' and 'the older' Kępiński has to be

¹⁹ The title proposed by the book author was *My Stawisko* (this is information shared by Robert Papieski, PhD, an archivist at the Museum of Anna and Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz in Stawisko). This title also suggests that Wiesław Kępiński was a kind of the writer's foster son, although his legal status was never settled. He was never (legally) adopted to live with the Iwaszkiewicz family. The only thing that can be said about that situation is the Stawisko residents secured his guardianship and conditions for development and education.

The Microarchive of Recollections. Archival Materials in Wiesław Kępiński's Ego-documents

pointed to. Letters, written 'from life, reporting live'²⁰ are generally much more emotionally charged, while memoirs are written after an elapse of time, with the person writing having much greater distance from the issues presented, also aware that the latter is being written for a bigger audience.

Kępiński's memoirs render an 'idyllic' atmosphere with Iwaszkiewcz shown in them as a being a valiant and brave man, acting as an authority. Furthermore, when reading Kępiński's reports, one cannot help feeling that he continuously re-lives the images from his childhood. The manifestation of this 'immersing' in the presented reality can be found in the author's words concluding the memoirs, *Sześćdziesiąty pierwszy*, which he addressed to himself: 'Goodbye, little Wiesio from Wola! Miraculously saved! I do hope that you have not wasted what you were given: the life and the joy that this life brings'.²¹

Knowing the correspondence, we are aware that the young boy living in the writer's house felt alienated. There is hardly any mention of it in the *Upragniony syn...*; this later story can be regarded as simplified in its plot compared to the epistolographic record published. When going through the presented story, Kępiński is ten, then twenty-three when, due to Iwaszkiewicz's connections, he is assigned a flat; he marries, and is immediately afterwards divorced. Such a brief description of the later period from the biography of the author's life contrasts with the exceptionally detailed

²⁰ S. Skwarczyńska, Teoria listu, comps. E. Feliksiak, M. Leś, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, Białystok 2016, p. 25.

²¹ W. Kępiński, *Sześćdziesiąty...*, p. 100. The author of both publications eagerly inscribes himself into an image of an exceptionally fortunate individual, which in a way interlaces with his biography: Wiesław Kępiński survived a WW II massacre, since he fled from the place where his family were executed. As he mentions during that event sixty people were murdered, that is why for his 2006 publication he nicknamed himself *The Sixty-first*. After having been put up provisionally at his sister's, it was decided that Wiesław had to find for himself a more appropriate home which would give him an opportunity for education and better development conditions. The means to accomplish this was an announcement in *Express Wieczorny* about a boy who had miraculously been saved from the massacre and would like to find a new place to live. Among others, Anna Iwaszkiewicz responded to that appeal. See R. Romaniuk, *Inne życie...*, pp. 210-214.

presentations of the days spent as a boy with Iwaszkiewicz's family. In his memoirs, Kępiński does not expose his personality traits, passions, or interests. The gaps between the events of the wedding and the divorce are filled with the descriptions of his professional activities and Iwaszkiewicz's accomplishments. It is, however, difficult to ascertain unequivocally whether this is happening based upon the author's conscious decision (since he decided to write good things only about the time he spent with Iwaszkiewicz), or because of his selective memory.

What bonds the figures of Iwaszkiewicz and Kępiński most strongly, despite their actual distance in daily life, are the fragments from the archive of the writer's fosterling. This is the issue that requires particular attention.

MICROARCHIVE: MANUSCRIPTS

The editorial advantage of the edition of the *Long-awaited Son* and of *The Sixty-first* is the meticulous care taken to ensure the legibility of the author's scanned notes. A reader can, thus, find in these books (among others) photocopies of Kępiński's diary in which he daily wrote a sentence reporting on what had happened to him at Stawisko, beginning on the day he entered that household in 1947.²² Bearing in mind that Kępiński started writing as a child, his handwriting gradually changed from a childish into a youthful one, while the notes began to look less aesthetical, becoming more 'warped', full of exclamation and question marks, probably reflecting the boy's various emotional states. The photocopies of the diary, treated metonymically with respect to the author's memory²³ in the 2019 edition, essentially contained descriptions of his life in Iwaszkiewicz's company and emotions that accompanied encounters with Stawisko famous guests. In the recollections from

²² W. Kępiński, Upragniony syn..., pp. 91-94.

²³ See 'Every so often I look into my memory: notebook [emphasis by Magdalena Krzyżanowska] in order to pick out the most interesting moments'. W. Kępiński, Sześćdziesiąty pierwszy..., p. 92. On treating memory as a prop also in D. Draaisma, Machina metafor. Historia pamięci, trans. R. Pucek, Wydawnictwo Aletheia, Warszawa 2011, p. 74.

The Microarchive of Recollections. Archival Materials in Wiesław Kępiński's Ego-documents

2006, Kępiński added what else could be found in his youthful records:

When I was already at Stawisko I started filling in a notebook in which I pasted various coloured photos from papers: painting, sculpture, and others, but also with a malice aforethought and satisfaction photos of the execution of different concentration camp commandants (women included). In them you can see lorries with the tailgate lowered, with their back to the gallows. Convicts sit on stools in those lorries. A noose is put over the head, the lorry moves away...²⁴

The above quote says a good deal about the selection of archival materials Kępiński decided to adopt when publishing his memoirs. While in *Sześćdziesiąty pierwszy* from 2006, Kępiński publicized the whole content of his notebooks, in the 2019 book, he limits this knowledge claiming that his childhood notes oscillated exclusively around his life at Stawisko. It can be thus supposed that he wanted to detach himself from past traumatic events. This continuous communing with the archive he collected seems to close him up in a loop of autoreferentiality, oscillating mainly around the experience of the trauma and loss.²⁵ In other words, the archive he amassed, as Katarzyna Szalewska remarks:

... does not fulfil its promises: it does not prevent from destruction, oblivion, it is too random and too vast to be able to provide a reply. Loss is hidden in the unordered archival collection: the archive contains everything and nothing at the same time, in itself becoming a synonym of melancholic loss. [...] In this understanding the archive constitutes space of the loss accumulation: it does not guarantee the reaching of the melancholy source, it only exacerbates the very desire.²⁶

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 47.

²⁵ Additionally, it is worth paying attention to the aspect which K. Szalewska phrased as follows: '[...] the autobiographic subject also becomes an archive of their own traumas and personal losses, carrying inside their own and family story, either imagined or narrated'. (K. Szalewska, *Topo-grafie archiwum...*, p. 258). Kępiński thus through the continuous communing with Iwaszkiewicz's archive internalizes it, himself becoming an 'archive' of his own experience, saturated with the testimonies to the contacts with the writer whose personality moulded him.

²⁶ Ibidem p. 254.

MICROARCHIVE: (NON)VERNACULAR PHOTOGRAPHS

The desire for self-cognition and bringing Iwaszkiewicz closer is fulfilled in the Long-awaited Son... by Kepiński collecting his guardian's photos. The reader may find it surprising that the story dedicated to Kepiński's childhood carries photos of Iwaszkiewicz as an aged individual, taken in various formal situations (e.g., when the poet was receiving decorations or at work). The writer's photos, the posed and formal ones, accompany the stories of his fosterling and deal with his school adventures. This makes them appear as being out of chronological order to the reader as, for example, the photos from the 1960s describe the emotions the boy felt in the 1940s. This can be considered an interesting issue for further interpretation, since a family photo is usually 'homely', forming the family *lingua* franca presenting (most often chronologically) a coherent story of its members. ²⁷ In the case of Kępiński sharing private photos, we have to do deal with the problem with the afore-mentioned vernacularity: private photos are exposed for viewing by individuals who do not come from his family, and who thus do not have a 'common language' with him, and who are detached from the story narrated in the text. ²⁸ What can be judged as another interesting approach is the juxtaposition of the ennobling photos of Kepiński's guardian with the story about his own childhood. The comparison of photographs and written text makes one recall the reflection once written down by Wojciech Śmieja with respect to Tomasz Jastrun's volumes of poetry and feature columns.

It goes without saying that photos serve to objectivize and give credibility to their content which is by definition extremely subjective. There are merely several photos in this collection, and

²⁷ A. Mazela, 'Kolekcjonując cudze wspomnienia. Granice wernakularności fotografii rodzinnych'. Kultura Współczesna, 2015, no. 3, pp. 123-141.

^{28 &#}x27;Pulling family photographs out of the context and not allowing to complement stories, significantly impoverished their content, to the extent of even impeding and changing their interpretation. A family photograph allows a trip into the past, to specific moments and places, in space [...] For a stranger who enters the world of a given family without any knowledge of the individuals shown in the photo, this trip is not possible'. Ibidem, p. 136.

they were meticulously selected. In the photos we see people who are unquestioned authorities: Astrid Lindgren, Czesław Miłosz, Wisława Szymborska, Sławomir Mrożek, and others. The photographs that are particularly interesting to us (namely those illustrating the fatherson relation) appear surrounded by the 'photos with authorities'; it can be supposed that such a selection of photographs has its defined rhetoric purpose: the impact of his authority the writer first consolidates showing himself with celebrities, and subsequently uses forcing his vision of fatherhood.²⁹

Jastrun's aspiration to reach such a 'rhetoric goal' signals, according to Śmieja, the 'calculated and measured author's presence in the text'.³⁰ Official photographs, next to the photos of the poet with the child, are meant to ennoble parenthood as a practice equally important to that of fulfilling the role of a representative of the world of literature. In the case of Kępiński's story, a similar phenomenon, though not identical, can be observed where there exists no piece of Iwaszkiewicz's writing in which the writer tries to present himself to the public both as an important diplomat and writer, as well as a father. As seen in the context of the *Upragniony syn...* and *Sześćdziesiąty pierwszy*, we can sooner speak about the fact that the foster 'son' wants to present to the public his relationship with the writer as being meaningful. The photographs were, therefore, meant to boost in the readers' perception of the importance of the poet's story as the boy's tutor.³¹

The juxtaposition of 'serious' photographs of Iwaszkiewicz with humorous stories from Kępiński's childhood was intended to bring

²⁹ W. Śmieja, 'Zapisać ojcostwo (Tomasz Jastrun, Jacek Podsiadło)', Autobiografia, 2015, no. 1, p. 75.

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 76.

³¹ A father-tutor, adviser, authority.... The images with which Kępiński shows Iwaszkiewicz can be regarded as so-called father's phantasms which exist more in the head of the writer's fosterling than in the reality concerning the writer. The described phenomenon is defined by Magdalena Wasąg as 'a peculiar imagination scenario which sons implement, while the main role in them is played by the father. Quite often this borderline blurs between where the son father ends and where the son begins.' See M. Wasąg, W cieniu ojca. Awangarda prozatorska lat 30. XX wieku. Rudnicki, Napierski, Schulz, Tarn, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2019, p. 16.

the foster 'father' 'closer', and maybe, even to 'domesticate' him. This would thus not only legitimize the 'father-son' relationship in the readers' eyes but it would also attempt to describe the writer, for Kepiński's own sake, as his own memento. The photos of the writer (or with the writer) attached to the life story of Kępiński would then aim to boost his own role in the writer's life.³² They were also characterized by a certain attempt to 'conserve' the recollections, holding onto the images of the photographed individuals who had already passed away.

Interestingly, the 'formal' photos were accompanied by the photos of Stawisko shot by Kępiński himself. Their incorporation into his visual story can be interpreted as an attempt to remember the writer's house in harmony with the images fixed previously in the memoirs. The attempt to return to early years in life, was also expressed by Iwaszkiewicz's foster 'son' in one of his epistolary requests:

I'd love so much all of this, as it is, to exist forever. I would like again to have my room upstairs, the pigeons, the desk in which everything would be neatly arranged. [...] It would be good to live here together again. I would live the illusion that things are as they were before.³³

EMPTY SPOTS AND MELANCHOLY

Kępiński's microarchive is strictly focused around Iwaszkiewicz. Its author even started a separate notebook into which he pasted newspaper clippings dedicated to his guardian, faithfully following his literary and political endeavours. Despite the fact that archival materials constitute almost a third of the book, they are

33 J. Iwaszkiewicz, W. Kępiński, Męczymy się obaj..., p. 585.

³² We also need to point to the format in which the letters of Iwaszkiewicz and Kępiński were edited. The corpus of the correspondence between the guardian and his fosterling has the same graphic layout as the writer's letters to his daughters. Although this might seem an unimportant issue, uniformizing of both editions provokes the reflection on the importance of the boy's presence in the writer's life. Although to-date a multitude of Iwaszkiewicz's letters have been published, each, even if released by the same publisher has a different layout: only the letters to the writer's daughters and the 'foster son' look identical. A reader unfamiliar with Iwaszkiewicz's history may thus think that the epistolography with Kępiński ranks among the family series, of the siblings.

not always commented on. Next to Kępiński's archival documents from his childhood appear his statements from the times when he recalls his youth. In effect, the manuscript photocopies from the author's notebook remain undiscussed, they function as if independently. The lack of any comment by the author of *The Sixty-first* on his earlier statements can be understood as a proof of the incapacity of the grown-up person writing the memoirs to distance from his old self. In his narrative, the layer of perceiving the world by a child and a mature person mix, and actually (from the reader's perspective) it remains unknown when the author of the memoirs goes through his adolescence.

The archival materials discussed by Kępiński are the reprints from his childhood letters to his guardian. Importantly, they feature his self-depreciative remarks concentrating on; 'I was such a pea-brain then', and 'I made mistakes when writing'³⁴ (despite being 9 when he was writing and his school education requiring substantial rounding up). The negative judgement of the letters expresses the undertone of the writer's memoirs: Iwaszkiewicz is always exalted, and his fosterling criticized, mainly by himself. If we were, however, to decide that the author's narrative is not objective by observing that he tries to give a 'nicer' undertone to his memoirs, one could ask why he inserted the depressing moments, inciting the need for self-criticism. Could this imply the complications brought about by his lack of educational background in comparison to the well-rounded Stawisko residents? Or maybe this was the impression of 'insufficiency' towards the guardian's expectations, which 'concentrated on three goals: the need to take care of the boy's education, and to appropriately mould his character, and equip him with the capacity to communicate with other people'? ³⁵ As a result, the memoir's protagonist criticizes himself although he could have easily adopted a distanced attitude towards

35 R. Papieski, 'Wstęp', in: Męczymy się obaj..., p. 7.

³⁴ Ibidem, p. 156.

his guardian's decisions and acts.³⁶ These self-accusations are regarded by Marek Bieńczyk as a melancholic feature, resulting from the sense of loss, perhaps, of a good relationship with his guardian or of intimacy, as described here:

[Melancholics – M.K.] in experiencing self-accusations and selftormenting usually redirect on themselves the reproaches addressed to the lost object of affection, and this negative, destructive equalling of libido with the loss, this narcistic absorption of the object and turning oneself into its substitute, casting the object's shadow over oneself, constitutes the basic mechanism which changes the loss of the object into a loss occurring inside one's own 'self'.³⁷

Despite the private 'ups and downs', seventy-year-old Kępiński does not decide to honestly revise his own relations with the writer. His books are predominantly dedicated to how he would like to recall Iwaszkiewicz. He, thus, communes more with the 'screen memory' (a certain vision of what his past childhood looked like), and not so much with the attempt to verify the remembered facts.³⁸ In his publications, it is hard to find information on the quarrels the two men had, on the feeling of not being understood, and on the reproaches related to financial issues. Keeping up to the expectations of him as a 'long-awaited' son, Kępiński does not tackle any problematic issues which are the elements common in their biography. Therefore, he does not recall the unpleasant situation which they both suffered during their holiday together in Sopot,

³⁶ Interestingly, when reading Iwaszkiewicz's correspondence with other addressees, the writer's attitude to Kępiński, undertoned with sorrow, can be found: 'looking at Wiesław whose life I devastated with the bourgeois whim to bring up a foster son [emphasis by J.I], is there any room for a talk, for friendship. See A., J. Iwaszkiewiczowie, J. Lisowski, *Listy 1947–1979*, comps. R., A. Papiescy, Wydawnictwo Akademickie SEDNO, Warszawa 2020, p. 351.

³⁷ M. Bieńczyk, Melancholia: o tych, co nigdy nie odnajdą straty, Wydawnictwo Świat Książki, Warszawa 2014, p. 24. As the Author adds, the feeling of loss is often so overwhelming that melancholics 'never free themselves from the experience' (p. 16). Bieńczyk's statement can also be referred to Kępiński's experience.

³⁸ P. Lejeune, 'Miraże dzieciństwa', trans. R. Lubas-Bartoszyńska, in: Idem: Wariacje na temat pewnego paktu. O autobiografii, trans. W. Grajewski, S. Jaworski, A. Labuda, R. Lubas-Bartoszyńska, Wydawnictwo Universitas, Kraków 2007, p. 238.

when the writer's foster 'son' was mistaken by Anna Kowalska, Polish writer for Iwaszkiewicz's lover. Neither does he speak of the visit paid to Stawisko by Jerzy Błeszynski, Iwaszkiewicz's sexual partner, and Kępiński's peer. This happened when Kępiński was already an adult and he was frequently interrogated by strangers about his foster 'father's' intimate life.³⁹ When tackling selected challenging issues, Kępiński would most likely not have said anything new, perhaps because these have already been well documented by contemporary biographers. However, such reflection would certainly contribute to exposing the writer's foster 'son's' emotions, the challenges he had to face, whether all this had any impact on his perception of Iwaszkiewicz. For instance, whether this made him more tolerant, or, contrariwise, more conservative regarding the writer's private matters.

Furthermore, Kępiński does not tackle the motif of living together under one roof in Iwaszkiewicz's household with the poet's daughters Maria and Teresa Iwaszkiewicz. As far as it can be judged from the memoirs of Maria, author of *Z moim ojcem o jedzeniu* [With My Father on Food], it is known that their relation was conflictfree. Contrariwise, they might have been on quite friendly terms, possibly because when Kępiński arrived at Stawisko at the age of 14, the girls were already in their twenties, and had their own company.⁴⁰ In this respect, too, the reader is deprived of the chance of becoming acquainted with Kępiński's opinions and emotions. It is, therefore, unknown, whether the presence of the writer's older children in any way affected the alienation the young man could have felt, and whether he felt the urge to compete with his guardian's daughters for the writer's attention.

Thus, the image of Iwaszkiewicz in the recollections of his fosterling is gentle and conciliatory, and one could even say, kind to

³⁹ These motifs are also tackled by Anna Król, See Spotkać Iwaszkiewicza. Nie-biografia, comp. A. Król, Wydawnictwo Wilk&Król, Warszawa 2014, s. 38.

⁴⁰ Although the figure of Kępiński appears in the letters of Iwaszkiewicz to Maria Iwaszkiewicz and Teresa Markowska, see J. Iwaszkiewicz, *Listy do córek*, comps. A., R. Romaniukowie, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warszawa 2009, p. 93.

the artist who had already passed away. It is likely that Kępiński assumed that due to his gratitude to the writer, he would not touch on those (and many similar) questionable issues of the life they shared, but that he would leave to the generations to come an orderly picture of his relations with Iwaszkiewicz. However, this suggests that his recollections are a sort of fantasy regarding their 'father-son' relationship, and not a report on its actual state. ⁴¹

The numerous archival pieces, not commented on, and sometimes 'scattered' across the pages of a private narrative force the reader to seek a key which would help interpret the album recollections of its author. It is our belief that the answer is hinted at by another owner of a micro-archive, the artist Alessandra Violi, who in the *Lexicon for an Affective Archive* presented her work consisting of an attempt at fitting the memory of a beloved person (her deceased mother) in one box. ⁴² The author of *the Boxes*, having gathered various sentimentally marked objects that had belonged to her mother, wrote the following:

Maybe the fact that I inserted one archive inside the other was an exchange of gifts, since I cannot truly say whether the box with things [...] was for you, or for myself staging in my memory your death as a theatre with endless shows and affective animations.⁴³

Violi's reflection, thus, concentrates on the private archive as a gift: for herself and for a beloved person whose image is preserved in the family collection. The particularly interesting aspect is connected, in a way, with her performing the archive, animating it. She refers to the latter thought in the following:

This is how I have found out that boxes do not serve to keep objects that belong to our deceased: the spirits, but to blur the time. Just like your old hat box which now contains your archive, my affective

⁴¹ More on how this relationship could be perceived by Iwaszkiewicz, see R. Romaniuk: *Inne życie...*, pp. 275–282.

⁴² A. Violi, 'Boxes', trans. M. Kositorny, in: Leksykon archiwum afektywnego, eds. M. Pustianaz, G. Palladini, trans. K. Tórz, Wydawnictwo Słowo/obraz terytoria, Gdańsk 2015, pp. 25–27.

⁴³ A. Violi, Boxes..., p. 25.

processes do not come from the past or from the present. They stick out from the order (archive), inhabiting the transfer space \dots ⁴⁴

Kępiński's archive 'transfer space' found its use in his private story of Iwaszkiewicz in which he recalls facts - for his own and the readers' sake at his discretion. On the other hand, it may be a study of his own private microarchive, unreliable memory, and the wish to remain within the sphere of childhood (or incapacity to leave it because of a trauma). This collection is composed both of documents and concealments concerning the difficult relationship with his foster 'father', and the complications or the feeling of alienation in the family of, essentially, strangers.

CONCLUSION

Wiesław Kępiński's ego-documents (and particularly their last publication issued in 2019) testify to the long-term impact that Iwaszkiewicz had on the life of the author. Out of the writer's photos, his own childhood notes, and drawings, Kępiński composes his microarchive - an alternative to the official collections dedicated to the artist. His publications, saturated with the wish to bring closer a 'distanced' Iwaszkiewicz, are an attempt at 'meeting with' the (no longer present) writer-guardian. Although such an encounter would be possible, through an archive, only after Iwaszkiewicz's death, would composing his own 'box' with recollections mean that Kępiński would not be rejected by his foster 'father'?

The story of Iwaszkiewicz's fosterling, trapped in his own microarchive, keeps Kępiński in his vision of childhood. From the selection of archival materials made by Kępiński, it would seem that he had not worked through his war trauma (or the trauma of being neglected or unadjusted to the 'intelligentsia' household of the artist), which he might continue to be unable to do while staying within the circle of his own archival records and recollections. Therefore, in his books, he constructs his own archive, for his and Iwaszkiewicz's sake, in an attempt to bring the latter

44 Ibidem, p. 26.

closer to himself and to refill the void of Iwaszkiewicz's absence (or lack of intimacy) in his life. The good 'puff' he gives to the writer is an attempt at winning the writer's approval. Kępinski's attitude to Iwaszkiewicz can be considered as panegyrical, at his own expense. The story built of archival records by the writer's fosterling does not aim at revising his relationship with the artist, nor to find answers to the questions that bothered him with respect to their relationship, and so, it does not show Iwaszkiewicz in a different light than the idealizing one. An alternative to this image would thus be the one emerging from their correspondence or written biographies (e.g., the one by Radosław Romaniuk).

Another issue already mentioned is the feeling of melancholy which accompanies the author of the memoir in the course of communing with the immense collection of archival records and creating his own private archive. Following the example of Marek Bieńczyk's work, this feeling could spring from a feeling of loss.⁴⁵ Kępiński's notes and archival compositions can be interpreted as

... the desire to find the source (also as the beginning and authenticity), thus a promise of closing up the trauma which inaugurated it by revealing the secret which remained hidden in it or finding the fact which (for an inexplicable reason) was lost or disappeared.⁴⁶

The above-mentioned desire inserted in Bartosz Dąbrowski's statement (called an 'archive fever' by Jacques Derrida)⁴⁷ is, in

⁴⁵ This is only one of the interpretations of the origin of melancholy based on Sigismund Freud's theory. This is also what P. Dybel and K. Dzika-Jurek write about. See P. Dybel, Przemijalność piękna i melancholia Freuda. *Teksty Drugie*, 1999, no. 3, pp. 17-31; K. Dzika-Jurek, *Problem ciężaru. Melancholia w twórczości Magdaleny Tulli*, doctoral dissertation under Prof. E. Dutka defended in 2014 at the University of Silesia in Katowice, see pp. 20-38: https://sbc.org.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?show-Content=true&id=139135 [accessed 7 May 2022].

⁴⁶ B. Dąbrowski, 'Przypadłość archiwum. Fikcja dokumentu w narracjach o zagładzie (Mieczysław Abramowicz, Każdy przyniósł, co miał najlepszego), in: Narracje po końcu wielkich narracji: kolekcje, obiekty, symulakra, eds. H. Gosk, A. Zieniewicz, Wydawnictwo Elipsa, Warszawa 2007, pp. 246-247.

⁴⁷ J. Derrida, Gorączka archiwum. Impresja Freudowska, trans. J. Momro, Wydawnictwo IBL PAN, Warszawa 2016, p. 11.

turn, treated by Katarzyna Szalewska as a symptom of an inherited disease which is sharing information on a traumatic 'thus remaining within the tabu sphere, therefore non-articulated [...] past of the ancestors'.⁴⁸ Indeed, it may be so that the greatest loss causing melancholy in Kępiński's archives is the fact that Iwaszkiewicz did not speak about himself, that he talked to his foster 'son' with reproach, and with grudge. The numerous archival records provided by Kępiński and composed into a *decoupage* on the recognizable foster 'father' testify mainly to the impossibility to talk to him, and the attempt to imagine him, bring him closer.

Therefore, Kępiński's documents can be classified under the *l'écriture mélancolique* heading.⁴⁹ Only on the surface do they seem to explore the motifs omitted in Iwaszkiewicz's biography - in reality, they constitute mainly a series of anecdotes which reiterate the writer's image as that of the head of the family, an individual devoted to his loved ones. The reminiscences of the author of the *Upragniony syn Iwaszkiewiczów* aim at 'out-talking' the unfamiliarity with the writer, bringing the writer closer to him, 'meeting with him'. The ego-documents signed with the first and family names of the Iwaszkiewiczs' fosterling rarely reveal their author's emotions and artefacts, and they omit the descriptions of essential experiences that bond him to the writer. In other words, while responding to the unsaid in Iwaszkiewicz' story, Kępiński creates new oblique elements, treating himself instrumentally versus the biography of 'the great writer and his family'.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

48 K. Szalewska, Topo-grafie archiwum..., p. 259.

49 M. Bieńczyk, Melancholia. O tych, co nigdy nie odnajdą straty..., p. 36.



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as it is a set **REVIEWS AND MATERIALS**

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THE CENTRAL SCIENTIFIC LIBRARY OF THE KARAZIN KHARKIV NATIONAL UNIVERSITY UNDER RUSSIAN ATTACK DOI: 10.36155/PLib.10.000011

ABSTRACT

This communication presents the damage of Ukrainian national library heritage resulting from the invasion of Ukraine carried out by Russia since February 2022 and lists the important facilities and priceless collections that are still in severe danger because of the Russian attacks. The text is illustrated with photographs documenting the scale of destruction.

KEYWORDS: librocide, bibliocide, Central Scientific Library of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Russian aggression on Ukraine

A TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY WAR

On the morning of February 24, 2022, Vladimir Putin's troops launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine. So began a war – a war that should never have happened in the 21st century. As a result of the barbaric rocket attacks, air strikes and shelling of Ukrainian cities, civilians, including women and children, are being killed and residential buildings, schools, universities and architectural monuments destroyed. This is not just a war crime – it is a genocide of the Ukrainian people and a crime against humanity.

The Ukrainian city of Kharkiv, located 40 km from the Russian border, is the intellectual capital of Ukraine, a city of universities and talented, creative, freedom-loving people. In just one month of war, more than one and a half thousand buildings have been destroyed in Kharkiv alone: 1,292 residential buildings, 76 schools, 54 kindergartens, 15 hospitals and 239 administrative buildings.

As a result of the Russian aggression against the Ukrainian people, Karazin University, founded in 1804, is being ruthlessly destroyed. Day-to-day shelling has damaged or destroyed all the University's buildings: the Main and the Northern buildings, the building of the School of Physics and Technology, the Karazinsky Sports Complex (destroyed by a direct hit), student dormitories, the University Clinic, the Museum of Nature and the historical building of the Central Scientific Library. The buildings where the university professors and staff reside are located in areas subject to constant severe shelling, where they are being damaged and becoming increasingly unfit for habitation.

On the second day of the Russian invasion, the building of the **School of Physics and Technology** on Akademika Kurchatova Avenue 31, in the Piatykhatky area close to the Russian border, was damaged. This is one of four physics and related faculties that specialise in nuclear physics. The façade was damaged and the rooms inside suffered fire damage. The School's library contains 80,000 books on its specialist area.

On March 1, 2022 at 8 a.m. Russian aggressors bombed Maidan Svobody (Freedom Square) in the centre of Kharkiv. The explosion and following shock wave damaged two university buildings, blowing out the windows of the façade.

The Central Scientific Library is located in the Main building of the University, its book depository, reading rooms and library cards on the first floor and the seventh to fourteenth floors. The Library has two and a half million items of scientific literature, doctoral theses, periodicals, literary works (including 19thcentury foreign language works), textbooks, documents and microforms.



FIG. 1. The Karazin University School of Business, affected by the war / 30.03.2022 / Photo Viktoriya Yakymenko

The shock wave damaged or blew out completely a large number of windows The electricity, heating and water supply systems were also partially damaged, resulting in destruction of the heating pipes. As a result of leaks from the pipes, the central book depository, the reading rooms with their book stores and the computers were flooded and buried under pieces of the damaged ceiling. In addition, there is the extremely dangerous issue of mould and fungus.

On March 2, 2022 a direct missile strike on the university building in Myronosytska Street destroyed the building of Karazin University where the Economics Faculty and Karazin Business School were based. The building was completely destroyed.

On March 2, 2022, in another missile strike on the Maidan Konstytutsii (Constitution Square), rockets hit Palats Pratsi (the Palace of Labour), the Dormition Cathedral (one of the oldest cathedrals in Kharkiv, founded in 1657) was shelled and the historical building of the Karazin University Library and St. Antony's University Church were damaged. A hundred windows were blown out, the book depositories were covered with shattered glass and internal doors were destroyed. The furniture, which was original, was damaged. As a result of the destruction of the windows, the temperature and humidity levels of the book depository, which holds a collection of unique publications, were compromised. Based on a preliminary inspection, the valuable book collections stored in this building appear to have been damaged by fragments of shells, shattered glass from windows and pieces of broken window frames and furniture. The water pipes have been destroyed, and with them the heating system. Given the weather conditions (frost, snow and rain coming in through the broken windows), the temperature and humidity fluctuations will strongly influence the preservation of the collections and could lead to mould and fungus. There is still a threat of new shelling. The building, which is an architectural monument, is in need of restoration. The interior decorations need to be assessed for damage and restored, including the unique stained-glass windows which were almost completely destroyed. The windows, which have unique frames, also need to be restored.

On March 18,2022 a missile strike resulted in partial destruction of the Karazin University Institute in the State Administration building. Its library contains 80,000 volumes. The building is now in need of major repairs, restoration of the façade, new roofing and new windows. Currently it is impossible to assess the overall state of the collection and the damaged it has suffered.

The Central Scientific Library of the V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University is one of the oldest and biggest libraries in the east of Ukraine. It has a total area of 10,164 m², including:

- Depositories (7,309.5 m²)
- Customer service area (1,123.3 m²)

Since February 24, 2022 the city of Kharkiv has been under round-the-clock shelling. Russian missile strikes have resulted in large-scale fires. Fighting is taking place near Kharkiv, and it is currently impossible to assess and document the damage due to the highly dangerous situation.

Ukrainian cultural heritage is under threat. Measures aimed at assessing the true state of the buildings' façades, interiors, book



FIG. 2. Institute of Public Administration of Karazin University, affected by the war / 30.03.2022 / Photo Viktoriya Yakymenko



FIG. 3. TThe library of the Karazin University, which suffered from the war. Photo by Victoria Yakymenko





FIG.4. The Karazinsky Library, which was damaged by the war. Photo by Iryna Zhuravlyova

collections and facilities for the maintenance, preservation and use of the collections will only be possible once the situation in Kharkiv stabilises and military activity ends.

The Ministry of Culture and Information Policy of Ukraine records online all war crimes against the Ukrainian cultural heritage committed by Russian troops. As of October 2022, 500 objects of Ukrainian cultural heritage were damaged or completely destroyed, and this number is increasing with each Russian missile fired reaching Ukrainian cities and villages.

The Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine created an interactive map *Education under Threat* to track the destruction caused to Ukrainian educational institutions as a result of Russia's aggression on Ukraine.



FIG.5. Historical building of the library. Photo by Vyacheslav Litvinov

It is not currently possible to assess the level of damage, destruction and loss of premises, collections, technical facilities and furniture, as Kharkiv and the Kharkiv Oblast remain in the combat zone. The following are just some examples of the damage and destruction caused:

1. Main building of the Library,

- Damaged and destroyed windows
- Destroyed ceiling in book depositories and reading rooms
- Disrupted water supply
- Books damaged with water (to be removed from the Library)
- Disrupted heating system
- Breakdown of temperature-humidity controls, resulting in mould on walls and books
- Partially destroyed computers in reading rooms and departments

2. Historical building of the Library,

- Damaged and destroyed windows (approximately 100)
- Destroyed heating system, damaged water pipes and radiators (100 radiators)

- Valuable book collections in the building damaged by shell fragments, shattered glass from windows and fragments of broken window frames and furniture as a result of a missile attack
- Risk of mould on walls and rare books due to breakdown of temperature and humidity controls. Need for antifungal treatment of the basement, book depository walls and reading rooms
- Damaged interior doors
- Destroyed stained-glass windows

3. The building of the School of Physics and Technology, needs major repairs, restoration of the façade, new roofing and new windows. It is not currently possible to assess the overall state of the collection and the premises and the damage to them.

4. The building of the Educational and Scientific Institute of the State Administration. It is not currently possible to assess the overall state of the collection and the premises and the damage to them.

Damages caused to the Karazin University by Russian aggressors amount to approximately 100 million euros. In order to support the university during the war and facilitate its rapid reconstruction, the Kharkiv Karazin University Foundation was established. Its purpose is to help the academic community preserve the intellectual potential of Ukraine and rebuild the university's infrastructure. Funds will be raised to provide humanitarian aid and carry out digitization , including the creation of a university data cente ensurin safe space for students and university staff.

The preservation of library collections and buildings needs financial and material support. The first aid came in May from the Centre for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage of Ukraine through the National Library of Poland in Warsaw and the Smithsonian Cultural Rescue Initiative (SCRI), a complex of cultural, educational and scientific U.S. institutions that works with the government of Ukraine to help protect Ukrainian cultural heritage. The Library of Karazin University opened on January 30, 1805, two days after the Imperial University of Kharkiv was opened at the initiative of the prominent citizen, scientist and educator of the first half of the 19th century Vasyl Nazarovych Karazin (1773-1842). At the first meeting of the University Council, the French Professor Jacques Nicolas Belin de Ballu (1753-1815) was elected the first Librarian of the University Library.

The rare books collection of the Library is of great value for academics and researchers, be they historians, culture scholars, philologists or ethnographers. It is one of the biggest collections of any Ukrainian university library and has supplied a basis for many modern academic works. It is used not only by academics in Kharkiv but also by experts from various Ukrainian cities and from abroad.

In 1824 one of the first systematic printed catalogues in Ukraine was published, the "Catalogus Librorum Bibliotecae Caesareas Universitatis Literum Charcoviensis" (Catalogue of Books of the Imperial University of Kharkiv, Kharkiv, 1824), compiled by the Rector of the University, Vasyl Yakovych Dzhunkovskyi (1767–1826). The catalogue describes a collection of 16,781 items.

At the end of the 19th century the Library's collection comprised 150,000 books.

During World War II the area where the University Library was located was in occupied territory. As a result the Library lost over 60,000 academic books, periodicals, maps and related items. The total value of these losses was two million karbovantsi, according to the Nuremberg Trials (1945-1946).

In 1955, in honour of the 150th anniversary of the University's founding, the building of the House of Projects, restored after the War, was given to Kharkiv University. On September 7, 1963 the Library started operating on nine stories of the new Main building of the University on Maidan Svobody (Freedom Square).

Rare and valuable publications are stored in the historical building of the Centrali Scientific Library. A unique part of the Library's collection, comprising 581,150 items – the earliest being a Greek manuscript of the 12th century – are housed in the Rare and Valuable Books and Manuscripts Department in the historical building of the Library. The Rare Books Collection is listed on the **State Register of Scientific Objects of Ukraine with National Asset status** (by decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 650-r of August 28, 2013). The most valuable part of the Rare Books Collection consists of almost **85,000 items**, including manuscripts, handwritten books, 12th-20th century archives (2,000 items), 15th-18th century early printed works (34,000 items), 19th-20th century rare and valuable publications, including private libraries (24,000 items), and the 17-20th century periodicals collection, including magazines (14,600 items) and newspapers (10,400 items).

The manuscripts collection has been gradually built up throughout the entire existence of the Library. The documents it contains are unique written and cultural items of great historical and cultural value. Most of the texts in the handwritten collections were never printed, so many important Ukrainian written works are only preserved in these manuscripts.

The oldest Slavic handwritten book is a **15th-century Irmologion** – a collection of songs of praise for feasts and saints. Another unique item is the **1534** *Travnyk* **from the library of Ivan the Terrible**, which is the first herbarium from a German incunable in translation. The collection of handwritten books also includes official documents by state officials, institutions and organisations (decrees, universals, charters, orders, statutes, certificates, metric books and so on). Among them are universals of Hetman Ivan Mazepa from 1687 and 1704; decrees personally signed by Catherine the Great, Paul I, Alexander I and Napoleon Bonaparte; decrees on parchment signed by the French kings Louis XIV, Louis XV, Louis XVI and Henry IV; letters by Ivan Franko, Mykhailo Kotsiubynskyi and Mykola Kostomarov; and so on. The Central Scientific Library's **collection of incunables** includes works only a few copies of which exist worldwide. The oldest include *The Mirror of Nature* by the French scientist and Dominican friar Vincent of Beauvais (Vicentius Bellovacensis. Speculum naturale. Argentorati, 1473–76), Aristotle's *On Animals* (Aristoteles, *De animalibus*, Venezia, 1476) and Euclid's *The Elements* (Euclides, *Elementa*, Venezia, 1482), where for the first time gold was used in the printing of a book. The Dominican Albertus Magnus's work *On Animals* (Albertus Magnus, *De animalibus*, Mantova, 1479) is considered extremely rare. One of the most highly illustrated incunables is *The Nuremberg Chronicle* by Hartmann Schedel (Schedel Hartmann, *Liber chronicarum*, Nürnberg, 1493).

The collection of **books printed in Europe** (330 items) include works by prominent figures such as Albrecht Dürer, Martin Luther, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Philip Melanchthon and others, published in their authors' lifetime.

The collection of publications by **prominent 16th-18th century Western European typographers** includes works published by the Aldine Press, Elsevier, the Estiennes, Plantin and Foben.

The collection of 16th-18th century **books printed in Cyrillic** includes five copies of books published by the first Russian printer, Ivan Fedorov, among them *Apostolos* (Lviv, 1574) and the Bible (Ostrog, 1581), books by the Ukrainian typographers Mykhailo Sliozka, Fedir Balaban and Spyrydon Sobol, books published by the printing houses of the Lviv and Vilnius-based fraternities, by the Ostroh, Kuteinsk, Novhorod-Siverskyi and Chernihiv printing houses, by the printing houses of Maksym Voshanka in Mohyliv and others.

The Library is also home to a collection that is unique in Ukraine: **publications by the Kharkiv University printing house**, which contains over 2,500 copies of works from before 1917. The Kharkiv University printing house was partly responsible for the development of Ukrainian journalism: university professors and students were the initiators, authors, editors and publishers of the first Ukrainian newspapers, magazines and almanacs – the Kharkiv Weekly (1812), Kharkiv Democritus (1816), Ukraiinskyi Visnyk (the Ukrainian Herald, 1816-19), the Ukrainian Journal (1823-25) and Molodyk (New Moon, 1843-44).

The Central Scientific Library has also preserved the books of the **Kharkiv Collegium**, the first educational institution in the east of Ukraine. The collection includes over 300 works by Stefan Yavorsky (1658–1722), a well-known religious figure of the late 17th, early 18th century, whose library was for many years considered lost.

The largest collection of **early printed Ukrainian works in Cyrillic** includes publications by the printing house of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, including Pamvo Berynda's Lexicon (1627), the Kiev-Pechersk Paterikon (1678), the Synopsis by Innokentiy Gizel (1680) and the 1659 Decree of His Royal Highness for the Zaporozhian Cossack Army (1660). Ukraine only has two copies of the *Collection of the Most Necessary Things* by Timothy Mykhaylovych (Ostroh, 1580), one of which is in the Central Scientific Library. The 1628 Psalter (Kyiv, Tymofii Verbytskyi printing house) is little known among bibliographers and probably the only surviving copy in the world.

The Ukrainian renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s is represented by a large collection of periodicals, including Literary Fair (1928-1930), *Nova Generatsiia* (New Generation, 1927-1930), *Chervony Shliach* (1923-1936), *Hart* (1927-1932), *Vsesvit* (Universe, 1925-1934) and works by members of the Ukrainian Executed Renaissance published in their lifetime.

Polish was the first Slavic language taught at Kharkiv University. In 1818 at the initiative of the University's curator Seweryn Potocki, the Department of Polish Language was opened in the Faculty of History and Philology. The founding of the Department contributed to further additions to the collection of rare Polish publications. It is worth mentioning that prominent academics and public figures of Polish origin studied and worked at Kharkiv University. For example, the future Marshal of Poland, prominent statesman and politician and the first leader of the Second Polish Republic **Józef Klemens Pilsudski** (1867-1935) studied at the University.

The Polish collection of rare books consists of 400 copies of 375 different works published on the territory of modern-day Poland

in Polish or other languages, and published outside the country in Polish. It also includes publications by Polish authors printed in different languages in various cities across Europe. The oldest publication in it, dated 1554, is *Prognosticon astrologicum in Ecclipsim futuram Lunae, praesentis...*, Cracoviae: Marc Scharfenberger, 1554.

The collection includes sermons and related literature by Polish authors and books of the Holy Scriptures. Among the books on theology are works by prominent religious figures, preachers and writers such as Jakub Wujek (1540-79), Piotr Skarga (1536-1612), Joannicjusz Galatowski (1620-88) and Lazar Baranovych (1593-1693).

Also worthy of mention is Jan Bielski's (1714–68) *Widok Krolestwa Polskiego*, published in 1763 in Poznań.

The collection further contains a book by Piotr Skarga (Skarga, Piotr. Żywoty świętych Starego i Nowego Zakonu, Kraków, Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, [after 21 June] 1585) and Cesare Baronio's Church History, published in 1695 in Kalisz by Jan Kwiatkiewicz (Baronio, Cesare, Roczne Dzieie Koscielne Od Roku Pańskiego 1198 Aż do lat naszych, Kalisz, 1695).

The collection is also home to the following work by **Copernicus** (1473–1543): *Nicolai Copernici Torinensis De Revolutionibus orbium coelestium, Libri VI : <...> item De Libris Revolutionum Nicolai Copernici Narratio prima, per M. Georgium Ioachimum Rheticum ad D. Ioan. Schonerum scripta/Nicolaus Copernicus.* – Basileae : Ex Officina Henric Petrina, [IX 1566]. – 2°; [6], 213, [1], and many other publications.

THE LIBRARY BUILDINGS

In 1902 the first library building was constructed to a design by the university architect Victor Velychko (1864–1923) – a Pole by birth. The building included a great reading hall with 250 places, the necessary administrative areas and a book depository with a metal structure. The **Library of the University of Warsaw** was taken as the model for the Library. In October 1897 the Board of Kharkiv University requested and received plans, drawings and explanatory notes for the construction of the Library from the Board of the University of Warsaw.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

The building of the Central Scientific Library of V. N. Karazin of the Kharkiv National University is an architectural monument of the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries and a local landmark (protected monument No. 428, registered by of the Executive Committee of Kharkiv Oblast No. 334 of April 30, 1980 and No. 61 of March 5, 1992). Since 1935 the Library has also occupied a large part of the building at Universytetska Street 25 (left wing), built in 1831, which is also an architectural monument (No. 11547 in the National Registry and protected monument No. 694/2 in the Kharkiv Oblast listings). Both buildings are important objects of cultural heritage with the status of national asset, registered in the **State Register of Immovable Monuments of Ukraine** by the Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 928 of September 3, 2009 (No. 200002-N).

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RUSSIAN SCHOOL CANON IN THE 19TH CENTURY. METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS INSPIRED BY *KHRESTOMATIJNYE TEKSTY: RUSSKAIA PEDAGOGICHESKAIA PRAKTIKA XIX VEKA I POETICHESKIJ KANON* EDS. A. VDOVIN, R. LEJBOV, TARTU 2013 [ANTHOLOGICAL TEXTS: *RUSSIAN PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICE IN THE 19TH CENTURY AND THE SCHOOL CANON*]* DOI: 10.36155/PLib.10.00012

KEYWORDS: Russian school canon, Kingdom of Poland, chrestomathy, anthology of texts

The debate ongoing since the 1960s on the literary canon of the Western world, despite having been conducted generally in university rooms, cannot be regarded as exclusively academic. Its fundamental question has been to what extent the collection of literature 'classics' formed over centuries should be left as valid for younger generations, and to what degree, in the name of so-

^{*} An altered and supplemented version of the paper Russian School Canon given the Newest Literature on the Subject delivered on 17 May 2022 during the Open Seminar at the National Library.

cial programmes, it should stay 'open' to the literature till then regarded as marginal, albeit reflecting problems and challenges of the contemporary world. Even the clear voice of Harol Bloom who defended the canon as a value per se, thus not meant to serve any utilitarian purposes (no matter how lofty), did not bring about an unequivocal solution.¹ The multitude of axiological and aesthetical perspectives made it impossible to formulate a 'compromise' list of books which could constitute an acceptable cultural foundation for every educated European or American.

The deadlock in creating such a 'literary programme' served as a major impulse to historical research into the literary canon. Instead of focusing on the canon as 'representating or nonrepresentating particular social groups', John Guillory decided to choose for his research subject 'the historical function of school as consisting in distributing and regulating access to [...] cultural capital'. According to the researcher, the literary canon never existed in a social void, since both access to literary output and to the skill of using it were popularized through schools. This knowledge was of an institutional format, and constituted a capital, understood both literally as a means to acquire definite skills (mainly linguistic), and in figurative terms, thus, bestowing the status of a welleducated individual upon its owner.²

The transfer of research into the canon to the platform formed by social and institutional history allowed the posing of questions related to the role of the school as a tool in the shaping of identity based on the literary heritage of a nation state. Instead of focusing on a vaguely understood literary canon, Guillory was interested in the school curriculum – its evolution and educatory function. He was echoed by another researcher, Ian Hunter, who several years before had published a study showing the interdependence of culture and state in the realities of secondary schools

¹ H. Bloom, Zachodni kanon i szkoła wieków, transls. B. Baran, M. Szczubiałka, Warszawa 2019.

² J. Guillory, Cultural Capital. The Problem of Literary Canon Formation, Chicago 1993, p. VIII.

in Victorian England. In its main thread, it followed the methods of the school's interpretation of literature as a means of indoctrinating the subjects of the British Crown. Hunter stated that 'reading and criticism of literature lost [in the 19th century] their function as the aesthetic-ethical practice of a minority case and acquired new deployment and function as an arm of an emergent governmental educational apparatus'. This implied that the earlier paradigm of learning Latin and Greek grammar as well as reading ancient authors was replaced with modern literary education in which teaching literature was more about forming civic morality, than institutionalizing literature's authority. The advancing shaping of modern national identity was thus decisive for the change of function of school reading practices, no longer meant to be an elitist activity, but a mode of shaping attitudes of whole societies.³

The changing literary models in secondary schools were also described by Martin Guiney where, in his view, the leaders in education's 'nationalization' were Prussia and Russia with their curricula for teaching the language and literature based on the 'official' ethno-nationalism which approval was treated as an expression of loyalty towards the state. A similar situation also took place in France. Apart from the 'civic' national project of the Third Republic, the national identity of the French was to be based on the standard of the literary language and national cultural cohesion. The basic tool serving to culturally homogenize the population was the shared reading of contemporary prose. It was to happen both during classes, which Guiney compared to the analysis of sacral texts in pre-modern society, and during voluntary reading of more extensive literary fragments or whole novels in free time.⁴ The

³ I. Hunter, Culture and Government. The Emergence of Literary Education, London 1988, pp. 3-4; R. Leibov, A. Vdovin, 'What and how Russian students read in school, 1840-1917', in: Reading Russia. A history of reading in modern Russia, vol. 2, ed. by D. Rebecchini and R. Vassena, Milano 2020, p. 267 - https://www.academia.edu/79494460/Reading_Russia_Vol_2 [accessed 30 June 2022].

⁴ M. Guiney, *Teaching the Cult of Literature in the French Third Republic*, New York 2004, pp. 53-57.

purpose of promoting reading through schools was for the acceptance of French literature as the conveyor of the French national identity, while simultaneously acting as a 'banner of universalism' allowing the school curriculum recommended by the Republic's authorities to be regarded as the basis for the assimilation of all the inhabitants of France. This was to also attract the residents of the French colonies to French culture, regardless of their cultural selfidentification.⁵ The disseminating of French literature essentially consisted of the imposition of arbitrarily selected cultural contents by the regime. Therefore, using Bourdieu's terms, this can be regarded as a model example of symbolic violence. ⁶

The conclusions on the Russian cultural/education policy were the reasons why these incited interest among researchers in Russian culture. What is worthy of particular interest in this respect is the team of specialists affiliated with the Department of Russian Literature at the University of Tartu, Estonia. However, given the aggression of the Russian Federation on Ukraine beginning on 24 February 2022, it is important to emphasize that the circle of those academics, including mainly Russians, already on the first days of the war wholeheartedly condemned the armed aggression, manifesting their complete solidarity with the Ukrainian society. The official declaration issued by them expressed great indignation over the attack and reads as follows:

The authorities of Russia, the country with whose language and culture we have been bonded professionally and biographically, are committing today an unjustifiable crime [...]. The first days of the Russian aggression on the people of Ukraine coincided with our Department's celebration of the centenary of Yuri Mikhailovich Lotman. It is hard to imagine something more unnatural to our Master, a soldier who defended Ukraine against Nazism during the war, following which he heard Ukrainian speech in the army,

⁵ Ibidem, pp. 17-16.

⁶ A. Kłoskowska, 'Wstęp', in: P. Bourdieu, J.-C. Passeron, *Reprodukcja. Elementy teorii* systemu nauczania, transl. E. Neyman, Warszawa 1990, pp. 11-52.

he recorded Ukrainian songs, while after the war, as a student, he studied Ukrainian at the Leningrad University.⁷

Together with the strong condemnation of the war, the Tartu academics decided to continue cooperation with individual scholars from Russia, while at the same suspending official relations with Russia's academic institutions. Owing to this development, they can be regarded as researchers free from the political pressures of the Kremlin regime, which is of fundamental importance because of the restricted freedom of research in Russia itself. Lotman's legacy induced its heirs of this illustrious semiotician and historian of culture to resume the idea of direct communication among scholars from different centres undertaking research into Russian culture.

RUSSIAN SCHOOL CANON: HISTORY OUTLINE AND MAIN RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Following in the footsteps of the Tartu academics, let me pass over the affiliations of the scholars from Russia who cooperated with them to take a closer look at reading practices in secondary

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

^{7 &#}x27;Tartuskij Universitet. Kafedra Russkoi Literatury, Zajavlenie sotrudnikov otdeleniia slavistiki Tartuskogo universiteta - https://ruslit.ut.ee [accessed 30 June 2022]: My, sotrudniki otdeleniia slavianskoj filologii Tartuskogo universiteta, gluboko vozmushheny napadeniem na Ukrainu. Rukovodstvo Rossii, strany, s jazykom i kul'turoj kotoroj my sviazany professional'no i biograficheski, sovershaet v eti dni prestuplenie, kotoroe nel'zia opravdat'. K nashemu sozhaleniiu, v nego okazalas' vtianuta ne tol'ko korrumpirovannaja i bezotvetstvennaja verkhushka, no i chasť russkikh grazhdan, kotorye poddalis' dezinformacii i propagande nenavisti// Nachavshaiasia v 2014 godu vojna Rossii s Ukrainoj v poslednie dni razvernulas' na vsei ukrainskoj territorii. Neobkhodimo nemedlenno ostanoviť eto strashnoe prestuplenie.// My vsei dushoi s boriushhimsia narodom Ukrainy. My s nashimi russkimi druz'iami i vsemi liud'mi, kotoryie vystupaiut protiv etoj vojny.// Pervye dni rossijskoi agressii protiv naroda Ukrainy sovpali s prazdnikom dlia nashego otdelenija - stoletnim jubileem Iurija Mihailovicha Lotmana. Trudno predstaviť sebe chto-nibud' bolee protivoestestvennoe dlia nashego uchitelia, soldata, na voine zashhishhavshego Ukrainu ot nacizma. Togda, v deistvuiushhei armii, on uslyshal ukrainskuju rech', tam on zapisvval ukrainskie pesni. Posle vojnv on, student, izuchal ukrainskii iazyk v Leningradskom universitete. Segodnja, dumaem, on podpisal by eto pis'mo.// Slava Ukraïni!// Irina Abisogomjan, Marija Borovikova, Ekaterina Vel'mezova, Roman Leibov, Alessandra Dezi, Svetlana Dolgorukova. Natalija Joonas, Ljubov' Kiseleva, Irina Kiul'moia, Elizaveta Kostandi, Roman Lejbov, Lea Pil'd, Anastasija Ryko, Tat'jana Stepanishheva, Ol'ga Frajman, Anna Podstawska'.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

schools in the Russian Empire. Of special interest to them was the identification of the corpus of texts read by gymnasiasts, the making of the list of applicable chrestomathies (literary anthologies), the analysis of the manner of reading and interpreting belleslettres as didactic materials, as well as tracing relations between identity policy and literary education in the period between the formulation of the first school curriculum for teaching literature in 1852 and the outbreak of WW I. As seen from the Polish perspective, this research is of relevance since it may contribute to a better understanding of state indoctrination throughout the Russian partition. When perceiving the canon as one of the identity-creative tools, we gain a better platform to analyse the means employed for 'winning' subsequent ethnic groups by the Russian state. School readings can thus be treated as carriers of the state 'narrative' in the light of which the affiliation of smaller entities to the Empire had its justification and logic. Alternately, they can also be analysed in the context of the Empire's representation, therefore, asking whether the books admitted for use in schools were to exclusively represent the culture of the Russian 'centre', or was there also room for the literature of the conquered countries?

Although no monograph on the formation and functioning of the school literary canon in Russia has yet been developed, these issues have been the topic of research of the academic circle affiliated with the University of Tartu since 2000.⁸ Among the authors of those works, mention has to be made, first of all, of Roman Lei-

⁸ Among the major works of the authors directly or indirectly connected with the Tartu Slavic Studies mention has to be made of the following: M. Loskutova, 'Natsional'nyi literaturnyi kanon v srednej shkole. Zametki o novykh podhodah k social'noj istorii obrazovanija', *Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie*, 2001, no. 5(51), pp. 19-34; A. Lanu, 'Formirovanie kanona russkogo romantizma', Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2001, no. 5(51), pp. 35-67; A. V. Vdovin, 'Poniatie "russkie klassiki" v kritike 1830-1850-h gg.', in: *Pushkinskie chtenija v Tartu 5: Pushkinskaja epokha i russkii literaturnyi kanon: K 85-letiiu Larisy Il'inichny Vol'pert:* v 2 ch., Tartu 2011, pp. 40-56 - https://www.ruthenia.ru/Push_Chten5/Vdovin.pdf [accessed 30 June 2022]; A. Vdovin, R. Lejbov, 'Pushkin v shkole: curriculum i literaturnyj kanon v XIX veke', in: *Lotmanovskij sbornik*, vyp. 4, eds. L. N. Kiseleva, T. N. Stepanishheva, Moskva 2014, pp. 249-261 - https://imwerden.de/pdf/lotmanovsky_ sbornik_4_2014_ocr.pdf [accessed 30 June 2022]

boy, a Slavic philologist, and Alexey Vdovin, who cooperated with the University due to the grants of the Estonian Science Foundation. As the authors remark in the Prologue to the Anthological Texts: Russian Pedagogical Practice of the 19th Century and the School Canon (Tartu 2013), in the research into the school canon, apart from the above-mentioned works in English, they also found the tradition of the Tartu historical-literary school equally inspiring. Referring to the reflection of its outstanding representative Yuri Lotman, Vdovin and Leibov believe that the departure point for their study should be found in the means of creating school literature anthologies and their evolution, as well as in the description of the history of the texts in school textbooks. Moreover, the mechanism of the texts' consolidation in collective memory should be analysed.⁹ This proposal treated studies in school readings as an integral part of the research into Russia's state ideology. The methodological coincidence with the main assumptions of the American historians of the literature canon finding inspiration mainly in Pierre Bourdieu's sociology was thus enriched with the acceptance of Lotman's approach to research into literature. The basic function of a literary text is, according to the Russian semiotician, a rhetorical message which reflects the 'universal principle of both individual and collective awareness'. This implied conviction that literary texts can serve as ideology conveyors, while the creation of the school literary canon can be regarded as a comprehensive way of imposing the attitudes and views desired by the authorities.¹⁰

⁹ A. Vdovin, R. Lejbov, Khrestomatijnye teksty: russkaja pojezija i shkol'naja praktika XIX stoletiia, w: Khrestomatijnye teksty: russkaia pedagogicheskaja praktika XIX v. i poeticheskij kanon, eds. A. Vdovin, R. Lejbov, Tartu 2013 ("Acta Slavica Estonica" 4. Trudy po russkoj i slavianskoj filologii. Literaturovedenie, 9), pp. 10–11 -https://library. oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/53123/1/9789949324750.pdf [accessed 30 June 2022].

¹⁰ I. Pil'shchikov, '"Est' naslazhdenie i v dikosti lesov..." K. Batjushkova (predystorija i edicionnaja suď'ba)', in: ibidem, p. 113; S. Zolian, 'Iurii Lotman o tekste: idei, problemy, perspektivy', Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2016, no. 3(139) – https://magazines.gorky.media/nlo/2016/3/yurij-lotman-o-tekste-idei-problemy-perspektivy.html [accessed 30 June 2022]; J. Škulj, 'Politics of readings / politics of dissemination', Primerjalna Književnost, 2010, vol. 33, no. 2, "Kdo izbere?": literatura in literarno posredništvo, pp. 262-263 – https://ojs-gr.zrc-sazu.si/primerjalna_kn-jizevnost/article/view/5424/5065 [accessed 30 June 2022].

Vdovin claims that the main impulse to promote literature in secondary schools came from the circles of liberal bureaucrats grouped around Jakov Rostovtsev and Grand Duke Konstantin. This facilitated the 1852 publication of the first literature curriculum for secondary schools in Russia which was valid until 1917.¹¹ That curriculum broke with the practice obligatory till then of treating 18th-century poetry as a model for pupils of Russian secondary schools. In the place of the works of Mihhail Lomonosov, Gavriil Derzhavin, or Antiochus Kantemir, the central position in the Russian curriculum was taken by poetry and prose by Alexander Pushkin, Mikhail Lermontov, and Nikolai Gogol. The curriculum was shortly reflected in the readers of the school literature which turned into an apology for Russian Romanticism as the national style. Together with the growing prominence of contemporary poetry, the basic working method with a text was the socalled logical and stylistic method consisting of students working predominantly on grasping the work's central idea instead of approaching a sentence-by-sentence construing of the text. The task was supported by essays students were given as homework. As far as it can be told from the preserved sources, secondary students most frequently described the main ideas entailed in poems by Pushkin and Lermontov, and less frequently dealt with poetry by Zhukovsky or Krylov, or with dramas by Gribovedov.¹²

Another important period for shaping the Russian school canon was that of pedagogical debates in the late 1850s and early 1860s, in which outstanding pedagogues such as Konstantin Ushinsky or Vasily Vodovosov participated. It was they who provided the democratic stimulus consisting in the attempt to emancipate readers from lower social classes, providing them with the appropriate rhetoric of the 'revival', 'uniting with the land', and 'waking from the centuries-long sleep'.¹³ The new narrative coinciding with the

¹¹ A. Vdovin, R. Lejbov, Khrestomatijnye teksty: russkaja poeziia..., p. 14.

¹² R. Leibov, A. Vdovin, What and how Russian students read in school..., pp. 267-270.

¹³ A. Vdovin, 'Literaturnyi kanon i nacional'naia identichnost': "Chto ty spish', muzhichok?" A. V. Kol'cova i spory o russkosti v XIX veke', in: *Khrestomatijnye* teksty..., pp. 139-142.

period of the Great Reforms, though yielding a true crop of anthologies addressed 'to the people', did not particularly change the content of the anthologies for gymnasiasts, since the literature of the Golden Age created between 1811-1851 continued to serve as the foundation for education. However, at that point, it was interpreted as writing uniting all social classes and overcoming the prejudices of the former serfs towards their lords for the sake of national unity. The peculiar feature of the new chrestomathies was, in turn, a utilitarian approach to literature. As researchers into the canon admit, even masterpieces were assessed first of all because of their usefulness, thus, their impact on boosting memory, concentration, and formation of students' morality. This led to the spread of the aesthetic-ethical educational model inspired by the German school of hermeneutics in which the main role was played by the continuous verification of the correlation between a part and the entire work (supposedly facilitated by extensive lists of questions at the end of each chapter in the textbooks).¹⁴

The next period of relevance for shaping the Russian school canon occurred with the education reforms of Dmitry Tolstoy. According to Vdovin, the 'school classicism' of 1871-1889 is not fully justifiably treated as the most 'reactive' period in the history of Russian education. This assessment arose from the central importance given in classical gymnasia to learning ancient languages and mathematics at the price of teaching updated findings of the natural sciences as well as from including only the literature created in 1811-1851 in the school canon. However, after a more thorough analysis of school textbooks and even to a higher degree of memoir sources, it was discovered that it was precisely the 'Tolstoy era' which brought about true worship of belles-lettres. This applied both to the approved 'historical' literature (from Nestor's *Chronicle* until the literature of the Russian Enlightenment) which was the subject of the school's logical and grammatical analysis, and the official omission of contemporary literature, in particular

14 R. Leibov, A. Vdovin, What and how Russian students read in school..., pp. 273-274.

the novels by Ivan Turgenev, Ivan Goncharov, Fyodor Dostoevsky, and Leo Tolstoy. This worship was possible, since fragments of literary pieces of these authors were available both in the school literary anthologies, the possession of which was obligatory and also in school libraries operating assumedly at every state gymnasium. ¹⁵ From the researchers' perspective, the availability of the works of the Russian prose writers excluded from the curricula led to the mythization of their oeuvre which, as it was believed, reflected the true Russian identity.¹⁶

After 1905 which brought not only the liberalization of the empire, but also the rise of nationalism in the entire society, school curricula were reformed to include such works as Goncharov's Oblomov, Turgenev's *Rudin* and *Home of the Gentry*, Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, or Dostoevsky's *Humiliated and Insulted*, *Crime and Punishment*, and *The Poor People*, as well as the poetry of Nikolai Nekrasov, Fyodor Tyutchev, and Apollon Maykov. 'This list redefined the content of the school literary canon', ,and significantly affected the concept of classic Russian literature, which was created under its direct influence.¹⁷

The researchers grouped around Russian Studies at the University of Tartu focused on the following main issues:

- the evolution of the Russian school canon in the context of ideological changes among the power elites (thus a gradual 'nationalization' of the Romanov Empire consisting of the growing conviction that it is a state that belongs to Russians);
- 2. an analysis of the school's interpretation of literary works as a means of student indoctrination;
- 3. answer to the question as to what extent the process of the school canon taking on its final shape was conducted 'top-

¹⁵ A. Vdovin, '"Dmitry Tolstoy Classicism" and the formation of the Russian literary canon in the high school curriculum', *Ab Imperio*, 2017, no. 4, p. 110 - https:// www.academia.edu/36529098/_DMITRY_TOLSTOYS_CLASSICISM_and_the_Formation_of_the_Russian_Literary_Canon_in_the_High_School_Curriculum [accessed 30 June 2022].

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 114.

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 134.

down' (depended on the authorities), and to what degree it was 'grass-roots', meaning it resulted from the pressure exerted by the educated classes;

- 4. a detailed identification of the corpus of readings and the creation of the database of literature textbooks;
- a study of the reception of the school's canon in the collective memory of the graduates from Russian schools;
- 6. identification of the relation between the down-top formation of the national canon and the imposed school canon; and
- 7. the means by which the Russian school canon operated in the imperial peripheries.

OVERVIEW OF THE TOPIC

The multiple perspectives, the methodological variety, and the vast scope of the topics tackled require taking a closer look at selected chapters of the study Anthological Texts: Russian Pedagogical Practice of the 19th Century and the School Canon which gives an overview of all the research concerning the Russian school canon undertaken by Tartu-affiliated scholars. It is worth focusing for a moment on the introductory chapter by Vdovin and Leibov which describes how the Russian school canon functioned in the Empire's western borderlands, and more precisely, in the Baltic guberniyas. Dominated culturally and economically by Germans, these (guberniyas) were inhabited mainly by the Estonian and Latvian populations. Throughout the entire 19th century, all these groups were targeted by an everchanging cultural policy of the Russian educational authorities. The first quarter of the century was the time marked by the suggested 'bringing closer' of the German-speaking population to Russian culture by encouraging them to read Russian Enlightenment and then Romantic poetry. Despite all the efforts of the authorities, the Baltic Germans regarded Russian literature as inferior to that of Germany and that it was not prestigious. An example of this can be found in the opinion of one of the Russian language and literature professors at the University

of Dorpat (Tartu) who, in his 1837 report to the Superintendent of District Schools, explained the reluctance to learn Russian with the fact that 'there was nothing available to read in Russian'. Thus, the Russian authorities meant to show the German readers who already had their classics like Goethe, Shiller, or Christoph Martin Wieland, that Russian literature had equally outstanding writers. A slightly different selection of readings was proposed to the Estonians and Latvians. In the thinking of the Russian authorities, the latter nationalities were to counterbalance the Germans, while at the same time constituting the 'social element' closest to Russian peasants. For these reasons, the canon dedicated to the lower classes of the Baltic Guberniyas was to be composed predominantly of simple texts: mainly poems and tales emphasizing the (imagined) closeness of the Russians and the 'Baltic people', or contrariwise, showing the Empire as the place of peaceful coexistence of various nationalities and religious groups.¹⁸

According to the authors, Russian educational authorities made attempts to introduce in the schools of the Estonian (*Estlantskava*) Guberniya: Эстляндия and of the Courland Guberniya a definitely more active promotion of Russian literature than in the central regions. This led to a growing competition between German and Russian literature for prestige and relevance, which finally led to a prompt canonization of those works which were regarded by the Russians as the most outstanding. When comparing the school canon in the Baltic peripheries and central Russia, scholars conclude that the school canon presented to German readers was far more conservative than that in St Petersburg and Moscow. In their opinion, this could have resulted from the 'desire to present the besttested samples of Russian literature to the German readers. When recommending literary readers to peasants, the Russian authorities took into consideration, first of all, the texts' usefulness, the simplicity of the language, and the emphasis on the community with Russian peasants. The second motif of this chapter deals with analysing

¹⁸ A. Vdovin, R. Lejbov, Khrestomatijnye teksty: russkaja poeziia ..., pp. 21, 24–25.

the content of the literature anthologies circulating in the Riga academic district. The authors convincingly demonstrate that school literature readers (so-called chrestomathies), served the purpose of providing fragments of Russian literature, and for the first time, appeared in the Romanov Empire precisely in Riga. These readers were the works of such authors as Johannes Heim and Carl Johann Hartmann who 'exported' within the Empire fragments of the 18th-century literary canon to the German-speaking Baltic Guberniyas. The offering of the works of Sumarkov, Karamzin, Fonvizin, Derzhavin and Khvostov, to the gymansiasts of Riga, Revel (Tallinn), or Dorpat (Tartu) led to the increase in the symbolic relevance of their works, and these were soon after judged as 'classic' and 'model'. ¹⁹

As emphasized in the next chapter by Anna Senkina, in the following years, other authors of chrestomathies followed in the footsteps of the German compilers, among whom mention must be made of Nikolay Gretsch and Nikolai Rklitski who, between 1820-1840, finally confirmed the circle of 'textbook' authors. Apart from the earlier-mentioned writers, it also included Konstantin Batyushkov, Pyotr Vyazemsky, Fiodor Glinka, Anton Delvig, Vasily Zhukovsky, Ivan Krylov, Nikolai Lomonosov, and finally, Alexander Pushkin. However, it soon turned out that this collection, extremely varied stylistically and linguistically, was slowly beginning to be perceived as becoming increasingly more outdated. The year 1848 proved to be decisive in the formation of the Russian school canon when the first edition of the literature reader by Alexey Galakhov was published. In his view, the 'samples of eloquence and poetry' addressed to school youth should be written in 'the language of contemporary times which we hear from educated individuals'. While the 18th-century language, stemming still from the aesthetics of late Baroque, 'was not merely useless, but almost harmful'. Following the model of compilations by the French school, Galakhov radically modernized Russian classes at school, thoroughly changing the proportion of authors included

19 Ibidem, p. 21.

from the 'old' and 'new' literature. Consequently, the base of the school canon as of the 1850s was composed of literature of Romanticism (defined as 'national' literature) represented mainly by the poetry of Alexander Pushkin, Mikhail Lermontov, Ivan Krylov, Alexis Koltsov, and the prose of Nikolai Gogol and Ivan Turgenev.²⁰

The chapter by Tatiana Stepanishheva (of the University of Tartu) concerned the textbook history of Pyotr Vyazemsky's poems. This Russian poet and translator could be initially found in the school canon due not so much to the patriotic poems speaking of the victory of Russia over Napoleon, but for his skilful writing when creating the literary genres such as epigrams and odes, much appreciated in the 18th century. Furthermore, in the first edition of Alexey Galakhov's chrestomathy, mainly his satirical poems and critical essays, were appreciated, and not so much his patriotic oeuvre. The researcher explains this fact with particular emphasis on the formal objectives of gymnasium education in the first half of the 19th century, namely, the matter of mastering various literary forms (e.g., the students were to try creating poetry) and rhetorical skills. The situation essentially changed in the 1860s and is best exemplified by the following poems The Lodgings, Russian Roads, German Nature, and, importantly, The First Snow being added to Vyazemsky's repertory of texts. These works drew inspiration from Karamzin's aesthetics which introduced 'Russian topics' into schools through the descriptions of nature and customs. The latter is understood as the conviction that the sources of Russianness should be sought in harsh northern nature and Slavic folklore. The school's representation of the works by that Russian poet changed again in the 1880s. Vyazemsky's textbook repertory was then almost entirely dominated by his 'late' patriotic and religious topics. From that time on, he was to be presented as the 'defender of morals', and the custodian of sublime culture. On many

²⁰ A. Senkina, 'Iziashhnaia slovesnost' kak didakticheskii material: k istorii russkoj literaturnoj khrestomatii (pervaja polovina XIX v.)', in: *Khrestomatijnye teksty...*, pp. 37-38, 40-42.

occasions, Galakhov underlined Vyazemsky's affiliation to the Russian 'pantheon', which in the readers' eyes was to distance 'national' literature even further from contemporary works.²¹

A slightly different character can be found in the chapter authored by Lubva Kiseleva, Lotman's student and emeritus professor of the Department of Russian Studies at Tartu. Her focus is the position in school education of the informal anthem of the Russian Empire Боже, Царя храни! [Bozhe, tsaria khrani] God save the Tsar (Prayer of the Russian People), with lyrics by Vasily Zhukovsky and music by Alexei Lvov. According to the scholar, the poem was known by heart by all the gymansiasts and elementary school pupils, serving as a kind of a 'sound emblem' of the Russian Empire. The piece was performed by school choirs composed both of students with a fluent command of Russian and those who could barely speak it. Performing it during school celebrations and religious services of all the religious denominations in Russia was, therefore, not treated as reciting a piece of poetry, but more as a kind of state ritual. For this reason, the Praver of the Russian Peo*ple* cannot be regarded as a part of the school's canon eligible, like other Zhukovsky's works, for a meticulous literary analysis, but as a work that was a self-contained tool of state indoctrination.²²

A different approach should apply to Alexis Koltsov's *Why Are You Sleeping,?Little Man* (*Hmo mы cnumb, мужичек*[*Chto, ty spish', muzhichek*]). As observed by Alexey Vdovin, the piece was included in Galakhov's *Chrestomathy* in 1848, and from that time onwards it has never left the textbooks of imperial Russia. The impact of this piece as a stylized folk song stemmed from its interpretation in the light of Hegel's 'philosophical criticism', greatly favoured by the outstanding literary critic, Vissarion Belinsky, and the nationalistic essayist, Mikhail Katkov. In their view, the piece reflected the main qualities of the Russian national character with features

²¹ T. Stepanishheva, 'Stihotvoreniia P. A. Viazemskogo v russkikh shkol'nykh khrestomatijah XIX v.', in: *Khrestomatijnye teksty...*, pp. 64-65, 67-70.

²² L. Kiseleva, '"Nekanonichnyi" kanonicheskii tekst ("Bozhe, tsarja khrani" V. A. Zhukovskogo v dorevoljucionnoj shkole)', in: *Khrestomatijnye teksty...*, pp. 95–96.

including the 'grim feeling of uncertainty' and the 'inexplicable disenchantment with life'. Expressing the state of apathy which, according to the Russian critics, was to testify to the 'Asian character' and 'passivity' of Russian peasants, the poem was to 'awaken' and 'revive', which obviously harmonized with the rhetoric of the Grand Reforms of Alexander II.²³

In the period of 'school classicism' under Dmitry Tolstoy, Koltsov's poem began to slightly lose its prominence in secondary schools, remaining popularly used in elementary schools. This unquestionably contributed to the primers by Konstantin Ushinsky and Yosif Paulson. Importantly, this poem memorized by peasant children, as instructed by the educational authorities, underwent the process of folklorization. This meant that it was absorbed by folk culture, expressed in folk prints (so-called luboks), songs, as well as parodies of the piece, popular, particularly in the early 20th century.²⁴ This trail of 'awakening from sleep' also had other unexpected consequences, benefitted from by poets in the western and southern edges of the Empire. In 1906, the poet Yanka Kupala changed the protagonist's nationality from Russian to Belarussian, which radically altered the poem's message. Here, the cause of the protagonist's apathy was the repressive tsarist regime which had to be destroyed for the nation's true identity to revive. ²⁵

The process of popularizing works of literature, which occurred through their mass distribution through school textbooks, had a great impact on shaping the national attitudes of the 'new' peasant readers. An instance of this can be seen in *Kiev*, a poem by Aleksey Khomyakov. In the view of Inna Bulkina of the National Academy of Fine Arts of Ukraine (Lotman's student who passed away in January 2021), this was unquestionably the most important work tackling the topic of the importance of Kiev for Russian nationalism, immersing the Ukrainian territory in the core of the 'Russian

²³ A. Vdovin, 'Literaturnyi kanon i nacional'naja identichnost'...,' in: Khrestomatijnye teksty..., pp. 143-149.

²⁴ Ibidem, pp. 139-155.

²⁵ Ibidem, pp. 158-159.

national land'. Its leitmotif was for 'Kiev to become the centre of Russian life' radiating onto the whole of historic Rus' (including the fragments outside the Romanov Empire). Initially, because the piece challenged legitimism and openly encouraged a conflict with neighbouring Austria, Khomyakov's poem was questioned by Russian censorship. In due course, however, partially also because the authorities themselves adopted the nationalistic rhetoric, it entered the school literary anthologies. Simultaneously with the school canonization of the text, its dissemination continued through the Orthodox Church's publications, particularly the religious press, songbooks, calendars, and even tourist guides to Kiev. In this very way, beginning in the 1860s, the poem of a representative of Slavophilia gained mass popularity. ²⁶

The history of the work's reception shows in what way the oeuvre expressing the emotions and intentions contradicting the imperial status quo led to a gradual alteration of the official state narrative. From that time onwards, Russia was to define her identity not only through enlightened absolutism, in whose terms the Romanov Empire was to be regarded merely as one of the European powers but also through the restoration of the idea of the return to 'Holy Rus" given the mission to 'amass all Ruthenic/Rus' territories'. The old capital of Kyievan/ Kievian Rus' was, according to this conception, to become not only a destination of national and religious pilgrimages but also a real centre of Russian statehood. The shift in the state narrative was happening in this case, as observed by the Ukrainian scholar, without greater involvement of the Russian authorities, but through Khomyakov's persuasive poetical language.²⁷

The topic of the 'nationalization' of the school canon was described by Kristina Sarycheva (of the University of Tartu) in the example of the school reception of Fyodor Tyutchev's '*Villages of*

²⁶ I. Bulkina, 'Receptivnaja istorija stihotvorenija A. S. Khomjakova "Kiev": "smysl ob unii", in: *Khrestomitijnye teksty...*, pp. 163–164.

²⁷ Ibidem, pp. 168.

mean appearance...'. Published for the first time in 1855, the piece was promptly regarded to be the Slavophile ideological manifesto. According to the researcher, this resulted directly from the very content of the work which began from the rhetoric call combining the semantics of 'poverty' with the emotion of 'compassion'. In the second verse, a symbolic image of another alien nation whose main feature was to be pride appeared. Pride was next opposed to Russian 'humbleness', in order for Christ to appear blessing the Russian land and the people who inhabit it in the final stanza. As seen from the poet's perspective, the Russian people were doomed to suffer, yet this suffering entailed a higher purpose reflecting the messianic mission of Russia.²⁸

Tyutchev's poem was included in the school literary readers for the first time in the early 1860s and was unquestionably decided upon by the debates on the relevance of this work for formulating Russian state ideology conducted at that time. Although in the subsequent decades it was supplanted by descriptive lyrics showing northern nature as being the most constitutive of Russian national identity, the poem returned to school circulation in the early 20th century. The boost in nationalistic attitudes and the fascination with aestheticism of the Romanticism caused this very work to be regarded at the time as the most important one in the oeuvre of the Russian poet.²⁹

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The views of the researchers affiliated with the University of Tartu were based on the fundamental assumptions formulated by Ian Hunter and Martin Guiney. What they had in common with the first of them was the conviction about the 'hybrid quality of the Russian system of literary education' combining 'classical' education based on reading ancient texts with modern education

²⁸ K. Sarycheva, '"Eti bednye selen'ia..." F. Tiutcheva v russkom kanone (poezija i kritika 1850-1890-kh godov)', in: *Khrestomatijnye teksty*..., pp. 173-177.

²⁹ Ibidem, pp. 185-186.

rooted in reading national literature. It, thus, encompassed both pre-modern (elitist) and modern education paradigms. Guiney was inspiring to the group of Tartu sholars, since he showed that the reading and analysis of national literature functioned at schools as a sort of a 'secular exegesis', thus, a kind of reading whose task was to discover 'truths' and national allegories in literary works.³⁰ In the reflection on the ways of the formation of the Russian school cannon, the basic context for the specialists of the Tartu Slavic studies was the increase in relevance of belles-letters in the countries of Western Europe caused by the intense involvement of the state in the process of the cultural homogenization of its citizens. An important role in their reflection was the reference to the views of Yuri Lotman, the 'founding father' of Slavic Studies at the University of Tartu. His contribution was, according to the authors of the discussed papers, the call to analyse the mechanisms of the consolidation of the texts in collective memory, while also treating the studies into school reading as an integral part of research into a Russian state ideology.

The range of topics undertaken by the Tartu scholars covered the widely understood question of the role of the school canon as the tool to shape political attitudes (as desired by the state authorities) in the Empire's changing social architecture throughout the whole 19th century. It was emphasized that in the early 19th century, the school canon was composed mainly of 18th-century works targeted at the higher social classes and creating in them a bond with the ruling Romanov dynasty. As of the 1840s, the canon was to reflect the Russian 'national' culture expressed in the poetry of the 'Push-kin' era, while over the period of the 'Grand Reforms', it was biased towards folklore, and to also include works by the most prominent Russian writers at the turn of the 20^s century. The research into the canon, its evolution, and its admission of certain readings to be incorporated in it, while passing over the others, was an integral part of the research into Russian cultural policy.

30 M. Guiney, Teaching the Cult of Literature in the French Third Republic..., p. 112.

As I have mentioned, from the Polish perspective, this research can help to better understand state indoctrination within the Russian partition. By using the canon as one of the identity-creative tools, we can better analyse the means that allowed for the 'winning' of respective ethnic groups by the Russian state. The reflection on the shaping of the Russian school canon in the territories subdued by Russia focused not only on the circumstances of Russian literature functioning under the condition of a strong expansion of culture perceived as competitive but also on the description of the literary canon being created for those ethnic groups which were regarded as friendly to the Russian authorities (or at least unfriendly to the Germans dominating the space). Although, in my view, what is missing has to do with the fact that this cultural .feedback' affected the creation of the German/Estonian/Latvian school canon. However, what I find to be of unquestionable merit is being able to show the context of Russian literary education from the perspective of the centre to the peripheries.

The scholars affiliated with the University of Tartu focused on identifying the questions related to the Russian school canon, searching for comparisons and analogies to the situation at schools of imperial Russia. This certainly has its justification in the history of Russian education which drew inspiration from the solutions adopted by European powers, particularly Prussia and France. The latter country attempted to combine the prestige of classical education with the need to shape the patriotic and national attitudes of their subjects/citizens on a large scale. However, the lack of comparison with the countries whose national canon was formed outside the school context implies that these studies should not be regarded as being concluded. The instance of formation of the Polish literary canon, which in the 19th century was the result of both official education and that which was entirely illegal, took a position close to that of Russian education. This means that researching the canon should encompass studies into reading practices both in state institutions and clandestine organizations. The omission of Polish literature of Romanticism in the

Russian schools of the Kingdom of Poland (and much more so of the Western Krai) formed the context for its mythization and the vivid conviction among Polish readers that this very literature was the most profound expression of Polish national identity. In the meantime, the 'legality' of the literature of the Polish Enlightenment incited negative connotations of it being 'conciliatory' literature, indifferent to the Polish independence aspirations. Nonetheless, the investigation of the Polish school canon requires entirely new studies.

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PIOTR LECHOWSKI (ED.): HISTORIA BIBLIOTEKI JAGIELLOŃSKIEJ. TOM II 1775-1918. [HISTORY OF THE JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY. VOLUME II 1775-1918] KRAKÓW: WYDAWNICTWO UNIWERSYTETU JAGIELLOŃSKIEGO 2017 DOI: 10.36155/PLib.10.00013

KEYWORDS: History of the Jagiellonian Library, Piotr Lechowski

As much as reviews are usually published shortly after the work they discuss has been released in an attempt to present the book to readers, this paper adopts a slightly different approach, since it addresses a book that was published five years ago.¹ While this second volume of the *History of the Jagiellonian Library* sets out to present a bibliographical discourse, it can and should be regarded as a milestone in research into the history of Polish libraries. At the same time, it forms part of a research project of many years as the first volume of the monograph dedicated to the history of the Jagiellonian Library was published in 1966², the second one in 2017

¹ The theses of this review were actually presented by the author for the first time in a paper delivered during a historical seminar at the National Library in Warsaw on 22 June 2018; it was followed by a lively debate.

² J. Zathey, A. Lewicka-Kamińska, L. Hajdukiewicz: Historia Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej. Tom I 1364-1775, ed. Ignacy Zarębski. Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 1966.

reaching only up to the year 1918. It can thus be hoped that this research project will be continued to cover up to modern times. The author of the current review intends that his comments will contribute to shaping the subsequent volumes describing the history of the Kraków Library.

A cursory reading of this second volume of the *History of the Jagiel*lonian Library inspires respect for both its content and size. Regarding the former, it covers one of the most important cultural institutions in Poland, boasting a rich academic book collection, and with its 600 pages, it can certainly be called extensive. By close observation of the information given in the preliminary pages, it became obvious that this is a work of immense proportions undertaken by a team of several individuals with outstanding scholarly support as part of a 5-year research grant. When attempting a review of such a publication, one has to first ask how to approach it and what should be the objective. It seems to me that a precise substantive and factual analysis of such a book should not be the main approach since it is not possible for a single reviewer, in a way an outsider, to assess the investigation of several individuals working as a team for several years. In view of this, the most important question is how this History opens to readers (including a reviewer), and how does it convey its content? It seems to me that from a reader's perspective, it would be appreciated and helpful to get preliminary information about what kind of reading approach to this unique study is acceptable.

Starting with such comments, I would like to confine my reflections to three areas with the first dedicated to the publication and the circumstances of its creation; the second focused on its factual aspect; with the third attempting to answer the question of the audience for whom the *History of the Jagiellonian Library* was written and the objectives of the authors.

Regarding the publication itself, the volume under discussion was published in 2017 and constitutes the second part of the monograph on the history of the Jagiellonian Library. Externally, this item looks like the first volume and the title page, the typeface,

and the list of contents in this volume are in Polish, English, and German compared to Polish, French, and Russian in the first one. The current volume does not have a dust jacket like its predecessor in keeping with other current publishing outputs. The fact that we are dealing with the second part of a multi-volume monograph raises several questions such as why the subsequent volume was released almost 50 years after the first one published in 1966 to celebrate the library's 600 years? Unfortunately, this issue remains unanswered as in the prologue to the second volume, the editor Piotr Lechowski stated that in the 1960s he had the idea to create a multi-volume monograph on the history of the Jagiellonian Library covering the period 1364-1964. After the publication of the first volume, he continues, 'despite quite advanced works and the collection of a part of the sources, the remaining volumes [...] were not published' (pp. 20-21)³. In another article from 2014, when describing the research project which actually yielded the second volume of the History of the Jagiellonian Library, all Lechowski said was that 'the research undertaken for the purpose [i.e., of publishing subsequent volumes of the history covering other periods], was for various reasons discontinued, not yielding the expected effect'.⁴ Such a comment leaves the readers dangling and having to hazard a guess as to the reasons and circumstances which interrupted the publication of the later volumes in the 1960s. Why was the project abandoned until the second decade of the 21st century and when should the subsequent volumes likely be expected? Lechowski did not mention the latter issue in the prologue, while in the 2014 article, he only wrote that two further volumes - one covering 1918-1945 and the other the period after 1945 - were planned in a 'more dis-

³ K. Frankowicz, M. Galos, Ż. Kubic, B. Kurek, P. Lechowski, U. Perkowska: *Historia Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej. Tom II 1775-1918*, ed. P. Lechowski. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2017. All the quotation pages from the discussed book are given in parentheses in the above text.

⁴ P. Lechowski: 'Projekt badań "Biblioteka Jagiellońska - opracowanie dziejów od 1775 do 1918 r."', in: Studia z dziejów książki, prasy i bibliotek: stan badań za lata 2010-2013, eds. Z.Kropidłowski, D. Spychała, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, Bydgoszcz 2014, p. 117.

tant future'⁵. In this respect also, more precise information would be appreciated as to whether work on the history of the Kraków Library has been started as yet. Instead, what we learn from the article is that the resumption of the research for the current volume was initiated by several of the library employees which might explain why its authors dedicated it in a friendly gesture to the 'Employees of the Jagiellonian Library'. Having dealt with the discussion of the external circumstances of the study, it should be also noted that the price of PLN 40-45 is affordable and will certainly allow it to reach a wider group of recipients than if it were much more expensive⁶.

As already stated, the second volume of the *History of the Jagiellonian Library* was a part of the research project 'Jagiellonian Library: a study of its history in 1775-1918' in 2012-2017 financed by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education within the 'National Programme of the Development of Humanities'. In particular, it was within the module dedicated to 'long-term documenting, editorial, and research works of fundamental significance for national heritage and culture'⁷ boasting a budget of PLN 500,000.⁸ Undoubtedly, investigating the history of the Jagiellonian Library fits within the profile of this project's research objectives and the budget seemed adequate, bearing in mind the 5-year length and that it was a team effort. Acquiring external financing might have also enabled the planning of a more extensive study than was the case of the country providing its own financing. For example, with foreign financing, the possibility might have existed for the pro-

⁵ Ibidem, p. 119.

⁶ In the meantime the book (with the exclusion of the prologue, ending, and the bibliography) has been published Open Access on the Repetytorium Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego website: https://ruj.uj.edu.pl/xmlui/handle/item/49580; https://ruj.uj.edu.pl/xmlui/handle/item/46157 and https://ruj.uj.edu.pl/xmlui/handle/item/50663 [accessed 14 August 2022]. The uploaded part contains the three main chapters of the monograph.

⁷ Lechowski, Projekt badań..., p. 119.

⁸ More information on the project at: https://bj.uj.edu.pl/nauka-i-kultura/projekty/ biblioteka-jagiellonska-opracowanie-dziejow-od-1775-do-1918 [accessed 14 August 2022).

ject to have been designed more extensively since specialists from various Kraków cultural and academic institutions cooperated on it. This was one of the issues raised by Lechowski in his article⁹. The research only covered the necessary investigation of the state of research, not an easy question in the case of the Jagiellonian Library, first of all, and this should be most highly appreciated, a roughly comprehensive research in several archives and libraries in Kraków, Warsaw, Wrocław, as well as Lviv and Vienna, though obviously, first of all, in the archives of the Library itself and the Jagiellonian University, as well as in the resources of respective Library units (pp. 23-24).¹⁰

Despite any limitations, the greatest value of this book comes from it being based on a wide variety of sources used for the first time to this extent for documenting the history of the Jagiellonian Library. With this being a reality, one might be tempted to overlook some of the shortcomings related to how the materials, data, and information were processed in terms of the structure and manner of their organization resulting in the final format of the monograph. In addition to this, there is the question of the audience at whom the publication was aimed. This second volume of the History of the Jaqiellonian Library, together with the summaries in English and German, the bibliography, and the name index, has almost 600 pages which is not surprising given the extensive nature of its coverage. However, the reader cannot help asking how much thought was given to matters concerning the structure, organization, and format of the work. There seem to be no clear instructions for navigating the mass of information collected and presented in the book. Noticeably missing is an indication of how to read or use this item and whether to treat it as a synthesis or more as a collection of the most reliable, authentic, and important information relating to the history and operations of the Jagiellonian Library over the given period. Despite the absence of such

⁹ Lechowski, Projekt badań..., pp. 119-120.

¹⁰ Ibidem, pp. 121-124.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

a statement, I will attempt to demonstrate that the study actually permits both approaches, with the more appropriate one seeming to be treating it as an enormously rich source of information for finding details about definite topics such as the book collection, employees, and the circulation of materials, among other things.

It should be stated that this somewhat lengthy introduction to the discussion of the History of the Jagiellonian Library arose from the conviction that certain issues need to be addressed to create a context for its evaluation. The preface to the study written by Piotr Lechowski was very useful in providing information related to the creation of the study. The second point raised with reference to the factual aspects of the study will now be examined. The structure of the book is chronological and similar to that of the first volume. However, the period to be covered was changed in that the first volume was to span the period from the library's establishment in 1364 to 1775 and the second tome from 1775-196411. Instead, the decision was made for the second volume to reach the end of WW I, while two subsequent ones describing the library's history up to the present time were most likely planned for the future. The beginning of the period covered in the second volume was marked by major reforms in the 1770s, including the activities of Hugo Kołłątaj and the Commission of National Education. As a result of these, the library was allocated a permanent fund for its operations, and the office of the librarian combined with a university professorship was established. Further, the Collegium Maius Library was incorporated into the book collections from other university colleges, based on which the library began to more specifically serve as an all-university library. The break between the first and second volumes of the History of the Jagiellonian University was also connected with the employment in June 1775 of the Belgian, Arsenim Teodor Fasseau, who was to begin the process of arrang-

¹¹ See 'Przedmowa', in: Zathey, Lewicka-Kamińska, Hajdukiewicz, Historia Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej. Tom I..., p. XII. This in a way contradicts what Lechowski writes (p. 20) about the original project emphasizing that the period 1775-1964 would be described in two separate volumes (see also my remarks on the topic above).

ing and cataloguing the book collection. This was the stated fact accompanied by an unequivocal emphasis on Fasseau's future contribution to 'raising the central academic library' which closes the first volume.¹²

It follows logically that the authors of the second volume should have begun directly with the fact that Fasseau was employed, which they failed to do since it is only on page 50 that this fact is mentioned. We can suppose that it happened this way since the authors of the second volume adopted a slightly different structure for the respective parts. This will be dealt with further on; therefore, the discussion will focus on personal matters by following a general historical outline and the information available on the library compound.

Each of the three major parts of the work under discussion was developed by two authors (Małgorzata Galos and Żaneta Kubic: 1775-1835; Krzysztof Frankowicz and Beata Kurek: 1836-1867; and Piotr Lechowski together with Urszula Perkowska: 1868-1918). Based on what can be gleaned from the prologue, this particular division resulted mainly from the respective terms of office of the library supervisors. This can be deduced from what was mentioned by Lechowski:

'...it was agreed that the decisive role in the process of shaping the institutional development of the Jagiellonian Library was played by its administrators (library prefects, directors). It was to a great degree on their competencies and involvement that the condition, state, and operation of the library depended. In their majority they marked the Library so significantly with their personal touch that the respective periods of their supervision, often of about a dozen or even several dozen years, constituted important stages in the history of that institution.' (p. 22)

It is hard not to agree with such an approach by the editor and the authors since the development and functioning of every institution depend primarily on the thinking of the individuals who work there rather than the information to be found in the legal

¹² L. Hajdukiewicz: 'Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1655-1755', in: ibidem, p. 425.

acts, statutes, or other such regulations. With respect to the Jagiellonian Library, this statement seems to be very accurate during certain periods, since sometimes only very few people worked there. For example, in the first years under Bandtkie as the head, apart from him, there was only one other staff member employed. On the other hand, it would be worth reflecting on whether such an approach does not excessively limit the possibility of creating a better synthesis which I would like to explore some more in due course. However, what follows is not very clear due to the authors' lack of consistency in presenting information about the different directors, bearing in mind the assumption that it was their personalities that determined the structure of the history of the Jagiellonian Library. My demand is not for an extensive biography of each director, but for a more concise biographical note containing the most important information on a given individual aimed at helping the readers gain a fuller picture of that person's supervision of the institution. This would have been particularly commendable with respect to a well-known individual as Karol Estreicher, and it is with him and also Fryderyk Papée that the authors best demonstrate the usefulness of this approach as at the beginning of the chapters dedicated to each, we come across short and concise biographical notes (p. 294 and pp. 386-387). As for Bandtkie, for example, we learn only a few facts from his life before he became the librarian of the Kraków Academy. With respect to other directors, e.g., Józef Muczkowski, Franciszek Stroiński, or Adolf Mułkowski, we will find mostly many dispersed pieces of information contained in the chapter on employees. Here, the authors or editors could have taken more care to maintain a greater balance in the information supplied in the three sections of the volume and which would prove very helpful to readers. Nevertheless, much praise should go to the beautiful, almost all in colour, portraits of the various directors.

From 1775 to 1918, the library had in total eleven directors, administrators, prefects, or inspectors. Thus, the whole volume structure results from the period during which each of them was in office, with each part subsequently divided into smaller chapters covering the key issues of the functioning of the library, such as its overall administrative and financial situation, its premises, the staff, and obviously the collection - its acquisition, study, cataloguing, and circulation. The part dedicated to Estreicher, additionally, has a chapter called 'Popularization and Science'. The length of the respective chapters most likely resulted from the availability of sources and the information acquired for describing a given phenomenon. While acknowledging the justifiable reasons for using this approach, and being entirely aware of all the potential difficulties, one cannot deny the expectation for the authors to have paid more attention to maintaining a kind of balance between the different parts of the study or the chapters.

My point can be illustrated by the example of the information about the three possibly best-known directors of the Jagiellonian Library in the 19th century - Jerzy Samuel Bandtkie, Karol Estreicher, and Fryderyk Papée. As individuals, the most space was devoted to them with 71 pages devoted to Bandtkie who administered the library for 24 years, and Estreicher, who headed the library for 37 years, received 91 pages, which might be understandable given his number of years. However, the same cannot be said of Papée who ran the library from 1905 until 1926. Owing to the time frame adopted by the authors, only first 13 years of his service could be included in the volume. Nevertheless, this period was allocated as many as 109 pages, even more than Estreicher who served as the director almost three times as long. Similar disproportionate reporting can also be observed in how other matters are covered in some of the chapters. For example, the description of the staff and staff-related questions over the 13 years under Papée amounted to as many as 42 pages, far exceeding similar matters under other directors. This imbalance is glaring given that the book covered the period of many illustrious personalities who made outstanding contributions to Polish librarianship. Examples include such well-known individuals like Józef Korzeniowski, Edward Kuntz, and Józef Grycz employed in the war years as a volunteer. The question arises as to why similar meticulousness was not applied to persons of this stature and to the naming of all the directors including those who served temporarily. This would be similar to the inclusion of Jan Pindel who was employed by Estreicher in 1903 as an assistant caretaker and worked for the library for 15 years as an assistant guardian and provisional caretaker, among other things. He was mentioned as many as 13 times. Additionally, we find out that the spelling of his name differs in the documents, for example, on page 331, we learn that his name is 'Pindel', while a footnote stated that his name can also be found as 'Pondel', while on page 393 it is the other way around - 'Pondel' is found in the text, while 'Pindel' is in the footnote.

While I am not belittling or disregarding the work of the caretakers, however, in reviewing this second volume of the History of the Jagiellonian Library, I wonder whether there are not simply too many pieces of information, such as names, facts, and dates, some of which could have been omitted or more carefully researched before deciding to include them. The case of Pindel or Pondel shows that the authors actually did not make it easier for the reader to decide which was accurate since they had the person's name explained twice in a slightly contradictory way. Similarly, it could be asked whether quoting the whole oath formula of amanuentae (p. 394) or enumeration of all the 16 points of the contract between the library and the bookbinder, Marceli Żenczykowski, regarding the extent of his work (pp. 229-230) was absolutely necessary. The above-mentioned *amanuent* at the time, despite the need to boast higher education, was a relatively low library rank (after the librarian, custodian, and scriptor, just above a trainee). As much as the information on the hierarchy of ranks is interesting to readers, it seems unjustified to repeat it three times within one chapter (pp. 393-394, 406-407, and 416-417). This remains the case even if it reappears in different contexts, that is, once on the occasion of discussing changes in the hierarchy and titles, and again with reference to the library's remuneration scheme. Greater conciseness and a better organization of the information provided would definitely facilitate the readers' use of the second volume of the History of the Jagiellonian Library.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

Overloading the text with an excessive number of detailed facts is particularly to be seen in the chapters related to the construction works or renovations done to the library premises. In all fairness, the issue of the library premises constituted one of the greatest challenges faced by all its directors included in the second volume of its history. That challenge was finally met only in the 1930s when a new edifice was raised at Mickiewicza Avenue. Earlier, the collection was placed at the Collegium Maius in which subsequently new spaces were taken over until around 1840 when due to Bandtkie's efforts, the library was spread over the entire Collegium Maius' premises. As late as 1907, new rooms were made available in the Nowodworski Collegium nearby for housing the reading rooms, the catalogue, and the offices of the librarians.

A major development in the context of the situation with the premises of the Jagiellonian Library was the renovation conducted in 1839-1877 under Karol Kremer, Hermann Bergmann, and Feliks Księżarski (pp. 176-177 and 300), which adjusted the Collegium Maius to meet the needs of a library and for a reading room to the best possible extent under the circumstances. Although shortly afterwards it proved inadequate since the collection under Estreicher as director kept growing rapidly in the latter half of the 19th century. However, before that happened, it had saved the whole library and the Collegium Maius whose state in the 1830s was deplorable, as can be read from a contemporary description of Józef Mączyński quoted by the authors (p. 174).

The authors based the description of that renovation on the meticulously sought-after archival materials, mainly from the Jagiellonian University's own Archives. These also included sketches and construction plans from the period (e.g., pp. 187 and 195-196). Nonetheless, in the context of the description of all the renovations, one might question if such a detailed accumulation of facts might not have blurred the overall picture of the situation for the readers. For instance, when reading about the fruitless request of Józef Muczkowski, director at the time, to 'intervene with respect to the cracked ceiling in the library office with pieces of lime falling' (p. 175). Interestingly, this comment was made by Muczkowski in his letter to His Excellency Government Commissar at the Scientific Institutes of the Free City of Kraków and its Territory dated 2 January 1838. Including this minor detail about pieces of lime falling in the context of almost 150 years of the institution's history is not really of much relevance to merit providing a separate source for it, all of which does not make it easier for readers to follow the text. A similar observation can be made with respect to the description of the construction works which contains information about preparing a place for storing construction materials. It is stated that 'Kremer needed to gain 'permission to dig out and transfer the trees, gooseberry and other bushes to the botanical garden' (p, 181). Such minor facts seem uninteresting and unimportant to the reader at this time. Although I have no desire to discredit the tremendous amount of work done by the authors in conducting such a detailed archival search, I must raise the issue about the quality of the mass of information included in the book and how it might negatively affect the responses of those reading it.¹³

A further distraction from the quality of the work has to do with errors and a number of inaccuracies in the text. It must be stressed that much credit and appreciation must be given to the authors for producing such an exceptional, extensive, and multi-volume history of the Jagiellonian Library. The source of some of these errors can be identified as coming from previous publications appearing in the academic literature and reported by Lechowski, the editor, in the prologue. One such example was Estreicher's bibliography, published as of 1870, started in the second year of his being director, and whose publication must have been directly

¹³ See also p. 433 where an extremely detailed description of the above-mentioned reading room created in the Nowodworski College in 1907 can be found. Interestingly, a similar reflection with respect to the first volume of the *History of the Jagiellonian Library* was voiced in the review of St. J. Gruczyński, who critically assessed particularly its first part writing as follows: 'It is of utmost importance for a historical synthesis [...] to rationally select detailed facts in view of their relevance for the entity of the presented phenomena and historical processes', see Gruczyński, 'Historia Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej 1364-1776', *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, 1968, 13-3, pp. 679-680.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

connected with his work at the library. In the present work, this is mentioned very briefly only once in one paragraph and would seem to be the source of an inaccuracy in the volume under review and might be indicative of how other errors came about. On the second page, a photo of the cover of the first volume of Estreicher's book from 1870 is featured. Regrettably, a small error was made by the authors with this where in one sentence it said that 'in 1875-1908, the Academy of Learning published 20 volumes of the Bibliography', while in the next one they correctly informed the reader that the first volume of the Polish Bibliography of the 19th Century was published five years earlier, that is, in 1870 (p. 379). Similarly, the library could not have subscribed to 'Dziennik Lwowski' in 1826 (p. 133), since its first issue was released only in 1867. For such an error, the authors may be partially excused by the fact that this inaccuracy was first given in the Chronicle of the Library of the Jagiellonian University from 1811 authored by Estreicher, and which the authors give as the source with this fact¹⁴. Another shortcoming exhibited in the work has to do with typographical errors, such as the spelling of the name of the Lviv family of booksellers Wildt ('dt' in the place of 'd', p. 344).

As much as some of the above-mentioned omissions or inaccuracies are excusable, they can unnecessarily confuse the readers. There are challenges faced with a huge publication like this second volume of the *History of the Jagiellonian Library*, which is based on a large number of facts, names, and dates which the authors have to check and organized in a comprehensible manner to facilitate us. Nevertheless, they must be aware of the importance of accuracy so as not to confound the readers. This equally applies to an internal cohesion of the text which in some cases is not reflected as can be seen with reference to the case of the caretaker Pindel. The reader is given the following information on p. 382 where we read that '…in April 1905, after almost 40 years of dedicated work for the

¹⁴ K. Estreicher, *Kronika Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego od 1811 roku,* compiled and preface Jan Brzeski, Księgarnia Akademicka 2012, p. 12.

Library, Karol Estreicher finally retired'. This statement comes at the end of the part dedicated to Estreicher. Two pages later, at the beginning of the section dedicated to Papée's directorship, we can learn that '…on 22 March 1905 Karol Estreicher, the previous Director of the Library, retired'. This may have been possibly written by different authors; however, the final editing would be expected to make such information uniform. In the actual record, it is 26 April that is considered the date on which Estreicher ceased being the library's director.¹⁵

Similar inaccuracies appear elsewhere, limiting the readers' ability to rely on what is presented as facts. This can be observed in another case with reference to employing the *amanuent* Kornel Heck, a gymnasium teacher. On p. 317, we read that in 1902, he was assigned to work at the library ex officio, against which Estreicher protested for financial reasons. This information was supported by a longer quote from his letter to the Senate of the Jagiellonian University which included the statement, 'The Director's intervention and that of the University authorities proved effective'. 'Heck soon returned to Lviv'. The whole story does seem brief and quickly over. However, it does not appear to be so, since on p. 384 we find information on a competition from January 1905 for the Custodian position and which was participated in by 'Dr. Korneli Heck, gymnasium professor, temporarily employed at the Jagiellonian Library as *amanuent*'. Further, on p. 395, it says that in 1905, Papée 'solved the question of Heck's employment', who then, just as was said 80 pages earlier, returned to working as a teacher, though not to Lviv as before (p. 317), but to the John III Sobieski Gymnasium No. 3 in Kraków (p. 384). It thus seems from all the information given about Heck that he must have worked at the library for a longer time, namely from 1902 to 1905. In view of these contradictions, readers are bound to ask how it was all possible since Es-

¹⁵ See J. W. Brzeski, Środowisko Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej 1775-1939. Słownik biograficzny. Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków 2014, p. 55, and J. Baumgart, 'Estreicher Karol Józef Teofil', in: Słownik pracowników książki polskiej, ed. I. Treichel, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa/Łódź 1972, p. 207.

treicher effectively protested against his employment in 1902, as a result of which 'he *soon* returned to Lviv'. Going back to p. 317, from where they remember the story and re-reading the relevant fragment, they might also notice in the footnote that Estreicher's letter in which he protested against employing Heck was dated 6 December 1904 (!), is from the time when Heck had been working at the library for two years. The very same footnote also gives other literature related to Heck, trying to clarify everything. As it turns out, having moved from Lviv to Kraków in 1902, Heck worked for the Jagiellonian Library for three years (until 1905), after that he resumed his profession as a teacher, first in Kraków (1905-1907), and afterwards again in Lviv (1908-1911).¹⁶

Even if the differing information on Heck and Estreicher's retirement can be reconciled or explained, this task should have been undertaken either by the authors or editors of the volume¹⁷. From the readers' perspective, reliable and accurate information should come in the text itself, and not be hidden in the footnotes, but given in a transparent, unequivocal manner, and it should be accurate. Were this done, the record would have shown that Heck did not return to Lviv in 1902, while Estreicher could not have retired on two different dates. Even if some contradictions regarding certain facts had arisen directly from the sources, attempts should have been made to harmonize them, whereas in the case of the same bits of information appearing in different chapters, the recommendation is for them to be cross-referenced.

Evaluating a historical text for accuracy and reliability is essential for determining its value to the users and so it was necessary to raise this important point in reviewing the second volume of the *History of the Jagiellonian Library*. This is not denying that the

¹⁶ Brzeski, Środowisko Biblioteki..., p. 65 or T. Cieślak, 'Heck Korneli Juliusz', in: Słownik pracowników..., ed. Treichel, p. 322.

¹⁷ Another question is whether an editor in the course of 'regular' editing could spot all inaccuracies of this type. With a similar publication it may be recommendable for the authors of particular parts to read the sections written by other authors.

book presents many interesting and unique pieces of information concerning names, dates, events, and the like from the library's history. This unquestionable richness of the information constitutes the volume's major feature. However, one could risk saving that this feature also is the source of some of the book's greatest shortcomings. It would be going far beyond my competencies to try to define what proportion of the provided information is new with respect to what is already known from the existing literature. I estimate that a large proportion is new and one of the reasons for this is because of the vast archival research conducted by the team of authors. However, as I have tried to demonstrate above, this accumulation of facts can also pose problems for the users who should and do expect the authors to provide them with some useful assistance for navigating the vastness of information provided in the book. In this sense, what is missing is some kind of guideline from the authors as to whether the History of the Jaqiellonian Library should be read as a collection of facts, and not as a coherent synthesis of the same. If the book is approached as collection of facts, we can overlook the repetitions that appear in the study since instead of a broader narrative it seams more important to describe a definite problem. We can then read and use it differently when seeking specific information on the acquisition of the collection under Bandtkie as director, on employment under Estreicher, or on problems with the premises in about 1910 when Papée headed the library. Also, in this case, an easily understood system of organization would prove very useful, just like the name index at the end of the volume. In order to facilitate readers' interest in consulting the sources for respective pieces of information, it would have been good to place the footnotes at the bottom of the page instead of at the end of a given chapter. Currently, each section features its own footnote numbering (which reveals the fact that the book is comprised of more or less autonomous segments), while the shared final bibliography takes into account all the cited titles.

A feature of particular interest is the numerous illustrations (e.g., cards of the so-called old catalogue, 19th-century order slips,

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

etc.) and tables or lists together with the illustration list at the end of the book. Finally, in order to better contextualize certain facts or pieces of information, there are two short chapters framing each of the three major sections which are very useful. The first appears at the beginning as a ten-page chapter dedicated to the overall historical situation and the Jagiellonian University ('Kraków and its University'. The other is presented at the end and consists of a brief summary of about five pages. Both of these chapters facilitate the book's use as they focus on the structure of the given part by enumerating successively the most important points, such as the premises, the acquisition of the collection, and their study, among other things. Additionally, the volume features the epilogue authored by the editor and two summaries in English and German. This is different from the first volume where the languages used were French and Russian.

Overall, it would be accurate to claim that the study provides a reliable and complete history of the Jagiellonian Library in the 19th century which was a difficult period for the institution. As mentioned, it provides information on staff-related questions and the situation with the premises, along with the various library operations, such as those connected with the acquisition, location, organization, study, cataloguing, and circulation of the collection which are presented in much detail. Deserving of particular attention are the fragments dealing with the donations to the library because they demonstrate the library's ability to boast to the Polish society about its value as well as to the other partitioning zones, and even from abroad. Obviously, one could identify issues that could have been developed differently, such as the position and importance of the Jagiellonian Library amidst the landscape of Polish libraries during the partitions when, due to Estreicher, the library was more seriously performing the function of the socalled 'Biblioteca Patrii'. Regrettably, we will also find little information on the library's contacts with other libraries in the Austrian partition, and almost none on the relationship with libraries from other parts of Poland at the time. Additionally, we must not forget that the Jagiellonian Library was the second largest in the whole Austro-Hungarian monarchy yet describing its position and impact also in this respect would likely go beyond the assumptions and framework of the present publication being reviewed.

Nevertheless, it is fascinating to find the numerous curious stories in the study, like Estreicher's determination to retrieve in 1883 a book lent almost a hundred years earlier. The delinquent reader turned out to have been Princess Izabela Czartoryska. Also, the ethnographer and historian Henryk Biegeleisen visibly violated the library's regulations when using the manuscript brought from Kraków to Lviv by writing down a number of comments on it. The director of the Lviv Library, Wojciech Urbański, justly reproached him for so doing, leading to him apologizing extensively to Estreicher. On the other hand, it makes one smile to read the piece of information stating that students were obliged to attend classes as a result of the severe regulations introduced upon the suppression of the November Uprising Kraków. These are but several examples of many of the stories which unquestionably make reading the book more exciting.

The third and final point I would like to make is the question of the intended audience for this work which will also allow me to summarize my comments so far. The question regarding the audience has already been partially answered as it would seem that the study has to do more with a rich collection of information on the functioning of the Kraków Library than with an attempt at a synthesis describing its history in the 19th century. Let me add at this point that the book allows for the latter kind of reading, which is actually very inspiring. However, in view of this, a question should be asked as to whether this is the appropriate and only format for presenting data collected in extensive and thorough research into history, particularly of such institutions as the Jagiellonian Library about which so many other studies have been done. Obviously, writing a synthesis and creating a relatively cohesive narrative is a hard and challenging task. Looking at other publications created in recent years in relation to the anniversaries of libraries,

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

we can observe that in their case too, they rejected the format of a larger narrative to talk about their history. We can look at the example of the National Ossoliński Institute which released several interesting and attractive publications on its 200th jubilee¹⁸. Similar instances can be found in the books celebrating 200 years of the University of Warsaw Library, the *Chronicle of the Gdansk Library 1596-2016*, or the study dedicated to the Poznan University Library also released in 2017¹⁹. These are a few examples of books published around the same time as the *History of the Jagiellonian University*.

The history of every library is composed of many 'smaller' stories, including its premises, staff, and readers, as well as the collection and catalogues, and its impact as an institution of culture and science. Some issues or aspects seem to require the use of synthesis because they reflect a certain development, or document a given status quo. The description of the state of the library's premises as seen in the second volume of the *History of the Jagiellonian Library* is one such example. Almost in every chapter, we can read about the deplorable physical conditions in which the library had to operate and which each subsequent director tried to address. The nature of a library's accommodation determines almost everything connected with the collection, including even the catalogues. The use of the synthesis approach is advantageous for readers as it provides a more comprehensive overview. From the author's perspective, such an approach is directly connected with the need to carry out a preliminary selection of the material available, and to

¹⁸ E.g., Księga darczyńców Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, ed. M. Pękalska, Wydawnictwo Ossolineum, Wrocław 2017; Jubileusze Ossolineum. Antologia tekstów, eds. M. Pękalska, A. Mitki, Wydawnictwo Ossolineum, Wrocław 2017, and Skarbiec 200 lat Ossolineum, selected and compiled by Marta Markowska, Wydawnictwo Ossolineum, Wrocław 2017. Recently also a book has been published as a result of a conference held on that jubilee: 200 lat Ossolineum. Rozprawy i materiały, ed. M. Dworsatschek, Wydawnictwo Ossolineum, Wrocław 2022.

¹⁹ Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie 1817-2017: miscellanea, ed. D. Mazek, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2017; Kronika Biblioteki Gdańskiej 1596-2016, eds. A. Baliński, A. Frąckowska, M. Otto, Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Gdańska, Gdańsk 2017, and A. Jazdon, J. Skutecki: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Poznaniu. Wydawnictwo Miejskie Posnania, Poznań 2017.

choose what to document appropriately since not every detail is of relevance to the institution's development, nor deserves to be included in the final study²⁰. It is recommended that this approach should be considered in the production of the future volumes of the *History of the Jagiellonian Library* which are eagerly anticipated.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

²⁰ A more reader-friendly location of the multitude of the pieces of information is the only point of criticism formulated in the review of the *History of the Jagiellonian Library* by Janusz Kostecki, who suggests having some of them moved to footnotes. What is more, Kostecki emphasizes that he has limited himself to presenting the book instead of picking on error. See Janusz Kostecki, 'Historia Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej, t. 2. 1775-1918', Roczniki Biblioteczne, 2018, 62, pp. 285 289.

LEITFADEN PROVENIENZFORSCHUNG ZUR IDENTIFIZIERUNG VON KULTURGUT, DAS WÄHREND DER NATIONALSOZIALISTISCHEN HERRSCHAFT VERFOLGUNGSBEDINGT ENTZOGEN WURDE, MULTIPLE EDS., DEUTSCHES ZENTRUM FÜR KULTURGUTVERLUSTE, MAGDEBURG 2019, 135 PP. DOI: 10.36155/PLib.10.00014

KEYWORDS: Provenance research, Nazi-confiscated art, Deutsches Zentrum für Kulturgutverluste

The reviewed work forms a compendium of methodological tips for provenance studies (goals of research, legal grounds, material and chronological ranges, research methods). Targeted at employees of museums, libraries, and archives, as well as antiquarians and private individuals, it is conceived to serve those who 'want to deal with the provenance of objects and collections' (p.5).¹ It was published through the shared collaboration of six institutions: the German Lost Art Foundation in Magdeburg (Deutsches Zentrum Kulturgutverluste), the Team for Provenance Research (Arbeit-

^{1 &#}x27;Allen, die sich mit der Herkunft ihrer Sammlungsobjekte oder Bestände auseinandersetzen wollen, soll dieser Leitfaden Anregung und Hilfe bieten', (p. 5).

skreis Provenienzforschung e. V.), Provenance Research and Studies – Libraries Working Group (Arbeitskreis Provenienzforschung und Restitution – Bibliotheken), Association of German Librarians (Deutscher Bibliotheksverband e. V.), German Museums Association (Deutscher Museumsbund e. V.), and ICOM Germany.

According to the publishers' statement in the Introduction, the publication aims to contribute to the broader implementation of the *Washington Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art* of 3 December 1998, thus it should 'seek out and identify cultural goods which were seized and looted, mainly from Jewish owners, in 1933–1945' (p.6).² Therefore, the guide does not take into account other areas eligible for provenance studies: German war losses, expropriations within the Soviet occupation zone and in East Germany (GDR), as well as colonial policies.

The goal of the publication is specified in the Introduction authored by Gilbert Lupfer of the Dresden State Art Collections, and Lupfer's assistant Maria Obenaus, a representative of the German Lost Art Foundation (pp. 9–13). The focus of their research is the provenance of cultural property seized and looted from Jewish owners from 1933-1945, as they state: 'The majority of them were Jewish citizens of German descent and from the territories either annexed or occupied by German troops during WW II. Persecution for racial, political, ideological, or religious reasons in 1933-1945 was also suffered by other groups of people and institutions; the looting of art also applies to them'.³ However, the authors do not specify these groups.

^{2 &#}x27;Der Suche nach und der Identifizierung von Kulturgütern, die ihren - meist jüdischen - Eigentümern zwischen 1933 und 1945 entzogen oder geraubt wurden' (p. 6). The instruction based on Polish realities addressing heritage items kept at museums was published in 2012. Z. Bandurska, D. Kacprzak, P. Kosiewski et al., 'Badania proweniencyjne muzealiów pod kątem ich ewentualnego pochodzenia z własności żydowskiej', *Muzealnictwo*, 2012, 53, pp. 14–26.

^{3 &#}x27;Das waren in der großen Mehrheit jüdische Bürger in Deutschland und in den von deutschen Truppen während des Zweiten Weltkriegs annektierten oder besetzten Gebieten. Betroffen von der Verfolgung aus rassistischen, politischen, weltanschaulichen oder religiösen Gründen und vom Raub zwischen 1933 und 1945 waren jedoch auch andere Personengruppen sowie Institutionen', p. 10.

Chapter One, 'Provenance Studies as a Commitment' (Provenienzforschung als Selbstverpflichtung), discusses the legal grounds for the confiscation of cultural goods in 1933-1945. In addition, it outlines the Washington Principles, their interpretation, and their implementation. The authors of the chapter, Johannes Gramlich, Carola Thielecke, highlight the fact that the confiscation of assets of the political opponents of new authorities began immediately after Adolf Hitler seized power. In May and July 1933, the Law on the Confiscation of Communist Property (Gesetz über die Einziehung kommunistischen Vermögens) and the Law on the Confiscation of the Property of Forces Hostile to the People and the State (Gesetz über die Einziehung volks- und staatsfeindlichen Vermögens) were passed. Initially, only the assets of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe were seized. In subsequent years, the state interfered in property ownership to a larger degree, restraining the capacity of the Jewish population to freely administer their assets. An important caesura in this respect was marked in 1938 when new, discriminatory laws were introduced. Jews were banned from running businesses and trading, as their capacity for taking legal action in causes related to trading in real estate, securities, and valuables was also limited. New legislations aimed against Jews were introduced in 1941 and 1943, such as the 11th and 13th Ordinances to the Reich Citizenship Law (11., 13. Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz). ruling that the German state could seize the property of Jewish immigrants, as well as that belonging to deported, dead, and murdered Jews. Interestingly, the authors overlook legislations targeted at other national and religious groups.

The authors hold the opinion that a separate analysis should be conducted on territories annexed or occupied by Germany after 1938. They reason that a particular drive among high-ranking Party members to seize cultural assets can be observed in this context. They add that specialized institutions and units, competing for the loot, operated there. When speaking of this issue, the authors mention the Polish case for the first and last time in the publication: 'Depriving the Jewish population of their property through-

out all the war-covered territories formed part of the German reason of state, and was in many a case legalized with appropriate normative acts. In Poland and the Soviet Union, that is the territories in which the Wehrmacht, aiming at winning *Lebensraum*, was ranging the war of attrition, this goal also affected the Slavic population, and to a much greater extent than in Western Europe, it applied to Church and state property'.⁴ Such simplifications distort the reality of the situation, misleading readers unfamiliar with the German actions against Polish cultural heritage in 1935-1945, as the authors failed to mention the restrictive legislations introduced in occupied Poland. The confiscation of library collections was ruled across territories directly incorporated into the Reich by late autumn 1939: it applied to state, local government, Church, social, and private book collections. Similar policies affected archives and museums. In November 1939, the General Government adopted an ordinance regarding the confiscation of the property of the former Polish state; in January 1940, this ordinance was extended to include private assets. In December 1939, an ordinance was issued that allowed the seizure of artworks. More examples of similar legal regulations could easily be quoted to introduce a more expansive and nuanced perspective.

Next, the authors examine the return of looted property after 1945. The process was most effectively conducted within the American occupation zone. By the end of March 1948, American military authorities had returned around 470,000 artworks and 1,7 million books deposited from almost 1,500 temporary depots. However, readers are not informed of the types of heritage pieces returned, nor whom benefitted from the American restitution. The 'internal restitution' provided another step toward 'lifting the National Socialist expropriation policy'. As of November 1947, those who 'had

^{4 &#}x27;Die Enteignung der jüdischen Bevölkerung gehörte in allen Kriegsgebieten zur deutschen Staatsräson und wurde häufig durch Verordnungen legalisiert. In Polen und der Sowjetunion, wo die Wehrmacht einen Vernichtungskrieg zur Gewinnung von »Lebensraum« führte, galt dies auch für die slawische Bevölkerung und – mehr als in Westeuropa – für kirchliche und staatliche Vermögenswerte", p. 18.

lost their property for the reasons of race, religion, nationality, ideology, hostility to the National Socialist Regime' could apply for their property's return.⁵ German legislations enacted in 1957 echoed the American solutions. As the authors emphasize, similar legal grounds and procedures for the return of the confiscated goods were neither formulated within the Soviet occupation zone nor in East Germany. The return of cultural assets to private individuals regarded as persecuted by the Third Reich only took place in few politically justified situations. Finally, the authors proceed to discuss the content of the Washington Principles of 3 December 1998. which appealed to cultural institutions to verify Nazi-confiscated art within their collections, as well as the reception of the Principles in West Germany. In Germany, the agreement vielded The Shared Declaration of the Central Government, Land Governments, and Local Governments with Respect to Searching for and the Restitutions of Cultural Property Seized as a Result of Persecution of Mainly Jewish Owners (Erklärung der Bundesregierung, der Länder und der kommunalen Spitzenverbände zur Auffindung und zur Rückgabe NS-verfolgungsbedingt entzogenen Kulturgutes, insbesondere aus jüdischem Besitz) of 14 December 1999. In comparison to the Washington Principles, it expands the search of collections to include all heritage assets, including books. Furthermore, not only does it cover all confiscated materials but also all those which 'were taken away from the rightful owners by the National Socialist regime'.⁶ Legally speaking, the declaration does not have a binding force.

Chapter Two (*Von der Identifizierung von Verdachtsmomenten zur systematischen Provenienzforschung*) focuses on subsequent stages of provenance studies, which can be implemented either as temporary projects or a permanent element of a research agenda. Jasmin Hartmann and Tessa F. Rosebrock point to the fact that this kind of search should be planned regardless of subsequent restitution

^{5 &#}x27;Aus Gründen der Rasse, Religion, Nationalität, Weltanschauung oder politischer Gegnerschaft gegen den Nationalsozialismus« Vermögen verloren hatten, die Restitution beantragen konnten', p. 19.

^{6 &#}x27;NS-verfolgungsbedingt entzogenes Kulturgut'.

claims submitted by cultural institutions. Furthermore, the authors underline that verifying the provenance of all objects usually proves impossible, so they recommend placing limitations on search areas. What criteria should be adopted to this end? The identification of an accession date is of key importance in this respect. Provenance studies should apply to all items created prior to 8 May 1945 and those that entered a collection after 30 January 1933 (p. 27). Thus, this kind of investigation should exclude all items created after 8 May 1945 and the artefacts that had entered an institution prior to 30 January 1933; the limitation should also apply to materials or works purchased directly from artists who were not persecuted for ethnic, religious, or political reasons, as well as to historic objects acquired from 1933-1945 that can be unquestionably proven not to have been illegally seized from their rightful owners (pp. 34-35). The items that are to be taken into consideration thus should not only include purchases, but also donations, exchanges, as well as items acquired as legal deposits. It is of crucial importance to verify the extended acquisition context of an object; so, it should first be ascertained whether an historic monument was not associated with individuals persecuted in the Third Reich as well as individuals and institutions involved in an illegal acquisition of or trade in heritage items. In this respect, the *Red Flag Names List* put together by the Allies and forming part of The Central Registry of Information on Looted Cultural Property, 1933-1945 can be consulted.⁷ According to the authors, a thorough study of the history of an institution as well as research into its relations with antique dealers, artists, and collectors can prove extremely beneficial to such an analysis. This research can provide information on the activity of the respective directors of an institution, and it can help recreate networks of contacts and bonds, in turn potentially leading to an effective reduction of the range of objects classified for provenance studies. The authors strongly emphasize that provenance studies can lead to positive effects only through

7 https://www.lootedart.com/MVI3RM469661

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

a harmonious cooperation of all the internal units and institutions, and in particular of the departments dealing with the following: studies, inventory, conservation, archives. Finally, the Chapter contains practical guidelines for the preparation of an application for external financing (this, obviously, limited to Germany's realities only).

Chapter Three, which presents a methodology for provenance studies (Methoden der Provenienzforschung) by explaining how to work out an 'object's biography', is of major importance. The team of four authors experts of library and museum studies — Jana Kocourek, Katja Lindenau, Ilse von zur Mühlen, and Johanna Poltermann - present important observations related to the process of researching the vicissitudes of cultural property, complementing theoretical analyses with 'case studies'. The authors emphasize that the first criterion to be considered is the object itself, which hides much information about its own past. It is of high importance to correctly identify all the numbers that it bears: catalogue numbers, accession numbers, library catalogue numbers, numbers assigned by antique dealers (often featuring the letter 'L' for Lagernummer or 'C' or 'K' for Kommissionsnummer at the front); as well as numbers given by auction houses. Series numbers are also relevant in the case of mass-produced objects (e.g., the archives of big German automobile manufacturers, such as Mercedes-Benz, BMW, Audi, have preserved their sales books). A separate group of data relevant to provenance studies concerns accession or inventory numbers of illegally acquired cultural assets in 1933-1945. Online databases are available for some of them, facilitating the identification of the objects, such as registers for degenerate art, including Entartete Kunst, known as EK-Nummer, a database run by the Berlin *Freie Universität*).⁸ Another data point is the so-called ERR-Nummer, featured on objects looted by the Reichsleiter Rosenberg Taskforce (Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg, ERR-Nummer); a relevant

⁸ https://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/db_entart_kunst/datenbank/index.html

database for these has also been created.⁹ Furthermore, the Authors Leitfaden Provenienzforschung zur Identifizierung von Kulturgut, das während der nationalsozialistischen mention that the items from the collection of Reichmarschall Hermann Göring feature their unique RM number (Reichsmarschall-Nummer). The historic pieces may also bear inventory or accession numbers assigned after World War II, such as numbers assigned by the Central Collecting Point in Munich (Mü-Nr.) or Wiesbaden (WIE and the subsequent ordinal number). The authors stress that when conducting provenance research it is of major importance to pay similar attention to stamps of private individuals or institutions. A researcher must look closely at stamps or inserts left by bookbinders; in fact, all elements related to bookbinding, can provide relevant information on the provenance of an item, such as customs marks, labels, book plates, handwritten provenance entries, dedications, monograms, coat of arms, among others. Having thoroughly analysed the item, one should then search for the archival sources of the institution that held it. The authors suggest looking through accession books, any accession-related files (e.g., lists of objects donated or temporarily deposited during World War II), lists of objects taken to temporary repositories, books registering correspondences, and epistolary exchanges with individuals and institutions dealing with or acting as agents in the trade of cultural assets.

The next stage of provenance studies consists of preliminary research into legal regulations illustrating state policies and Party authorities, as well as police records. To this end, the B323 fonds held in the Federal Archives in Koblenz and related to Nazi-era cultural property, titled *Trust Management of Cultural Property at the Finance Administration in Munich. Koblenz Branch* (*Treuhandverwaltung von Kulturgut bei der Oberfinanzdirektion München am Standort Koblenz*), is of major importance. They contain materials created and collected by the Management, an institution active from 1951-1962 that inherited and continued the activities of the Collecting Points. Among other relevant archival materials, the authors point to the

9 https://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume

R43 Fonds *Reich Chancellery* (*Reichskanzlei*) in the Federal Archives in Berlin, or other materials in that archive belonging to various Party organs. Interesting findings might also result from searching through police files, which often contain minutes related to confiscated cultural property, as well as records of financial institutions. Interestingly, the authors omit military archives among the institutions they recommend for preliminary provenance research; it is particularly surprising that the Federal Archives in Freiburg im Breisgaur has not been suggested in this regard.

The chapter is complemented by a basic literature review on the topic and useful websites, as well as online databases available online and genealogical portals, and by two reference studies – a book from the 1920s–1930s and a 16th-century tapestry.

The next chapter by Andrea Baresel-Brand, Michaela Scheibe, and Petra Winter, focusing on the publication of provenance studies (Ergebnisse der Provenienzforschung), deals with the current standards of the field, as well as with means of disseminating findings among scholars and the general public. Of major concern is the standardization of archival descriptions. The authors recommend a model related to the organization of the central catalogue of the German National Library (Gemeinsame Normdatei) and a standardized dictionary of concepts (e.g., Thesaurus der Provenienzbegriffe, *T-PRO*). Not only is it possible to publish the list of objects in a standardized manner, but also related materials, such as a source dossier or an academic paper. The authors present a model to order texts of all types. Furthermore, they remind readers of the obligation to submit all cases to the German Lost Art Foundation and, through them, to the *Proveana* central database.¹⁰ As far as the publication of provenance studies is concerned, the preparation of printed or online catalogues, databases, exhibitions, etc., must also be taken into consideration.

Finally, Chapter Five (*Provenienzforschung als Grundlage für 'gerechte und faire Lösungen'*) by Michael Franz and Maria Kesting provides

¹⁰ https://www.proveana.de.

information on potential solutions in the event when a given heritage object that had been held in an institution from 1933-1945 had been taken away from its rightful owners. Several options are possible: it can be returned, purchased by the institution, compensation can be paid to the descendants of the former owners, or the ownership title can be transferred, with the item in question left in the institution's collection as a deposit.

The concluding Chapter (*Vernetzung und Institutionalisierung*) presents the organizations that provided support to cultural institutions for provenance studies, beginning with the publishers of the discussed volume.

The reviewed work is addressed namely to individuals beginning their work on provenance research, providing a useful introduction into the topic. Yet I consider its oversight of looted cultural goods in territories annexed or occupied by the Third Reich, an extremely relevant analysis for the topic of the book, an evident drawback. I do not only refer to Poland, although it is widely known that German operations within the Polish territories were unprecedented, but other European states as well. The issue is not unknown. For example, Cornelia Briel has analyzed the activities of Hermann Fuchs, employee of the Prussian State Library in Berlin, head of the Office for Library Protection (*Referat Biblioteksschutz*) at the Military Command in France (*Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich*), his contacts with Paris antiquarians and booksellers, as well as the ways he acquired books of interest to the Prussian State Library.¹¹

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

11 Cornelia Briel, Beschlagnahmt, erpresst, erbeutet. NS-Raubgut, Reichstauschstelle und Preußische Staatsbibliothek zwischen 1933 und 1945, Berlin 2013, pp. 265–282.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

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RICHARD OVENDEN, BURNING THE BOOKS. A HISTORY OF THE DELIBERATE DESTRUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE, THE BELKNAP PRESS, CAMBRIDGE (MASSACHUSETTS) 2020 DOI: 10.36155/PLib.10.00015

KEYWORDS: Richard Ovenden, librocide, bibliocide,

The book under review, published by The Belknap Press, an imprint of Harvard University Press, is Richard Ovenden's latest contribution, who has been the director of the Bodleian Libraries since 2014, the oldest and most prominent library at Oxford University. His academic interests focus on the history of libraries, books, and photography. He authored, among works, a study dedicated to John Thomson, a Scottish photographer, geographer, and traveller, who contributed to the development of photojournalism in Great Britain.¹

The reviewed book is composed of an introduction, fifteen thematic and chronological chapters, and an annex containing footnotes, bibliography, as well as indexes: of people, subjects, and geographic names. Apart from two works in German, the author exclusively quotes literature in English, displaying clear predilection for papers printed or published online over the last two decades.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

¹ R. Ovenden, John Thomson (1837-1921). Photographer, Edinburgh 1997.

In the Introduction, Ovenden declares that his goal is to analyse select cases related to the destruction of knowledge sanctuaries such as archives and libraries, the perpetrators' motivations, and defence mechanisms developed by archivists and librarians. This model dominates the narrative, whenever the author speaks of attacks on cultural institutions, he points to the individuals who protested against and opposed them. Nonetheless, the author does not provide the criteria that drove the selection of his examples, satisfied with the statement that the chosen cases are, on the one hand, interesting in themselves, while, on the other, they exemplify the era in which they happened. Furthermore, Ovenden emphasizes that his intention is to commemorate those individuals who opposed the destruction of books and archives over the centuries (p. 14). He also promises that, in due course, he will analyse digital archives and libraries to inquire as to the challenges that digital reality poses to the 'guardians of knowledge'.

In Chapter One, the author takes a closer look at the Nineveh Library of Ashurbanipal. Discovered by Austen H. Layard in the mid-19th century and boasting over 25,000 clay tablets, it is the largest known collection of literary, scientific, religious, and administrative works of the ancient Middle East. A substantial part of the collection was devastated by warfare during the attack of the Babylonian and Median troops on Nineveh in 612 BC. It remains unclear, however, whether the destruction of the library was a purposeful act.

In Chapter Two, the author takes us to ancient Alexandria. Ovenden emphasizes that little is known today about its book collection there and its daily operations. Our hypotheses stem from indirect sources. Such an incomplete picture has favoured the creation and consolidation of the 'Alexandrian myth' among the general public regarding the destruction of Ptolemy's collection. The author holds the opinion that myth was consolidated with the publication of the third volume of *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* by Edward Gibbon (1781), which contains suggestive description of the library's destruction. In Ovenden's view, this scholarly fragment transformed the plundering of the library in Alexandria into a symbol of the triumph of barbarianism over knowledge. However, the idea of a library as a knowledge sanctuary dedicated to scholars survived that conflagration in Alexandria. Alongside the beginnings of Christianity, books and libraries diffused throughout the Mediterranean, gradually reaching countries in Northern Europe. The Arabic world understand a library as a place dedicated to studies. Large libraries were established in Syria and Egypt: over 70 operated in Muslim-ruled Spain, with over 30 were founded in Baghdad alone. The Baghdad libraries were largely destroyed during the Mongol invasion in the 13th century.

Chapter Three focuses on English monastic libraries during the Reformation. Searching for legal titles to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon while avoiding the Holy See's decision, Henry VIII instructed the librarian John Leland to investigate all monastic and university libraries in the country. Over three years of preliminary research, Leland looked through the book collections of over 140 libraries, preparing an extensive report on his research. After the Church of England achieved independence from the papacy in 1534, bringing about secularization of Church property, many of those libraries and archives were irrevocably destroyed. Only 5,000 codices survived the Reformation in Great Britain; Leland's lists are in some cases the only source of information on ecclesiastical libraries in England we have today. As demonstrated by Ovenden, monks and priests forced to abandon their monasteries and parishes often saved those books. Leland himself managed to prevent the destruction of almost 200 codices.

Humanists, collectors, and antiquarians form another category of protagonists in Ovenden's study. Thanks to their efforts, a substantial quantity of knowledge produced during the Middle Ages was protected. Their work contributed to the establishment many of contemporary libraries and gave rise to the professions of librarian and archivist, the focus of Chapter Four. In 1549–1550, following the *Act for the abolishing and putting away of diverse books and images*, which stipulated the destruction 'books and images displaying superstition', the lion's share of Oxford University's library holdRichard Ovenden, Burning the Books. A History of the Deliberate Destruction of Knowledge

ings were destroyed, among them the priceless collection of manuscripts gifted by Humphrey of Lancaster, Duke of Gloucester, a younger brother of Henry V (1390-1447). Only eleven volumes were preserved. In 1598, the library was renovated thanks to Sir Thomas Bodley, and it has born his name since. It was enriched with numerous manuscripts, books, archival records, maps, coins, and other materials, some coming from the secularized libraries and ecclesiastical archives. The Bodleian Library was the first in England whose catalogue was printed and disseminated only three years after its opening to the public in 1605.

Chapter Five discusses the destruction of the Library of Congress building and an extensive part of its collection of the Library after British troops set it on fire in August 1814 during the war against the United States (1812–1815). The author claims that the destruction of the Library, housing materials essential to the operations of the American Congress, was a purposeful act intended to weaken the British enemy. Ovenden does not provide convincing evidence to demonstrate his analysis, only mentioning that the Library of Congress was revived from the ravages of war due to the books taken from Thomas Jefferson's collection.

The key question of Chapter Six: 'How to Disobey Kafka' is matched by considerations regarding the attempts by some authors to annihilate their own literary output. Writers and poets have historically been tempted to destroy their own writing, from literary works to correspondences, such as Franz Kafka. Kafka's friend Max Brod, who was determined to secure a place for Kafka in the literary canon that he had not been able to achieve during his lifetime, thwarted Kafka's plans to destroy his works. Regardless of Brod's true intentions – he has been accused of seeking fame and substantial income for himself – had it not been for his effort to publish Kafka's literary legacy, the writer's oeuvre would have been irrevocably lost.

Chapter Seven considers the library of the Catholic University in Leuven. That book collection was burnt for the first time in August 1914. International public opinion compared its destruction to the burning down of the library in Alexandria. The need to rebuild the library was even included in the provisions of the Versailles Treaty: German parties were obliged to provide the Leuven Library with manuscripts, incunabula, books, maps, and other items whose number and worth would equal those destroyed during the war. In May 1940, the Library again suffered war-related destruction. Ovenden admits, however, that it remains difficult to ascertain whether the attacks on the Library in 1914 and 1940 were purposeful acts. Nonetheless, he holds the opinion, without providing any examples to prove his point, that this story continues to frustrate public opinion both in Germany and Belgium, since 'one community still feels a sense of guilt and responsibility, another continues to try to understand the motivations for what happened' (p. 117).

The next chapter recounts the history of Jewish book collections during World War II. Ovenden writes that not only was persecution targeted at the 'people of the Book', but also at their books (p. 119). Based on his own estimations, the author claims that in 1933-1945, over 100 million books from Jewish libraries were destroyed. Those historic works were either burned in public or confiscated and looted. At the same time, Ovenden emphasizes that the Germans tried to amass select manuscripts and printed works. These were collected to help them better understand the culture the Nazi state wanted to eradicate. To this end, the Institute for Research on the Jewish Question (Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage) was established in 1939. By April 1943, it had collected over 550,000 volumes, initially seized from Frankfurt-am-Mein, but later from libraries in France, the Netherlands, Poland, Lithuania, and Greece. When the Nazi war machine was rolling across Poland, Russia, and the Baltics, Ovenden says that Jews became the main target of homicide. The author claims that Eastern European countries (not specifying which territories he is referring to) had long persecuted Jews. Yet h does not analyse why Jewish representatives chose to settle in this part of Europe, and why their culture could flourish in these regions. He does not mention the tradition of tolerance

prevalent in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He says nothing about the policies enacted in the 19th century against harming Jewish communities; in Eastern Europe decisions were made inside the offices of great monarchies (Russia, Prussia, and Austria) without taking into account the voices of national political and social elites. According to the author, Jews were particularly vulnerable to pogroms in Eastern Europe, and were also forced to assimilate with Christian communities. He subsequently argues that such processes intensified at the turn of the 20th century. Meanwhile, he does not illustrate his claims with any definite examples, additionally failing to admit that assimilation was also favoured by Jewish representatives (e.g. among Haskalah). Without providing any data sources. Ovenden claims that in 1918-20, hundreds of thousands of Jews perished because of pogroms in Central and Eastern Europe. Nonetheless, despite those hostile circumstances, Vilnius became a location where Jewish culture thrived. Still, the author does not mention what state the city was part of in the 18th and 19th centuries, as well as in the 1920s and 30s. He only speaks of Soviet troops entering Vilnius in late 1939 (p. 126) in passing. The Yiddish Scientific Institute, YIVO, played a special role in the Vilnius Jewish community. After the city had been seized by the Germans in 1941, the occupation administration decided to take a closer look at the Institute's book collection. Jewish librarians and writers, such as Herman Kruk and the well-known poet Abraham Suckewer, were employed for this task. The team of librarians was to conduct a preliminary selection of books and manuscripts from the YIVO Library, as well as from the closed Jewish libraries in Riga, Kaunas, Vilnius, Minsk, Kiev, and many other cities. They established the 'Paper Brigade', a clandestine organization whose goal was to save at least a part of the collections from destruction. Between March 1942 and September 1943, they succeeded in bringing thousands of books and manuscripts into the Vilnius Ghetto. A substantial part of the materials hidden in the Ghetto survived. Discovered after the World War II, they were partially catalogued. However, the Soviet regime began to persecute the Jewish com-

munity, demonstrating hostility to their books as well. Antanas Ulpis, head of the Lithuanian Book Chamber, undertook the task of saving Jewish books and manuscripts, hiding the volumes he found in different places. Incidentally, Ovenden fails to mentions that Ulpis was not merely interested in Jewish manuscripts and books, but also in those originating in private and ecclesiastical collections. Interestingly, two Polish references in the discussed chapter. The author adds a few words about the Oneg Shabbat, an organization operating in the Warsaw Ghetto that founded the Ringelblum Archive, which, as is known, collected materials and documents illustrating life in the Warsaw Ghetto. He fails to cite, however, that these materials are being investigated by scholars of the Polish Jewish Historical Institute who have also published several works on the topic. The second Polish reference is connected to Jewish cultural life in Cracow. According to the author, 'The Library of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow became one of the sources of change in that city, thanks to a library of English language materials managed by the British Council' (p. 135). Ovenden does not point to what the character of such a change. The fate of Jewish books could have pars pro toto illustrated the tragic vicissitudes of book collections during World War II. A commentary on the general principles of the cultural policy of the Third Reich is missing from the author's analysis, as the Author does not focus on the fact, or is perhaps even unaware, that German authorities, and to some extent Soviet ones, intentionally destroyed archives and libraries, not only Jewish ones, and not only in Poland.

The next chapter is dedicated to the question of the legacies of writers and poets. Many authors understand that their archives are of important research value, and some anticipate them scholars will want to investigate them well into the future. To this end, according to Ovenden some writers intentionally shape their archives to influence how they are perceived after their death. Furthermore, some authors conceive of their legacies as an additional source of income. Naturally, both materials eliminated from an archive and those that remain equally can be meaningful. The fo-

cus of the author's analyses is the figure of Philip Larkin, an English poet and the University librarian of the University of Hull who dedicated his career to safeguarding writers' legacies. When on his deathbed, Larkin himself asked his long-time lover Monica Jones to burn his diaries. The poet's last will was finally executed by his devoted secretary, who took his notebooks to the university boiler room where they were burned. However, some materials illustrating Larkin's private and literary life have been preserved, namely over 7,000 pages of his correspondence with Monica Jones, today held in the Bodleian Library. Larkin's example is interesting. Why did he want to destroy his diaries, being aware that many details from his life and activity could be revealed through correspondences? Maybe he aimed to draw researchers' attention to his letters to Monica Jones, and to his broad literary activities? The burning of his diaries attached a mystery to the life of the poet and librarian, increasing the interest of the academic circles in his oeuvre.

The next chapter is dedicated to Bosnia's National Library in Sarajevo. On 25 August 1992, during fights over Sarajevo, the library was intentionally bombed and entirely burned down by Serbian forces. Ovenden reflects on the motivation of Serbian political and military leaders. He is of the opinion that the symbolic destruction of the library and its multitude of precious manuscripts and old printed materials was intended to annihilate Bosnia's culture. Libraries and archives throughout Bosnia suffered the same fate. Ethnic cleansing throughout the Muslim-inhabited areas was accompanied by the destruction of archival records as well as of land and mortgage registers. It is estimated that over 81 linear kilometres of files were lost.

The subsequent chapter tackles the theft of archival materials and books, the transfer of entire archives and libraries, as well as of the role of colonial archives. The motivation for the author's considerations is found in one of the collections at the Bodleian Library, namely the books looted in 1596 by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, from the Library of the Faro Cathedral in Portugal. Oven-

den poses the question as to when the acquisition of knowledge resources, such as the library of the Bishop of Faro, become a justified political goal. The transfer of the library was a political symbol, to a degree symbolizing the moral domination of the London court over Catholic Europe. Considering the situation from an Anglican perspective, it could be argued that the heretical institution was disarmed by its transfer to the headquarters of the orthodox faith. As the author argues, the theft of libraries and archives is motivated not only by a desire to gain wide access to knowledge, but also to win control over history and dominate cultural and political identity. Ovenden, however, fails to mention one more important factor, most clearly relevant to archival records: economic dominance by gaining information on property ownership or fiscal relations. With reason, theorists of bureaucratic systems in the late 16th century claim that next to arsenals and granaries, archives constitute one of the foundations of a state (nonetheless, Ovenden seems to be unfamiliar with this literature).²

Further on, the author moves to the question of colonial archives. The materials produced by colonial administrations cases were in many either destroyed or transferred to the headquarters prior to independence being granted to new states. Ovenden suggests that such materials may have shed light on practices of improper administration or abuses of the colonial power. Therefore, he poses the question as to who exerts control over the history and identity of colonial states: the people who won their sovereignty or the former colonial powers. However, he however overlooks the fact that archives amassed documents related to the administration of real estate: land and mortgage registers, tax receipts, technical documentation etc. Such analyses, dealing mainly with French and Dutch colonies, and British ones to a lesser degree, manifest the shortcoming of Ovenden's historiographical research. He

² I.a. J. Althusius, *Politica methodice digesta*, Herborn 1614; B. Bonifacio, *De Archivis liber singularis*, Venetiis 1632; Albertino Barisoni, *Commentarius de archivis antiquo-rum*, in: *Utriusque thesauri antiquitatem Romanorum Graecorumque*, Venetiis 1737, cols. 1077–1125.

holds the opinion that European archival practices developed following the English archivist Hilary Jenkinson (1882-1961), whose approach shaped the methods of contemporary archivism. He does not mention the principles of provenance and territorial pertinence formulated by the Dutch archivists Muller, Feith, and Fruin. Instead, Ovenden is certain that the principles developed on the British Isles were also adopted in continental Europe. Due to such oversights, Ovenden presents quite naïve conclusions in this chapter, namely that when local communities have no access to their own history, the narration of their past is controlled and manipulated to a much greater degree, while their cultural identity is severely endangered. Many of the former colonies of the European powers have been independent for decades, yet some of them have not been provided with the access to their archives. The author calls for such communities robbed of their archival records to regain control over them and shape the narratives on their own past.

The following chapter provides Ovenden with an opportunity to revisit the issue of archives as a central element of social order. control over history, and means to express national and cultural identity. The author reaches the conclusion that, over the course of history, archives granted oppressive regimes worldwide the ability to maintain their dominance over groups of people. He provides several examples to illustrate his point, recalling that in ancient Mesopotamia documentation was kept to boost fiscal income, or that after the Norman conquest of Britain in 1066, new rulers immediately focused on local property ownership relations. Finally, the author claims that regimes started to spy on their citizens to control them. If we were to follow his train of thought, we would reach the conclusion that any entity responsible for running a country is oppressive; after all, administrative, fiscal, or judiciary documentation is also gathered and produced by democratic states. These considerations are to a great degree detached from specific conditions if only that the Author seems to move to the archives of East German Stasi following his anecdote on ancient Mesopotamia without any historical or cultural differentiation. However, at the same time he tackles the issue of Iraq's archives, whose substantial part is now held in the United States.

The following two chapters consider digital archives and libraries. According to the author, digital information saturates our life. The amount of information created every day, stored, digitized, and available online, has been fast growing. Following Ovenden, in 2020, about 134 million graphic files were dispersed at different places in the Bodleian Library. Ovenden's asks whether and how this digital turn changes the tasks of archives and libraries. He also inquiries into the costs of maintenance and conservation of digital materials. Should libraries and archives continue to play the role of memory guardians, as they had in ancient civilizations? The author points to the fact that digitized knowledge has been created and managed to a growing degree by a relatively small group of powerful companies, so powerful that the future of history depends exclusively on them. He argues that for many years, archivists and librarians were not aware that they had ceded a substantial part of their agency to large corporations. These considerations climax with an appeal to libraries and archives to take control of those digitized knowledge resources to prevent their destruction, and thus protect a society from losing its identity.

Ovenden's book is structured as a set of essays, or loosely connected anecdotes on the histories of libraries. His restrained geographic framework is to a greater or lesser degree connected to the Bodleian Library. I would not consider it a fault of the book, had the author announced in the Introduction that his intention was to focus on select aspects of the history of this particular library collection. However, according to the author's declaration, his thesis was to focus on a much broader question. The historiographic reach of the book is limited by the author's use of literature published almost exclusively in English. Such limited primary sources have led him to reinvent the wheel more than once. Recently, significant work has been published on exchanges of knowledge and the relation between power and knowledge. The work by the Richard Ovenden, Burning the Books. A History of the Deliberate Destruction of Knowledge

German historian Markus Friedrich, translated in English though uncited by Ovenden, has quickly acquired a canonical status.³ Furthermore, it seems that, owing to limited knowledge of the literature, the Author was tempted to assume that Nazi repressions were targeted exclusively at Jewish culture during World War II. The example quoted by Ovenden, citing the, most likely unintentional, burning of the Library of the Catholic University in Leuven, completely disregards the systematic destruction of Polish cultural heritage. This significantly distorts the cultural reality of the period, since it creates the impression that only Jewish book collections were looted, while all the other archives and libraries destroyed during World War II were but incidental victims of the ravages of war.

On the whole, the conclusions presented by the author are quite banal, boiling down to the observations, reiterated many times, that alongside the destruction of books were noble acts toward their preservation, carried out by communities and individuals who put their lives at risk, sometimes losing them, in order to save the most sublime expression of their culture: a book. At the same time. Ovenden fails to observe that these efforts were not merely made to save book collections, but also, and possibly first of all, to spare objects of religious worship and art works. The Author displays a predilection toward the excessive simplification of cultural realities, paralleled by a tendency to go off topic. Almost every chapter contains long passages that only insignificantly refer to the topic. To quote one example, let us recall the anecdote on the destruction of the public library in Jaffna, northern Sri Lanka, as a result of a conflict between the Tamils and the Singhalese (1981). As much as the author was ready to dedicate several lengthy paragraphs to national and religious relations in the Balkans, he limited himself to a few sentences on the topic Sri Lanka whose problems are less known in Europe, not presenting the essence of the conflict nor the Library's history.

3 M. Friedrich, The Birth of the Archive. A History of Knowledge, Michigan 2018.

Polish Libraries 2022 Vol. 10

However, despite the above-stated issues, Ovenden's book is overwhelmingly charming, particularly in the sections related to the history of English culture. Yet, while reading his book one cannot help thinking of the destruction of Polish archives and libraries. Several generations of Polish historians recalled the legendary story of the loss of the oldest books of the Metrica Regni on the battlefield of Varna (1444), stained with royal blood. Mention could also be made of the looting of archival records and Polish book collections in the 17th century by Swedish troops. The following book collections were transported to the northern coast of the Baltic from the Royal Castle in Warsaw as well as from the Jesuit colleges in Poznan, Torun, Bydgoszcz, Ostroróg, Łuck, Malbork, Grudziądz, Jarosław, Lublin, Sandomierz, Vilnius, Radom, and Cracow. Furthermore, Swedish ships transported northwards books amassed in the Cathedral Libraries in Gniezno and Poznan. Library and archival collections from Royal Prussia were also looted. The archives and library of Warmia Bishops containing the book collection of Nicolaus Copernicus and many other precious collections of kings, magnates, and churches were taken to Sweden. Swedes also looted the books of the Metrica Regni, yet these were fortunately regained following the Peace of Oliwa (1660). In 1794, on the eve of the third partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Empress Catherine II of Russia decided to close the Załuski Library of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the first Polish national library and one of the largest and grandest book collections of 18th-century Europe, and instructed for its collection to be brought to St Petersburg. Some tens of thousands of manuscripts and prints were irrevocably lost during their transport to Russia, while several hundreds of thousands of works that reached St Petersburg formed the Russian Tsarist Public Library, founded in 1795. Furthermore, it is almost symbolic that following the death of Poland's last king Stanislaus Augustus, his archive, which contained not only private materials but all the files illustrating the state's history under his reign, was dispersed. Thousands of manuscripts and books were destroyed during the partitions: the monastic suppression advanced by all

the partitioning powers caused enormous destruction, as did the Tsar's decision to confiscate private property as a mode of persecution following the Polish uprisings. However, Polish archives and libraries suffered the greatest hecatomb during World War II. The destructive power of Nazi invaders targeted archives and libraries from the first days of the war that archives and libraries. Already in September 1939, enormous damage had been inflicted on them by bombing and shelling. In the subsequent months and years of the German occupation, many libraries were closed, their collections having either been looted, displaced, or exposed to destruction. Warsaw archives and libraries suffered the most. The efforts of dedicated librarians who sacrificed a lot in their attempts to preserve the Polish and European heritage collected in Warsaw's archives and libraries were thwarted by occupation authorities in the last weeks of the World War II. The deliberate action to destroy the most precious literary heritage amassed in libraries was unprecedented in world history. The urban now kept in the National Library, containing ashes of the treasures of Polish and European heritage set on fire in the building of the Library of the Krasiński Entail, stands as mute witness to the September and October actions in 1944 when hundreds of thousands of archival records, library manuscripts, and books, were burned.

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