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LIBRARY LOSSES AND THE LANDSCAPE OF MEMORY: THE URN CONTAINING THE ASHES OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY'S BURNED TREASURES AND THE BOOK MONUMENT IN KALISZ

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ABSTRACT

The article examines how the loss of libraries is remembered in collective memory and commemorated in public space. It focuses on two memorial objects commemorating libraries destroyed during the Second World War: the monument to books in Kalisz, erected on the site of a canal where the German occupation authorities dumped books before filling it in, and the glass urn containing the ashes of manuscripts, early printed books, and other valuable holdings from the National Library of Poland and other Warsaw libraries, burned after the fall of the Warsaw Uprising. The article reconstructs the circumstances of the libraries' destruction, traces the origins and subsequent histories of these commemorative objects, and examines how the material traces of loss came to acquire symbolic meaning.

KEYWORDS: Second World War; library losses; destruction of libraries; Warsaw; National Library of Poland; Kalisz

The devastation wrought by the Second World War is deeply embedded in Polish memory. It is commemorated in public space by numerous museums, memorial rooms, monuments and plaques on the sites of former death camps, prisons and detention centres, and at places of mass execution and in cemeteries. A similar role is played by the discreet markers set into the paving stones tracing the former boundaries of the Warsaw Ghetto. Yet the losses sustained by Polish libraries remain almost entirely absent from this landscape.

In the present article I address the question of how the significance of lost book collections is symbolically articulated in public space. Specifically, I discuss two examples of commemorations of libraries destroyed during the Second World War: the book monument in the Planty park in Kalisz and the urn containing the ashes of manuscripts, early printed books and other rare works from the National Library of Poland and other Warsaw libraries, burned after the fall of the Warsaw Uprising. Drawing on contemporary theories of memory, loss and wartime trauma, I seek to explain why forms of commemoration of this kind remain so rare in Poland.

The Book Monument in Kalisz

A monument to books destroyed during the Second World War was unveiled in the Planty in Kalisz in 1978. To understand the scale of the city's losses, it is worth tracing the development of Kalisz's book collections during the half-century before they were destroyed as a result of the German occupation authorities' policies.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Kalisz was an important administrative and cultural centre on the western fringes of the Russian Empire. Despite the restrictions imposed by the anti-Polish policies of the Tsarist authorities following the January Uprising, the city's cultural life developed rapidly, supported by numerous educational institutions and associations that together formed a local intellectual milieu. This process was abruptly interrupted in the first days of August 1914 when German troops bombarded the city and burned its historic centre almost to the ground. In the interwar period, the rebuilt city of Kalisz became one of the

symbols of the rebirth of Polish statehood. As the physical fabric of the city was restored, so too was its intellectual life – with libraries among its central pillars.

During the interwar period, Kalisz was home to numerous ecclesiastical, monastic, public, private and school libraries.[1] These included the Chapter library, which had existed since the fourteenth century, and the library of the Monastery of the Canons Regular of the Lateran, who had settled at the Church of St Nicholas in the mid-fourteenth century. Two municipal libraries were particularly important: the Adam Mickiewicz Public Library and Reading Room, and the Adam Asnyk Municipal Library. Their collections grew steadily thanks to major private donations and purchases: the former received from Leopold Kronenberg a collection of around 10,000 volumes, comprising works on history, Polish and foreign literature, linguistics, heraldry and numismatics, while the latter's holdings were enlarged by the addition, among other items, of books that had belonged to the distinguished lawyer, social activist and bibliophile Alfons Parczewski, a former rector of Stefan Batory University in Vilnius.

Other cultural institutions in Kalisz also held book collections: the valuable landed-gentry library of Józef Leopold of Rzepiszew was transferred to the Museum of the Kalisz Region, for example. Collections were also held by cultural associations, social and professional organisations, political parties and private individuals. The Jewish population likewise built up an extensive network of educational, religious and community libraries. Smaller book collections were held by the German and Ukrainian communities.

All this came to an end with the German invasion of Poland in September 1939. Poland's northern and western territories, including Kalisz, were incorporated directly into the German Reich. The *Reichsgau Posen* (Reich District of Posen) was established in

1 This reconstruction of Kalisz's library landscape is based on Krzysztof Walczak, *Biblioteki Kalisza i ich miejsce w życiu kulturalnym miasta 1793–1945*, Kalisz 1996. The earlier period is described in Danuta Wańka, *Świat kaliskiej książki pod zaborem rosyjskim (1815–1914)*, Kalisz 2002.

Wielkopolska and part of the Łódź Voivodeship, renamed the *Reichsgau Wartheland* in January 1940. These territories were to be subjected in their entirety to a process of Germanisation, carried out through the physical elimination of the Polish population and the systematic destruction of its cultural, social and religious life. The planned extermination of people who had rendered service to the Polish state and society began as early as September 1939, based on the *Sonderfahndungsbuch Polen* – a list containing more than 61,000 names. Landed estates, industrial enterprises and craft workshops were seized. Around one million people were expelled from Silesia, Wielkopolska and Pomerania to the General Government, while Germans, including some from the Baltic states, were settled in their place. Universities and schools were closed, and cultural institutions and societies were dissolved. Polish cultural monuments and heritage objects were looted and destroyed on a mass scale, both in public and private collections.[2]

On 13 December 1939, Arthur Greiser, governor of the *Reichsgau Posen*, issued an order requiring all public and private book collections to be reported so that they could be "secured" (*"zum Zwecke ihrer Sicherstellung"*).[3] In reality, these measures were intended to concentrate the collections in one place and block access to Polish literature. Responsibility for implementing the order was entrusted to Jürgen von Hehn, a former associate of the Herder Institute in Riga.[4]

2 On the persecution of the Polish population in the Wartheland, see, for example, Stanisław Nawrocki, *Terror policyjny w Kraju Warty, 1939–1945*, Poznań 1973; *Położenie ludności polskiej w Kraju Warty, 1939–1945. Dokumenty niemieckie*, ed. Czesław Łuczak, Poznań 1987; Maria Rutowska, *Wysiedlenia ludności polskiej z Kraju Warty do Generalnego Gubernatorstwa, 1939–1941*, Poznań 2003; Bogumił Rudawski, *Kradzież mienia w Kraju Warty, 1939–1945. Działalność Urzędu Powierniczego w Poznaniu*, Poznań 2018; Czesław Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce*, vols 1–2, 2nd edition, Warszawa 2019.

3 *Bekanntmachung betreffend Anmeldepflicht und Sicherstellung von Bibliotheken und Bücherbeständen vom 13. Dezember 1939*, "Verordnungsblatt des Reichsstatthalters im Reichsgau Wartheland", 2 (1940), p. 27. On German library policy in the Wartheland, see Jacek Kordel, *NS-Bibliothekspolitik im besetzten Polen*, in: *Verboten, beschlagnahmt, geraubt NS-Bibliothekspolitik und -praxis in Europa*, eds Claude D. Conter, Jean-Marie Reding (*Bibliothek und Wissenschaft*, 56), Wiesbaden 2024, pp. 214–217.

4 Jan Baumgart, *Biblioteki wielkopolskie w okresie okupacji niemieckiej (1939–1945)*, in: idem, *Bibliotekarstwo, biblioteki i bibliotekarze. Wybór prac*, Warszawa 1983, pp. 113–169.

The work carried out by the German authorities proceeded in three stages: first, the registration of manuscripts and books held in libraries, bookshops and antiquarian bookshops; then their confiscation and transfer to book depots; and finally the ordering and sorting of the assembled collections. The intention was to preserve only those publications deemed useful for German scholarship, including for the library of the newly established Reich University in Poznań. The nature of these measures is illustrated in detail by von Hehn's report of October 1940: "In the province, essentially only the valuable holdings were taken over and transferred to the book collection depot, while all printed material deemed to have only the value of waste paper was consigned to destruction. It was stipulated, however, that this was to take place under German supervision [...]. Here too, every possibility was to be prevented of Polish literature being used without supervision or coming back into circulation."[5]

In accordance with the order of 13 December 1939, Kalisz's book collections were also taken over by the German authorities. The oldest and most valuable written artefacts from church libraries were confiscated and transported to storage facilities in Poznań, where the majority were destroyed. Other library materials, seized from institutions or found in private homes, were taken to a storehouse in the building of the Kalisz district office. The collections gathered there, including the holdings of the libraries mentioned above, were thrown into the Babinka Canal, part of the city's former system of fortifications outside the defensive walls. As early as the 1930s, the Polish authorities had planned to fill it in, regarding

5 "Es wurden in der Provinz im Wesentlichen nur die wertvollen Bestände übernommen und in die Buchsammelstelle übergeführt, während alles das Schrifttum, das lediglich Altpapierwert hatte, zur Vernichtung preisgegeben wurde. Doch wurde bestimmt, dass diese unter deutscher Aufsicht zu erfolgen hatte [...]. Auch hier sollte jede Möglichkeit unterbunden werden, dass polnisches Schrifttum ohne Aufsicht genutzt werden oder wieder in Vertrieb kommen könnte", Jürgen von Hehn, *Bericht über die Sammlung und Sicherstellung von Bibliotheken und Bücherbeständen aus nichtdeutschem Besitz im Reichsgau Wartheland*, 29 October 1940, Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, catalogue no. 21, p. 61.

the canal as a redundant and troublesome relic of defensive infrastructure that created hygiene and sanitation problems.[6]

It is not known when the decision was taken to dispose of the assembled collections, but surviving accounts make it possible to reconstruct what happened. Books were tipped directly from lorries and carts into the bed of the canal along a stretch of around four hundred metres, then covered with rubble, earth and refuse to level the ground. Peasants from surrounding villages and Jews from Kalisz were forced to carry out this work.[7] Eligiusz Kor-Walczak, a Kalisz writer and poet, remembered and described the scene: "The filling-in of the canal bed had already begun and was advancing from the Jewish mikveh (ritual bath) towards the park. It looked as though some filthy lava had entered the canal and congealed halfway along. At the head of the cataclysm lay scattered papers, official folders and books – many books, whole, torn apart or carelessly opened, among which the Jewish prayer books stood out for their size and their distinctive, ungainly little letters, visible even from a distance. The invader's filthy hands had thrown the word of God into the mud of the city sewers and were covering it with sand, ash and rubbish."[8] In a similar way, the German authorities used matzevot (Jewish tombstones) from the old Jewish cemetery in Kalisz to reinforce the banks of another branch of the Prosna, the Rypinkowski Canal.

The events surrounding the destruction of Kalisz's book collections are today commemorated by a monument located on the site of the filled-in canal, a symbolic "tomb" for the books. It was conceived and designed by the Kalisz graphic artist Władysław

6 In the files relating to the works carried out, no information has survived about books or religious objects from the synagogue being thrown into the canal as it was filled in: Archiwum Państwowe w Kaliszu, Akta miasta Kalisza, catalogue no. 284 (Regulacje rzeki Prosny i Warty).

7 Przemysław Pawlak, *Zagłada księgozbiorów przyczyną i miarą kryzysu inteligencji. Ogólnopolskie wnioski z doświadczeń Kalisza*, "Kultura Współczesna. Teoria. Interpretacje. Praktyka" 95 (2017), 2, pp. 229–240.

8 Relacja Eligiusza Kor-Walczaka, in: *Pomnik książki w Kaliszu*, eds Bogumiła Celer et al., Kalisz 2025, pp. 9–10.

Kościelniak and made by the Poznań sculptor Jerzy Sobociński. The monument was erected in 1978 by the Federation of Cultural Societies of the Kalisz Region, using funds raised by the local community. Simple in form, it depicts an open book cast in bronze, with the following inscription on its pages: "Here, in the filled-in bed of the River Prosna, the Nazis destroyed tens of thousands of books from the collections of Kalisz's public libraries" ("Tu w zasypanym korycie rzeki Prosny hitlerowcy zniszczyli dziesiątki tysięcy książek ze zbiorów kaliskich bibliotek publicznych"). Below the inscription is a laurel leaf, a symbol of remembrance and homage to the destroyed book collections. The monument was cast at the Metalworkers' Craft Cooperative (Rzemieślnicza Spółdzielnia Pracy Metalowców) in Poznań.[9]



FIG. 1. The book monument in Kalisz, Wikimedia Commons

9 Designs, correspondence and official documentation relating to the design process and the procedure for obtaining permits for the construction of the monument have survived in the State Archive in Kalisz: Federacja Towarzystw Kulturalnych Ziemi Kaliskiej w Kaliszu, catalogue no. 27, Budowa płyty pomnika Książki Polskiej, pp. 1–13.

The speeches delivered at the unveiling of the monument on 11 May 1978 have survived. They repeatedly emphasised the brutality of the German occupation and the efforts of the authorities of the Third Reich to bring about the systematic destruction of Polish culture. One speech, whose author has not been identified, spoke as follows: "Then came the memorable autumn of 1939. Against the authors, printers, librarians and readers of the Polish word there arose the previously unheard-of ferocity of the brown-shirted invader – a drive towards annihilation. Book collections, books and Polish periodicals were to share the fate of people. Libraries belonging to local authorities, societies, organisations, associations, church bodies, manor houses, private individuals and schools would be looted; they would be sent for pulping, for destruction and oblivion. The persecution of the Polish printed word, which had lasted for decades, reached its apogee in those Nazi years. This was the case in the villages, towns and small towns of what is now the Kalisz region. It was the same in Kalisz itself. The book collections of several dozen libraries were consigned to destruction."[10]

The speeches also placed symbolic emphasis on the fact that the books which could not be saved had been used as material to fill in the canal, becoming the literal foundation of the occupier's policy of cultural destruction: "Some of them the Nazi barbarians consigned to the earth. They used them to fill in the Prosna canal, forcing their victims to do the work. They desecrated them, condemning them to destruction in rubbish and mud. We are all, and forever, impoverished by the loss of these book collections, some of them of unique value. No force can ever restore these losses. That is why our grateful society has resolved to fund a monument [to these books]: persecuted during the years of the Partitions, condemned to destruction in the time of the brown-shirted plague, guide and teacher of Polishness for generations of our forefathers. The monument will stand at the site of the martyrdom of books. For us, the living, it will be a monument to living glory."[11]

10 "Pomnik naszej książce", speech delivered at the unveiling ceremony for the monument to destroyed books in Kalisz, 11 May 1978, ibid., p. 17.

11 Ibid., pp. 17–18.

Eligiusz Kor-Walczak, mentioned above, also spoke at the ceremony: "The finest achievements of human thought, contained in books through the art of writing, were brought in this city to this very street. Here, progressive books were not burned as they had once been in the Reich. In the occupied countries, [this] crime had ceased to have symbolic value. It had become a function, a dull and troublesome task. That is why the practical Germans no longer made burning pyres of books. Here, they used them to fill in the river, a branch of the Prosna [...]. Polish books, too, were an enemy of the Nazis, one that in their own way fought for Polishness, and so they had to be destroyed. I am one of the many witnesses to this criminal operation who are still alive."[12] This rhetoric, with its references to the "brown-shirted plague" and "barbarism", formed part of an established way of speaking about the German occupation, characteristic of post-war memory discourse.[13] The speakers focused on the planned destruction of book collections and on the significance of the printed word as a bearer of national identity. The destruction of books was placed within the logic of total war, waged with particular brutality in the territories incorporated directly into the Reich, including the *Reichsgau Wartheland*, where the aim was the systematic removal of all manifestations of Polishness. The monument was presented as a way of commemorating the losses suffered by Kalisz society and as a lasting sign of this event's presence in the city's public space. It is worth stressing that the speeches did not address the losses suffered by Jewish libraries or other non-Polish book collections.

No traces survive of any discussion around the creation of the monument. Only a few articles appeared in the local and regional press, and these did not prompt a wider response in publications

12 Speech by Eligiusz Kor-Walczak, in: *Pomnik książki w Kaliszu*, p. 41.

13 See Łukasz Polniak, *Patriotyzm wojskowy w PRL w latach 1956–1970*, Warszawa 2011; Joanna Wawrzyniak, *ZBoWiD i pamięć drugiej wojny światowej 1949–1969*, Warszawa 2009; Jerzy Holzer, *Uraz, nacjonalizm, manipulacja. Kwestia niemiecka w komunistycznej Polsce*, "Rocznik Polsko-Niemiecki" 1 (1992), pp. 7–17.

of national reach or in academic scholarship.[14] Nor did the unveiling of the monument itself prompt more detailed research into the fate of Kalisz's book collections during the Second World War. The absence of a local academic centre and the scarcity of archival material, including inventories of the destroyed libraries and German sources documenting the scale of the losses, created a serious obstacle to the development of research on this subject.

The Urn Containing the Ashes of Burned Special Collections from the National Library and Other Warsaw libraries

Since 2024, the Palace of the Commonwealth in Warsaw has displayed some of the most valuable treasures of Polish written heritage. Among the objects on display is an urn containing the ashes of manuscripts, early printed books and other rare works from the National Library of Poland and other Warsaw libraries, burned after the fall of the Warsaw Uprising.

The destruction of Warsaw's libraries in 1939–1945 has been the subject of numerous studies.[15] It is enough here to note that as early as September 1939, the capital's libraries suffered severe losses as a result of bombing and artillery fire: the Central Military Library was almost completely destroyed by fire, together with historic written works from the Rapperswil collections. The libraries of the Zamoyski Family Entail (Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej) and the Przezdziecki Family Entail (Biblioteka Ordynacji Przezdzieckich) were seriously damaged. Most of the manuscripts and printed works that had survived the fighting of September 1939 were burned by German soldiers during and after the fall of the Warsaw Uprising. Only individual items survived the war.

14 Krzysztof Walczak, *Książki niezapomniane*, "Ziemia Kaliska" 20 (1978), p. 4; idem, *Nie zapomnieć*, "Południowa Wielkopolska" 5 (1978), p. 2; idem, *Pomnik książki w Kaliszu*, "Poradnik Bibliotekarza" 5 (1980), pp. 110–111.

15 Jacek Kordel, *„Książkobójstwo". W osiemdziesiątą rocznicę zagłady stołecznych bibliotek*, "Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej" 55 (2024), pp. 35–53. The same work also contains a critical discussion of the literature on the subject.

From the first days of the occupation, selected book collections were confiscated and transported to Berlin. The collections targeted by this operation, carried out by Peter Paulsen on the orders of the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (Reich Main Security Office), included the Sejm Library, with more than 80,000 volumes; the collections of the French, Danish and Hungarian institutes; the library of the Linguistics Seminar of the Indo-European Institute at the University of Warsaw; part of the collections of the Polish Institute for International Cooperation and the Ukrainian Scientific Institute; and almost the entire Main Judaic Library, the largest Jewish library in Warsaw, with more than 40,000 volumes. At least 150,000 books were removed from Warsaw; after 1945, apart from a few exceptions, they did not return to Poland.

Warsaw's biggest libraries, including the National Library of Poland and the University Library, together with the faculty collections, were closed to readers, while parts of their buildings were assigned for use by German institutions. The collections of the School of Political Science, the Military School of Engineering, the Higher School of Journalism and the Higher War School were destroyed, as was the library of the Polish Free University, which contained more than 100,000 volumes.

The holdings of public, school and educational libraries were reduced on the basis of the *Liste des deutschfeindlichen, schädlichen und unerwünschten polnischen Schrifttums* ("List of Polish writings hostile to Germany, harmful and undesirable"). Around 92 percent of school library collections were destroyed. Libraries, bookshops, antiquarian bookshops, publishing houses and printing works were subjected to searches, while banned publications were confiscated and sent for pulping. To grasp the scale of the destruction, it is worth recalling that in 1939 there were around 185 private libraries in the capital, with a combined total of nearly 390,000 volumes. There were almost 100 libraries run by social organisations, containing around 100,000 volumes.[16] The number of private book

16 Tadeusz Wieroński, *Stan bibliotekarstwa oświatowego w Warszawie*, "Bibliotekarz. Czasopismo poświęcone sprawom bibliotek publicznych" 11 (1939), 3–4, pp. 26–29.

collections destroyed remains entirely unknown. The magnitude of these losses is made clear by the case of Konrad Berezowski, a judge, bibliophile and president of the Warsaw Numismatic Society, who was murdered by the Germans in the first days of the Uprising while trying to save his book collection.[17]

The greatest losses, in terms of the significance and value of the collections, were still to come. The way was paved by the reorganisation of Warsaw's collections ordered by the German library authorities in the spring of 1941. This involved concentrating special collections from across the city in the building of the Krasiński Library on Okólnik Street, which had been damaged during the fighting of September 1939. These included pre-1800 Polonica, manuscripts, prints, drawings, photographs, maps and music and theatre materials, as well as incunabula and early printed books, including the holdings of the Załuski Library returned from the Soviet Union under the Treaty of Riga. When, after the fall of the Warsaw Uprising in October 1944, implementation began of Adolf Hitler's order for the extermination of Warsaw's population and the complete destruction of the city, Wehrmacht sapper units set fire to the lower floors of the Krasiński Library building. The fire destroyed the special collections assembled there, including nearly 50,000 manuscripts. In November, Polish librarians began inspecting the charred remains. Bohdan Korzeniewski, a theatre scholar and translator, later wrote: "When touched, the evenly stacked volumes didn't even fall apart – they vanished. The collections had smouldered in the fire, which must have slowly consumed them for many days [...]. They had grabbed books from under the ceiling,

A study of the losses suffered by school libraries, educational libraries run by cultural societies and private lending libraries remains an important task for future research; given the destruction of the greater part of the collections, however, it may prove impossible to carry out in full.

17 "He died on the ruins of his flat in the judges' cooperative, killed and then burned, having tried until the end to save his beloved book collection – unsuccessfully," *Żałobna karta 1939–1945. Konrad Berezowski*, "Demokratyczny Przegląd Prawniczy. Centralne czasopismo prawnicze poświęcone praktyce i wykładni prawa oraz służbie wymiaru sprawiedliwości" 3–4 (1946), p. 91.

doused them with petrol and set fire to them. With their foot on [Warsaw's] throat, they carried out the sentence of extermination pronounced on a neighbouring nation. Alongside genocide, they committed *libricide* – the mass murder of books. Of that which had been exterminated, not even a trace was to remain in history."[18]

Several months later, Stefan Vrtel-Wierczyński, director of the National Library before the war and again briefly after it, recalled this moment in the pages of *Tygodnik Warszawski*, a Warsaw weekly: "After the fall of the Uprising of 1944, in late autumn, when military operations in the city had finally ceased and the capital lay in ruins, destroyed and depopulated, German arsonists set fire to the special collections of the National Library that had been gathered in the cellars of the Krasiński Library: manuscripts [...], incunabula and early printed books, cartographic, graphic, theatrical and musical collections. The loss of these collections was an almost unprecedented cultural catastrophe, not only for Poland but internationally. Above all, especially in the case of manuscripts, which cannot be replaced by any equivalent, they constituted an invaluable treasury of our history, culture and entire spiritual life, an extraordinarily rich and inexhaustible source for scholarly work and research. [...] There were illuminated parchment codices, Old Polish texts, historical and literary writings, theological, legal and philosophical works, autograph manuscripts, correspondence, and public and private archives. All this fell prey to the flames, was completely destroyed and perished utterly."[19]

The Library of the Krasiński Family Entail shared the fate of other libraries destroyed during and after the fall of the Warsaw Uprising. In August 1944, German soldiers threw incendiary grenades into the building of the Zamoyski Library. The resulting fire consumed the greater part of its collections, including around 100,000 manuscripts, early printed books, maps, atlases, prints, books and

18 Bohdan Korzeniewski, *Książki*, in: *Walka o dobra kultury: Warszawa 1939–1945*, ed. Stanisław Lorentz, vol. 2, Warszawa 1970, p. 293.

19 Stefan Vrtel-Wierczyński, *Biblioteka Narodowa*, "Tygodnik Warszawski" 2 (1946), 42 (20 October), p. 6.

periodicals, as well as catalogues and card indexes. The library of the Warsaw University of Technology was also completely burned out. In mid-October, its director, Czesław Gutry, found in its rooms "white, powdery ash a metre deep".[20] The final stage in the wartime destruction of the capital's libraries was the burning of the Public Library of the Capital City of Warsaw. On 16 January 1945, the day before the Germans withdrew from the city, Wehrmacht units set fire to the building, almost completely destroying the stacks and reading rooms. It should be added that Warsaw's archives suffered a similar fate. The Archives of Historical Records burned down under artillery fire, together with 40,000 nineteenth-century archival units. The Treasury Archives, partly damaged in the fighting during the Uprising, were ultimately burned by German troops after the Home Army had withdrawn from Warsaw's Old Town. In the Municipal Archives, German incendiary grenades destroyed around 70,000 archival units. The Central Archives of Historical Records, which had survived the fighting of the Uprising, was set on fire on 2 September 1944. More than 1,600,000 archival units were destroyed. On 3 November, German units burned the Central Archives of Modern Records to the ground.

In the burned-out buildings of Warsaw's libraries and archives, in destroyed tenement buildings and private homes, beneath layers of rubble mixed with brick dust, lay the ashes of manuscripts, early printed books and books whose number and form can no longer be reconstructed. In March 1945, after returning to Warsaw, Vrtel-Wierczyński visited the destroyed building of the Krasiński Library and collected the ashes of the burned manuscripts, early printed books and other volumes in two containers. More than a decade later, he recorded the memory of that moment in a letter to Maria Danilewicz-Zielińska, who was looking after Polish émigré collections in London: "Among the ruins of post-Uprising Warsaw, crushed, defenceless and depopulated, they were burned by the cruel invader, the greatest and age-old enemy of the Polish na-

20 Czesław Gutry, *Pamiętnik*, in: *Walka o dobra kultury*, vol. 2, p. 14.

tion, never sated with conquest and the harm done to others. [The invader] did this to his eternal and indelible shame, in order to destroy all traces of centuries-old Polish culture. When I returned to Warsaw in March 1945, I went straight to Okólnik Street, to the building of the Krasiński Library, and there in the cellars, with tears in my eyes, I looked at the ashes of the manuscripts of the Załuski and Rapperswil Libraries. It was a very thick layer. I took a handful, placed it in an urn and gave it to Dir[ector] St[anisław] Lorentz so that he could include it among the exhibits in the exhibition on Nazi atrocities in Warsaw. I kept a tiny handful of the ashes as a sad memento. *Nessun maggior dolore*."[21] The reference to Dante's words underlines the emotional force of the scene: the memory of the libraries' former splendour made the irreversibility of their destruction all the more stark.

Vrtel-Wierczyński did indeed pass the ashes collected on Okólnik Street to Stanisław Lorentz, director of the National Museum, who had held the post before the war, cared for the collections during the occupation and returned to lead the institution after 1945. From the first weeks of January, Lorentz had been working on an exhibition devoted to wartime destruction in the field of culture. Entitled *Warszawa oskarża* (Warsaw Accuses), the exhibition opened at the National Museum on 3 May 1945.[22] In the guide to the exhibition, published in Polish and the main congress languages, its purpose was explained as follows: "The aim of the exhibition was not to become yet another display of national suffering, a panopticon of horrors, preserving in memory the wounds that the city, as a living organism, has spent the past three months cleansing and healing. Our task is to objectify experience, to reveal amid the chaos of

21 Stefan Vrtel-Wierczyński to Maria Danilewicz-Zielińska, Poznań, 28 August 1960, Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie, Oddział w Poznaniu, Materiały Stefana Vrtela-Wierczyńskiego, P.III-32, inventory item 2a, Korespondencja B–G, uczniowie, pp. 2–3. It is worth noting that both the memoirs and the subsequent literature on this subject state that the ashes were collected in January 1945; however, Vrtel-Wierczyński is not mentioned.

22 Stanisław Lorentz, *Wystawy obrazujące zniszczenia Warszawy*, "Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie" 20 (1976), p. 583.

ruins the meaning of the catastrophe and to expose the intentions of the enemy."[23] The exhibition was intended to show the scale of the destruction suffered by cultural institutions: "Before the exhibition halls are filled with works of art recovered from Germany, let today's visitors see the truth about German fury; let them quiet the anxiety that has gnawed at them for almost six years over the fate of the most venerable monuments of the national past. To the vision of Treblinka, Majdanek and Auschwitz is added a new, Grottger-like cycle of visions: of the ruin of the capital, and of the martyrdom and wandering of Polish objects, the products of Polish thought, scholarship and art."[24]

Historic objects and photographs were displayed in five rooms. Among the slashed or otherwise damaged paintings, broken and bent armour, shattered ceramic and glass objects, and mummies that had been cut open and torn apart, there were destroyed manuscripts and books, as well as an urn containing the ashes of burned treasures of Polish and European written heritage. Materials relating to the losses suffered by Warsaw's libraries and archives were arranged in the Room of Destruction. At its centre was a panel with a plan of Warsaw showing the locations of these institutions. The panel bore a plaster medallion with the Warsaw mermaid and the inscription: "Libraries and archives destroyed". In wall niches, against a black background, were the inscriptions: "Ex libris marks from the National Library, University Library, Public Library, Military Library, Krasiński Library and Zamoyski Library"; "250,000 books from the National Library and 400,000 books from the Public Library were burned or carried off. The collections of the Military Library, the Krasiński Library, the Zamoyski Library and many others no longer exist." The urn was placed by the first niche, draped with a red flag bearing a white eagle. The charred leaves retained the outline of codex blocks. A library shelf containing the

23 *"Warszawa oskarża". Przewodnik po wystawie urządzonej przez Biuro Odbudowy Stolicy wespół z Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie*, ibid., p. 651.

24 Ibid., p. 643.

ashes of books was placed by the second niche. On the first table were displayed two photographs of the interior of the Krasiński Library before its destruction, and on the second, 13 photographs of burned-out Warsaw libraries.[25]

The authors of the guide to the exhibition presented the destruction of Warsaw's libraries, archives and private collections as a planned and systematic campaign to annihilate cultural property, one that assumed particular proportions after the fighting of the Uprising had ended. It opened up "a new chapter in the martyrdom of Poland's libraries, museums and archives". They recalled that scores, even hundreds of collections had either fallen prey to soldiers or been destroyed in deliberate acts of arson. A spe-



FIG. 2. Urn containing the ashes of manuscripts from the Krasiński Library, displayed at the Warsaw Accuses exhibition (1945), Zofia Chomętowska, National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. DI 95632/8 MNW (Copyright: Zofia Chomętowska, Chomętowscy / Fundacja Archeologia Fotografii)

25 Dariusz Kaczmarzyk, *Pamiętnik wystawy "Warszawa oskarża", 3 maja 1945–28 stycznia 1946 w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie*, ibid., pp. 604–605. Photographic documentation of the exhibition by Zofia Chomętowska, Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, catalogue no. DI 95632/8 MNW (https://cyfrowe.mnw.art.pl/pl/zbiory/126777).

cial place in this campaign against cultural heritage was occupied by the burning of the building of the Krasiński Library, together with the early printed books kept there and the largest collection of manuscripts in Poland – "the main body of source material for Polish history".[26]

In the pages of the Warsaw daily *Życie Warszawy*, the Room of Destruction was presented as a space showing "the destructive methods used against Polish collections by the Germans". The newspaper report drew attention to the ashes of historic written works displayed in the exhibition. As it noted, "a glass vase contained the remains of burned books from the precious Krasiński Library, which incorporated the Załuski collection".[27]

Twenty years later, the urn containing the ashes was displayed in the exhibition *The National Library in the Two Decades of the Polish People's Republic: Its Work and Treasures*. Held in the Krasiński Palace and opened in April 1965, the exhibition showed the efforts undertaken in the post-war decades to rebuild the National Library and its collections. In the main hall of the Palace, enlarged photographs showed scattered catalogue cards and chaotic piles of books. These were juxtaposed with the alphabetical catalogue compiled in the following years and the well-ordered collections. Wartime destruction was symbolised by the urn containing the ashes.

The short guide to the exhibition sets out the scale of the losses suffered by the National Library. Particular attention is paid to collections created in exile and brought back to Poland after the country regained independence, which suffered devastating losses

26 *Przewodnik po wystawie*, pp. 649, 651. It is worth noting that the guide alludes to the conspicuous lack of concern for the fate of Polish collections shown by Gustav Abb, head of the German library administration in the General Government. He was accused of stealing written materials during the so-called Pruszków Operation, when attempts were made to get selected archival, library and museum materials out of Warsaw, which was being burned and systematically destroyed by German troops after the fall of the Uprising (ibid., p. 651). See Jacek Kordel, *"An ethos of a German librarian?" German librarians in the General Government in the light of memories from the Second World War*, "Polish Libraries" 11 (2023), pp. 106–107.

27 "Życie Warszawy" 123, 5 May 1945, *Wystawa "Warszawa oskarża". Notatka prasowa i głosy prasy*, "Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie" 20 (1976), p. 656.

during the war: the collections of the Polish Museum in Rapperswil and of the library at the Polish National School in the Paris district of Batignolles: "In the fires of Warsaw, started by the Nazis, the greater part of these extremely valuable collections perished."[28] Writing of the devastation of the National Library's collections after the fall of the Uprising, the guide also mentions the holdings of the Załuski Library, which had been recovered by Poland under the Treaty of Riga. It stresses that the destruction of the collections was not a consequence of military operations: "Fires were caused by exploding bombs, but the fire that destroyed the irreplaceable documents of our national culture was started in the library rooms with full premeditation by special arson squads."[29] Describing the urn, the guide notes that of the historic written works gathered in Warsaw's libraries, "only ashes remain [...], in which today, 20 years on, the shape of a book can still be recognised". Charred leaves retaining the outline of codex blocks were still clearly visible in the glass vessel, but a comparison of photographs taken just after the war with documentation from 1965 shows that in the intervening years their arrangement had changed and their volume had diminished noticeably. The photograph of the urn reproduced in the guide was accompanied by the caption: "Of the priceless treasures gathered in their thousands before the war, only a handful of ash remains (collected in the cellars of the Library on Okólnik Street in 1945)."[30] However, Vrtel-Wierczyński was not acknowledged as the source of these ashes.

In the decades that followed, the urn containing the ashes was not displayed. It was only put on show again in 2024 with the opening in the Krasiński Palace – one of Warsaw's finest Baroque buildings – of the permanent exhibition "Three Times Opened", presenting treasures from the National Library. It is displayed in

28 *Biblioteka Narodowa w dwudziestoleciu PRL. Jej prace i klejnoty. Wystawa kwiecień–maj 1965,* [Warszawa] 1965, p. 5.

29 Ibid., p. 6.

30 Ibid., p. 8.

a darkened room aligned with the enfilade of the Hall of Caryatids, the largest room in the palace. Closing the sequence of ceremonial interiors, this space evokes the apse of a medieval church and marks the culmination of the whole arrangement. The urn is accompanied by a powerful projection: images of fire are shown on multimedia screens arranged around it, recalling the blaze that consumed the collections, intentionally started by German sappers. This gives the urn a distinctive character: spatially isolated yet inscribed into the axis of the layout, it becomes the focal point of the composition and recalls the way relics are preserved and displayed.[31]

On the 70th anniversary of the destruction of the Krasiński Library, Paweł Bownik photographed the urn containing the ashes of burned manuscripts. He set it against a background of surviving books from the Wilanów collection, creating a contrast with the remains of the destroyed holdings. The photograph was enlarged in relation to the actual object. This makes it possible to examine the fragile remains of the destroyed manuscripts in detail, almost as if under a microscope.[32] Time also plays a decisive role here: the photograph was exposed for 16 minutes. It thus arrests the process of slow material disintegration – the fragile contents of the vessel are gradually crumbling away, while the image attempts to preserve a material trace of the destroyed collections. The photograph does not show the act of the library's destruction itself, but the slow decay of its remains. As the eminent scholar of visual art Ernst van Alphen stresses, three temporal orders meet in Bownik's photograph: the present of looking, the memory of wartime catastrophe, and the past, represented by the surviving books in the

31 See *Pałac Rzeczypospolitej. Trzy razy otwierana. Najcenniejsze zbiory Biblioteki Narodowej w Pałacu Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Tomasz Makowski, with the assistance of Patryk Sapała, Warszawa 2024, p. 6.

32 Paweł Bownik, *Urna, Biblioteka Narodowa*, catalogue no. F.119428/Sz (https://polona.pl/preview/371b2749-c7db-440f-9624-e13e289162f1); see also Michał Dąbrowski, *Urn – Paweł Bownik*, Culture.pl, 7 November 2018 (https://culture.pl/en/work/urn-pawel-bownik).

background.[33] The photograph has become an important work of Polish visual art and has been shown in many galleries, including the Haus der Geschichte in Bonn and the exhibition *Gewalt ausstellen: Erste Ausstellungen zur NS-Besatzung in Europa, 1945–1948*, held at the Deutsches Historisches Museum from 24 May to 23 November 2025 and devoted to the first post-war exhibitions on the Nazi occupation of Europe.[34] It is worth adding that in 2025 the urn was documented again by the photographer Aleksander Małachowski.

In his letter to Maria Danilewicz-Zielińska, Stefan Vrtel-Wierczyński mentioned the "tiny handful of ashes" which, as he wrote, he had "kept as a sad memento". He stored it in a small glass bottle. We may assume that it was kept in his office and that this was what the writer and book-lover Zuzanna Rabska, daughter of the historian Aleksander Kraushar, saw there when she visited the National Library building as it was being rebuilt after the destruction of the war. The sight of the remains of the burned manuscripts moved her so deeply that she recorded the experience in a sonnet:

> "W tej urnie szary popiół złożono troskliwie
> Ksiąg spalonych w czcigodnej Krasińskich Książnicy,
> Leżą te sypkie szczątki jak w zimnej kostnicy,
> A trupia siność zieje przez mętnych ścian szkliwie."[35]
>
> ("In this urn, grey ash has been carefully laid,
> of books burned in the venerable Krasiński Library;
> these loose remains lie as in a cold mortuary,
> and deathly pallor breathes through the clouded glass.")

33 "The Urn does not freeze or stop the stream as a slice of time, but the image itself is 'an explosive burst of isolated moments'. The viewer should renounce her almost automatic predisposition to link particular sights to familiar historical contexts and narratives. Instead, she should look at the image as an event and reflect on what is going on there instead of understanding it in terms of what came 'before' and 'after' ", Ernst van Alphen, Clashing Time Frames, in: *Bownik. Undercoat*, ed. Magdalena Ziółkowska, Łódź–Berlin 2022, pp. 73–80, quotation on p. 78.

34 See *Gewalt ausstellen. Erste Ausstellungen zur NS-Besatzung in Europa, 1945–1948*, eds. Raphael Gross, Agata Pietrasik, Berlin 2025.

35 Zuzanna Rabska, *Moje życie z książką. Wspomnienia*, vol. 2, Wrocław 1964, p. 433.



FIG. 3. Paweł Bownik, Urna [Urn containing the ashes of manuscripts from the Krasiński Library, displayed in the Palace of the Commonwealth] Large-format 8×10 cm photography, Kodak Portra 160 negative; pigment print on archival paper, 198×140 cm, 2014. National Library of Poland, inv. no. F.119428/Sz. Copyright: Paweł Bownik



FIG. 4. Paweł Bownik, Urna [Urn containing the ashes of manuscripts from the Krasiński Library, displayed in the Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw], 100×80 cm, 2026. Copyright: Paweł Bownik

Vrtel-Wierczyński took the vessel containing the ashes to Poznań in 1946. Twenty years later, following the scholar's death, it was acquired by the Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences as part of the purchase of his archival estate.[36] The archival materials are held in the Poznań branch, while the glass bottle is kept at the Warsaw headquarters of the Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Commemorating Library Losses

The commemoration of library losses in public space remains rare, and not only in Poland. Only a handful of examples of this kind of commemoration can be identified. The library of the Catholic University of Leuven, destroyed by German troops during the pacification of the city in August 1914 – when around 230,000 to 300,000 volumes were lost in the fire, including several hundred medieval manuscripts and hundreds of incunabula – is commemorated through a permanent exhibition arranged on several levels of the tower of the rebuilt building, as well as by plaques on its façade naming the institutions and countries that helped fund its reconstruction in the interwar period. The charred remains of books, preserved in glass urns, serve as material testimony to the catastrophe. The university archive holds 25 scorched volumes, two of which are displayed in the library building.

A similar problem can be observed in Germany. Although the public burning of books in the spring of 1933 forms an important part of historical discourse, collective memory and school education – often accompanied by the famous quotation from Heinrich Heine's play *Almansor*, originally written in the context of the burning of the Qur'an: "Das war ein Vorspiel nur, dort wo man Bücher verbrennt, verbrennt man am Ende auch Menschen" ("That was only a prelude; where they burn books, they will, in the end, burn people too") – the

36 Jarosław Matysiak identifies the contents of the bottle as ashes of books from the Library of the Polish Museum in Rapperswil (Jarosław Matysiak, *Butelka z popiołami spalonych książek z Biblioteki Muzeum Polskiego w Rapperswilu w spuściźnie Stefana Vrtela-Wierczyńskiego (1886–1963) w zbiorach PAN Archiwum w Warszawie, Oddział w Poznaniu*, in: *Tyle zostało. Historia zbiorów raperswilskich w Polsce*, ed. Halina Czubaszek, Warszawa–Rzeszów 2021, pp. 113–119).



FIG. 5. Glass urns containing salvaged books from the library of the Catholic University of Leuven, KU Leuven Libraries Special Collections. Copyright: Imaging Lab

number of permanent markers of memory in public space remains surprisingly small. Although commemorative plaques can be found at sites where books were burned, only three monuments dedicated to these events also commemorate the destruction of library collections.[37] The best known of them is the memorial on Berlin's Bebelplatz, just beside the Unter den Linden boulevard. Designed by Micha Ullman and unveiled in 1995, it takes the form of a chamber set

37 There is a vast body of literature on this problem: *Verbrannte Bücher 1933. Mit Feuer gegen die Freiheit des Geistes. Eine Anthologie*, ed. Werner Treß, Bonn 2009; *Orte der Bücherverbrennungen in Deutschland 1933*, eds Julius H. Schoeps, Werner Treß, Hildesheim 2008.

below the surface of the square, filled with empty shelves for books that no longer exist. Arnold Dreyblatt's work, installed in 2021 on Munich's Königsplatz at the foot of the monumental steps leading to the neoclassical building of the State Collections of Antiquities, is different in character. *The Blacklist / Die Schwarze Liste* refers to the lists of literature deemed undesirable that were published in the spring of 1933. In a stone slab, the artist engraved the titles of 310 publications by authors placed on the blacklist, in each case choosing the last work published before 1933. Together they form a continuous stream of text without punctuation. The third example is the Hamburg monument erected in 1985 on the initiative of the Eimsbüttel district authorities. It takes the form of a semi-circular stone composition made of red marble blocks bearing inscriptions. These include the famous Heine quotation given above, the names of authors associated with Hamburg and a selection of titles of books that were burned.

Why do libraries and book collections so rarely become part of collective memory? The destruction of libraries, as places where cultural capital is accumulated, transmitted and legitimised, represents a violation of the foundations of the symbolic order and a long-term weakening of cultural continuity. Yet the significance of such losses does not in itself ensure their lasting presence in collective memory.[38] The mechanism behind this asymmetry can be explained by reference to Maurice Halbwachs's concept of collective memory, according to which it is above all those experiences that can be linked to people's lives and the functioning of particular communities that become embedded in collective memory. The destruction of libraries is harder to connect with specific biographies, and where such a connection can be shown, memory usually focuses on the individuals rather than on the libraries themselves.[39] As a result, although library losses are remembered, they only ex-

38 Pierre Bourdieu, *The forms of capital*, in: *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*, ed. John Richardson, New York 1986, pp. 244–248.

39 See Maurice Halbwachs, *On collective memory*, Chicago 1992.

ceptionally become part of the canon of cultural memory, remaining instead in the sphere of its archive – as memories that are preserved but not actively renewed.[40]

Destroyed libraries rarely become sites of memory in Pierre Nora's sense. The French scholar argues that, as modern societies lose "environments of memory" (*milieux de mémoire*), they create "sites of memory" (*lieux de mémoire*): forms in which memory is anchored, preserved, ritualised and displayed in public space.[41] A catastrophe affecting a library – whether a fire, looting or deliberate destruction – often annihilates precisely those material and symbolic forms that might have served as vehicles of memory. What is revealed is an absence that can only later be addressed through a monument, museum, ritual, anniversary or narrative. At the same time, the social function of libraries themselves differs from that of monuments: they are not meant to "speak" in public space, but to enable others to speak. In social consciousness, they are above all the working spaces and support structures of intellectual life.

How are these difficulties overcome in the examples discussed above? For something to become a site of memory, it requires not only a material remnant, but also a will to remember and the symbolic and social work needed to give that remnant lasting meaning. The Kalisz monument does this by treating the book symbolically as a victim. This humanisation makes it possible to tell the story of the book collection in the language of public memory. It is no accident that the monument is reminiscent of a grave. In the speeches delivered at its unveiling, violence against books was set alongside repression against people, while the canal into which the collection was thrown was described as a tomb. The location of the monument in the Planty in Kalisz also means that the memory

40 "Archive" is used by Aleida Assmann to mean a store of memory that is dormant at a given moment, does not function in current commemorative practices and is not subject to ritualisation. Aleida Assmann, *Canon and archive*, in: *Cultural memory studies. An international and interdisciplinary handbook*, eds Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning, Berlin–New York 2008, pp. 97–108.

41 Pierre Nora, *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire*, "Representations" 26 (1989), Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory, pp. 7–24.

of the destroyed library is inscribed into the cityscape and the everyday rhythms of its inhabitants.

The urn containing ashes gathered from the burned special collections of the National Library of Poland and other Warsaw libraries gives material form to the memory of destruction. It does not represent the act of destruction itself, but rather its consequences: the traces of texts that were not meant to survive even in this fragmentary form. The ashes in the urn may resemble human ashes after a cremation, while the surviving fragments of manuscripts are almost like relics. Such associations are reinforced by the way the object is displayed – in a small, darkened room, somewhat like a chapel. Thus the urn, like the Kalisz monument, also brings about a symbolic humanisation or even sacralisation of the burned manuscripts, making it easier to incorporate their fate into practices of remembrance.

Placing the urn at the centre of the exhibition and surrounding it with screens and images of fire situates the object within a contemporary mode of staging remembrance. The arrangement makes the loss more visible, while also strengthening its impact on the viewer.

The loss of books and manuscripts occupies a particular place within the economy of memory. One way of making the destruction of libraries part of memory culture is perhaps to translate it into symbolic forms familiar from the commemoration of people. This involves the humanisation of historic written works and the sacralisation of the material remains left by their destruction: the stone dedicated to books takes the form of a grave, while the ashes of manuscripts begin to function like relics. The monument in Kalisz and the urn with the ashes show two different ways of carrying out this symbolic translation. The first inscribes the destruction of book collections into the space of the city and the language of communal memory; the second encloses it in a material trace preserved within an institution of memory. Both, however, draw on the same mechanism: for a library loss to become legible within memory culture, it must be presented in terms proper to the commemoration of human beings.

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FRIENDSHIP ALBUMS OF KARL AUGUST VARNHAGEN VON ENSE (FOUNDER OF THE VARNHAGEN COLLECTION) AND OF HIS SISTER ROSA MARIA ASSING[1] AT THE JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY COLLECTIONS: CURRENT STATE AND PROSPECTS FOR RESEARCH

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ABSTRACT

Dating from the early 19th century, the friendship albums of Karl August Varnhagen von Ense (1785–1858), a diplomat, writer, journalist, and collector, and his sister, Rosa Maria Assing (1783–1840), a writer and educator, constitute valuable sources for the study of

1 In the main text of the paper, we use Rosa Maria's last family name, the one she took when she married David Assing in 1816.

memorial practices, the archive's materiality, and the social and intellectual life of the early 19th century. Both objects, currently held at the Jagiellonian Library, are part of the collection founded by Varnhagen and his wife, Rahel Varnhagen von Ense, née Levin (1771–1833), who adopted the name Friederike Antonie upon her conversion to Christianity in 1814. Despite their originally compact form, the friendship albums discussed here have survived in different material states: Rosa Maria Assing's album has been preserved as a bound volume; her brother incorporated it as such into his collection. However, he decided to disperse his own album throughout the collection. He assigned the individual leaves to the inscribers' personal folders, although he did not always clearly identify this unusual material. The paper describes the results of archival research that, in its first phase, identified the leaves of the dispersed Varnhagen album and then catalogued inscriptions in both albums, treating them as comparative material in light of the owners' family relationship and intellectual affiliations. This study of both friendship albums considers the context of their creation, the form in which they have been preserved, their specific archival traits, and cultural references. At the same time, the Annex provides a catalogued list of inscriptions.

The paper further indicates the potential for a joint hybrid edition of both albums using digital tools, which would allow not only the introduction of their contents to academic circulation but also a virtual reunion of the dispersed leaves and an analysis and comparison of the two albums.

KEYWORDS: friendship album, *album amicorum*, Jagiellonian Library, Varnhagen Collection, Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, Rosa Maria Assing, 19th century, hybrid edition, digital edition

Introduction

Friendship albums of Karl August Varnhagen von Ense (1785–1858), a diplomat, journalist, and the founder of the Varnhagen Collection, currently held at the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków, and of his sister, Rosa Maria Assing (1783–1840), a writer, educa-

tor, and silhouette artist, while relatively little-studied, are objects of interest in the Collection.[2] Both albums, dated to the early 19th c., show early networks of their owners' contacts, including leading figures of the German intellectual scene, and also document practices that shaped their owners' social and intellectual status. While both albums originally functioned as separate volumes, they survived in different material formats within the Collection. The Collection's owner preserved his sister Rosa Maria's album as an integral volume. Still, he divided his own album into separate leaves. He distributed them to the personal folders of the individual inscribers, without always determining their origin, or the identity of the individuals responsible for the inscriptions on either side of the leaves. The condition of the objects affects both how these materials are identified within the Collection and the feasibility of reconstructing the albums' original form, while identifying inscriptions from Varnhagen's album may be a particular challenge. As the collector had not identified the inscriptions with sufficient accuracy, they were only partially recorded in the only existing catalogue of the collection, authored by Ludwig Stern.[3]

2 Preliminary work on Karl August Varnhagen von Ense's friendship album dates back to 2011. It was initiated by one of the authors of this paper, Katarzyna Jaśtal, the principal investigator of the research mini-grant implemented from March 2025 to June 2026 described in this section. For a long time Varnhagen's album interested only a small group of scholars, but the development of digital humanities' tools opened new research perspectives. In 2024, the album became again the subject of studies: Joachim Jacobs authored a publication presenting Varnhagen's album in the broader context of his Collection, see J. Jacobs, 'Karl August Varnhagen von Enses Stammbuch und seine Sammlung', in: *Signaturen der Vielfalt, vol. Autorinnen in der Sammlung Varnhagen*, ed. J. Kita-Huber and J. Paulus: Göttingen 2024, p. 317–331, here p. 326. In 2025, the project "Within and Beyond the Society of the North Star," launched the work on a catalogue of inscriptions from Varnhagen's album dispersed in the Collection and from his sister Rosa Maria Assing's album preserved in one volume, which was known only in fragments thanks to references to individual inscriptions in a publication documenting her life and works, based on manuscripts from Varnhagen Collection, see P. Zarychta, *Selbstinszenierung und Gedächtnisbildung. Rosa Maria Assing in Briefen und Lebenszeugnissen aus der Sammlung Varnhagen. Edition und Kommentar*, Berlin 2021, vol. I–II. The authors would also like to express their gratitude to Professor Schnabel for his invaluable consultations, careful verification of the archival material and the provision of important insights that contributed substantially to the analysis and interpretation of the sources.

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

This paper presents both objects in the context of their owners' biographies, discusses previous research findings on the albums, and outlines perspectives for further study of these documents. A list of inscriptions from both albums, published here for the first time, constitutes an important element of the present paper. It has been compiled as a result of a research mini-grant titled "Within and Beyond the Society of the North Star (in German: Nordsternbund) – the Friendship Albums of Karl August Varnhagen von Ense and His Sister Rosa Maria Assing – from the Varnhagen Collection Held at the Jagiellonian Library" conducted as part of the flagship project *Digital Authoring of the Berlin Collections* at the Faculty of Philology of the Jagiellonian University.

Generic Particularity of the Corpus: Friendship Album as a Social and Intellectual Document

"Album amicorum", "Philoteca", or "friendship album," developed in the context of German university culture in the 16th century, collected inscriptions from the owner's professors (including outstanding figures of German intellectual life), colleagues from the university, relatives, and friends.[4] These inscriptions recorded significant moments from the album's owner's life, encounters, and social relationships, while also serving as a vehicle for aesthetic and ethical values and norms. Over time, keeping albums became a common practice in academic and intellectual communities. Friendship albums were usually kept for a period of several and up to a dozen or more years; inscriptions were collected in various contexts: during university studies, travels, gatherings, visits from relatives or friends. A typical entry in a friendship album included the main text and a dedicatory paratext supplemented by the date and place of the record.[5] The main text could take different forms (e.g., prose or verse), play various roles (e.g., a motto, a symbol),

4 See W. W. Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch. Konstitution und Geschichte einer textsortenbezogenen Sammelform bis ins erste Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 2003, p. 6.

5 The presented description concerns findings obtained by the leading friendship albums researcher W. W. Schnabel, see ibidem, p. 58–119.

treat specific themes (e.g., friendship, destiny, memory), and have different intertextual status (e.g., an original text written specifically for that record or a quotation from religious, philosophical, or literary texts). In the dedication, the inscriber revealed the intention behind the entry or characterized their relationship with the owner of the friendship album. Some inscriptions included additional elements of a textual nature (e.g., memorabilia – catchphrases referring to key moments shared by the inscriber and the album's owner), graphic elements (e.g., drawings, portraits) and musical notations (e.g., fragments of original composition). In the later period, around 1800, the repertoire of additions expanded significantly and included such elements as: dried flowers, locks of hair, paper cut-outs or embroidery, that were designed to enrich the entries esthetically, symbolically, and/or emotionally.[6] Until the collection of entries was finished, the album remained an object in a constant state of becoming – a place where inscribers presented themselves and a space where the image of the owner was being collectively created. Subsequent contributors read the earlier inscriptions and, in deciding to add an entry of their own, consciously situated it within the already existing "space of memory." The album's meaning was thus shaped cumulatively by its successive entries, each one altering the significance of the whole.

The friendship album provided evidence of personal contacts with each inscriber and of the the owner's participation in a particular intellectual circle. It functioned – as Werner Schnabel described it – as a collection of autographs, a space of intellectual and social legitimation of the owner's self, and a specific repository of individual and collective memory.[7] Contemporary studies view these albums, created as part of past memorial practices, as evidence of greater social and intellectual significance than previously assumed, calling them "historical social media."[8] Namely,

6 See E. Köstler, *Stammbücher um 1800. Katalog*, in: https://www.autographen.org/fileadmin/user_upload/7_Kataloge/189_Stammbuch1.pdf [access 19.03.2026].

7 W. W. Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch*, op. cit., p. 171.

8 A. Pelz, 'Album und Picknickdecke: Stabilisierende Medien und ephemere Formen mobiler Kollektivbildung', in: *Kulturen und Gesellschaften*, ed. A. Ganser, A. Pelz, p. 169–188, here p. 171.

scholars emphasize that friendship albums served not only a commemorative function, but also documented current relationships and signaled intellectual connections. Since the late 20th century, friendship albums have been treated as a subject of scholarly research.[9] German researcher Werner Schnabel's work played here a particularly significant role. His studies on the history of the genre, as well as the digital data base *Repetitorium Album Amicorum* (RAA) he initiated, provided a research foundation for international studies on friendship albums.[10] Zdzisław Pietrzyk, director of the Jagiellonian Library from 2003 to 2021, played a pivotal role in Polish research; beginning in the late 1990s, he studied friendship albums and popularized them as a valuable source for research on writing culture, social networks, and student mobility.[11]

Several distinct trends can be identified in the studies on friendship albums. In their initial phase, scholars focused on friendship albums created in the early modern period, when the genre enjoyed its greatest popularity. The analysis centred primarily on the recorded networks of contacts, conventions of entries, cultural norms, as well as their iconographic dimensions.[12] In parallel, ex-

9 See W. W. Schnabel, 'Erschließung und Erforschung von Alba Amicorum. Geschichte – Stand – Perspektiven', in: *Über Stammbücher schreiben. Erschließung und Erforschung von Freundschaftsbüchern (16.–19. Jahrhundert)*, ed. M. U. Ferber, P. Haas, P. Limbeck, Göttingen 2025, p. 21–53, here p. 42.

10 See W. W. Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch*, op. cit. and database RAA: REPERTORIUM ALBORUM AMICORUM – REPERTORIVM ALBORVM AMICORVM [access 24.03.2026].

11 See Z. Pietrzyk, 'Sztambuchy jako źródło peregrynacji studenckich na przykładzie Polaków studiujących w Strasburgu', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 1999, XLIII, p. 139–150; Z. Pietrzyk, 'Sztambuch Kryspina Gericiusa jako przykład źródła do dziejów staropolskich podróży edukacyjnych', in: *Źródła do dziejów staropolskich podróży edukacyjnych*, ed. D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, M. E. Kowalczyk, Wrocław 2017, p. 169–182; Z. Pietrzyk, *Powracać, powracać, powracać... do Wronczyna: sztambuch Anny i Tadeusza Gustawa Jackowskich*, Poznań 2023; friendship albums from Berlin collections as well enjoy a growing interest, see A. Szczepaniec, 'Adam von Gruttschreiber's Album Amicorum: an Unknown Source for the History of Culture in Silesia in the Latter Half of the 16th and Early 17th Centuries', *Polish Libraries*, 2021, vol. 9, p. 24–78 oraz A. Szczepaniec, *Albumy przyjaźni z 2. połowy XVI i 1. połowy XVII wieku na tle kultury umysłowej i artystycznej późnego Odrodzenia na przykładzie sztambuchów ze zbiorów berlińskich w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej*, Kraków 2026.

12 See W. Klose (ed.), *Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 1989. G. Heß, *Literatur im Lebenszusammenhang. Text und Bedeutungskonstituierung im Stammbuch*

hibitions at the leading German cultural institutions showcased friendship albums from later periods, which significantly increased their popularity and integration into scholarly awareness.[13] Currently, interest in friendship albums originating in the context of the 19th-century intellectual and salon culture is growing because they facilitate not only studies on social networks but, above all, on the circulation of ideas in intellectual circles.[14] Consequently, contemporary research on friendship albums shifts towards cultural-literary studies which view these albums not merely as media of social communication or tools for documenting the networks of social relationships, but most of all as instruments for the dissemination of ideas and for constructing intellectual identity. The scholarly conference entitled "Über Stammbücher schreiben. Stand und Perspektiven der Erschließung und Erforschung von Freundschaftsbüchern," organized in 2023 at the Herzog August Library in Wolfenbüttel – which holds Germany's largest collection of friendship albums – provided a new research impetus.

Among topics discussed, projects designed to use digital humanities' tools for securing and sharing collections of friendship albums, including digitization projects and a digital edition of Philipp Hainhofer's album executed by Sabine Jagodzinski's team, gained particular importance.[15] This research direction aims to

des Herzog Augusts des Jüngeren von Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1579–1666), Frankfurt am Main 2001; C. Schwarz, *Studien zur Stammbuchpraxis der Frühen Neuzeit, vol. Gestaltung und Nutzung des Album amicorum am Beispiel eines Hofbeamten und Dichters, eines Politikers und eines Goldschmieds (etwa 1550 bis 1650)*, Frankfurt am Main 2002.

13 See P. Maisak, *Das Stammbuch des Freiherrn von Berlepsch. Ein Künstlerstammbuch des 19. Jahrhunderts mit unbekannten Handzeichnungen von Goethe, Caspar David Friedrich und anderen. Ausstellung im Freien Deutschen Hochstift*, Frankfurt am Main 1983; Anonym, *Der Freundschaft gewidmet. Stammbücher der Goethezeit*, Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt am Main 1982; C. Göhmann-Lehmann, *„Freundschaft – ein Leben lang…" Schriftliche Erinnerungskultur für Frauen*, Museumsdorf Cloppenburg 1994; N. Witzmann, *Denk an mich! Stammbücher und Poesiealben aus zwei Jahrhunderten. Katalog zur Ausstellung*, Wien 2015.

14 See K. Henzel, *Mehr als ein Denkmal der Freundschaft. Stammbucheinträge in Leipzig 1760–1804*, Leipzig 2014 and H. Rost, *Musik-Stammbücher. Erinnerung, Unterhaltung und Kommunikation im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Köln 2020.

15 See P. Jagodzinski, 'Ein außergewöhnliches Denkmal der Gunst? Das große Stammbuch Philipp Hainhofers zwischen Norm und Abweichung', in: *Über*

integrate data from friendship albums into digital networks, enabling broader contextualization of the information they contain. Ultimately, the two albums discussed in this paper will be edited in a hybrid format, with digitization as a key component. Its purpose goes beyond the wide dissemination of the content. A digital transformation in the case of K. A. Varnhagen von Ense's friendship album dispersed within the Collection – with its original inscription sequence irretrievable and its dispersal still remaining in the library space – will allow its arrangement in a dynamic hypertext structure that will reveal to readers the complex archival status of the object.

Friendship Albums in the Varnhagen Collection

Varnhagen Collection, which includes valuable manuscripts and prints dating from the 17th to the 19th century, was actively assembled by its founder in the 1840s and 50s,[16] and later handed over and managed by his niece, Ludmilla Assing (1821–1880), who donated it to the Prussian State Library in Berlin in 1880. As a result of WWII, the Collection came to be housed in Kraków, where it is currently held at the Jagiellonian Library.[17]

The manuscript holdings of this Collection include – next to letters, notes, literary and scholarly texts – evidence of social customs of the era, i.e., remains of popular in the 19th century *alba amicorum*, paper albums, often no larger than 12 cm x 20 cm, containing inscriptions by family members, friends, representatives of the academic community, and often eminent figures from the intellectual world. The Varnhagen Collection catalogue, published in

Stammbücher schreiben. Erschließung und Erforschung von Freundschaftsbüchern (16.–19. Jahrhundert), ed. M. U. Ferber, P. Haas, P. Limbeck, Göttingen 2025, p. 271–289; the album's digital edition: https://www.hab.de/digitale-edition-des-grossen-stammbuchs-philipp-hainhofers/ [access 24.03.2026].

16 The earlier holdings accumulated by Karl and Rahel Varnhagen von Ense were the core of the collection.

17 M. Jaglarz, K. Jaśtal, 'Bestände der ehemaligen Preußischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in der Jagiellonen-Bibliothek: Geschichte und Struktur', in: *Bestände der ehemaligen Preußischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in der Jagiellonen Bibliothek: Forschungsstand und –perspektiven*, ed. M. Jaglarz, K. Jaśtal, Berlin 2018, p. 15–30.

1911[18] by Ludwig Stern, serving until now as the basic tool for navigating the Collection, confirms the existence in the Varnhagen holdings of ca. 120 individual leaves with entries in friendship albums dated between 1624 and 1858 authored, among others, by the mathematician Joachim Jungius (1587–1657), the Nurenberg councilman Paul Harßdörffer (1605–1666), the composer Johann Pfeiffer (1697–1761), the writer Anna L. Karschin (1722–1791), the writer Gotthold E. Lessing (1729–1781), the linguist Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), the writer Sophie Schlegel (1791–1847) or the composer Franz Liszt (1811–1886) and three albums: the already mentioned Rosa Maria Assing's *album amicorum*, the friendship album of her sister-in-law Henriette Wolff, née Assur, impossible to locate in the Jagiellonian Library's collections[19] and an anonymous album [call number SV 300][20] held in the part of the Collection located in the State Library in Berlin.[21] K. A. Varnhagen von Ense's *Stammbuch* constitutes a particular case; the owner decided to break the originally bound volume into individual leaves and added them to specific personal folders within the Varnhagen Collection.

This overview demonstrates that Varnhagen, as a collector, showed no particular interest in collecting friendship albums in their original format. He was far more interested in individual entries, which he included in personal dossiers alongside other manuscripts and printed documents. This method of gathering material aligned with the popular 19th-century practice of separating entries from their original albums and circulating them among col-

18 L. Stern: *Varnhagen von Ensesche Sammlung*, op. cit.

19 There is no personal folder for Henriette Wolff in the Varnhagen Collection, the Stern's catalogue entry next to her name redirects to brothers Abraham and Simon Assur's folder [VS 24], the entry under the brothers' name does not mention the existence of their sister's album; it proved also impossible to locate it in the Jagiellonian Library's holdings, see ibidem, p. 897 and p. 37.

20 References to personal folders in the Varnhagen Collection are cited by their respective folder signatures, e.g. VS 300.

21 The further search in the State Library in Berlin allowed to exclude this document from the group of friendship albums remaining in the Collection, see H. Döhn, *Sammlung Varnhagen. Zeitungen und Zeitungsausschnitte aus den alten Kästen 300 und 302 bis 307*, Berlin [no date], p. 7.

lectors as independent autographs.[22] The leaves from the friendship albums form an integral part of the Collection's structure, in which the material is organized into personal folders. In around 40 folders, they constitute the only handwritten material and the principal means of representing the person to whom the folder relates.

Against this backdrop, Karl August Varnhagen von Ense's and his sister Rosa Maria Assing's albums require particular attention. Preserved in the Collection in different formats, they show how the same cultural genre can function as an integral object in the collection and, at the same time, as a set of single leaves. This difference affects not only the possibilities for research and reconstruction but also makes it possible to trace the Collection's founder's strategies for organizing the material and to examine the albums' function as structural documents reflecting the social representation of the individuals commemorated in their entries.

Friendship Albums' Owners and the Chronological Context of the Entries

Album amicorum, as aptly observes Henrike Rost, constitutes a form of *life writing*, in which the owner plays simultaneously the role of curator and co-author of a small, self-centered collection of autographs functioning as a *Stammbuch*.[23] To understand the dynamic of the entries and the specificity of the objects themselves, it is necessary to recall selected moments of the owners' biography connected to the origin of the album. It will allow to capture social and intellectual context in which the entries were created and to reveal the network of contacts, social positions, and intellectual aspirations, which endow the albums with the important evidence of personal relationships, as well as wider cultural practices of the era.

Rosa Maria Assing and Karl August Varnhagen von Ense belonged, by virtue of their origin, to the educated bourgeoisie (in

22 See W. Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch*, op. cit., p. 194.

23 See H. Rost, *Musik-Stammbücher*, op. cit., p. 29.

German: Bildungsbürgertum).[24] The father, Johann Andreas Jacob Varnhagen's (1756–1799) status as a physician and a medical counselor and Anna Maria Varnhagen's, née Kuntz (1755–1826), position as the daughter of a master shoemaker and counselor, Philipp Friedrich Kuntz[25] from Straßburg, ensured a relative material stability to the family, as well as access to home education. The character of the father's occupation required frequent changes of residence. As Varnhagen recalls in his memoirs "Denkwürdigkeiten des eigenen Lebens,"[26] the family lived also in other places, in Straßburg and Aachen, before finally settling in 1794 in Hamburg.[27] The father's death in 1798, marks a turning point, which substantially impacted the material situation of the family deprived of its main source of income. Since then, Rosa Maria's and Karl August's life paths began diverging. While the sister remained in Hamburg and, also due to her brother's support, developed local educational, literary, and social activities, Varnhagen embarked on a period of significant mobility connected to his further education, which enabled him to establish numerous contacts and gain access to many intellectual circles. The friendship albums kept by the siblings – Rosa Maria Assing between 1804 and 1823, containing 42 entries, and Karl August Varnhagen von Ense between 1804 and 1809, containing 77 entries – document their respective life paths, reveal the different possibilities afforded by their social roles, and reflect the cultural practices characteristic of their social environments. Considering that Varnhagen to a significant degree mediated in the contacts established by his sister, selected aspects of his biography will be discussed first.

24 See W. Greiling, *Varnhagen von Ense. Lebensweg eines Liberalen. Politisches Wirken zwischen Diplomatie und Revolution*, Köln/Weimar/Wien 1993, p. 73.

25 See K. A. Varnhagen von Ense's biographical note in the Varnhagen Collection, BJK VS 250.

26 Reminiscenses covering the years 1785–1837 were published in 1837–1846, see K. A. Varnhagen von Ense, *Denkwürdigkeiten des eigenen Lebens*, vol. 1–3, ed. K. Feilchenfeldt, Frankfurt am Main 1987, p. 778 (vol. 1), p. 796 (vol. 3).

27 K. A. Varnhagen von Ense, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 9, 35, 75, 138.

Karl August Varnhagen collected the first entries in his friendship album in Berlin, where he moved in 1800 to begin his medical training at the Berlin Pepiniére, a school for military physicians. Initially, a bursary secured his livelihood, and in 1804 he worked as a tutor in the household of the manufacturer Ezehiel Cohen and his wife, the salonnière Philippine Cohen, née Bernhardi (1776–1833). In addition to his natural science interests, the young tutor since his early years, showed a passion for literature, and the life at the Cohens' house favoured contacts with intellectuals and embarking on creative endeavours. There, he also began collecting entries to the friendship album. At this time, around Karl August Varnhagen von Ense and his friend of Franco-German origin, Adelbert von Chamisso (1781–1838) formed a literary circle of young poets, the so-called Society of the North Star, whose name was inspired by the fascination with the North that was developing in Germany since ca. 1800.[28] Members of the circle met at the Cohen family house and jointly undertook writing projects: in 1804–1806, they published literary almanacs (in German: Musenalmanach), in which appeared original poems of the group members, as well as translations of foreign language texts. This literary community was mirrored in the album – several entries by Adelbert von Chamisso, Louis de Lafoye (1781–1847), and Peter Hoßbach (1784–1846) among others, is marked with a sign characteristic for the Society of the North Star members

28 Fascination by the North was a multidimensional phenomenon, it emerged at the moment of formation of a national awareness, and resulted from a search of balance for the earlier dominant orientation towards the classical culture developed in the South, see H. Kliemann, 'Aspekte des Nordenbegriffes in Deutschland um 1800', in: *Das Projekt Norden. Essays zur Konstruktion einer europäischen Region*, ed. B. Henningsen, Berlin 2002, p. 37–57, here p. 44. According to Rudolf Heym, a scholar of the Romantic period, the key importance for the Nordsternbund group development proved to be August Wilhelm Schlegl's (1767–1845) reflections, who in his "Lectures on Literature and Art" (1802–1804) defines the North as a space of scholarship: „Die Wissenschaft ist der Norden, das Bild der Strenge und des Ernstes: im Norden ist der unbewegliche Polarstern, der die Schiffahrenden leitet; nach Norden hin weist der Magnet, das schöne Symbol von der Unwandelbarkeit und Identität des Selbstbewußtseyns, welche das Fundament aller Wissenschaft, aller philosophischen Evidenz ist. ", see R. Haym, *Die romantische Schule: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes*, Berlin 1870, p. 792 sq.

τ.τ.π.α. The abbreviation derives from the initial letters of the Greek phrase *τὸ τοῦ πόλου ἄστρον*, meaning "the Pole/North Star". Apart from organizing meetings of young writers, Varnhagen could participate in social gatherings attended by prominent representatives of the world of culture. Among the guests at the Philippine Cohen's salon, were the writer Heinrich von Kleist (1777–1811), the daughter of the musician Johann Georg Lehmann, Caroline Lehmann (1786–1805), a Portuguese philosopher and diplomat Silvestre Pinheiro-Ferreira (1769–1846) or the wife of the educator and publisher, Johann Daniel Sander, the salonnière Sophie Sander (1759–1825). The entries from this period are also supplemented by inscriptions made by physicians, among them, Johann Heinrich Horlacher (1763–1843) and Johann Gottlieb Bruckert (1771–1827), as well as a philosopher, Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), whose lectures on the Science of Knowledge (in German: Wissenschaftslehre) Varnhagen attended personally.[29]

After the Cohen house's bankruptcy, Varnhagen returned to Hamburg and, in late 1804, took a teaching job in the household of Jacob Moses Hertz (1752–1833), a banker. However, the restrictive atmosphere at the Hertz's house was not conducive to social life.[30] Varnhagen collected some entries from teachers of the Hamburg gymnasium Johanneum, among them the philosopher Friedrich Jacobi (1743–1819), philologist and director of the Gymnasium, Johann Gurlitt (1754–1827), and also from colleagues, including Johann Neander (1789–1850), the later Protestant theologian and Church historian.

In 1806, Varnhagen resumed his medical studies at the university in Halle. This decision helped him to establish contacts with eminent scholars from other fields. Entries by classical philologists, Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824) and Immanuel Bekker (1785–1871) found their way to his album. Studies in Halle were

29 See R. Lauth, 'Über Fichtes Lehrtätigkeit in Berlin von Mitte 1799 bis Anfang 1805 und seine Zuhörerschaft', *Hegel-Studien*, 1980, vol. 15, p. 50.

30 See K. A. Varnhagen von Ense, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 299 sq.

quickly interrupted; after Napoleon's victory at Jena and Auerstedt, the university closed, and Varnhagen was forced to return to Berlin. During two next years, Varnhagen continued participating in intellectual gatherings, and visited Berlin literary salons. Among people who are accounted for in the album, are the writers and salonnières, Henriette Herz (1764–1847) and Rahel Levin (1771–1733), Varnhagen's future wife or theologian and philosopher Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834). After this period, Varnhagen returned to academic education. In 1809, he continued his medical studies in Tübingen. There, he encountered another intellectual and literary community, i.e., representatives of the Swabian School (in German: Schwäbische Dichterschule), a 19th-century circle of German Romantic and Biedermeier poets from Southwest Germany, who set themselves a goal of returning "from the world of miracles to the kingdom of reality"[31] and directing their imagination toward nature. The album documents close relationships with the Swabian School in entries by its representatives, Justinus Kerner (1786–1862) and Ludwig Uhland (1787–1862). These inscriptions belong at the same time to the last preserved entries in the discussed album.

The year 1809 is a turning point in Varnhagen's life, a time of professional reorientation: Varnhagen completes his medical studies and joins Austrian military service. This turn ends the active phase of keeping the album. According to Varnhagen's correspondence with his future wife Rahel, in 1812, the album's owner tried to reactivate it, however, a search in the Collection held in Kraków did not yet yield leaves that would have confirmed that he resumed keeping the album.[32]

Further years of Varnhagen's life are marked by his political and journalistic activities. In 1814, he married the writer and salon-

31 See A. Mayr, *Der schwäbische Dichterbund. Ludwig Uhland, Gustav Schwab, Karl Mazer, Eduard Mörike, Gustav Pfizer*, Innsbruck 1886, p. 3 sq.

32 See Karl August Varnhagen von Ense's letter to Rahel Varnhagen dated 6.01.1812, ed. K. Feilchenfeldt, U. Schweikert, R. E. Steiner, *Aus dem Nachlaß Varnhagen's von Ense. Briefwechsel zwischen Varnhagen und Rahel*, vol. 1, München 1983, p. 212.

nière, Rahel Levin, later Rahel Varnhagen von Ense. In 1815–1819, he served as a diplomat, participated among other events in the Vienna Congress debates, and later made Berlin his permanent home, where he was active until the end of his life as a journalist, translator and chronicler of his era. After the death of Rahel Varnhagen in 1833, he devoted himself to writing, journalism, and editing – he published a selection from his wife correspondence and attempted to preserve her intellectual legacy. Since the 1840s, his activities focused increasingly on gathering materials which formed the basis of the Varnhagen Collection, a large archive of correspondence, manuscripts, prints and visual materials, now regarded as a key document of nineteenth-century intellectual culture.

Rosa Maria Assing, after her father's death, took a job as a home educator (in German: Erzieherin), she taught German and French, and also basic geography, history, and natural history.[33] For Assing, it became a journey "from vegetative existence towards the world's affairs."[34] One of the first families she worked for was the Kähler family, with whom she remained until 1806. Entries from the first year of keeping the album provide evidence of this transitional period. They were made by contributors whose biographical data and relationships with Rosa Maria still remain unknown – Charlotte Blume, Lennchen Schacht and Sophie Dohl. An inscription by Amalie Lüders, probably a daughter of the lawyer Johann Lüders, a friend of the Varnhagen family, is an exception. However, detailed biographical data remains unavailable.

Her brother, Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, helped secure further album entries by introducing his sister to his social circle. His extensive entry from 1805 coincides with the return to Ham-

33 See Rosa Maria Assing's Letter to Clara Recha Oppenheimer dated in Spring of 1807, P. Zarychta, *Selbstinszenierung und Gedächtnisbildung*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 147–149, here p. 148.

34 [Ich danke dem Himmel, daß er mich aus meinen vorigen Pflanzenleben in die Weltverhältnisse u. das Weltgewirre geführt hat.], Rosa Maria Assing's letter to Karl August Varnhagen von Ense dated 29.03.1803, ibidem, p. 100 sq., here p. 100.

burg and the work as a tutor for the Hertz family. The inscription also documents the artistic output of the Society of the North Star members. Rosa Maria, like her brother, manifested literary interests and made her own attempts at writing poetry. Shortly after Society of the North Star was founded, she joined the group and took an active part in its work. Assing's poems were appreciated and appeared, under the pen name "Rosa Maria", in the almanac published by the young writers.[35] Album entries by the Society of the North Star members, Wilhelm Neumann (1781–1834) and Adelbert von Chamisso, also point to Assing's connections to the group. These were not sporadic contacts and they transformed into further literary collaboration. In 1807, Rosa Maria published a short story entitled "Fabio und Clara" in the volume "Erzählungen und Spiele," edited by Neumann and Varnhagen; in 1807–1836, she also corresponded with Chamisso.[36]

In the context of contacts established through her brother, the circle of the Hertz family takes on a particular significance for Assing. It was in that household that Rosa Maria formed a closer relationship with Fanny Hertz (1777–1829), the wife of Jacob Moses Hertz, the banker. Her entry in the album documents the beginning of this acquaintance. It had a double importance for Assing: on the one hand, it transformed into a longstanding friendship, as Fanny's letters to Rosa Maria, written in 1808–1827, indicate,[37] and on the other, it played an important role in the further development of her professional path. Fanny Hertz introduced Assing to the circle of other wealthy Jewish families in Hamburg, including the Oppenheimer family who employed Rosa as a home educator

35 In the 1806 literary almanac, Rosa Maria Assing published 7 poems. Among other authors of the volumes were August Ferdinand Bernhardi (1769–1820), Adalbert von Chamisso (1781–1838), Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué (1777–1843), Eduard Hitzig (1780–1849) or David Ferdinand Koreff (1783–1851), see L. A. von Chamisso, K. A. Varnhagen, *Musenalmanach auf das Jahr 1806*, Berlin 1806, p. 20, 135, 143, 145, 153, 155, 176.

36 See [Kerner, Justinus] in: L. Stern: *Varnhagen von Ensesche Sammlung*, op. cit., p. 398.

37 See [Hertz, Fanny] in: ibidem, p. 735 sq.

in 1807–1810.[38] The extensive family entry in the album includes a joint inscription by seven people, parents and children.

During her work for the Oppenheimers, Assing also met Amalia Schoppe, née Weise (1791–1858), the future writer, who was employed as a home educator by a relative of the Oppenheimers.[39] Both women shared literary interests, exchanged their literary texts, and Assing helped her younger friend establish contacts in her brother's literary circle.[40] Schoppe added to her entry in the album a lock of hair, which emphasizes the close character of their acquaintance. In a short time, an inscription made by Amalia's future husband, the lawyer Friedrich Heinrich Schoppe (1787–1829), appeared in the album. Justinus Kerner, a medical student, representative of the Swabian School[41] and Karl August Varnhagen von Ense's friend, was also a guest of the Oppenheimers. Kerner initiated a literary relationship with Assing, as evidenced both by their correspondence and by the poems by Kerner addressed to Assing that have been preserved in the Varnhagen Collection.[42] Additionally, in 1812–13, Rosa Maria published her own work in the volumes edited by Kerner.[43]

In 1811, thanks to the financial support of the Oppenheimer family, Rosa Maria opened in Hamburg a pension for girls, which in a short time welcomed its first pupils and attracted growing interest.[44] Since that time, the album entries became sporadic, two per year at most. It could have resulted on the one hand, from the obligations related to the pension management, and on the other,

38 See P. Zarychta, *Selbstinszenierung und Gedächtnisbildung*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 82.

39 See P. Zarychta, *Amalia Schoppe*, in: https://ruj.uj.edu.pl/server/api/core/bitstreams/513af46e-aa84-4759-a069-da1c3d7c5544/content, p. 79 [access 21.03.2026].

40 See Rosa Maria's letter to Justinus Kerner dated 17.01.1812, P. Zarychta, *Selbstinszenierung und Gedächtnisbildung*, op. cit., p. 284–287, here p. 285.

41 See N. Gatter, 'Rosa Maria Assing (1783–1840), „Was doch der Assing und der August für vortreffliche Frauen haben!" Heines Freundin Rosa Maria', in: *Vom Salon zur Barrikade. Frauen der Heinezeit*, ed. I. Hundt, Stuttgart / Weimar 2002, p. 91–110, here p. 96.

42 See [Assing, Ludmilla] in: L. Stern: *Varnhagen von Ensesche Sammlung*, op. cit., p. 51.

43 See L. Geiger, *Dichter und Frauen. Abhandlungen und Mitteilungen*, Berlin 1899, p. 208.

44 See N. Gatter, 'Rosa Maria Assing (1783–1840)', op. cit., p. 97.

from the beginning of a new phase of her private life. Through contacts with Justinus Kerner, Rosa Maria met her future husband, the physician David Assing (1786–1862). Their acquaintance rapidly developed into a close relationship. An original poem by her future husband, inscribed in the album in 1812, constitutes a memento of that period. Another important acquaintance established at the same time is her friendship with Gustav Schwab (1792–1850), next to Kerner, another representative of the Swabian School. Assing, aware of Schwab's planned stay in Hamburg, asked her brother to give him her address, intending to establish a direct contact and widen her circle of literary acquaintances.[45] Also Fanny Tarnow (1779–1862) respected by Assing as translator and writer, who stopped in Hamburg during her trip to St Petersburg,[46] added her entry to the album.

The marriage to David Assing in 1816 inaugurated the next stage in Rosa Maria's life. The years 1817, 1819 and 1821 are marked by important family events, the births of children Carl (†1817), Otilia (1819–1884) and Ludmilla (1821–1880); the younger daughter will play an important role in the future as the heiress of Rosa Maria's brother Karl August Varnhagen von Ense's legacy. These years saw also a visible pause in the collection of entries. Soon after the births of children, the family situation stabilized and the Assing couple began keeping in Hamburg a literary salon; their home became in time one of the most important addresses in the city. Among their guests were Gustav Schwab, Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué (1777–1843), Friedrich Hebbel (1813–1863) and Heinrich Heine (1797–1856).[47] Curiously, the flourishing social activities are not reflected in the friendship album. The last entries, dated 1822–23, belong inter alia to a distant relative, Friedrich Wilhelm von Varnhagen (1783–1842), and to the Hamburg-based architect and archaeologist Adolf Weißenburg

45 See Rosa Maria's letter to Karl August Varnhagen von Ense dated 2.7.1815, P. Zarychta, *Selbstinszenierung und Gedächtnisbildung*, op. cit., p. 358 sq., here p. 358.

46 List Rosa Maria's and David Assing's letter to Justinus and Friederike Kerner dated 5–16.05.1816, ibidem, p. 372–376, here p. 372.

47 See N. Gatter, 'Rosa Maria Assing (1783–1840)', op. cit., p. 98.

(1790–1840), who visited the Assings on the recommendation of Rosa Maria's brother.[48] The year 1823 marks a turning point in Assing's memorial practices; she ends collecting entries in her album (by the same token, closing the active phase in keeping it) and begins writing a diary,[49] what could be termed from the biographical perspective as a change in the "memory regime": *Album amicorum*, in which memory was constructed by the polyphony of inscriptions is replaced by a chronological narration where identity and experience are perpetuated through a subjective, introspective record.

In the following years of her life, in addition to keeping a literary salon, Assing intensively developed her own writing, published prose and poetry, and maintained numerous literary contacts. An important milestone was the publication of selected letters exchanged between Rosa Maria and her friend, the writer Adelbert von Chamisso, from the early years of their acquaintance. The correspondence was published the year the poet died and it had the character of a personal tribute and recognition for the writer.[50] Rosa Maria also took many trips with her daughters within the German lands, but also abroad. At this time, she was also busy gathering and organizing family documents and literary material, laying the groundwork for a legacy that is now part of the Varnhagen Collection.[51]

State of Preservation and Characteristic Traits of the Objects

The different preservation formats of the discussed albums require different descriptive strategies. Studying Varnhagen's dispersed friendship album proved more complex than studying his

48 See Rosa Maria's and David Assing's letter to Karl August Varnhagen von Ense dated 21.11.1821, P. Zarychta, *Selbstinszenierung und Gedächtnisbildung*, op. cit., p. 415–419, here p. 416.

49 Rosa Maria keeps a diary in 1823–31, see [Hertz, Fanny] in: L. Stern, *Varnhagen von Ensesche Sammlung*, op. cit., p. 51.

50 See Anonym, 'Adelbert von Chamisso und Rosa Maria (Mitgetheilt von Rosa-Maria)', in: *Der Freihafen. Galerie von Unterhaltungsbilden aus den Kreisen der Literatur, Gesellschaft und Wissenschaft*, 1839, vol. 2, fasc. 1, p. 1–28.

51 See P. Zarychta, *Selbstinszenierung und Gedächtnisbildung*, op. cit., p. 35 sq.

sister's bound album, as reflected in the characterization below. At the same time, it demonstrates that Varnhagen's philoteca – as a dismantled and subsequently reordered set – poses a particular challenge for both archival and analytical work.

A search for Karl August Varnhagen von Ense's *Stammbuch* within his archival legacy leads the scholar – according to Stern's catalogue – to personal folders numbered [VS 16], [VS 49], [VS 58], [VS 61], [VS 62], [VS 81], [VS 85], [VS 86], [VS 88], [VS 92], [VS 100], [VS 102], [VS 118], [VS 202], [VS 228], [VS 252], [VS 278], [VS 280]. Almost all boxes contain single entries, which were removed from the initially bound album and are today in individual people's personal folders. The leaves measuring 11,5 × 18,5 cm can be identified by their green-tinted edges. Studies conducted within the project failed as yet to produce the binding of the album: the lack of this element is surprising, because Varnhagen often preserved in his Collection even very minor archival remnants, not only envelopes but also small cut-outs from notes, letters or documents. However, the part of his own album, as important as the cover, did not survive.

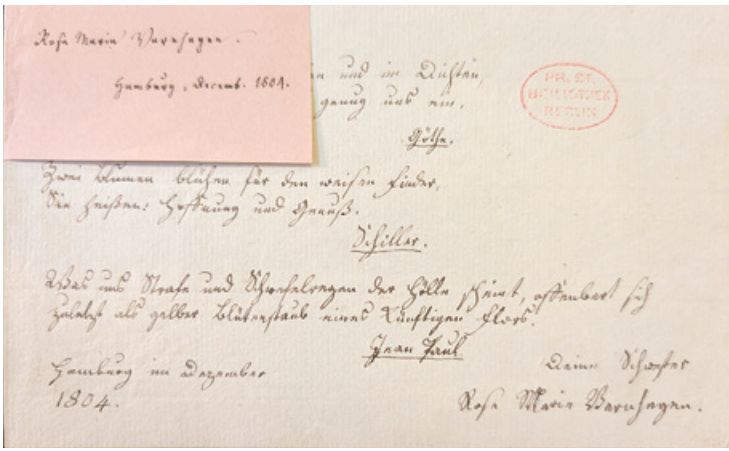

FIG. 1. Rosa Maria Assing's, née Varnhagen, inscription in Karl August Varnhagen von Ense's album, BJK VS 16[52]

52 Objects were photographed by Joanna Jamrozik.

The fact that the album existed as a bound volume is attested by physical remnants: the box [252], one of Varnhagen's personal folders, includes leaves with entries by the the Society of the North Star members preserved in the original binding stitching.

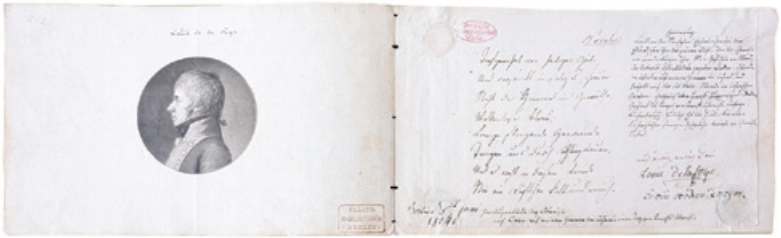

FIG. 2. Louis de Lafoye's inscription in Karl August Varnhagen von Ense's friendship album, BJK VS 252

Inscriptions by Louis de Lafoye, Adelbert von Chamisso, Heimann Efraim, and Wilhelm Neumann, Varnhagen's youthful friends, document the time when the literary circle of the young poets was formed. The set of leaves is held along with other autobiographical documents of the collection owner, such as among others, travel memories from trips made in 1808 and 1813, a diary from 1813, *Tagesbemerkungen* from 1819–1831, and *Tagesblätter* from 1834–1840. The proximity of these materials suggests that this part of the album was included in Varnhagen's personal folder because of its commemorative nature and was viewed as a document directly related to the early stage of his biography.

The contemporary poet, Achim von Arnim (1781–1831), described Varnhagen's album as "the chest of a master guild, filled with families of poets."[53] Twenty-five entries recorded in the Stern catalogue and described as a "leaf from Varnhagen's friendship album" allow us to assume that the preserved material constitutes only part of the original whole. Searches in the Varnhagen Collection in the

53 [Ich hab mich in sein Stammbuch geschrieben, das wie die Lade einer Meistergilde voll Dichterfamilien war.], Achim von Arnim's letter to Clemens Brentano dated on 1–6.07.1806, ed. H. Härtl, U. Härtl, *Ludwig Achim von Arnim. Briefwechsel 1805–1806, Teil 1: Text*, Berlin/Boston 2011, p. 274–277, here p. 277.

Jagiellonian Library holdings located 52 more entries and determined the number of inscriptions to be 77.[54]

Based on the gathered materials, it is possible to determine approximately the time during which the album was kept. The earliest entry was made in 1803, even though, regular inscriptions appear only in June 1804; the actual beginning of the album's functioning should most likely be associated with this date.[55] The surviving material suggests that the album was kept until 1809; it accompanied Varnhagen during his university years and documented the circle of his early social and literary relationships.

The entries' structure shows a majority of male inscriptions, female entries constitute ca. 20%. A multitude of locations from which the entries originate (Berlin, Giebichenstein, Halle, Hamburg, Hanover, Nennhausen, Potsdam, Tübingen) facilitates tracking of the owner's student mobility and defines the diversity of communities in which he spent time. Despite the multitude of contexts which generated the entries, their format remains consistent. The inscribed texts are literary in nature. Quotations from contemporary literature dominate, e.g., Novalis' "Heinrich von Ofterdingen" Friedrich Schlegel's "Monologe", "Die natürliche Tochter", "Torquato Tasso" or "Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre" by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Next to quotations, there are also original texts authored by the inscribers. They testify to

54 Details related to the process of identification of the Varnhagen album's entries were presented in a lecture given by the authors of the present paper titled "Potenzierte Latenz und Chancen digitaler Rekonstruktion: Das zerstreute Stammbuch von Karl August Varnhagen von Ense" at the international conference "Latenz und Ubiquität. Wege der (Er-) Forschung von Handschriften aus der ehemaligen Preußischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in der Jagiellonen-Bibliothek Krakau" organized by the Jagiellonian University on March 5–6, 2026. The text will be published in the post-conference volume.

55 The 1803 entry presents Varnhagen's friend, Alexander Graf zur Lippe. The silhouette is signed in Varnhagen's handwriting: "Alexander Graf zur Lippe 1803" and has been pasted on a leaf from the album, which may suggest that the entry was completed later, and the year 1803 is the year when the silhouette was done. The year 1804 as the initial date is also suggested by the fact, that Varnhagen's sister Rosa Maria began collecting entries in that year, indicating that the purchase of both albums was made at a similar time.

their creative activity and to treating the album as a "laboratory," a place for poetic experiments and literary endeavours. This rich and diverse material merits a separate and detailed literary analysis.

Multilingualism is a particular feature of the album distinguishing it against the background of other friendship albums of the period. Ten languages used in the entries were identified as: English, Chinese, Danish, French, Greek, Spanish, Latin, German, Polish, Portuguese, and Italian, which additionally emphasizes the international character of the community in which Varnhagen functioned. The owner's various editorial practices applied to the text of the entries indicate that the album was not intended to serve merely as a private but also as an archival document: for instance, he supplemented the inscriptions with biographical data facilitating identification of inscribers, or made contextual annotations allowing to associate entries with significant moments.

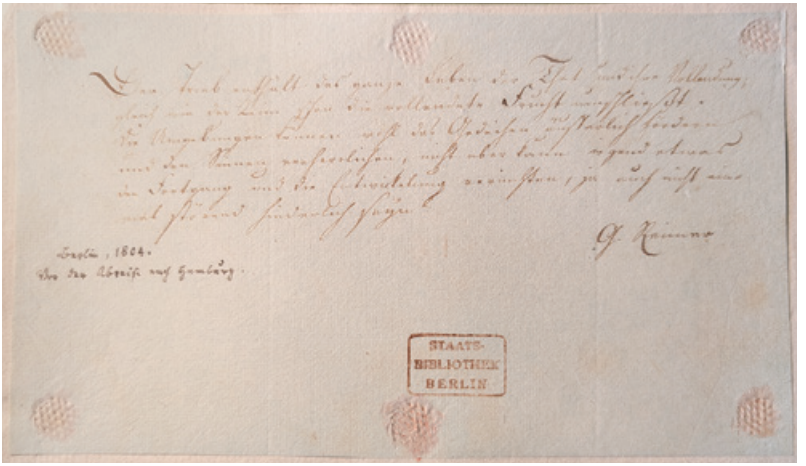

FIG. 3. Georg Reimer's inscription in Karl August Varnhagen's album with Varnhagen's postscript: "Berlin 1804, vor der Abreise nach Hamburg" / "Berlin 1804, before the departure for Hamburg", BJK VS 211

Varnhagen's album does not constitute a single archival entity: it consists of many leaves placed in individual personal folders that make up the Collection. The arrangement of entries in the

album was not based on their chronology but on the contingent logic of social relationships. For that reason, restoring the album to its original format is not possible. Each attempt to reconstruct the album by reordering the dispersed fragments will become an act of interpretation. Physical evidence (format, handwriting, remnants of binding) allows only for the reconstruction of minimal units, such as a quire or – in one case – a configuration of two leaves. Such interventions make it obvious that any attempt at reconstruction lends the original order a merely hypothetical coherence, which is not identical with the album's historical logic. A possible way to meet the editorial challenge posed by the planned edition of the album is to publish a hybrid edition in book format, which would reflect the chronological order of the entries, while a digital format would allow entries to be freely arranged, compared, and explored. The latter would ensure a wider accessibility to this important corpus established within the project and making it a subject of research. At the same time, it would not eliminate interpretative tension associated with the restoring of the sequence of entries: by revealing to the public the challenge of reconstruction of a long-lost original, it would expose the interpretative nature of any such attempt. By admitting the existence of a multitude of possible configurations of entries, it would make the issue of reconstruction a subject of reflection.

Rosa Maria Assing's friendship album is located in her personal folder [VS 15], next to other personal documents, such as songs with musical notations, excerpts, reflections, and poems. This configuration of manuscripts in the folder allows to read it in the context of Assing's interests in various creative forms, and perceive Assing herself as an active participant in her era's cultural life.

The layout and format of the album's binding correspond to the type of friendship album popular in the first half of the 19th century, intended for collecting inscriptions from friends, relatives and members of the owner's social circle. Rosa Maria Assing's landscape-format album measures 12,5 cm x 19 cm, its pages measure 12 cm x 18,5 cm; it was preserved bound in red leather, decorated

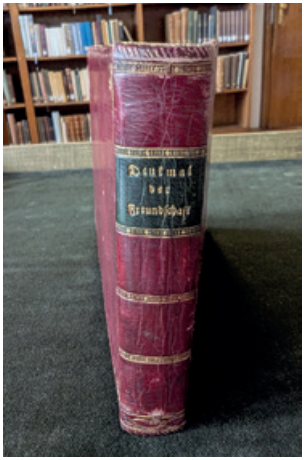



FIG. 4 and **5.** Rosa Maria Assing's friendship album, BJK VS 15

with a delicate gilded border running along the album's edges. Small, gilded floral motifs are placed in the corners. In its present condition, the album contains 328 pages. There are traces of interference in the album's original structure in two places, resulting from cutting out of leaves following page 4 and page 82. Within the extant material, 42 inscriptions are distributed across 52 written pages, arranged without a clear chronological order. Based on the preserved entries, the *album amicorum* was kept between 1804 and 1823.

Rosa Maria Assing's album shows a relative balance in the gender of the inscribers; inscriptions by men and women occur in similar proportions. This feature distinguishes this album from many other contemporary friendship albums dominated by contributors of the same gender as the albums' owners.[56] The topography outlined by the entries is not diversified; all inscriptions were made in Hamburg and nearby Altona, indicating, on the one hand, the owner's limited mobility and, on the other, the album's strong connection to the place of her permanent residence and employ-

56 See C. Göhmann-Lehmann: *„Freundschaft- ein Leben lang…" Schriftliche Erinnerungskultur für Frauen*, op. cit., p. 30.

ment. In terms of the entries' typology, Assing's album maintains a distinctly literary character. It is dominated by quotations from works contemporary to the author, in particular, references to Friedrich Schiller's plays and poems (including "Braut von Messina", "Die Hoffnung", "Die Mannigfaltigkeit", "Die Ideale") and to Johann Wolfgang Goethe (including "Torquato Tasso", "Faust", "Egmont", "Es rauschet das Wasser").

Next to these, appear also original texts written by the inscribers. As with the inscriptions in K. A. Varnhagen von Ense's album, these records documenting both the reception of literary works considered today as canonical and of original amateur writing merit a separate literary study. Individual inscriptions in the album were supplemented with additional data. In one case, a handwritten note of small artistic value was added to the entry. Locks of hair were attached to two entries. This kind of mementos the close relationship between the inscriber and the album's owner, reinforcing the personal nature of the entry and lending it a unique quality.

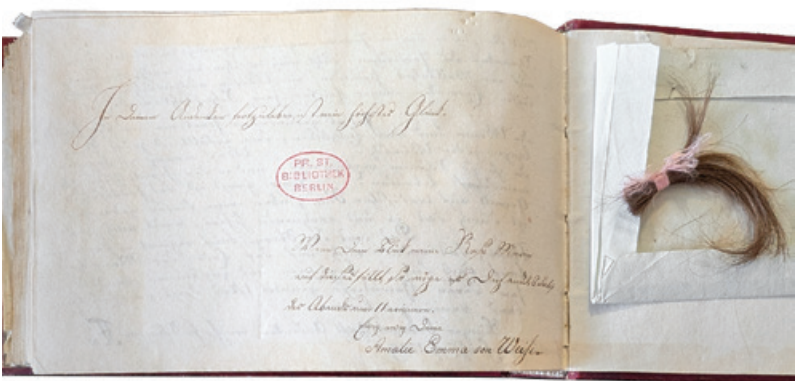

FIG. 6. Inscription by Amalia Schoppe, née Weise, made in Rosa Maria Assing's album amicorum, with an attached lock of hair, BJK VS 15

Despite limited opportunities to obtain inscriptions, English and French also appear alongside German, suggesting the owner's intention to give her album an international character. Annotations by Rosa Maria Assing accompanying selected inscriptions are a

distinctive feature of the album; these take the form of responses to the inscribed texts, presented either as quotations from literary works of her choosing or as her own commentary. In this way, the album ceases to be merely a collection of inscriptions but becomes a space of dialogue, where individual texts enter into relations with each other.

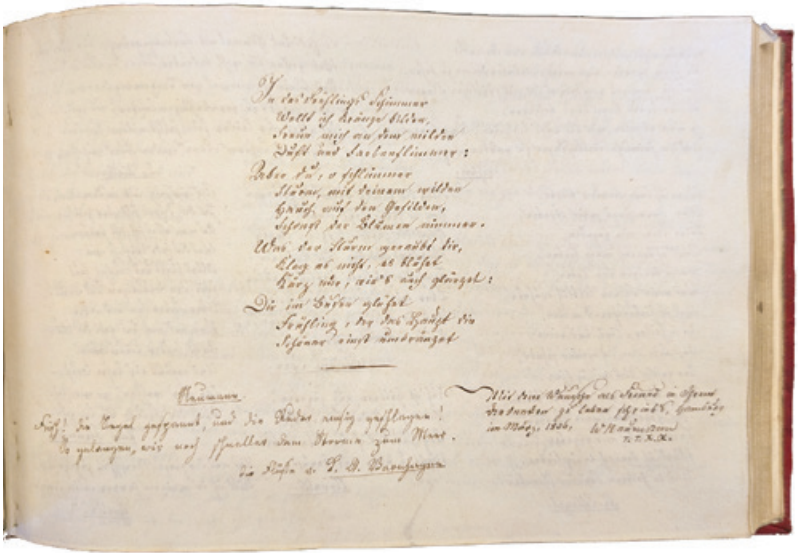

FIG. 7. Wilhelm Neumann's inscription in Rosa Maria Assing's album amicorum, containing his original poem "In des Frühlings Schimmer" / "In the Radiance of Spring", together with a quotation from K. A. Varnhagen von Ense's poem "Die Flüße" / "The Rivers", copied in Assing's hand, BJK VS 15

Rosa Maria Assing's album emerges as a coherent and multidimensional record of its owner's social and intellectual life, while its dialogic nature offers insight into the literary and intellectual interactions between the inscribers and the album's owner. Including it in a joint hybrid edition with the first of the albums discussed in the paper will introduce its contents into academic circulation and, at the same time, create conditions for a detailed comparison of both albums. Such a comparison will lead to a broader contextual understanding of the connections between the inscribers and

the inscriptions themselves, and enabling an analysis of the social and intellectual affiliations represented by the albums and of the mutual literary inspirations.

Conclusions and Prospects for Further Research

Karl August Varnhagen von Ense's and Rosa Maria Assing's friendship albums – part of the extensive Varnhagen Collection currently housed at the Jagiellonian Library – constitute holdings that are not merely personal in nature but serve, above all, as a witness to the social and intellectual life of the early 19th century. They fit into the broader tradition of the *alba amicorum*, a genre dating back to the 16th century, and, alongside other similar materials in the Collection, offer a relevant source for studying the evolution of this form of communication.

A discussion of selected aspects of the owners' biographies related to the creation of the friendship albums has made possible an identification of both similarities and differences in how the albums were kept and how they functioned within social networks. The condition and distinctive features of the objects indicate that both albums hold significant analytical potential, particularly for research into social networks, mobility, circulation of literary texts, practices of memory, gender issues, archival matters, and editorial techniques. Indeed, an analysis of the collected entries enables:

- reconstructing of the owners' network of contacts and relationships between inscribers
- capturing mobility patterns
- tracking reception of literary texts and inspirations within literary communities
- understanding individual memory practices (based on postscripts, supplementary data and other material elements)
- determining the significance of the gender for participation in 19th-century social and intellectual life
- identifying strategies for preserving documents in the Varnhagen Collection (bound format and dispersed leaves)

- recognizing optimal methods for preparing and presenting material (a hybrid edition).

The compiled catalogues of entries from both albums constitute a first step towards in-depth analyses of these objects, and the present paper suggests a framework for further research into the presented manuscript material.

Annex

A CATALOGUE OF ENTRIES IN THE KARL AUGUST VARNHAGEN VON ENSE'S FRIENDSHIP ALBUM[57]

Arndt, Anna (Nanna/Nanny) Maria Louise, de domo Schleiermacher (1786–1869), Friedrich Schleiermacher's half-sister, from 1817, Ernst Moritz Arndt's 2nd wife, later his widow

24.09.1807, Berlin, one page, verso, in German, call number VS 102

Arnim, Achim von (1781–1831), a writer

6.07.1806, Giebichenstein, one page, verso, in German, call number VS 8

Assing, Rosa Maria, de domo Varnhagen (1783–1840), a writer, silhouette artist, educator

no calendar date, 12.1804, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 16

Bekker, Immanuel (1785–1871), a classical philologist, university professor

8.04.1807, Halle, one page, verso, in Greek, German, call number VS 27

Bernhardi, August Ferdinand (1769–1820), a writer, poet, educator, teacher, philosopher, linguist

16.08.1804, place unknown, one page, verso, in Greek, call number VS 58

57 The inscribers' dates of birth and death provided in the Catalogue of entries in both friendship albums are based on data from https://lobid.org/gnd, an open access database maintained in collaboration with the German National Library (DNB), German language library networks, Base of Periodicals (ZDB) and other institutions [access: 27.03.2026].

Blanc, Ludwig Gottfried (1781–1866), a Romance philologist, preacher, university professor

28.08.1804, Berlin, one page, verso, in Latin, call number VS 30

Bribes, J. F., probably Jean François (born before 1780–1825), a French captain staying in Berlin, later in Foix

20.06.1808, Berlin, one page, verso, in French, call number VS 202

Bruckert, Johann Gottlieb (1771–1827), a surgeon practicing in Berlin

23.08.1804, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 39

Casa, Pedro Felipe de Valencia y Codllaos (1767–1816), a Spanish diplomat in Berlin in 1799–1806

calendar date unknown, 1804, Berlin, verso, in Spanish, call number VS 43

date and place unknown, recto, in Spanish, call number VS 55

Chamisso, Adelbert von, also Ludolf Karl Adelbert von Chamisso and Louis Charles Adélaïde de Chamisso de Boncourt (1781–1838), a German writer of French origin, naturalist, traveler

calendar date unknown, 07.1804, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 252

date and place unknown, one page, verso, in German, call number VS 252

(the second inscription identified based on handwriting)

Clementi, Caroline, née Lehmann (1786–1805), daughter of the musician Johann Georg Gottlieb Lehmann (1745/46–1816) and wife of the Italian virtuoso pianist and composer Muzio Clementi (1752–1832)

calendar date unknown, 06.1804, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 142

Cohen, Philippine Amalie Henriette, née Bernhard, Pessel (1776–1833), a salonnière, writer

29.08.1804, Berlin, one page, verso, in German, call number VS 232

Conz, Carl Philipp (1762–1827), a classical philologist, writer

6.02.1809, Tübingen, one page, recto, in Latin, German, Greek, call number VS 49

Cotta, Johann Friedrich, from 1817 Cotta von Cottendorf (1764–1832), from 1822 baron Cotta von Cottendorf, a publisher, politician

20.02.1809, Tübingen, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 49

Darbes, Joseph Friedrich August, also d'Arbes (1747–1810), a Danish painter, portraitist

11.10.1805, Berlin, one page, verso, in Latin, German, French, Italian, Danish, call number VS 51

Diebeck, first name unknown, dates of birth and death unknown, prob. a Polish physician

29.08.1804, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, Polish, call number VS 52

Eberty, Hermann, until 1810 Ephraim, Heimann Joseph (1784–1856), a merchant, banker

calendar date unknown, 08.1804, Berlin, one page, verso, in German, call number VS 252

Erhard, Johann Benjamin (1766–1827), a philosopher, physician, writer

29.08.1804, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 56

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb (1762–1814), a philosopher, professor at the University of Jena, co-founder of the university in Berlin, 1811–1812 its rector, a journalist, writer

6.08.1804, Berlin, 5 pages, 1r, 1v, 2r, 2v, 3r, in German, call number VS 58

Fouqué, Caroline, Philippine de la Motte, née von Briest, primo voto von Rochow (1773–1831), a baroness, writer, salonnière

7.06.1807, Nennhausen, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 60

Fouqué, Friedrich Heinrich Karl de la Motte (1777–1843), a baron, writer, translator, pseud. Pellegrin and A. L. T. Frank

2.06.1807, Nennhausen, one page, verso, in German, call number VS 246

Franceson, Charles Frédéric, Carl Friedrich (1782–1859), a philologist, educator, lexicographer

calendar date unknown (day and month), 1805, Berlin, one page, recto, in Greek, call number VS 61

Fricke, W. (no years of birth and death), a librarian

calendar date unknown, 04.1806, Hannover, one page, recto, in Greek, call number VS 61

Friedländer, Babette, earlier Bela, née Efraim (1758–1838), wife of Joachim Abraham Friedländer, an entrepreneur

17.08.1804, Berlin, one page, verso, in German, call number VS 89

Frohberg, Regina (nom de plume), née Rebecca Salomon, married name Friedländer, later Saaling (1783–1850), a writer, salonnière

26.08.1808, Berlin, one page, recto, in French, German, call number VS 62

Goldschmidt, Caroline (1760–1828), a representative of arts and crafts, including artistic embroidery, from 1806 to 1808, an extraordinary member of the Prussian Academy of Fine Arts in Berlin (Preußische Akademie der Künste)

11.10.1806, Berlin, one page, verso, in German, call number VS 61

Gurlitt, Johann Gottfried (1754–1827), a philologist, teacher, director of the Hamburg Johanneum and Academic Gymnasium

28.03.1806, Hamburg, one page, recto, in Latin, call number VS 79

Harscher, Nicolaus (1783–1844), a physician

28.09.1807, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 81

Henriette, probably Henriette von Bardeleben, née Hübschmann (1780–1852), wife of Karl Moritz Ferdinand von Bardeleben (1777–1868), a Prussian general

calendar date unknown, 07.1804, Berlin, in German, call number VS 43

Hertz, Moses (1784–1837), a banker, Jacob Moses Hertz's son

25.02.1806, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 85

Herz, Henriette, née Lemos (1764–1847), a writer, salonnière, translator

29.09.1807, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 86

Hitzig, Julius Eduard, until 1808 Isaac Elias Itzig (1780–1849), a lawyer, publisher, writer

17.06.1807, Potsdam, one page, verso, in Spanish, German, call number VS 237

Horlacher, Johann Heinrich (1768–1843), a physician

28.08.1804, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 88

Hoßbach, Peter Wilhelm Heinrich (1784–1846), a Protestant theologian and preacher

16.02.1806, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 89

Jacobi, Friedrich Heinrich (1743–1819), a philosopher, writer, President of the Academy of Sciences in Munich

8.02.1806, Hamburg, one page, recto, in Latin, German, call number VS 92

Julius, Nikolaus Heinrich, until 1809 Heyman(n) Julius (1783–1862), a physician, prison reformer

3.03.1806, Hamburg, one page, recto, in Latin, German, call number VS 27

Kerner, Justinus Andreas Christian (1786–1862), a physician, poet

1.03.1809, Tübingen, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 99

Kiesewetter, Johann Gottfried Karl Christian (1766–1819), a philosopher

10.10.1805, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, profile, call number VS 100

Klaproth, Heinrich Julius (1783–1835), an orientalist, sinologist, traveler, member of the Tsarist Russian Academy of Sciences

5.07.1804, Berlin, one page verso, in German, call number VS 55

Inscription listed in the Stern Catalogue, call number VS 100, borrowed from the Manuscript Reading Room of the former

Prussian State Library in Berlin; the inscription was found in the folder VS 55.

Kleist, Heinrich von (1777–1811), a writer

11.08.1804, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 100

Koerte, Wilhelmine Friederike, née Wolf (1786–1861), daughter of Friedrich August Wolf

7.04.1807, Halle, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 102

Lafoye, François Louis Éleonore de, also Delafoye (1781–1847), a French naturalist,

9(5?).06.1804, Berlin, two pages, verso, recto, in German, a graphic portrait, call number VS 252

Lippe, Alexander Graf zur (1776–1839), other biographical data unknown

Silhouette 1803, VS 109

Marwitz, Alexander von der (1787–1814), a Prussian officer

14.09.1806, Halle, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 118

Mendelssohn, Nathan, also Carl Theodor Nathanael (1781–1852), the philosopher's Moses Mendelssohn's (1729–1786) son; a mechanic, constructor of music instruments

30.09.1807, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 121

Müller, Adolph Wilhelm (1784–1811), a physician

27.09.1807, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 128

Neander, Johann August, earlier David Mendel (1789–1850), a Protestant theologian and Church historian

calendar date unknown, 03.1806, Hamburg, one page, recto, in Greek, call number VS 131

Neumann, Wilhelm (1781–1834), a writer, translator, editor, ministry official

calendar date unknown, 06.1804, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 252

date and place unknown, one page, verso, in German, call number VS 252

(the second inscription identified on the basis of handwriting)

Nolte, Johann Wilhelm Heinrich (1768–1832), a philologist, theologian

16.08.1804, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 133

Otto (first name or surname, biographical data unknown)

24.08.1804, place unknown, one page, verso, in German, call number VS 62

Pinheiro Ferreira, Silvestre (1769–1846), a Portuguese philosopher, diplomat, politician

calendar date unknown (day and month), 1804, Berlin, one page, verso, in Portuguese, call number VS 142

Pregizer, Christoph Friedrich (1782–1811), a theologian

calendar date unknown, 02.1809, Tübingen, one page, recto, in Greek, call number VS 143

Raumer, Karl Georg von (1783–1865), a geologist, educator, brother of Friedrich von Raumer (1781–1873), a historian

26.06.1806, Giebichenstein, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 228

Reichhardt, Louise (1779–1826), a composer, singer, music teacher

6.12.1806, Berlin, one page, verso, in German, call number VS 8

Reimer, Georg Andreas (1776–1842), a bookseller, publisher

calendar date unknown (day and month), 1804, Berlin, one page, verso, in German, call number VS 211

Reinhold, Johann Gotthard Ritter (1771–1838), a Dutch diplomat, writer, translator

14.04.1805, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 212

Sander, Sophie, née Diederichs (1768–1828), a salonnière, wife of Johann Daniel Sander (1759–1825), a bookseller

27.08.1804, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 242

Schede, Charlotte (Lotte) Wilhelmine Elisabeth (1772–1858), sister of a state counselor Karl Wilhelm Ludwig Schede

3.08.1808, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 225

Schede, Karl Wilhelm Ludwig (1774–1833), a notary
3.08.1808, Berlin, one page, verso, in German, call number VS 225

Schleiermacher, Friedrich Ernst Daniel (1768–1834), a theologian, educator, translator, philosopher, university professor
26.09.1807, Berlin, one page, verso, in Greek, call number VS 228

Schlesinger, J. D., biographical data unknown, probably a publisher
17.02.1806, Hamburg, one page, verso, in French, call number VS 99

Schütz, Wilhelm Christian von, also Schütz-Lacrimas (1776–1847), a writer
16.08.1804, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 232

Sieveking, Karl (1787–1847), a trustee, diplomat, politician, writer, patron of the arts, philanthropist
calendar date unknown, 03.1806, Hamburg, one page, recto, in Greek, call number VS 234

Theremin, Ludwig Friedrich Franz (1780–1846), a Protestant theologian, preacher, author
17.10.1806, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 242

Thiel, Karl (Carl) (1783–date of death unknown), a philologist
10.11.1806, Berlin, one page, verso, in Greek, call number VS 242

Uhland, Ludwig (Louis) (1787–1862), a writer, historian of literature, university professor, lawyer, politician
28.02.1809, Tübingen, one page, verso, in German, call number VS 246

Uthe-Spazier, Johanne Caroline Wilhelmine (Minna), née Mayer, from 1796 to 1817 Uthe-Spazier (1777–1825), a writer, translator
calendar date unknown (day and month), 1807, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 237

Uthmann, Adolf von (1779–1806), a friend and brother-in-law of Julius Eduard Hitzig
2.10.1805, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 246

Varnhagen von Ense, Rahel, née Levin, from ca. 1790 Robert/Robert-Tornow, from 1814 Friederike Antonie (1771–1833), a salonnière, writer

18.06.1808, Berlin, three pages, 1r, 1v, 2r, in German, call number VS 202

Veit, David (1771–1814), a physician

14.03.1806, Hamburg, two pages, 1r, 2r, in German, English, call number VS 270

Willisen, Karl Wilhelm von (1790–1879), from 1866 baron von Willisen, a major general, author of books on military topics

12.09.1808, Berlin, one page, verso, in German, call number VS 278

Winterfeld, Karl Georg Vivigens von (1784–1852), a lawyer, musicologist, senior court counsel

17.09.1808, Berlin, one page, verso, in Spanish, call number VS 118

Winzer, Johann Gottlieb, pseud. Adolph Werden (birthdate unknown–1808), a lawyer, writer

28.08.1804, Berlin, one page, recto, in German, call number VS 30

Wolf, Friedrich August Christian Wilhelm (1759–1824), a classical philologist, researcher of antiquity, university professor

07.04.1807, Halle, one page, recto, in Greek, call number VS 280

Zieten, August von, also Zieten-Liberati, (1784–1844) an actor, opera singer, theatre director, writer, cavalry officer

13. 08.1807, Charlottenburg, one page, recto, in English, German, call number VS 278

CATALOGUE OF ENTRIES IN ROSA MARIA ASSING'S FRIENDSHIP ALBUM

Amalie, biographical data unknown

1.01.1810, Hamburg, one page, verso, in German

Anonym (signature: ein aufrichtiger Freund), based on a comparison of handwriting, probably David Assur

date and place unknown, one page, verso, in German

Assing (Assur), David (1787–1842), a physician, writer
8.07.1812, Hamburg, two pages, verso, recto, in German

Blume, Charlotte, no biographical data
5.06.1804, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German, a lock of hair

Chamisso, Adelbert von, also Ludolf Karl Adelbert von Chamisso and Louis Charles Adélaïde de Chamisso de Boncourt (1781–1838), a German writer of French origin, naturalist, traveler (inscription on a separate leaf, included in the album; on the verso, two poems by K. A. Varnhagen von Ense handwritten by Assing)
23.11.1806, place unknown, one page, inserted leaf, in German

Dehn, Sara, née Israeli (1774–1811), wife of Johann Baptist Sigismund (1765–1837), a merchant
23.11.1810, Altona, one page, recto, in German

De la Belle, Friedrich August Otto (1786–1845), a tutor, clergyman, painter, graphic artist
4.07.1812, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Dohl, Sophie, no biographical data
calendar date unknown, 10.1804, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Fanny, probably Fanny Hertz, née Frommet Bacher / Fanny Bacher (1777–1829), wife of the banker, Jacob Moses Hertz, a salonnière
27.07.1806, Hamburg, one page, verso, in German

Favally (Favalli), John Andrew (date of birth unknown–1814/1815), son of Francesco and Giovanna (Johanna) Francesci de domo Penet, from 1813, husband of Julie (Juliette) Lappenberg, later Paulsen
date and place unknown, three pages, 1v, 2r, 2v, in English

F. A. T. / F. T. O., first name or surname unknown, biographical data unknown
calendar date unknown, 01.1813, one page, verso, in German

F. R. K., first name or surname unknown, biographical data unknown
12.08.1811, Altona, one page, recto, in German

Hertz (Herz), Rose (Rosa), née Bacher (1782–1847), Jette Gittel Lehmann's sister

10.09.1806, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Julia, surname unknown, other biographical data unknown

7.07.1818, Hamburg, two pages, recto, verso, in German

Kerner, Justinus Andreas Christian (1786–1862), a physician, poet

8.07.1809, Hamburg, two pages, verso, recto, in German

Lefebvre, Jean Baptiste (1766–1833), the Colonel Basil Guy Marie Victor Baltus de Pouilly's (1766–1845) Secretary

1.07.1808, Hamburg, one page, recto, in French

Lehman(n), Jette Gittel, née Bacher (1788–1834), wife of Bendit (Benny/Bendix) Michel Lehman/Leman (1785–1835), a merchant

1.09.1806, Hamburg, one page, verso, in German, a drawing of birds

Lichtenstädt, (Lichtenstedt), Clara Friederike (dates of birth and death unknown), Jeremias Rudolf Lichtenstädt / Lichtenstaedt's (1792–1849), a Silesian physician's sister

23.01.1810, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Lüders, Amalia, (dates of birth and death unknown), probably a daughter of the lawyer, Johann Lüders (1765–1846)

30.10.1804, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Lüders, Johann Andreas (dates of birth and death unknown), the lawyer Johann Lüders' son

calendar date unknown, 03.1806, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Minna, surname unknown, other biographical data unknown

1.01.1810, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Neander, Eleonore, earlier Ester Mendel, née Gottschalck (1755–1819 or 1818), the theologian Johann August Wilhelm Neander's (1789–1850) mother

6.04.1809, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Neander, Elisabeth, earlier Betty Mendel/Mendahl (1788–1856), the theologian Johann August Wilhelm Neander's (1789–1850) sister

20.04.1809, Hamburg, one page, verso, in German

Neander, Johann August, earlier David Mendel (1789–1850), Protestant theologian and Church historian

calendar date unknown, 04.1809, Hamburg, two pages, recto, verso, in German

Neander, Johanna Carolina, earlier Hanchen Mendel/Mendahl (1782–1854), the theologian Johann August Wilhelm Neander's (1789–1850) sister

6.04.1809, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Neumann, Wilhelm (1781–1834), a writer, translator, editor, ministry official

calendar date unknown, March 1806, one page, recto, in German

Oppenheimer (a family inscription on two pages)

1.02.1810, Hamburg, two pages, verso, recto, in German, in one case (Georg Oppenheimer) an inscription in English

Oppenheimer, Clara (1799–date of death unknown), a daughter of Georg Oppenheimer (1772–1838), a merchant, and of Clara Recha Oppenheimer, née Gottschalck (1776–1836)
1.02.1810, Hamburg, one page, verso, in German

Oppenheimer, Caroline (1800–date of death unknown), a daughter of Georg Oppenheimer (1772–1838), a merchant, and of Clara Recha Oppenheimer, de domo Gottschalck (1776–1836)
1.02.1810, Hamburg, one page, verso, in German

Oppenheimer, Clara, earlier Recha, née Gottschalck (1776–1836), wife of the merchant Georg Oppenheimer
1.02.1810, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Oppenheimer, Georg, earlier Isay/Isaak Amsel (1772–1838), a merchant
1.02.1810, Hamburg, one page, verso, in English

Oppenheimer, Jette, probably Henriette Oppenheimer (1802–date of death unknown), a daughter of Georg Oppenheimer (1772–1838), a merchant, and of Clara Recha Oppenheimer, de domo Gottschalck (1776–1836)
1.02.1810, Hamburg, one page, verso, in German

Oppenheimer, Mathilde, signed by first name only in a group of signatures of the Oppenheimer family children (1805–date of death unknown), primo voto Lieber, a daughter of Georg Oppenheimer (1772–1838), a merchant, and of Clara Recha Oppenheimer, de domo Gottschalck (1776–1836)
1.02.1810, Hamburg, one page, verso, in German

Oppenheimer, Wilhelm Gustav (1803–date of death unknown), a son of Georg Oppenheimer (1772–1838), a merchant, and of Clara Recha Oppenheimer, de domo Gottschalck (1776–1836)
1.02.1810, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Paulsen, Georg Heinrich Peter (1793–post 1745), a merchant
27.02.1823, Hamburg, two pages, recto, verso, in German

Reinhold, Friederike (1786–post 1849), sister of Johann Gotthard Reinhold (1771–1838), a Dutch diplomat
15.04.1807, Hamburg, one page, verso, in German

Reinhold, Johann Gotthard Ritter (1771–1838), a Dutch diplomat, writer, translator
15.04.1807, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Reißig (Reissig), Elisabeth Amalia, née Hekker (ok. 1743–1833), other biographical data unknown
17.12.1805, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Remde, Johann Heinrich Christian (1779–1850), a music teacher, Kapellmeister, composer
calendar date unknown, 01.1809, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Schacht, Lennchen, biographical data unknown
21.06.1804, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Schneider, Julie, biographical data unknown
6.01.1805, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German, French

Schoppe, Amalie Emma, also Emerentia Catharina Amalia Schoppe (1814–1817 Schuppe), née Weise, 1791–1858, a writer, pseud. Adalbert von Schonen, Julius von Meerheim, Marie
28.07, year unknown, one page, verso, in German, a lock of hair

Schoppe (until 1817 Schuppe), Friedrich Heinrich (1787–1829), a lawyer, from 1814 married to the writer Amalia Weise
calendar date unknown (day and month), in the Spring of 1809, one page, recto, in German

Schwab, Gustav Benjamin (1792–1850), a Protestant theologian, pastor, writer, historian of literature, teacher
23.09.1815, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Tarnow, Betty (dates of birth and death unknown), a sister of the writer and translator, Fanny Tarnow
calendar date unknown, 06.1816, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Tarnow, Fanny von, properly Franziska Christiane Johanna Friederike Tarnow (1779–1862), a writer, translator, teacher
calendar date unknown, 06.1816, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Varnhagen, Friedrich Ludwig Wilhelm von (1783–1842), an engineer, soldier, forest administrator
20.09.1822, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

Varnhagen, Karl August von (1785–1858), a diplomat, writer, journalist, collector
calendar date unknown, 10.1805, two pages, verso, recto, in German

Weißenburg, Adolf (1790–1840), an architect, archaeologist
27.07.1822, Hamburg, one page, recto, in German

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THE DISSOLUTION OF EMPIRES IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL LIBRARIES AND MUSEUMS: THE CASE OF POLAND AND SOVIET RUSSIA[1]

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ABSTRACT

In Polish historiography, the restitution negotiations between Poland, Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine following the Treaty of Riga (1921) have been the subject of extensive and increasingly detailed research in recent years. Rather than offering a comprehensive overview or a synthesis of this growing body of scholarship, this article proposes new research directions and interpretative perspectives. First, it argues that the restitution negotiations should be understood as crucial arenas in which modern concepts of the national museum and the national library were articulated and developed. Second, by offering a preliminary examination of the impact of restitution on Soviet museums and libraries, the article advances a broader analytical framework that moves beyond

1 This article was written in the framework of a fellowship from the Minister of Culture and Cultural Heritage (2025).

a strictly national perspective. In doing so, it highlights the mutual and transnational dimensions of restitution processes and calls for a more comparative approach to understanding their significance.

KEYWORDS: Cultural heritage restitution; dissolution of the Russian Empire; expert commissions; looted cultural heritage; librarianship; museology; national self-determination; provenance research

Previous studies have generally examined the allocation of cultural assets after the First World War within the framework of national self-determination and the reconstruction of cultural heritage. This article proposes a different perspective. Focusing on the restitution negotiations between Poland and Soviet Russia following the Treaty of Riga (1921), it examines these processes not only as acts of cultural recovery, but as formative moments in the development of national museums and libraries.

In the case in question, restitution was conducted by two newly established nation-states with the explicit aim of supplying and shaping their emerging national institutions. Generally, the assets recovered by Poland originated from former imperial collections and institutions that were themselves undergoing processes of nationalisation and reorganisation. These processes drew on key principles from the emerging fields of museum and library science – such as the integrity of collections, provenance research and the recognition of both the universal and national value of collections – which were further developed and consolidated during the restitution negotiations. Restitution thus emerges as a crucial factor in the institutional formation of cultural heritage within museums and libraries, both in the new nation-states and in the successor states of former empires.

The article builds on the extensive historiography of the Polish–Soviet restitution negotiations and other published sources, including the proceedings of the negotiations relating to the Treaty of Riga, legacies of restitution experts and contemporary publications

concerning the development of museum and library networks in independent Poland. It adopts a comparative perspective by juxtaposing Polish and Soviet positions and aims, and by examining the impact of restitution on both Polish and Soviet libraries and museums.

Provisions on Restitution in the Treaty of Riga

The peace treaty signed on 18 March 1921 by Poland, Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine ended the Polish-Soviet War of 1919–1920 and settled the border between these states.[2] Although Poland re-emerged as an independent state in 1918 following the collapse of the partitioning empires at the end of the First World War, its eastern borders were only definitively established by the Treaty in 1921. In its early years, Polish political thought included aspirations to restore borders resembling those of the pre-partition Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, though these were not realised in the final settlement. By dividing the territories of Ukraine and Belarus between Soviet Russia and Poland, the Treaty marked the end of Soviet and Polish expansionist ambitions. Furthermore, it halted the spread of revolutionary ideas in Europe and led to the definition of Poland as a nation-state.

The Treaty of Riga also included far-reaching provisions on the restitution of cultural heritage seized during the long period of imperial subordination and evacuated at the time of the war.[3] The provisions refer, in concise diplomatic terms, to objects and collections removed from Poland to Russia from the First Partition (1772) onwards under various circumstances and legal regulations, regardless

2 For the most comprehensive work on the Treaty of Riga in English, see J. Borzęcki, *The Soviet-Polish Peace of 1921 and the Creation of Interwar Europe*, Yale University Press, London 2008.

3 Traktat Pokoju z dnia 18 marca 1921 r. między Polską a Rosją i Ukrainą podpisany w Rydze dnia 18 marca 1921 roku, Dz.U. no. 49, 300, art. XI. For the most comprehensive analysis of the legal aspects of the Treaty referring to restitution of cultural assets, see A. Jakubowski, 'Restytucja i repatriacja polskich zabytków i dzieł sztuki z Rosji Radzieckiej po 1921 roku. Artykuł XI Traktatu Ryskiego', in: *Polskie dziedzictwo kulturowe u progu niepodległości. Wokół Towarzystwa Opieki nad Zabytkami Przeszłości*, eds. E. Manikowska, P. Jamski, MKiDN & IS PAN, Warszawa 2010, pp. 93–125. In English, see idem, *State Succession in Cultural Property*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2015, pp. 80–83.

of whom they had belonged to or which institution had held them before their removal, and to whom or to which institution they were allocated. This broad designation included, among other things, trophies of war (flags, banners, regalia and so on acquired during the suppression of the Polish struggles for independence); historic and artistic objects belonging to the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth seized in the aftermath of each of the three partitions (1772, 1793 and 1795); private collections and collections formed by Polish learned and civic societies seized as acts of repression after the crackdown on the national uprisings; artworks from the former royal seats in Warsaw removed to St Petersburg by order of the tsars and used for purposes such as decorating imperial residences.

The case in question is a striking one. The restitution of objects and collections from Soviet Russia to Poland was measured in tonnes. There were thousands of crates and hundreds of railway wagons involved, reflecting the immense scale of the imperial seizures that had taken place in the past.[4] Over more than a century of subordination to the Russian Empire, innumerable artworks, books, manuscripts, archaeological and historical objects, natural history specimens and so on were looted, seized, removed from Poland and incorporated into Russian private and public collections in St Petersburg, Moscow and many other cities, including remote and provincial ones.[5] Of all three powers to which the Polish lands were subjected during the Partitions, the Russian Empire pursued the most consistent and aggressive policy towards all kinds of scientific, historical and artistic collections. Indeed, museums, libraries and private collections were an important focus of the imperial assimilation policy. Polish collections were further depleted during the evacuation of the Russian army and administration from Polish territories. In 1915, archives, libraries, collections, his-

4 *Dokumenty dotyczące akcji delegacyj polskich w komisjach mieszanych reewakuacyjnej i specjalnej*, vol. 9: *Sprawozdanie z trzyletniej działalności (17.V.1921–17.V.1924)*, Druk. "Robotnika", Warszawa 1924, pp. 8–13.

5 D. Matelski, *Grabież i restytucja polskich dóbr kultury*, Pałac Sztuki, Kraków 2006, vol. 1, pp. 159–201.

torical furnishings of tsarist residences, administrative seats and other institutions were packed and transported in chaos to St Petersburg, Moscow and other cities in Russia.

The restitution provisions of the Treaty of Riga did not emerge by chance. In Poland, there was a strong awareness of the extent of the seizures and the cultural significance of the removed objects, which had been kept alive by the intellectual and cultural elites of all three partitions since the initial seizures. This awareness was further reinforced by historical research on the seized objects and collections by Polish scholars and amateur researchers. Furthermore, during the First World War and the Russian Revolution, a unique, significant provenance research project was initiated: amidst the turbulence of these years, a well-organised network of Polish voluntary societies operating in Moscow, St Petersburg and other cities in the former Russian Empire undertook the challenge of documenting and safeguarding the Polish collections housed in various institutions and temporary storage facilities, seeking to protect them from the risks created by the unstable political climate.[6] Restitution was already a priority at that time: the societies developed methods of documentation that included institutional, archival and visual records of the objects, detailing their provenance and current locations. As a result, far-reaching restitution claims for objects held in Russia and drafts of relevant treaty provisions were already formulated by the Polish delegation during the peace negotiations at Versailles.[7]

For the new Russian authorities, restitution was also a significant issue. In the aftermath of the February Revolution, the Russian Provisional Government acknowledged Poland's right to independence and established a committee aimed at addressing all potential issues and claims between Russia and the Polish Kingdom, a state with limited autonomy that had been established in 1916 on former Russian territories under German and Austro-Hun-

6 E. Manikowska, 'Wielka Wojna i zabytki', in: *Polskie dziedzictwo...*, pp. 55–81.

7 Jakubowski, *Restytucja i repatriacja...*, pp. 108–109.

garian occupation.[8] Polish collections, libraries and archives were among these issues, and restitution became a crucial aspect of the revolutionary agenda focused on addressing the legacy of the Empire. This policy continued after the October Revolution, led by the Council of People's Commissars, the highest executive authority of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. On 17 January 1918, the Council issued a decree that nationalised Polish historical monuments, artworks, libraries and collections, declaring them the property of the Polish people and designating them for future Polish museums.[9] However, the outbreak of the Polish-Soviet War hindered any further provisions or official negotiations regarding the restitution of Polish collections.

The provisions of the Treaty of Riga were the result of protracted negotiations lasting several months. The final Soviet concessions concerning the restitution of Polish cultural heritage were framed in the revolutionary rhetoric of repudiating the former imperial order and promoting fraternity among newly liberated nations. Similar restitution provisions were also included in the peace treaties previously signed by Soviet Russia with the Baltic States.[10] In practice, however, the scope of restitution in these agreements was significantly limited. Soviet Russia undertook to return objects of scientific or historical significance to Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia that had been removed during the period of imperial rule, but it reserved the right to withhold such items if their transfer would entail substantial losses to Russian archives, museums or libraries. Moreover, claims were admissible only when the current location of the requested objects or collections could be demon-

8 W. Toporowicz, *Rewolucja Październikowa – Polska – Polacy*, Współpraca, Warszawa 1988, pp. 39–42.

9 'Dekret Rady Komisarzy Ludowych R S F R R o opiece nad zabytkami i dziełami sztuki należącymi do narodu polskiego', in: *Polsko-radzieckie stosunki kulturalne 1918–1939. Dokumenty i materiały*, ed. W. Balcerak, Polska Akademia Nauk Instytut Krajów Socjalistycznych, Warszawa 1977, pp. 3–5.

10 Jakubowski, *State Succession…*, pp. 79–80. Given a different assimilation policy and the resulting small scale of seizures, restitution was not an important issue in the peace treaty with Finland.

strated. This requirement effectively placed Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian negotiators at a disadvantage, as access to the relevant materials and documentation remained under the control of Soviet institutions and experts. Therefore, many important cultural assets, including those evacuated during the First World War, were not returned to the Baltic States. As Edward Kuntze, a Polish librarian and historian involved in implementing the restitution provisions of the Treaty of Riga, observed, "only Poland was able to secure a relatively favourable settlement of the restitution issue, whereas the Baltic States, in their peace treaties, were compelled to accept provisions that granted them only what was considered of marginal importance to Russian scholarship."[11]

The Polish negotiators of the Treaty of Riga, mindful of the shortcomings of earlier restitution arrangements and drawing on solutions developed at Versailles, were able to mitigate some of the restrictions imposed by Soviet Russia. In particular, the provision allowing Russia to retain items whose removal might undermine the integrity of museums, archives or libraries was limited to collections defined as "complete and researched," constituting "collections of worldwide cultural importance." Moreover, in cases where the removal of specific objects could endanger such collections, Poland was to receive equivalent items of comparable artistic or scientific value. Poland also succeeded in securing the unrestricted return of objects and collections demonstrably connected to Polish history and culture. At the same time, the Treaty introduced limitations reflecting the emergence of new nation-states on the territory of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth: objects removed from Polish lands but associated with the cultural heritage of other nations, including Ukrainians, Belarusians and Lithuanians, were excluded from restitution.

11 E. Kuntze, *Zwrot polskich zbiorów bibliotecznych z Rosji*, Przegląd Biblioteczny, Kraków 1937, p. 16.

Polish and Soviet Experts

As with other restitution provisions included in peace treaties signed by Soviet Russia, bilateral mixed commissions of experts were established to evaluate individual claims. In the case of Poland, two such commissions were created: one focused on the restitution of goods, infrastructure and objects – including cultural assets – evacuated during the war (the Re-evacuation Commission), while the other addressed the restitution of objects and collections removed during the period of imperial subjugation (the Special Commission).[12] All claims related to cultural assets were examined in joint sessions of both bodies (the Joint Mixed Commission, hereafter the Commission). The provisions of the Treaty of Riga enabled Poland to reclaim a significant portion of its cultural heritage.[13] However, the negotiations were lengthy and challenging, often yielding disappointing results. The initial timeframe, set at only a few months, was repeatedly extended, and a general protocol concluding the bilateral negotiations was not signed until April 1934. Both commissions were ultimately dissolved in 1937.[14]

Poland's negotiating position was weaker than Soviet Russia's, as was the case for Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. The meetings took place in Moscow, on Soviet territory, and Soviet experts controlled access to the most critical evidence: the claimed objects and collections, as well as documentation relating to them. A comprehensive set of regulations governing the implementation of the Treaty's restitution provisions, published as an annex and providing a detailed and binding framework for the commissions,

12 Borzęcki, op. cit., pp. 258–266.

13 There is a large literature on the negotiations and their outcomes. For a detailed and comprehensive overview in English, see D. Pietrzkiewicz, 'The Peace of Riga and the Recovery of Polish Literary Heritage', *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia ad Bibliothecarum Scientiam Pertinentia*, vol. 19, 2021, pp. 183–200; eadem, 'Stanislaw Lisowski and the Restitution of Incunabula of Monastic Provenance under the Treaty of Riga (1921)', *Kwartalnik Historyczny,* vol. 131, 2024, no. 8, pp. 55–84. See also D. Matelski, *Losy polskich dóbr kultury w Rosji i ZSRR: próby restytucji: archiwa, księgozbiory, dzieła sztuki, pomniki*, Inter-Arpress, Poznań 2003; idem, *Grabież...*, pp. 266–287.

14 Borzęcki, op. cit., p. 266.

partially mitigated this imbalance.[15] Under these provisions, the Polish state was required to submit well-documented claims supported by evidence of the Polish provenance of the object or collection, its removal between 1772 and 1914 or its evacuation after 1915, and its current location. Obligations were also imposed on the Soviet side: Soviet experts were required to assist their Polish counterparts by conducting research and providing access to documentation held in Soviet institutions, as well as ensuring that the claimed objects and collections were not relocated. The resolution of each claim had to be formalised through an agreement approved by both parties.

Among the most substantial challenges faced by the experts were the identification of Polish assets within Soviet collections and the documentation of their provenance, as final decisions relied on the analysis of available evidence. The most difficult cases, however, also involved lengthy and intense debates over the applicability of the restrictions imposed by the Treaty. In these instances, disputes centred on the interpretation of the Treaty's vague and expansive notions of the universal and national affiliations of cultural institutions, collections and assets. Such discussions relied less on scholarly argument than on rhetorical skill and were often shaped by propaganda.[16] Moreover, the evolving diplomatic and political relations between Poland and Soviet Russia significantly influenced the negotiations.[17] For example, Soviet Russia deliberately used the restitution issue to interfere in strained Polish–Lithuanian relations. It refused to return one of Poland's principal claims – the *Lithuanian Metrica*, the state archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – seized in 1794, arguing that only a small por-

15 Instrukcja wykonawcza do artykułu XI Traktatu Pokojowego, appendix 3. Traktat Pokoju....

16 E. Manikowska, 'National Versus Universal? The Restitution Debate between Poland and Soviet Russia after the Riga Peace Treaty', in: *The Challenge of the Object. 33rd Congress of the International Committee of the History of Art: Congress Proceedings*, eds. U. Grossmann and P. Krutisch, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuernberg 2012, vol. 4, pp. 1360–1364.

17 Pietrzkiewicz, *The Peace of Riga*...

tion of the archive pertained to present-day Polish territory. Furthermore, Soviet experts emphasised the archive's connections to Ukrainian, Belarusian and Lithuanian history, underscoring its importance for Russian scholarship.[18] Importantly, the *Lithuanian Metrica*, along with several other library, archival and artistic collections, was also claimed by Lithuania. During the Soviet–Lithuanian negotiations, Soviet experts advanced similar arguments, stressing that only a small proportion of the documents related to present-day Lithuania while highlighting the well-established Russian research tradition associated with the archive.[19]

An important aspect of the negotiations – identified in research into the personal papers and memoirs of the Polish restitution experts[20] – was its personal dimension. The Commission included both Polish and Soviet politicians, as well as prominent experts, who contributed not only their specialised knowledge but also their professional experience, personal convictions and networks. Thus, in Moscow, leading Soviet and Polish scholars, together with officials from museums, libraries and archives, faced one another across the negotiating table. Many of these individuals had begun their careers in the imperial era; they were already acquainted and had previously collaborated within the framework of imperial scientific societies, museums and libraries.[21] They now found themselves in an entirely new situation, overseeing the emerging networks of Soviet and Polish public museums, libraries and archives. A few examples illustrate this dynamic. On the Soviet side, the experts were led by Sergey Oldenburg, a world-renowned orientalist who served continuously as secretary of the Imperial

18 Borzęcki, op. cit., pp. 61–262.

19 A. Dubonis et al., *The Lithuanian Metrica: History and Research*, Academic Studies Press, Boston 2020, pp. 180–200.

20 In particular: Pietrzkiewicz, *Spory o zbiory…*; eadem, *Stanisław Łaskarzewski…*

21 On Polish historians, librarians and archivists in St Petersburg, see H. Grala, *Polscy historycy i archiwiści w carskim Petersburgu* (2013). Available online: https://www.polskipetersburg.pl/images/upload/biblioteka/Polscy_historycy_i_archiwisci_w_carskim_Petersburgu_Hieronim_Grala.pdf [Accessed: 19.03.2025].

Academy of Sciences (renamed the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1917). The delegation included several prominent figures: Igor Grabar, a painter and art historian who had been executive director of the Tretyakov Gallery since 1913; Sergey Troynitsky, who became head of the jewellery department at the Imperial Hermitage in 1908 and later served as the first director of the Soviet Hermitage; and Alexander Braudo, formerly chief curator of the Rossica department at the Imperial Public Library (renamed the Russian Public Library in 1917), who was elected its deputy director in 1918. On the Polish side, under the leadership of Edward Kuntze, the delegation likewise comprised distinguished experts. Among them were Stanisław Ptaszycki, a renowned archivist, historian and palaeographer, and the first director of the State Archive in Lublin; before the Revolution, he had lived in St Petersburg, where he was responsible for the *Lithuanian Metrica* and was an active member of the Russian Society of Bibliophiles. Also present was Stefan Rygiel, a librarian who became director of the Warsaw University Library in 1924, and Marian Morelowski, an art historian from Kraków and a student of Max Dvořák. During the war, Morelowski was a refugee in Moscow, where he became one of the principal organisers of the Polish monument protection movement in Russia; after the war, he served as a curator of the State Art Collections (a Polish national museum institution).

In discussing the attitude of Polish and Soviet scholarly circles toward restitution, Edward Kuntze drew on psychological and professional explanations.[22] He observed that Soviet experts adopted a markedly more resolute and uncompromising stance, which he attributed to a form of resentful national pride and to the difficulties they faced in adapting to the new social and political order. In his view, Soviet experts often sought to preserve the legacy of imperial institutions, imperial scholarship and the broader imperial order, driven in part by a sense of superiority over the former empire's national minorities. Equally significant, according to Kuntze,

22 Kuntze, op. cit., pp. 14–17.

were professional considerations. As experienced curators, Soviet experts regarded the integrity of collections as an inherent value and therefore contested even minor Polish claims. Similar psychological and professional factors also shaped the attitudes of Polish scholars and intellectuals toward restitution. Kuntze emphasised that, for many of them, the negotiations concerned collections and objects that were largely unfamiliar. Soviet libraries and museums were perceived by the Polish scholarly community as well-established but distant foreign institutions, comparable to the Vatican Apostolic Library or the Louvre, while knowledge of the Polish origins of their holdings was limited to a small group of specialists. Moreover, the reconstruction of historical collections was only one of many challenges facing the emerging Polish network of museums, libraries and archives. For this reason, Kuntze – who served for many years as chair of the Polish restitution delegation – sought to involve experts who were well acquainted with former imperial institutions and with both the historical and then-contemporary Russian and Soviet scholarly environment.

The Commission's discussions went beyond reconstructing collections created decades or even centuries earlier, establishing the circumstances of their removal and identifying their current location. The experts also considered how restitution would affect both the newly established or planned national institutions in Poland and the Sovietised institutions in Russia. Many of the nineteenth-century Polish institutions that had originally created, stored and displayed these collections no longer existed. As a result, restituted assets were often intended to serve as the foundation for new state memory institutions in Poland. In contrast, after their removal, Polish assets had been incorporated into the growing collections of imperial institutions in Russia, where they acquired new meanings and interpretations. During the negotiations, Soviet scholars also began to recontextualise these objects systematically, in line with emerging academic principles, especially in library, museum and archival science.

Restitution Negotiations and the Shaping of the Concepts of the National Museum and the National Library

Establishing a network of national museums and national libraries was an important task in the state-building agenda of the independent nations that emerged in Central and Eastern Europe in the aftermath of the collapse of the imperial order. Public museums and libraries had, of course, been developing steadily since the early nineteenth century, even in contexts where nations were not yet constitutionally defined.[23] Some of these institutions bore the designation "national" and were housed in purpose-built facilities. Founded through the initiatives of scientific societies, municipal authorities, local elites or universities, and at times partially supported by the state, such institutions nonetheless did not fully meet the criteria of national institutions in the strict sense. Historically, national museums and libraries were the prerogative of states and empires. Typically established in capital cities, they functioned as official repositories of science, history, art and culture. Over the course of the nineteenth century, they became important indicators of a state's or empire's cultural and civilisational standing.[24] The proliferation of state institutions and imperial collections open to the public, together with their increasing scale, opulence, scientific grounding and international networks, attested to both imperial and national pasts and to claims of present greatness. Supported by substantial state, royal or imperial funding – as well as by professional organisation and policy – national museums, libraries and imperial collections in cities such as Vienna, Berlin and St Petersburg were, in many respects, far

23 K. Pomian, *Le Musée. Une Histoire Mondiale*, vol. 3: À la *conquête du monde 1850–2020*, Gallimard, Paris 2022, pp. 211–248; *The Museum Age in Austria-Hungary*, eds. M. Rampley, M. Prokopovych, N. Veszprémi, Penn State University Press, University Park (PA) 2022.

24 P. Aronsson, 'Explaining National Museums: Exploring Comparative Approaches to the Study of National Museums', in: *National Museums: New Studies from Around the World*, eds. S. Knell, P. Aronsson & A.B. Amundsen, Routledge, London 2011, pp. 29–54.

more advanced than the institutions serving ethnic and national minorities within the Austro-Hungarian, German and Russian Empires. Moreover, the collections of these institutions were often regarded, to varying degrees, as state property and could be seized, relocated, dispersed or appropriated for the benefit of metropolitan institutions.

Consequently, the post-war development of library and museum networks in the new nation-states of Central and Eastern Europe cannot be understood solely in terms of financial, logistical, institutional or scientific challenges. This process was inextricably linked to the dissolution of empires and was implicitly embedded in the complex regulations governing the allocation of movable cultural property in the peace treaties.[25] Based on the novel principle of self-determination, such regulations not only dealt with the restitution of objects and collections removed from the territories of the new states during wartime but also addressed claims to assets seized in the period of imperial dominance.[26]

The post-war restitution negotiations were crucial arenas in which new definitions of museums and libraries were established. According to the art historian Hans Tietze, a key figure involved in the reorganisation of the Austrian museum network after 1918, museum and library collections were "no longer an arbitrary accumulation of interesting and precious specimens, but organically coherent ensembles, whose right to exist is independent of any political or economic considerations."[27] This statement comes from an insightful study of the Austro-Hungarian restitution agreement of 1932, in which institutional and scholarly principles – particularly the preservation of the integrity and scientific value of collections – were considered alongside legal frameworks based on territoriality and national affiliation.[28] As a result of these negotia-

25 Jakubowski, *State Succession*..., pp. 55–83.

26 Ibid.

27 H. Tietze, 'L'accord austro-hongrois sur la reparation des collections de la Maison des Habsbourg', *Mouseion*, vol. 7, 1933, no. 23–24, p. 94.

28 Jakubowski, *State Succession*..., pp. 76–79.

tions, Hungary recovered manuscripts and artworks connected to its history and culture, although it relinquished its initial claim to a substantial portion of the imperial collections. As compensation, Austria transferred several high-quality artworks to the Hungarian National Museum and committed to facilitating access to cultural heritage reflecting their shared Austro-Hungarian past for both the Hungarian scholarly community and the wider public.

The scale, complexity and impact of restitution varied considerably and depended, among other factors, on the ability to substantiate claims through documentation. While Hungary successfully recovered nearly 200 manuscripts and artworks from Austria, Poland was able to document only a single object removed in the aftermath of the First Partition (1772).[29] Consequently, post-war restitution negotiations should also be understood as a significant phase in the development of provenance research. The origins of individual objects, their connections to national histories and cultures and the precise circumstances of their removal were carefully examined by experts on both sides, although such scrutiny did not always result in agreement. For example, Hungary succeeded in recovering all but one of the objects it claimed as part of its historical and cultural heritage. Notably, the Crown of Stephen Bocskai – a contested artefact of Transylvanian heritage claimed by both Hungary and Romania – remained in Vienna. In a spirit reflecting its ongoing role as mediator among the successor states of its former empire, Austria postponed a final decision on restitution until Hungary and Romania could reach a mutual agreement on the matter.[30]

Envisioning the Polish National Museum

"Poland reborn was deprived of art collections and museums, as the states occupying its territories left only objects built into the architecture of the former royal castles and governmental buildings. Thus, Poland is the only state in Europe, and even more so in

29 Ibid., p. 70.

30 Tietze, op. cit., p. 24.

the civilised world, lacking any artistic or historic collection, any museum!"[31] Visionary projects for a Polish national museum were proposed by scholars and intellectuals from the outbreak of the First World War, generating broader public interest. During the war and subsequent revolutionary period, numerous private donations were made to two Polish civic museums that included the term "national" in their titles: the museum in Kraków, founded in 1879, and the museum in Warsaw, established in 1916 on the basis of former Russian collections in the city. Among the donors were residents of Petrograd (St Petersburg), Moscow and other Russian cities who, in response to Soviet nationalisation decrees, sought to secure their property by bequeathing it to Polish museums. However, beginning in 1922, when a steady flow of railway wagons carrying restituted collections departed from Soviet Russia to Warsaw, many of these works were transferred to a newly established entity. This institution, known as the State Art Collections (Państwowe Zbiory Sztuki), was not initially a museum in the conventional sense – neither a building nor a tradition-bound institution – but rather a collection-based organisation that relied almost entirely on artworks returned by Soviet Russia.

The Polish state was the sole entity authorised to negotiate claims, regardless of the objects' original provenance. However, while its experts sought to recover all possible items, they placed particular emphasis on the heritage of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Polish monarchy and Polish scientific institutions and voluntary societies – now regarded as state property. This category included a series of Flemish tapestries commissioned by King Sigismund II Augustus for the Royal Castle in Kraków. Bequeathed to the Commonwealth and kept in Warsaw since the 1760s, the tapestries were removed in the aftermath of the Third Partition of Poland (1795) and came to be regarded as one of the most valuable Polish treasures in Russia. Of equal symbolic importance were the

31 M. Treter, 'Organizacja zbiorów państwowych Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej', *Wiadomości Archeologiczne*, vol. 7, 1922, p. 3.

eighteenth-century regalia taken from the Royal Castle in Warsaw alongside the tapestries. Also included were elements of the art collections of the last Polish king – considered the most significant former Polish private collection to which the Polish state was entitled – and furnishings from former royal residences in Warsaw. These items were removed at various points during the nineteenth century and were further evacuated by the Russian army in 1915. Poland also acquired rights to the collections of former Polish institutions, including the numismatic and print collections of the Royal University of Warsaw. This institution was the first Polish public university in Warsaw, albeit short-lived, founded in 1816 and dissolved after the November Uprising of 1831.

The concept of the State Art Collections was shaped and refined during the restitution negotiations. It was also influenced by the general discussions relating, among other things, to the location of the capital city and to the building of the new state's cultural prestige. In 1922, Mieczysław Treter, the first director of the State Art Collections, presented an ambitious plan for this institution. He envisioned a museum that would combine features of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, the Musée d'Archéologie Nationale in Saint-Germain-en-Laye and the Museo Nazionale del Risorgimento Italiano in Turin.[32] Drawing on well-established nineteenth-century models, the primary aim of his national museum was to demonstrate the ancient origins of the Polish nation (through its archaeological section), its high level of civilisation and strong affinities with the West (through its artistic holdings), its historical foundations (through its treasury) and the glory of its recent past (through its focus on national resurgence). Treter's concept sought to reflect the cultural ambitions of the state and was formulated with both a European and a global audience in mind.[33]

32 Ibid., pp. 6–7.

33 Ibid., p. 6. On the nineteenth-century concept of national museum, see S. Berger, 'National Museums in between Nationalism, Imperialism and Regionalism, 1750–1914', in: *National Museums in Europe 1750–2010*, eds. P. Aronsson, G. Elgenius, London: Routledge 2014, pp. 14–18.

Similar ambitions characterised the Polish restitution claims, particularly those concerning the former cultural and artistic property of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Polish monarchy. Among the most contentious and emotionally charged issues discussed by the Commission were the negotiations over the print cabinet of the Royal University of Warsaw, which had been allocated to the Imperial Academy of Arts. In this case, Russian experts invoked provisions relating to the protection of collections of universal cultural significance, arguing that the collection should remain intact in Petrograd. Sergey Troynitsky, the principal architect of the Russian position, not only emphasised the international importance of the Academy and its holdings but also sought to undermine the historical and cultural connections between the print cabinet and Polish history and culture.[34] He focused in particular on the collection formed by the last king of Poland and acquired by the University from his descendants. Troynitsky argued that only a small portion of this collection consisted of works by Polish artists or bore direct relevance to Polish culture and history. Moreover, he maintained that the collection had not been formed in Poland, but rather by royal agents operating in the major European art markets of the eighteenth century. Troynitsky further attempted to diminish the collection's public and national significance by comparing Stanislaus Augustus to John Pierpont Morgan, whose collecting practices were widely perceived as an expression of American financial power. In response, the Polish experts developed a counterargument that effectively constructed an alternative narrative – one emphasising the European and universal foundations of Polish culture. Stefan Rygiel, Troynitsky's principal opponent, juxtaposed the last Polish king with Enlightenment rulers such as Catherine the Great and Frederick the Great. By invoking Igor Grabar's scholarship on the influence of seventeenth-century European engraving on the development of

34 S. Troynicky, 'Referat Ekspertyzy Rosyjsko-Ukraińskiej w sprawie Gabinetu Rycin b. Biblioteki Publicznej, wygłoszony przez dyr. Ermitażu S. Trojnickiego', in: *Dokumenty...*, vol. 6, pp. 155–161.

Russian art, Rygiel challenged the local notion of culture, instead underscoring its transnational and interconnected character.[35]

During the nineteenth century, Stanislaus Augustus was generally regarded by Polish historians and intellectuals as a controversial figure, often seen as co-responsible for the partitions of Poland. His artistic patronage and collections remained largely unknown and insufficiently studied. This situation began to change only on the eve of the First World War, when the young Władysław Tatarkiewicz – the future author of the *History of Aesthetics* – became the first scholar to examine the former print cabinet of the last Polish king, then housed in the Imperial Academy of Arts. There, he identified an extensive corpus of architectural drawings and projects documenting the king's patronage.[36] These findings assumed particular significance during the negotiations following the Treaty of Riga, when the legacy of Stanislaus Augustus became a central concern of the Polish delegation. It was in this context that the royal collections were not only rediscovered but also newly appreciated, acquiring a prominence they had not previously enjoyed within Polish historical and cultural discourse. The restitution negotiations thus played a key role in elevating the status of the king's collections and redefining their place within the national heritage. In the aftermath of the war and the restitution of cultural property from Soviet Russia, the art of the second half of the eighteenth century in Poland was symbolically consolidated under the king's name. Following the French example of the *style Louis XIV, style Louis XV* and *style Louis XVI*, it came to be described as "sztuka Stanisława Augusta" (the art of Stanislaus Augustus) and "styl Stanisława Augusta" (Stanislaus Augustus style).[37]

35 S. Rygiel, 'Oświadczenie dr. Stefana Rygla w imieniu Ekspertyzy Polskiej, w odpowiedzi na poprzedni referat Ekspertyzy Rosyjsko-Ukraińskiej w sprawie Gabinetu Rycin b. Biblioteki Publicznej', in: ibid., pp. 161–171.

36 W. Tatarkiewicz, 'Łazienki Królewskie (uwagi i wspomnienia z powodu wystawy)', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 6, 1938, no. 1, pp. 39–43.

37 A. Lauterbach, *Styl Stanisława Augusta: klasycyzm warszawski XVIII wieku*, F. Hoesick, Warszawa 1918.

Treter's ambitious concept of the national museum was only partially realised. The royal castles in Warsaw and Kraków, as well as the former summer residence of Stanislaus Augustus, Łazienki, had long served as imperial sites inaccessible to the public – administrative in Warsaw, military in Kraków and private at Łazienki – but were reconfigured in independent Poland to house the State Art Collections.[38] At the same time, they were intended to function as official state and presidential residences. As a result, restituted objects were primarily used as interior furnishings. Treter's vision was thus reduced to three museum-residences with official state functions. Neither the historic buildings nor the restituted collections were suited to the scope of his concept, which proved costly, utopian and outdated.

In the interwar period, while former imperial collections elsewhere were being reorganised within modern institutions and new national museums were being designed, Poland emphasised the reconstruction of its historical legacy, particularly the royal castles in Kraków and Warsaw, associated with the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Polish monarchy. These museum-residences, modelled on nineteenth-century precedents, could not meet contemporary challenges and needs. Nevertheless, some of Treter's ideas were realised in other forms. Repatriated flags, banners and other artefacts from the national uprisings were transferred to the Polish Army Museum, established in Warsaw in 1916, which followed modern trends in military museology rather than nineteenth-century models. Similarly, the State Archaeological Museum, founded in Warsaw in 1928, was a modern institution aligned with the new legislation on monument protection. In 1938, following a long-term agreement between the State Art Collections and the National Museum of the City of Warsaw, part of the former's holdings was transferred on long-term loan to the latter. With its modern building and departments dedicated to Old

38 On the State Art Collections, see W. Wojtyńska, 'Działalność Państwowych Zbiorów Sztuki', *Kronika Zamkowa*, 2005, no. 1–2, pp. 193–220.

Masters, applied arts, antiquities, Polish art and contemporary art, this civic institution ultimately fulfilled, two decades after independence, the vision of a national museum formulated during the negotiations over the Treaty of Riga.

Restitution and the Idea of a Polish National Library

Treter aimed to house the print cabinet of the last king of Poland in the Royal Castle in Warsaw. However, this proposal did not consider the historical institutional context of the former royal collection, which had been preserved, classified and studied thanks to the efforts of a short-lived institution that was later succeeded by the Polish University of Warsaw, which was founded in 1915. Similarly, Treter sought to locate key objects from the artistic collections and furnishings of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Polish monarchy in the Royal Castle in Warsaw. While Warsaw, as the capital, was prioritised, Kraków remained widely regarded as Poland's principal cultural centre and the historic home of many of the most valuable royal and Commonwealth collections. Treter's project thus raised a fundamental issue: where and within which institutions the cultural heritage of the formerly partitioned lands should be housed. The establishment of a national museum in the capital, which implied the centralisation of the finest restituted objects from Russia, risked undermining local scholarly and cultural traditions that had developed under three different political systems for over a century. As a result, Treter's vision met with resistance from many scholars, including Polish experts within the Commission. At the same time, the careful reconstruction of the provenance of individual objects removed to Russia drew attention to the history, value and integrity of the former Polish collections.

The legacy of former Polish collections and institutions was particularly significant for the architects of the library network in the newly established Polish state. Indeed, the concept of a "national library" was deeply rooted in Polish culture and tradition. Since the early nineteenth century, across all three partitions, a num-

ber of private and institutional collections had fulfilled functions akin to a national library.[39] For instance, the university libraries in Lviv and Kraków assumed the informal responsibility of collecting all publications in Polish and works concerning Poland. Both were incorporated into the Austrian legal deposit system, although this applied only to publishers in Eastern Galicia (in Lviv) and Western Galicia (in Kraków).[40] In addition, the Jagiellonian Library, under the ambitious plan of Karol Estreicher – an eminent librarian, bibliographer and long-time director – sought to collect all rare books published in Polish and on Polish territory since the advent of printing.[41]

The new Polish state library network had to account not only for the heritage of Polish writing and publishing but also for the demands of modern librarianship and the needs of both general and scholarly readers.[42] For Edward Kuntze, future president of the Polish experts in the Commission, establishing a national library was a significant – but not the most urgent – challenge. In his 1919 programmatic text, *O potrzebach bibliotek naukowych w Polsce* (The needs of Polish research libraries), Kuntze outlined an influential vision for the network of Polish state libraries. He emphasised the efficient use of existing infrastructure and the development of a modern system based primarily on established university libraries.

The National Library itself was not established until 1928 and opened in 1934. It was conceived as a repository of the nation's written heritage and contemporary publishing output, as well as a centre for bibliographical research, national cataloguing initiatives and professional library education.[43] Rather than competing with existing university, public and private scholarly libraries in

39 E. Dżurak, 'Antecedents of the Warsaw Public Library', *Library & Information History*, vol. 27, 2011, no. 1, pp. 17–31.

40 E. Kuntze, 'Potrzeba polskich bibljotek naukowych', *Nauka Polska. Jej potrzeby, organizacja i rozwój*, vol. 2, 1919, p. 509.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid., pp. 503–542.

43 S. Demby, *Bibljoteka Narodowa w Warszawie*, Bibljoteka Narodowa, Warszawa 1930.

Warsaw, Kraków, Lviv and Poznań, it focused on future-oriented functions. Its collections were built from the ground up through significant donations and the repatriation of materials from Soviet Russia, including parts of former Polish libraries incorporated into the holdings of the Imperial Public Library in St Petersburg – most notably the Załuski Library (*Bibliotheca Zaluskiana*).

The Załuski Library, transferred from Warsaw to St Petersburg between 1794 and 1795, was the most widely remembered and mourned of the Polish collections seized by the Russian Empire. Founded by the renowned bibliophile brothers, the Załuski bishops, it was regarded as one of the largest public libraries in the world at the time it was established.[44] It is also widely considered the first Polish national library. Opened to the public in a dedicated building in 1747, it came under the administration of the Commonwealth after the founders' deaths and was subsequently transformed into the first Polish state library. Throughout the nineteenth century, the collection served as a powerful symbol of Polish cultural and scholarly achievement under tsarist rule. Its seizure was frequently invoked by leading Polish intellectuals and writers in a solemn, evocative manner. For example, the romantic poet Adam Mickiewicz described the event as "a funeral procession of the entire national literature condemned to be buried alive in a distant and hostile country."[45] While the Polish experts were firmly committed to recovering the entirety of the former Załuski Library, Russian experts were equally resolute in defending the integrity of the holdings of the Imperial Public Library. These negotiations were among the most intense, complex and protracted of the restitution negotiations. The recovery of the larger share of the Załuski Library's collections marked a significant milestone in pre-

44 On the history of the Załuski Library, see, among others, J. Kozłowski, *Szkice o dziejach Biblioteki Załuskich*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław et al. 1986.

45 A. Mickiewicz, 'Rabunek bibliotek i muzeów w Polsce', in: *Dzieła Adama Mickiewicza. Wydanie zupełne przez dzieci autora dokonane*, vol. 5, Księgarnia luxemburska, Paryż 1880, p. 252.

serving the Polish library tradition within the independent state and its modern national library.

Imperial Museums and Libraries in Transition

The fate of Polish collections in Russia illustrates an imperial policy towards cultural heritage based on seizure, looting and the suppression of conquered cultures, rather than on coherent or consistently organised forms of museum or library collection. The confiscation of objects and collections served primarily as an instrument of Russian imperial policy, supporting both national and assimilationist aims. Many items were taken as acts of reprisal or to suppress perceived national threats. Often, they were not assigned to specific institutions but instead were lost, sold or dispersed across various collections. Some objects were used as decorative elements in the residences of tsars and imperial officials, while others remained forgotten in storage, unregistered and unstudied.

Although artistic and literary collections in nineteenth-century Russia were organised into museums and libraries modelled on Western examples, they remained the property of the tsar, the Orthodox Church, members of the aristocracy, state officials or entrepreneurs until the outbreak of the Russian Revolution.[46] Consequently, the artistic value and research potential of many seized collections were neither fully recognised nor systematically examined. The Wawel tapestries, for example, were stored for over half a century in the Tauride Palace, one of the tsarist residences in St Petersburg. In the second half of the nineteenth century, they were unpacked and subsequently distributed among various imperial palaces and museums in Moscow and St Petersburg; some were even repurposed as upholstery. As Marian Morelowski observed during a session of the Commission, this was remarkable, given that Renaissance Flemish tapestries were already an impor-

46 E. Pravilova, *A Public Empire. Property and the Quest for Common Good in Imperial Russia*, Princeton University Press, Princeton (NJ) 2014, pp. 132–211.

tant subject of art historical study and highly valued as museum objects.[47]

Why, then, were the Soviet experts so intransigent in their defence of Russian museums and libraries, repeatedly invoking the provision that guaranteed the integrity of collections of worldwide cultural importance?

At the time of the negotiations, the new Soviet memory institutions, which were established on the basis of imperial collections, museums and libraries, were still undergoing a process of transition and reorganisation. For example, the documentation of the Hermitage collection in the early 1920s was still located in Moscow – packed and largely inaccessible – having been evacuated there during the revolutionary turmoil.[48] The curators of this institution faced challenges in integrating the extensive nationalised collections that had been added to the holdings of the Hermitage. Additionally, this period coincided with Soviet sales of Russia's cultural and artistic treasures.[49] In the initial years of negotiations, the objects offered for sale were primarily valuable items from former tsarist and aristocratic collections, as well as church furnishings. However, in the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s, entire nationalised collections and iconic items from the main museums, such as the Hermitage, and libraries, including the Russian Public Library, were also put on the market.[50] The sales enforced by the Soviet authorities were met with helpless resistance and dismay from museum and library officials, curators and the scholarly community. In this context, the defence of the integrity of the collections in major libraries and museums by the Soviet experts reflects an awareness of the impact of Soviet nationalisations and

47 M. Morelowski, 'Sto pięćdziesiąt sześć arrasów Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej', in: *Dokumenty...*, vol. 4, Warszawa 1922, pp. 66–83.

48 E. Solomakha, 'The Destruction of the Hermitage', in: *Selling Russia's Treasures: The Soviet Trade in Nationalized Art, 1917–1938*, eds. N.V. Iljine and N. Semyonova, Abbeville Press, New York 2013, pp. 128–223.

49 *Treasures into Tractors: the Selling of Russia's Cultural Heritage 1918–1938*, eds. A. Odom, W.R. Salmond, University of Washington Press, Seattle (WA) 2009.

50 Solomakha, op. cit.

of the new property paradigm on Russian cultural heritage and on Russian memory institutions.

The new political and social order brought a shift in the aims of Russian libraries and museums, which were reoriented towards educating the masses and promoting scientific and technical progress.[51] It also introduced new hierarchies within the institutional network, leading to the downgrading of established institutions. This was exemplified by the former Imperial Public Library, which in the 1920s lost its primacy to a younger institution: the Rumyantsev Public Library. In 1925, the latter was designated as the national library of the Soviet state and renamed in honour of Lenin.[52] At the same time, the curators and officials of the former Imperial Public Library drafted protest memoranda and appeals to Soviet authorities in defence of the institution, while also advocating for the preservation of its collections during the Polish–Soviet restitution negotiations. Consequently, restitution claims concerning the holdings of the former Imperial Public Library were used by Soviet experts to argue for the preservation and future role of the institution. Among other things, they sought to include provisions for an international arbitration commission in the treaty negotiations.[53] They supported their position through appeals published in the international press, emphasising the library's European significance, global connections and scholarly importance. Russian experts also produced visual materials, including maps and lists of prominent Western scholars and institutions that had used the library's resources. Despite these efforts, they ultimately failed to secure support from the international scholarly community.

Many Polish assets were not returned following the Treaty of Riga. Preserved to this day in Russian museums, archives and collections, they bear witness to the scale of imperial looting, to the

51 M. Stuart, 'Creating a National Library for the Workers' State: The Public Library in Petrograd and the Rumiantsev Library under Bolshevik Rule', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 72, 1994, no. 2, pp. 242–245.

52 Ibid., pp. 233–238.

53 Jakubowski, *Restytucja i repatriacja*, op. cit., pp. 112–113.

contribution of Polish materials to the formation of Russian memory institutions and to a shared, entangled history. At the same time, they also reflect the profound transformations that took place within former imperial museums and libraries in the aftermath of the collapse of the imperial order.

Conclusions

In Polish historiography, the restitution of cultural assets after the Treaty of Riga is generally framed as the recovery of "Polish national heritage."[54] In Russian historiography the history of restitution has hardly been studied. This article, by focusing on the institutions of the national museum and of the national library, has sought to outline a more complex picture, one that situates restitution within the broader context of the dissolution of the Russian Empire, the emergence of a new political order in Europe and the specific evolution of memory institutions.

I have argued that the restitution principles established after the First World War – of which the Treaty of Riga is only one example – defined and codified key tenets of museum and library practice, namely the integrity of collections, well-documented provenance, the relationship between objects and national history and culture, and the universal value of institutions and their holdings. I have further suggested that the work of expert commissions implementing these provisions contributed to the consolidation of a dichotomy between "universal" former imperial memory institutions and "national" institutions of the new nation-states. However, these categories were neither fixed nor unambiguous. In building its national memory institutions, Poland acknowledged the complexity of its nineteenth-century history and institutional heritage. Restitution was not conceived as a basis for cultural or scholarly centralisation; rather, the State Art Collections and the National Library

54 See, for example, Matelski, *Losy…*; M. Hübner, 'Traktat ryski a kwestia rewindykacji polskich dóbr kultury i nauki z Rosji sowieckiej', in: *Zwycięski pokój czy rozejm na pokolenie? Traktat ryski z perspektywy 100 lat*, eds. Z. Girzyński, J. Kłaczkow, Instytut de Republica, Warszawa 2022, pp. 295–326.

were understood as symbolic additions to an existing network of older and newly established institutions. By contrast, Soviet experts, in defending Russian museum and library holdings, were not primarily advocating for the preservation of the former imperial order, but rather for the continued existence and relevance of these institutions within the new Soviet political and social framework.

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A BOOK COLLECTION AS FOUNDATION OF ACADEMIC WORK. IDENTIFICATION AND CHARACTERIZATION OF ALEKSANDER BRÜCKNER'S TRACES OF READING

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ABSTRACT

Based on the theoretical frameworks of Manuel Bamert and Magnus Wieland this article examines the traces of reading left by Aleksander Brückner in his private book collection, today held at the Library of Slavonic Studies at the Humboldt University of Berlin. These traces – e.g. annotations, underlinings, marginal notes, punctuation marks, vertical lines, corrections, and occasional comments – offer insight into Brückner's working methods as a scientist, his intellectual interests, and reading habits. One of the fundamental and very difficult questions is, how to clearly distinguish Brückner's own traces from those added by other readers after 1945, when his books have been publicly accessible. Discussing numerous examples e.g. from Badecki, Chrzanowski, Feldman, or Bystroń, it is shown, how the characteristic traces of Brückner look like, focusing on such aspects as handwriting, language, typical writing tools, graphic habits or the content of comments. In some cases, the connection between Brückners traces of reading

and his reviews, published in scientific journals, is also highlighted (e.g. corrections of dates, names, or philological details, short lines marking important passages, and occasional marginal comments). This might be helpful to identify clearly other books that he donated to the library, but which contain no ownership marks.

KEYWORDS: Aleksander Brückner – traces of reading – marginalia research – private book collection – Library of Slavonic Studies (Humboldt University of Berlin)

1. Introduction

Traces of usage and reading found in the books that once used to belong to scholars and scientists provide us with precious information on the state of knowledge and inspiration, as well as intellectual bonds of their owners, while also testifying to the very process of absorbing their texts by the owners. In the same way they demonstrate which fragments aroused the reader's interest or prompted a critical reaction. They, therefore, reflect a certain strategy of working with the text, introducing an order into the reading process, while also aiding to find in the read texts fragments important for the preparation of the reader's research. What we regard as traces of reading can be either modest graphic marks, such as an underlining of single words or phrases or their copying in the margin, simple punctuation marks, e.g., exclamation or question marks, as well as shorter or longer vertical lines along a certain paragraph, but also detailed verbalized commentaries or longer factual remarks going beyond the text fragment.[1]

What researchers into the history of reading find exceptionally interesting are the cases in which the author of the reading traces in a book or a whole book collection is known. Since for re-

1 With respect to these general remarks see : U. Rautenberg, 'Marginalienforschung', in ed. eadem *Reclam Sachlexikon des Buches. Von der Handschrift zum E-Book,* Stuttgart 2015, p. 1335 and: U. Rautenberg/U. Schneider, `Historisch-hermeneutische Ansätze der Lese- und Leserforschung', in ed. eaedem, *Lesen. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch,* Berlin/Boston 2015, pp. 85–144, here: pp. 103–105.

searchers books and their own book collections constitute one of the basic working tools[2], their book collections, not necessarily as a whole, but also in single book copies reflect their academic activity and the manner in which they tackle definite topics and ideas. Not only do the traces of usage and reading testify to what texts were read, but they also allow to follow the manner in which specific motifs or ideas were received.

2. On Traces of Reading and Research into Them

The present paper is intended as an introduction to the research into reading traces in Aleksander Brückner's book collection, today at the Library of the Slavonic Languages and Literature Department at Berlin's Humboldt University, still awaiting a comprehensive study also in this respect.[3] On selected and representative examples I will show what kind of reading traces can be found in the books once belonging to Brückner, how they can be characterized and identified, in order to be distinguished from the traces left by other readers which can be found today in his books. Furthermore, I attempt to formulate introductory conclusions with respect to the way Brückner read a given text, and whether he was doing it in relation to his work on a publication, e.g., a review. As much as the last aspect, namely to what degree various reading marks can help us understand the process of how different texts were created is obviously important, the study of a given book collection like that of Brückner should not be limited only to it, as justly pointed to by

2 For this aspect: J. Doborosky, *Der Philologiebegriff August Boeckhs im Spiegel seiner privaten Büchersammlung*, Berlin 2020, pp. 14–19.

3 The research into Brückner's book collection is only at its preliminary stage since it has not been long since we found out about its existence (on this in more detail: M. Eberharter, 'Aleksander Brückner's private library (viewed as a part of his personal archive)', in *Polish Libraries* 13/2025, pp. 5–32). In order to understand the potential range of research into traces of reading and usage in Brückner's books let us consider the numbers resulting from the study of the private book collection of Thomas Mann, which is ca fourfold larger than Brückner's, and in which in about 4,300 books over 143,000 usage traces have been identified, these including ca 137,000 traces of reading (i.e., markings, underlinings, corrections, marginalia, etc.). M. Bamert, *Stifte am Werk. Phänomenologie, Epistemologie und Poetologie von Lesespuren am Beispiel der Nachlassbibliothek von Thomas Mann,* Göttingen 2021, pp. 20–21.

Magnus Wieland.[4] The latter observes that academics' studies are based on far more books than just those found in their private book collections, while the traces of reading are never limited merely to the spots one plans to later use directly in his or her research. The existing reading traces, however, as much as the books that lack them, testify to various contexts and multifaceted intellectual or cultural relations, says Wieland, which encompass the texts read by a given academic, for this reason the cognitive value of the existing traces does not get exhausted only with respect to the genetic issues related to the researcher's texts.[5] As observed by Javier Marías, we leave markings in texts not only in view of their usefulness, therefore, studying a private book collection, adds Claudine Moulin, can provide general information on how the collection's owner understood him/herself both as a reader and author. [6] As a result, the purpose of the present paper is to identify and preliminarily classify Brückner's reading traces, and, to a lesser degree, interpret them in view of his research. The investigation of this issue will be possible in the future with the use for the analysis of a much larger number of books from Brückner's collection than it was possible in the present paper.

Moreover, the above remarks lead to the conclusion that the investigation of reading traces of a person should not be limited thematically; contrariwise, it can be related to varied aspects. Manuel Bamert even emphasizes that despite the growing number of publications no academic consensus has essentially been reached on what cognitive potential is contained in the analysis of reading traces, thus there exists neither a homogenous terminology, nor a cohesive classification in this respect which would be generally acclaimed by

4 With respect to these remarks: M. Wieland, 'Materialität des Lesen. Zur Topographie von Annotationsspuren in Autorenbibliotheken', in ed. M. Knoche, *Autorenbibliotheken, Erschließung, Rekonstruktion, Wissensordnung*, Wiesbaden 2015, pp. 147–173, here: pp. 153–158.

5 Ibidem, p. 173.

6 C. Moulin, 'Am Rande der Blätter. Gebrauchsspuren, Glossen und Annotationen in Handschriften und Büchern aus kulturhistorischer Perspektive', in *Quarto* 30–31/2010, pp. 19–26, here: p. 23 (Moulin refers here to Marías's paper *Lesen mit dem Stift* [2008]).

academic circles.[7] On the other hand, this allows a certain flexibility and an individual description of reading traces found in a book collection of a given individual, since every reader displays different habits and a different manner of leaving markings in his/her books. This applies to both the number of annotations or marginalia and their quality (from concise remarks to elaborate comments). With respect to Brückner's book collection a more precise characterization and classification of his reading traces should be worked out, which, as already stated above, would require on the one hand a study of a much larger number of his books, but would also go beyond the framework of this article. In view of the above, I have resorted to the terminology proposals worked out by Bamert or Wieland, which are briefly presented in Section 4. They allow to provide an overall description of what Brückner's traces of reading are.

Furthermore, it has to be added that in the present article I focus exclusively-on those reading traces which point to any form of an intellectual work with the text, and result directly from the process of its assimilation.[8] Such traces are found, first of all, on the pages containing the book's main text, and are most commonly made in pencil: a graphite or coloured one (less frequently in ball pen, ink, or – in more recent days: in a felt-tip pen or a marker).[9] This means that, although equally important, not all the other usage traces have been considered by me,[10] particularly dedications or other remarks by Brückner which are not related to his reading. However, let me also point to another characteristic mark of usage we come across in several of Brückner's books: interestingly, Brückner had a habit of writing down the book's author's address on the book cover, next

7 Bamert, *Stifte am Werk…*, pp. 9, 15, and 27–28.

8 Ibidem, p. 66.

9 For this reason Bamert speaks of the traces of reading created with various writing tools ('Stiftspuren') – Ibidem, pp. 70–73. As shown by the research of ca 10% of Brückner's book collection he most often used a simple pencil or a coloured crayon in blue or black when reading. This may constitute an important tool for the identification of his traces of reading.

10 For Bamert this concept encompasses all the traces created in a book following the completion of the process of its production – *Stifte am Werk…*, p. 24. See also: Ibidem, pp. 57–66 and: Wieland, *Materialität des Lesens…*, p. 159 ('non-receptive traces').

to his name, as was the case with Tadeusz Sinko [Figs. 1 and 2],[11] or on the half-title page, under a dedication to him, as was the case with the edition of Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski's *Trafunek*

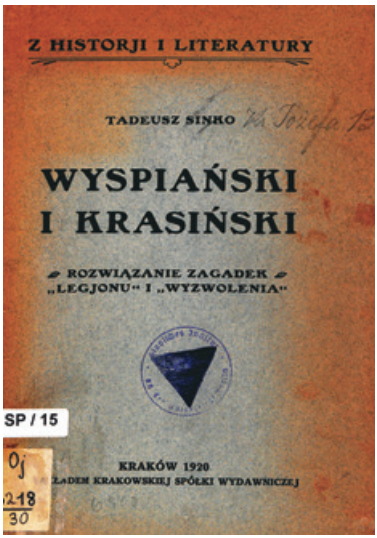


FIG. 1.

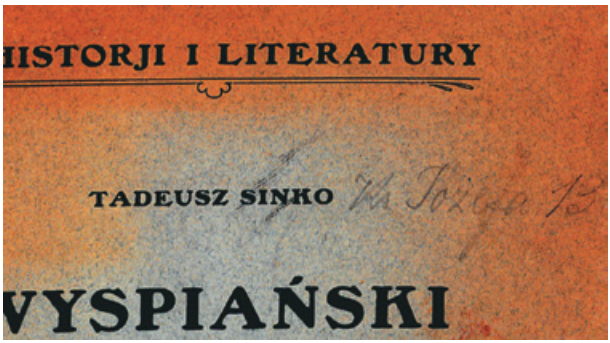


FIG. 2.

11 T. Sinko, *Wyspiański i Krasiński. Rozwiązanie zagadek „Legjonu" i „Wyzwolenia"*, Kraków 1920 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, sygn. Oj 8218/30). Sinko indeed lived in Cracow at 13 Księcia Józefa (Poniatowskiego) Street – R. Turasiewicz, *Tadeusz Sinko (1877–1966)*, in eds. J. Michalik/W. Walecki, *Złota księga Wydziału Filologicznego*, Kraków 2000, pp. 253–266, here: p. 256 (https://ruj.uj.edu.pl/entities/publication/df526c04-b877-4638-8765-f64c5eef680a; accessed: 30 December 2025).

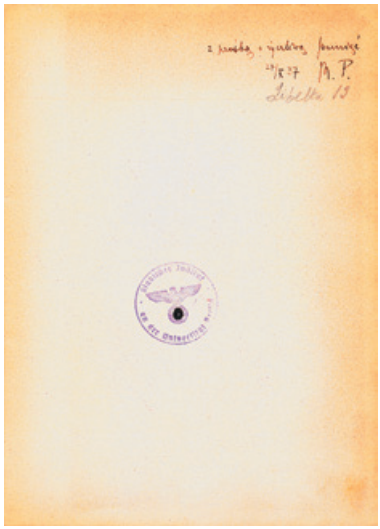


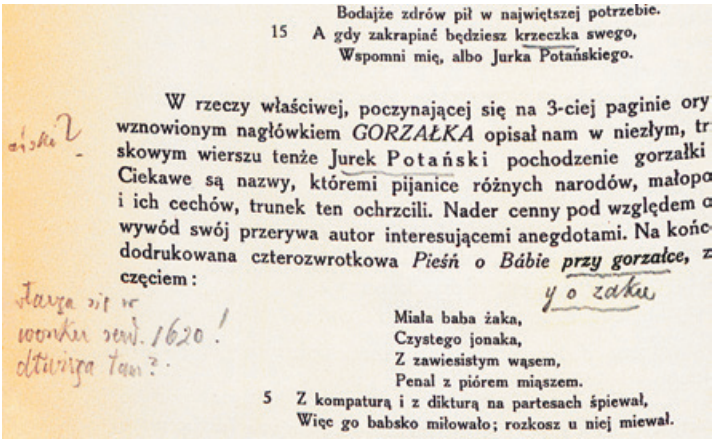
FIG. 3.

nieszczęśliwy edited by Roman Pollak [Fig. 3].[12] Neither do I discuss all the potential material traces, such as e.g., inserts added to a book, or contrariwise: torn out and missing pages, so-called dog-ears, the usage condition of a given book, the cover's damage, etc. As for the 'receptive-destructive' traces,[13] I have not identified as yet such Brückner's interventions, particularly with respect to the most destructive ones. One can, however, today find in his books certain procedures introduced by bookbinders who bound respective copies with the Berlin Library's needs in mind, and who cut off pieces of pages from all sides [Figs. 3a and 3b]. Owing to this the book has become smaller, not taking so much room on the shelf, yet due to this many of Brückner's marginalia are no longer legible in some parts.[14]

12 St. H. Lubomirski, *Trafunek nieszczęśliwy / P. L. M. K.*, ed. R. Pollak, Poznań 1936 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. Oi 7999). Pollak's Poznan address was: Libelta 13 m. 8 – 'Skład Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności', *Rocznik Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności* 1946/1947 (=1948), p. XXV.

13 Wieland, *Materialität des Lesens…*, p. 170.

14 As one example: K. Badecki, *Literatura mieszczańska w Polsce XVII wieku. Monografja Bibljograficzna*, Lwów/Warszawa/Kraków 1925, p. 426 (ZwB Fremdsprachl.

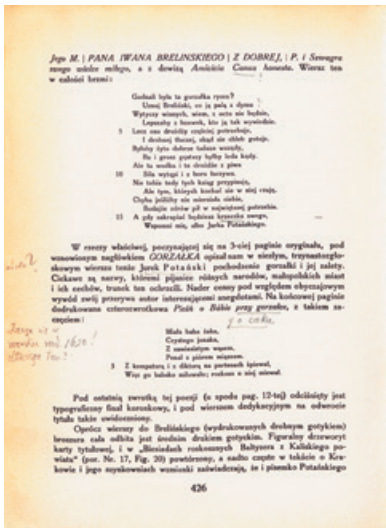


Bodajże zdrów pił w największej potrzebie.
A gdy zakrapiać będziesz krzeczka swego,
Wspomni mię, albo Jurka Potańskiego.

W rzeczy właściwej, poczynającej się na 3-ciej paginie ory
wznowionym nagłówkiem *GORZAŁKA* opisał nam w niezłym, tr
skowym wierszu tenże Jurek Potański pochodzenie gorzałki
Ciekawe są nazwy, któremi pijanice różnych narodów, małopo
i ich cechów, trunek ten ochrzcili. Nader cenny pod względem o
wywód swój przerywa autor interesującemi anegdotami. Na końc
dodrukowana czterozwrotkowa *Pieśń o Bábie przy gorzałce*, z
częciem:

Miała baba żaka,
Czystego jonaka,
Z zawiesistym wąsem,
Penal z piórem miąszem.
Z kompaturą i z dikturą na partesach śpiewał,
Więc go babsko miłowało; rozkosz u niej miewał.

FIG. 3a.



Jego M. | PANA IWANA BRELINSKIEGO | Z DOBREJ, | P. i Senatora
swego zdolnie miłego, z z dewizą *Amicitia Causa Amantis*. Wiersz ten
w całości brzmi:

Godzaż była to gorzałka rzecz?
Umej Brelińki, co ją pożą z dymu
Wytrzeźwi wiernych, wiem, z nich nie będzie,
Lepszeby z bierzmk, kto ją tak wymiśliło.
Lecz nas drożdży czyścioj potrzebuje,
I drożnej tkaczi, skąd nie zlitob grzeje.
Byłoby życia dobrze takiem wszystkj,
Bo i groszy gyżwy byłby bola kosty.
Ale ta wszelka i ta drożdże z pieca
Siła wytęgi i z boru korzyna.
Nie tobie tedy tych ksiąg przyjrzeć,
Ale tym, których kochać się w niej rzeja.
Chyba pilibky się zaiorzeda siebie,
Bodajże zdrów pił w najwiętszej potrzebie.
A gdy zakrapiać będziesz krzeczka swego,
Wspomni mię, albo Jurka Potańskiego.

W rzeczy właściwej, poczynającej się na 3-ciej paginie oryginału, pod
wznowionym nagłówkiem *GORZAŁKA* opisał nam w niezłym, trzynastozgło-
skowym wierszu tenże Jurek Potański pochodzenie gorzałki i jej nazwy.
Ciekawe są nazwy, któremi pijanice różnych narodów, małopolskich miast
i ich cechów, trunek ten ochrzcili. Nader cenny pod względem obyczajowym
wywód swój przerywa autor interesującemi anegdotami. Na końcowej paginie
dodrukowana czterozwrotkowa *Pieśń o Bábie przy gorzałce*, z takiem za-
częciem:

Miała baba żaka,
Czystego jonaka,
Z zawiesistym wąsem,
Penal z piórem miąszem.
Z kompaturą i z dikturą na partesach śpiewał,
Więc go babsko miłowało; rozkosz u niej miewał.

Pod ostatnią zwrotką tej poezji (u spodu pag. 12-tej) odcisnięty jest
typograficzny finał koronkowy, i pod wierszem dedykacyjnym na odwrocie
tytułu także owalnoramny.
Ogólcz wiersz do Brelińskiego (wydrukowanych dwobarwn gotykiem)
brosura cała odbita jest średnim drukiem gotyckim. Figuralny drzeworyt
karty tytułowej, i w „Rozsiadach rozkosznych Bałtazera z Kalikiego po-
wiatu" (por. Nr. 17, Fig. 20) powtórzony, a zadto częste w tekście o Kra-
kowie i jego osynkowniach wzmianki zaświadczają, że i piosenko Potańskiego

426

FIG. 3b.

Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. KO 2700 B133). An interesting case can also be seen in the proofread of the paper by Stanisław Estreicher *Opinje prawnicze profesorów Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w XV stuleciu* (1935; ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. Oo 150), containing only pp. 408–416, although the text should have finished on p. 437. It is not clear what happened to the 21 missing pages of Estreicher's article.

3. Identification of Reading Traces in Brückner's Books

When launching the examination of the traces of reading in Brückner's books, it must be borne in mind that we are dealing here with a book collection that no longer presents the shape left by its genuine owner; neither are we the first users of the books after him. As of 1925, Brückner's books[15] were gradually transferred to the Library of Slavonic Studies at the Berlin University, first by Brückner himself, and later by his family. Their greatest number reached the Library following his death on 24 May 1939: in total, 1,200 books and periodicals. Since the fact was recorded in adequate accession books, their Brückner's provenance remains unquestionable, all the more so since many books also contain a dedication to him. The situation is different with respect to roughly 250 to 300 books accepted by the Library after July 1940, and entered into a subsequent accession register, the latter, regrettably, unpreserved. Bearing in mind the lost books or those transferred to other libraries as duplicate copies, it can be assumed that there are currently about 1,000 books which have been potentially preserved as Aleksander Brückner's legacy. To-date, 587 of them have unquestionably been identified as once belonging to him.[16] Since Brückner's books have been incorporated into the general book collection of the Library of Slavonic Studies for several decades all Library readers have had access to them, it thus must be assumed that not all the reading traces visible in the books that unquestionably once belonged to Brückner were actually left by him. Therefore, for the research into Brückner's reading process it is of key importance to select the traces left in the books by other readers since 1945.[17] Furthermore, the identification of the reading traces

15 All the figures related to Brückner's book collection and its history after: Eberharter, *Aleksander Brückner's…*, pp. 13–17.

16 They can be found in the online catalogues of the Humboldt University Library: https://hu-berlin.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo-explore/search?query=lsr49,contains,Br%C3%BCckner,AND&tab=default_tab&search_scope=default_scope&vid=hub_ub&mode=advanced&offset=0 (accessed: 28 February 2026).

17 The Institute of Slavonic Studies together with its library were opened already in 1945 – H. H. Bielfeldt, *Die Geschichte des Lehrstuhls für Slavistik an der Berliner Univer-*

left by Brückner would provide solid grounds for the identification of subsequent copies from his book legacy entered into the register today lost, and by that token contribute to identifying the final volume of Brückner's book collection.

In general terms, there are several premises which help to identify reading traces left by Brückner (or eliminate them); however, an unequivocal identification is not possible in all the cases. This applies, for example, to simple signs, such as short lines, underlining, punctuation, etc., which, even if assumed to be typical of Brückner, may have easily come in a similar shape from another reader. What can prove to be of key importance in this respect is Brückner's handwriting known, e.g., from the addresses written down in books, like in those by Pollak and Sinko. Respective traces can also be attributed to Brückner in those cases when the spots marked in the book's text can be associated with a paper written by Brückner, e.g., a review. What can be considered of major importance for the identification of Brückner's reading traces is also their repetitiveness: this means that if in several of his books we come across the same or highly similar traces they can be attributed to him with a high degree of certainty. This applies to both the qualities and shape of those traces (sign type, line's thickness), as well as the writing tools used for them (pencil, coloured-pencil, etc.). Another important criterion is the language: although Brückner used to work in several languages, it seems that he would add remarks and comments exclusively in Polish.[18]

Finally, what needs to be taken into account is also a factual character of respective traces: both in the positive meaning of the term: pointing to Brückner as the author, and negative: excluding him as one. This applies to marginalia, comments, and other observations added to the text in handwriting, but also to the fact what fragments of the read text were marked and in what man-

sität, in eds. H. H. Bielfeldt/K. Horálek, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Slawistik*, Berlin 1964, pp. 267–280, here: p. 276.

18 This is a working hypothesis based on the analysis of ca 10% of Brückner's books. It needs to be verified after the whole of his book collection has been studied.

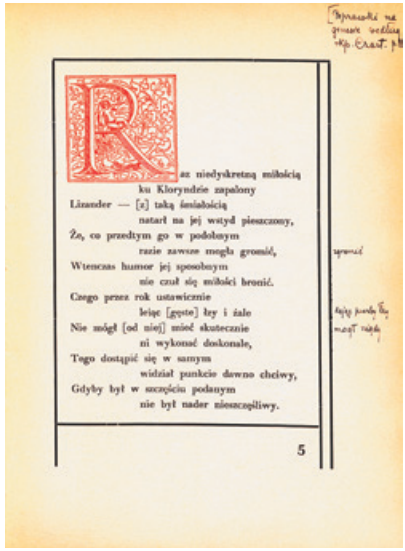
ner. Since in Brückner's books numerous and varied reading traces can be found, I would like to use several examples to show in what way the traces left by him differ from those left by other readers. Brückner being the author of reading traces can be easily eliminated in the cases in which it is known for sure that they were left by someone else. This is for example, the case in the aforementioned bibliophile edition (as merely 60 copies were printed) of Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski's poem *Trafunek nieszczęśliwy* from 1936, which was prepared by Roman Pollak based on the manuscript from the Kórnik Library: in the copy presented to Brückner and featuring a dedication we can see that Pollak wrote in the margins the variations of the text from the manuscript at the Czartoryski Library, possibly with only Brückner in mind.[19] The handwriting distinctly differs from that in which Pollak's address was written down [Fig. 4].[20]

As for the elimination of the traces definitely not left by Brückner the ones that can be excluded are those which compared to others are clearly exceptional, both graphically and with regard to their content. Such a case can be found, for instance, in the book *Andrzej Frycz z Modrzewa* by Stanisław Kot from 1910 featuring coloured underlinings of longer fragments of sentences as well as numbering of book fragments on the side [Fig. 5].[21] These underlinings do not fall in line with Brückner, since they mark only the fragments which could not provide any new knowledge to him being such an

19 Lubomirski, *Trafunek nieszczęśliwy...*, p. 5 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. Oi 7999). For example, the archival copy of the National Library (Call No. 423.672 A Cim.) does not feature such annotations (https://polona.pl/preview/1b3f19d5-94d6-4c4c-8b10-0cd2521773ea; accessed: 30 December 2025).

20 Ibidem, half-title page where Pollak's address was added by Brückner under the dedication from Pollak.

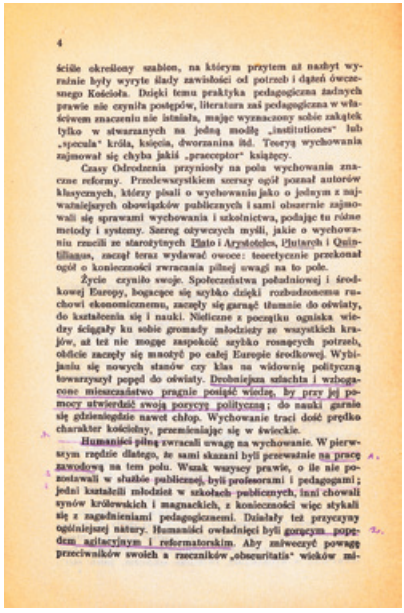
21 P. Kot, *Andrzej Frycz z Modrzewa. O wychowaniu i szkole (Na tle ówczesnej literatury)*, Lwów 1910, pp. 3–4 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. Oi 290/4). Apart from this it would be necessary to check what tool was used for these underlinings, and whether it was a kind of a crayon or a felt-tip pen which already existed before 1939.



Ze niedyskretną miłością
ku Kloryndzie zapalony
Lizander — [z] taką śmiałością
natarł na jej wstyd piesczony,
Że, co przedtym go w podobnym
razie zawsze mogła gromić,
Wtenczas humor jej sposobnym
nie czuł się miłości bronić.
Czego przez rok ustawicznie
leiąc [gęste] łzy i żale
Nie mógł [od niej] mieć skutecznie
ni wykonać doskonale,
Tego dostąpić się w samym
widział punkcie dawno chciwy,
Gdyby był w szczęściu podanym
nie był nader nieszczęśliwy.

5

FIG. 4.



4

ściśle określony szablon, na którym przytem aż nazbyt wyraźnie były wyryte ślady zawisłości od potrzeb i dążeń ówczesnego Kościoła. Dzięki temu praktyka pedagogiczna żadnych prawie nie czyniła postępów, literatura zaś pedagogiczna w właściwem znaczeniu nie istniała, mając wyznaczony sobie zakątek tylko w stwarzanych na jedną modłę „institutiones“ lub „speculа“ króla, księcia, dworzanina itd. Teoryą wychowania zajmował się chyba jakiś „praeceptor“ książęcy.

Czasy Odrodzenia przyniosły na polu wychowania znaczne reformy. Przedewszystkiem szerszy ogół poznał autorów klasycznych, którzy pisali o wychowaniu jako o jednym z najważniejszych obowiązków publicznych i sami obszernie zajmowali się sprawami wychowania i szkolnictwa, podając tu różne metody i systemy. Szereg ożywczych myśli, jakie o wychowaniu rzucili ze starożytnych Plato i Arystoteles, Plutarch i Quintilianus, zaczął teraz wydawać owoce: teoretycznie przekonał ogół o konieczności zwracania pilnej uwagi na to pole.

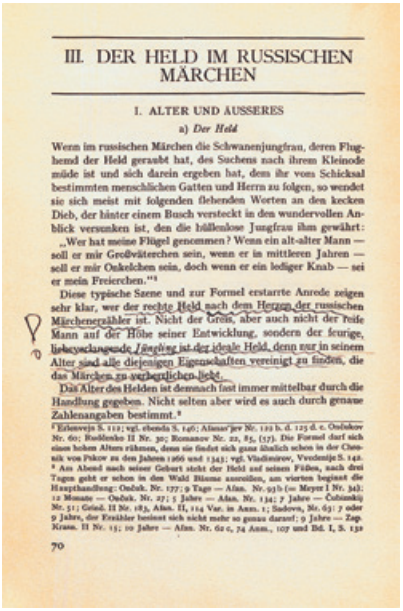
Życie czyniło swoje. Społeczeństwa południowej i środkowej Europy, bogacące się szybko dzięki rozbudzonemu ruchowi ekonomicznemu, zaczęły się garnąć tłumnie do oświaty, do kształcenia się i nauki. Nieliczne z początku ogniska wiedzy ściągały ku sobie gromady młodzieży ze wszystkich krajów, aż też nie mogąc zaspokoić szybko rosnących potrzeb, oddzielać zaczęły się mnożyć po całej Europie środkowej. Wybijaniu się nowych stanów czy klas na widownię polityczną towarzyszył popęd do oświaty. Drobniejsza szlachta i wzbogacone mieszczaństwo pragnie posiąść wiedzę, by przy jej pomocy utwierdzić swoją pozycyę polityczną; do nauki garnie się gdzieniegdzie nawet chłop. Wychowanie traci dość prędko charakter kościelny, przemieniając się w świeckie.

Humaniści pilną zwracali uwagę na wychowanie. W pierwszym rzędzie dlatego, że sami skazani byli przeważnie na pracę zawodową na tem polu. Wszak wszyscy prawie, o ile nie pozostawali w służbie publicznej, byli profesorami i pedagogami; jedni kształcili młodzież w szkołach publicznych, inni chowali synów królewskich i magnackich, z konieczności więc stykali się z zagadnieniami pedagogicznemi. Działały też przyczyny ogólniejszej natury. Humaniści owładnięci byli gorącym popędem agitacyjnym i reformatorskim. Aby zniweczyć powagę przeciwników swoich a rzeczników „obscuritatis“ wieków mi-

FIG. 5.

experienced scholar:[22] what is more, they are limited to the two first pages of the text, this likely meaning that the reader interrupted the reading, possibly as the text was too challenging or incomprehensible. This would have been highly inappropriate for a professional reader that Brückner was.

Furthermore, the traces in the book about a protagonist in German and Russian fairy tales by August von Löwis of Menar seem very untypical, as too clear and invasive for Brückner's interferences, therefore, it can be definitely denied that thick, long, and undulating underlinings of whole sentences or even paragraphs as well as large exclamation marks were entered by him [Figs. 6 and 7].[23] Despite the fact that he kept the book in his house for many



III. DER HELD IM RUSSISCHEN MÄRCHEN

1. ALTER UND ÄUSSERES

a) *Der Held*

Wenn im russischen Märchen die Schwanenjungfrau, deren Flughemd der Held geraubt hat, des Suchens nach ihrem Kleinode müde ist und sich darein ergeben hat, dem ihr vom Schicksal bestimmten menschlichen Gatten und Herrn zu folgen, so wendet sie sich meist mit folgenden flehenden Worten an den kecken Dieb, der hinter einem Busch versteckt in den wundervollen Anblick versunken ist, den die hüllenlose Jungfrau ihm gewährt: „Wer hat meine Flügel genommen? Wenn ein alt-alter Mann — soll er mir Großväterchen sein, wenn er in mittleren Jahren — soll er mir Onkelchen sein, doch wenn er ein lediger Knab — sei er mein Freierchen."[1]

Diese typische Szene und zur Formel erstarrte Anrede zeigen sehr klar, wer der rechte Held nach dem Herzen der russischen Märchenerzähler ist. Nicht der Greis, aber auch nicht der reife Mann auf der Höhe seiner Entwicklung, sondern der feurige, liebeverlangende *Jüngling* ist der ideale Held, denn nur in seinem Alter sind alle diejenigen Eigenschaften vereinigt zu finden, die das Märchen so sehr liebt.

Das Alter des Helden ist demnach fast immer mittelbar durch die Handlung gegeben. Nicht selten aber wird es auch durch genaue Zahlenangaben bestimmt.[2]

[1] Ėfimenja S. 112; vgl. ebenda S. 146; Afanas'jev Nr. 122 h. d. 125 d. e. Onĕukov Nr. 60; Rudčenko II Nr. 30; Romanov Nr. 22, 85, (37). Die Formel darf sich einen hohen Alters rühmen, denn sie findet sich ganz ähnlich schon in der Chronik von Pskov zu den Jahren 1266 und 1343; vgl. Vladimirov, Vvedenije S. 142.

[2] Am Abend nach seiner Geburt steht der Held auf seinen Füßen, nach drei Tagen geht er schon in den Wald Bäume ausreißen, am vierten beginnt die Haupthandlung: Onĕuk. Nr. 177; 9 Tage — Afan. Nr. 93 b (= Meyer I Nr. 34); 12 Monate — Onĕuk. Nr. 27; 5 Jahre — Afan. Nr. 134; 7 Jahre — Čubinskij Nr. 51; Gnêd. II Nr. 183, Afan. II, 114 Var. in Anm. 1; Sadoven, Nr. 63; 7 oder 9 Jahre, der Erzähler beginnt sich nicht mehr so genau darauf; 9 Jahre — Zap. Kraas. II Nr. 15; 10 Jahre — Afan. Nr. 62 c, 74 Anm., 107 und Bd. I, S. 132

70

FIG. 6.

22 This also applies to the names of Greek and Roman philosophers and writers additionally underlined in pencil - Ibidem, p. 4.

23 A. Löwis of Menar, *Der Held im deutschen und russischen Märchen,* Jena 1912, pp. 108–109 and 118–122 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. Kg 652/50).



einmal als der wirklich Dumme auftreten, andererseits aber auch nur der Unentwickelte, Unerfahrene und Herzenseinfältige sein und in der Haupthandlung die Maske des Tölpels tragen, die er — im Interesse der Spannung — nicht eher von sich werfen darf, bis er den Beweis für seine mindestens normalen[3] Verstandeskräfte durch die Vollbringung heroischer Taten geliefert hat.

Die unverblümt ausgesprochene geistige Minderwertigkeit des Helden ist kein häufiges Motiv[1] und dürfte wohl auch auf russischem Boden erst aus dem Schwank[2] in das Märchen gedrungen sein. Körperliche Trägheit wird, wie schon erwähnt,[4] mit geistiger gern verbunden, doch spielt beides nur in den Eingängen jener Fassungen eine Rolle.

Häufiger tritt der Fall ein, daß der Held im Kreise seiner Familie wohl für dumm gilt, in Wirklichkeit aber doch bloß unerfahren und weltunklug ist und trotzdem, dank seiner Herzenseigenschaften und Männertugenden zu den höchsten Ehren aufsteigt. Beliebt ist der Zug, den „Grindkopf“[5] das Kostüm des Türkischen tragen zu lassen.[6] Der Held *scheint* von niederer Herkunft und nicht recht klug zu sein, bis die Abwehr der größten Gefahr ihn auf den Plan ruft und allen seinen Gegnern, den Verächtern und Neidern Gelegenheit gibt, sein wahres Heldentum zu erkennen. Es ist ein liebenswürdiger und lebenswahrer Zug der Märchen, diese Entdeckung immer durch die liebende Frau, die Gattin oder künftige Braut, geschehen zu lassen: nur sie allein ahnt unter der ärmlichen Hülle das heroische Herz.

Gewöhnlich ist jedoch die Bezeichnung Dummkopf[6] nichts weiter als ein formelhaftes Appellativum ohne jede Bedeutung für die Auffassung vom Helden und für die Handlung. Es ist zu einem unterscheidenden Beinamen erstarrt, der den Helden neben seinen ‘verständigen’ Brüdern zur Geltung bringen soll, eine selbständige und sinngemäße, wenn auch bereits schon verblaßte

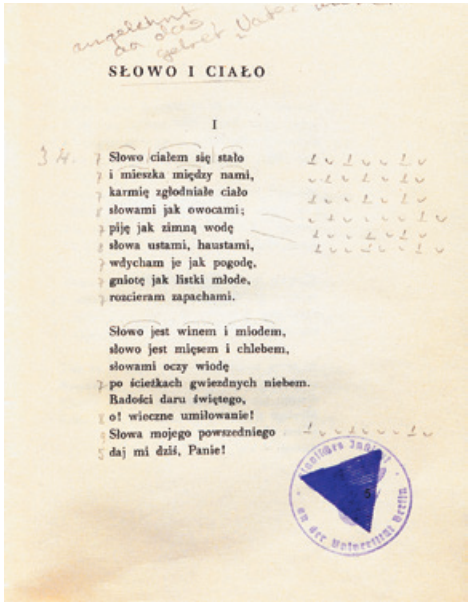
[1] Besonderen Gewicht wird in einem Märchen auf die *Klugheit* des Helden ja nicht gelegt, der Nachdruck liegt nur auf den heroischen Eigenschaften. [2] Vgl. oben S. 102 Anm. 10; ferner Afan. Nr. 104d; Ivan Carević ist nicht recht klug, Roman. Nr. 43: „mahe'ho z durinoju hyv“. [3] Vgl. Afan. Nr. 224E. [4] Vgl. oben S. 101. [5] Vgl. Afan. Nr. 106, 163 u. Var.; Zap. Kram. II, Nr. 4; Živ. Star. VIII, 109. Vgl. die Märchen mit den Schwänen als Widerspielern, oben S. 94 Anm. 4. [6] *Grobrum.* durak, duračok, weißrus. ebenso, kleinrus. dures', durnij.

FIG. 7.

years, since he received it in 1912 with a dedication from his student von Löwis, and it was transferred to the Library of Slavonic Studies only following Brückner's death, these marks cannot have come from him.

Another aspect which allows to identify Brückner's reading traces is the language used in notes and comments left by him in the margins.[24] As much as Brückner worked and published both in Polish and German, it seems highly unlikely that he would have commented Polish books in German. And although, theoretically, it would be possible for him to phrase his thoughts on German-written books in German, the below examples seem to demonstrate that this was not typical of him. Therefore, it is highly justifiable to assume that all the traces in the form of comments in German are not left by Brückner.

24 As a hypothesis it can be assumed that he, however, did it rarely, and if at all, in a very concise form.



SŁOWO I CIAŁO

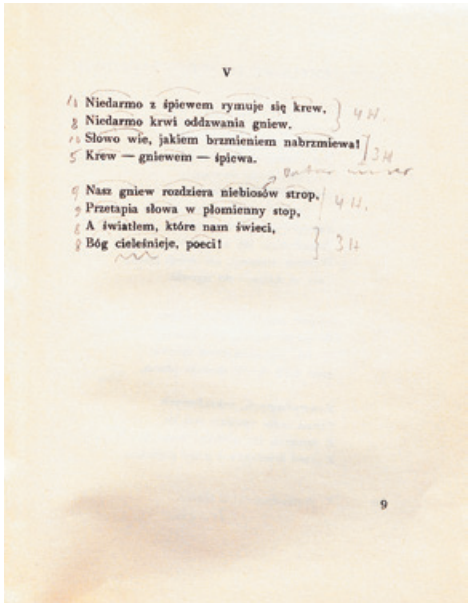
I

Słowo ciałem się stało
i mieszka między nami,
karmię zgłodniałe ciało
słowami jak owocami;
piję jak zimną wodę
słowa ustami, haustami,
wdycham je jak pogodę,
gniotę jak listki młode,
rozcieram zapachami.

Słowo jest winem i miodem,
słowo jest mięsem i chlebem,
słowami oczy wiodę
po ścieżkach gwiezdnych niebem.
Radości daru świętego,
o! wieczne umiłowanie!
Słowa mojego powszedniego
daj mi dziś, Panie!

Bibliothek des Slavischen Seminars der Universität Berlin

FIG. 8.



V

Niedarmo z śpiewem rymuje się krew,
Niedarmo krwi oddzwania gniew.
Słowo wie, jakiem brzmieniem nabrzmiewa!
Krew — gniewem — śpiewa.

Nasz gniew rozdziera niebiosów strop,
Przetapia słowa w płomienny stop,
A światłem, które nam świeci,
Bóg cieleśnieje, poeci!

9

FIG. 9.

What might be considered an interesting example in this respect is the volume of poems by Julian Tuwim *Słowa we krwi* from 1926 [Figs. 8 and 9]. Next to certain poems some remarks in German can be found: they refer to the poem's metrics or contain explanations related to their titles or respective words, thus it is not possible to assume that Brückner was their author. For example, next to the poem 'Słowo i ciało', not only do we find the metrics' scheme drawn up, but also several comments, with the first one next to the very title saying that this poem was based on the Lord's Prayer (*angelehnt an das Gebet, Vater unser*), the second claiming that 'poison is sweet' (*Gift ist süß*) in the second part, and also the remarks in the last part referring to the number of stresses in respective lines ('4 H., 3 H'. etc., this possibly meaning *4 Hebungen*, namely '4 stresses').[25]

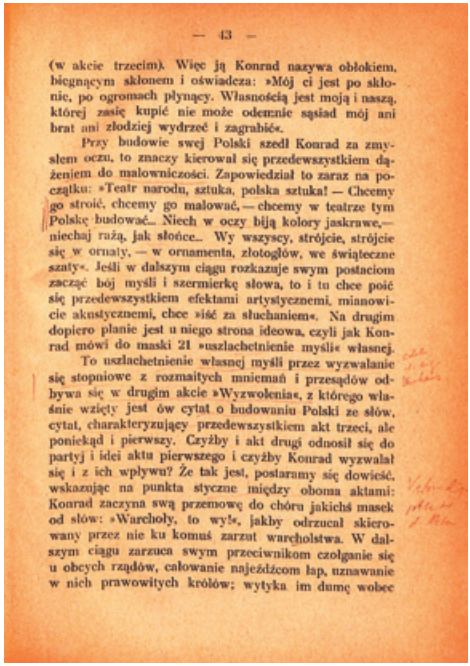
Similarly, from the factual point of view, Brückner can be excluded from the group of potential authors of quite numerous German comments in the above-mentioned book by Tadeusz Sinko on Wyspiański and Krasiński from 1920, since it would be hard to imagine that it was actually Brückner who found it necessary to translate respective sentences or phrases to German in the marginalia [Fig. 10]. Other Brückner's untypical features are longer underlinings of whole sentences or their fragments and numbers given to the marked text fragments,[26] which can be seen also in Kot's book on Frycz Modrzewski. Although Brückner did discuss Sinko's book,[27] he did it in a very brief and vague review, which did not apply to the text's specific places where potentially reading traces coming from him could have appeared.[28]

25 J. Tuwim, *Słowa we krwi*, Warszawa 1926, pp. 5–9.

26 Sinko, *Wyspiański i Krasińki…*, pp. 32–43.

27 A. Brückner, 'Tadeusz Sinko. Wyspiański i Krasiński', *Książka. Miesięcznik poświęcony krytyce i bibljografji* 5/1922, p. 219.

28 As much as Sinko's address added on the cover (See Section 2) can be with much certainty attributed to Brückner, then it is clearly seen that the commentaries in Sinko's book are in a different handwriting, namely not written by Brückner. It may have been a reader who used the book in the first half of year 1984, which can be seen – this being another trace of usage, but not by Brückner – on the



— 43 —

(w akcie trzecim). Więc ją Konrad nazywa obłokiem, biegnącym skłonem i oświadcza: »Mój ci jest po skłonie, po ogromach płynący. Własnością jest moją i naszą, której zasię kupić nie może odemnie sąsiad mój ani brat ani złodziej wydrzeć i zagrabić«.

Przy budowie swej Polski szedł Konrad za zmysłem oczu, to znaczy kierował się przedewszystkiem dążeniem do malowniczości. Zapowiedział to zaraz na początku: »Teatr narodu, sztuka, polska sztuka! — Chcemy go stroić, chcemy go malować, — chcemy w teatrze tym Polskę budować... Niech w oczy biją kolory jaskrawe,— niechaj rażą, jak słońce... Wy wszyscy, strójcie, strójcie się w ornaty, — w ornamenta, złotogłów, we świąteczne szaty«. Jeśli w dalszym ciągu rozkazuje swym postaciom zacząć bój myśli i szermierkę słowa, to i tu chce pojć się przedewszystkiem efektami artystycznemi, mianowicie akustycznemi, chce »iść za słuchaniem«. Na drugim dopiero planie jest u niego strona ideowa, czyli jak Konrad mówi do maski 21 »uszlachetnienie myśli« własnej.

To uszlachetnienie własnej myśli przez wyzwalanie się stopniowe z rozmaitych mniemań i przesądów odbywa się w drugim akcie »Wyzwolenia«, z którego właśnie wzięty jest ów cytat o budowaniu Polski ze słów, cytat, charakteryzujący przedewszystkiem akt trzeci, ale poniekąd i pierwszy. Czyżby i akt drugi odnosił się do partyj i idei aktu pierwszego i czyżby Konrad wyzwalał się i z ich wpływu? Że tak jest, postaramy się dowieść, wskazując na punkta styczne między obonma aktami: Konrad zaczyna swą przemowę do chóru jakichś masek od słów: »Warchoły, to wy!«, jakby odrzucał skierowany przez nie ku komuś zarzut warcholstwa. W dalszym ciągu zarzuca swym przeciwnikom czołganie się u obcych rządów, całowanie najeźdźcom łap, uznawanie w nich prawowitych królów; wytyka im dumę wobec

FIG. 10.

Additionally, it can be assumed with a high degree of certainty that Brückner did not author other types of reading traces which appear in some of his books, consisting in enumerating important places in the given book ordered from the reader's viewpoint, and found on the empty half-title page, since they are formulated in German, although we are dealing here with Polish books; furthermore, their handwriting is different from that in which, for example, the addresses are written down in the books by Pollak and Sinko. Such enumerations can be found in the book by Zygmunt Wasilewski titled *Nowy Konrad* from 1903 [Fig. 11] in which scarce underlinings in the text cannot be attributed to Brückner

library card with the stamps of borrowing featuring the dates: 2.01.84, 12.2., 01. März 1984 and 02. Mai 1984 preserved in the book.

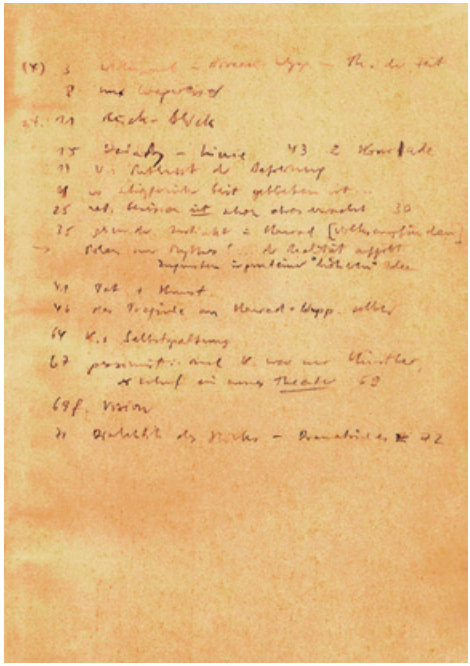


FIG. 11.

either,[29] and in the book by his close friend Wilhelm Feldman dealing with political ideas in partitioned Poland from the first years of WW II. Although the book was written in German, Brückner can actually be excluded here too as the author of the enumeration of interesting places on the internal side of the cover owing to the first comment referring to page 39 where it says that a book by Schiller saved Henryk Dąbrowski's life ('Schiller-Band rettet Dąbrowski das Leben').[30] Pages 38–39 indeed contain the fragment speaking about it; however, what surprises is a swastika used as

29 Z. Wasilewski, *Nowy Konrad (Rozbiór „Wyzwolenia" St. Wyspiańskiego)*, Lwów 1903, pp. 5, 10–11 and 14–15 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. KP 5056 W 319).

30 W. Feldman, *Geschichte der politischen Ideen in Polen seit dessen Teilungen (1795–1914)*, München/Berlin 1917 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. NP 5960 F312).

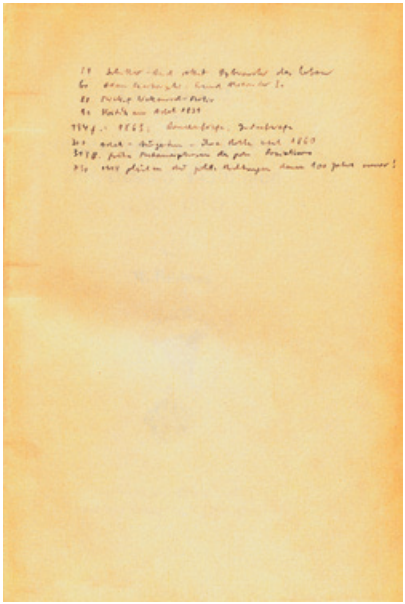
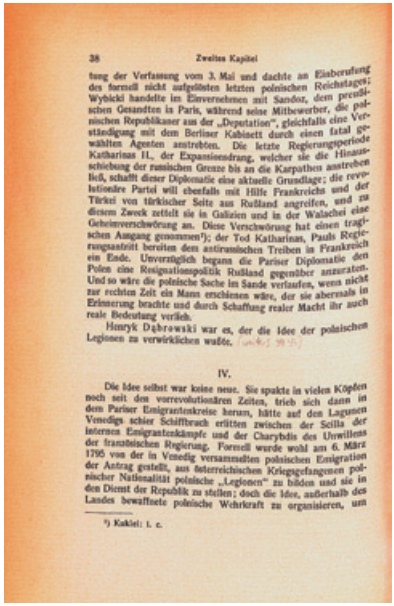


FIG. 12.



38 Zweites Kapitel

tung der Verfassung vom 3. Mai und dachte an Einberufung des formell nicht aufgelösten letzten polnischen Reichstages; Wybicki handelte im Einvernehmen mit Sandoz, dem preußischen Gesandten in Paris, während seine Mitbewerber, die polnischen Republikaner aus der „Deputation", gleichfalls eine Verständigung mit dem Berliner Kabinett durch einen fatal gewählten Agenten anstrebten. Die letzte Regierungsperiode Katharinas II., der Expansionsdrang, welcher sie die Hinausschiebung der rumänischen Grenze bis an die Karpathen anstreben ließ, schafft dieser Diplomatie eine aktuelle Grundlage; die revolutionäre Partei will ebenfalls mit Hilfe Frankreichs und der Türkei von türkischer Seite aus Rußland angreifen, und zu diesem Zweck zettelt sie in Galizien und in der Walachei eine Geheimverschwörung an. Diese Verschwörung hat einen tragischen Ausgang genommen[1]; der Tod Katharinas, Pauls Regierungsantritt bereiten dem antirussischen Treiben in Frankreich ein Ende. Unverzüglich begann die Pariser Diplomatie den Polen eine Resignationspolitik Rußland gegenüber anzuraten. Und so wäre die polnische Sache im Sande verlaufen, wenn nicht zur rechten Zeit ein Mann erschienen wäre, der sie abermals in Erinnerung brachte und durch Schaffung realer Macht ihr auch reale Bedeutung verlieh.

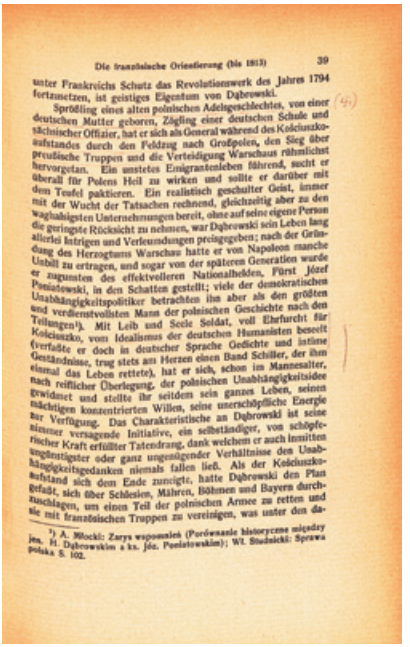
Henryk Dąbrowski war es, der die Idee der polnischen Legionen zu verwirklichen wußte.

IV.

Die Idee selbst war keine neue. Sie spukte in vielen Köpfen noch seit den vorrevolutionären Zeiten, trieb sich dann in dem Pariser Emigrantenkreise herum, hätte auf den Lagunen Venedigs schier Schiffbruch erlitten zwischen der Scilla der internen Emigrantenkämpfe und der Charybdis des Unwillens der französischen Regierung. Formell wurde wohl am 6. März 1795 von der in Venedig versammelten polnischen Emigration der Antrag gestellt, aus österreichischen Kriegsgefangenen polnischer Nationalität polnische „Legionen" zu bilden und sie in den Dienst der Republik zu stellen; doch die Idee, außerhalb des Landes bewaffnete polnische Wehrkraft zu organisieren, um

[1]) Kukiel: l. c.

FIG. 13.



Die französische Orientierung (bis 1813) 39

unter Frankreichs Schutz das Revolutionswerk des Jahres 1794 fortzusetzen, ist geistiges Eigentum von Dąbrowski.

Sprößling eines alten polnischen Adelsgeschlechtes, von einer deutschen Mutter geboren, Zögling einer deutschen Schule und sächsischer Offizier, hat er sich als General während des Kościuszko-aufstandes durch den Feldzug nach Großpolen, den Sieg über preußische Truppen und die Verteidigung Warschaus rühmlichst hervorgetan. Ein unstetes Emigrantenleben führend, sucht er überall für Polens Heil zu wirken und sollte er darüber mit dem Teufel paktieren. Ein realistisch geschulter Geist, immer mit der Wucht der Tatsachen rechnend, gleichzeitig aber zu den waghalsigsten Unternehmungen bereit, ohne auf seine eigene Person die geringste Rücksicht zu nehmen, war Dąbrowski sein Leben lang allerlei Intrigen und Verleumdungen preisgegeben; nach der Gründung des Herzogtums Warschau hatte er von Napoleon manche Unbill zu ertragen, und sogar von der späteren Generation wurde er zugunsten des effektvolleren Nationalhelden, Fürst Józef Poniatowski, in den Schatten gestellt; viele der demokratischen Unabhängigkeitspolitiker betrachten ihn aber als den größten und verdienstvollsten Mann der polnischen Geschichte nach den Teilungen[1]). Mit Leib und Seele Soldat, voll Ehrfurcht für Kościuszko, vom Idealismus der deutschen Humanisten beseelt (verfaßte er doch in deutscher Sprache Gedichte und intime Geständnisse, trug stets am Herzen einen Band Schiller, der ihm einmal das Leben rettete), hat er sich, schon im Mannesalter, nach reiflicher Überlegung, der polnischen Unabhängigkeitsidee gewidmet und stellte ihr seitdem sein ganzes Leben, seinen mächtigen konzentrierten Willen, seine unerschöpfliche Energie zur Verfügung. Das Charakteristische an Dąbrowski ist seine nimmer versagende Initiative, ein selbständiger, von schöpferischer Kraft erfüllter Tatendrang, dank welchem er auch inmitten ungünstigster oder ganz ungenügender Verhältnisse den Unabhängigkeitsgedanken niemals fallen ließ. Als der Kościuszko-aufstand sich dem Ende zuneigte, hatte Dąbrowski den Plan gefaßt, sich über Schlesien, Mähren, Böhmen und Bayern durchzuschlagen, um einen Teil der polnischen Armee zu retten und sie mit französischen Truppen zu vereinigen, was unter den da-

[1]) A. Rłocki: Zarys wspomnień (Porównanie historyczne między jen. H. Dąbrowskim a ks. Józ. Poniatowskim); Wł. Studnicki: Sprawa polska S. 102.

FIG. 14.

a reference sign between these two fragments [Figs. 12, 13, and 14]. It is hard to imagine that Brückner would have used such a sign. Furthermore, it is a challenging task to identify authors in the case of other reading traces in this book, since it abounds in long underlinings of whole sentences and paragraphs, featuring double exclamation marks in the margins or a long vertical line along extensive text fragments (sometimes together with the text underlining).[31] Although such traces most likely do not come from Brückner (though it could have been at least partially possible), Feldman's book also contains marks whose Brückner's authorship is almost certain, as he often marked his books with similar vertical lines in red pencil along the text and corrected typographical errors in the books he read.[32]

31 Ibidem, pp. 34–35, 48, 62, 72, 75–77, 80, 83, 101–106, and 116–121.

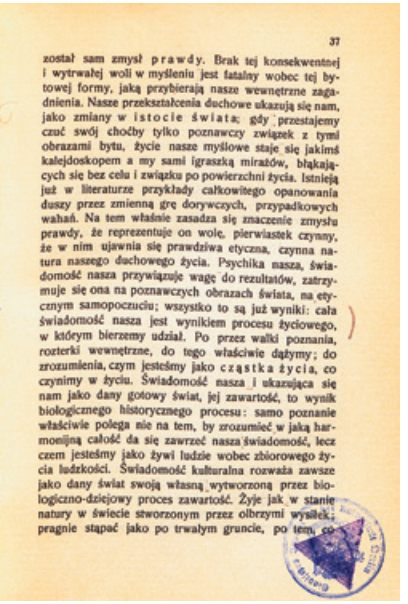
32 Ibidem, pp. 24, 36–37, 42, 84, 94, and 96–97.



FIG. 15.



FIG. 16.



37

został sam zmysł prawdy. Brak tej konsekwentnej i wytrwałej woli w myśleniu jest fatalny wobec tej bytowej formy, jaką przybierają nasze wewnętrzne zagadnienia. Nasze przekształcenia duchowe ukazują się nam, jako zmiany w istocie świata; gdy przestajemy czuć swój choćby tylko poznawczy związek z tymi obrazami bytu, życie nasze myślowe staje się jakimś kalejdoskopem a my sami igraszką mirażów, błąkających się bez celu i związku po powierzchni życia. Istnieją już w literaturze przykłady całkowitego opanowania duszy przez zmienną grę dorywczych, przypadkowych wahań. Na tem właśnie zasadza się znaczenie zmysłu prawdy, że reprezentuje on wolę, pierwiastek czynny, że w nim ujawnia się prawdziwa etyczna, czynna natura naszego duchowego życia. Psychika nasza, świadomość nasza przywiązuje wagę do rezultatów, zatrzymuje się ona na poznawczych obrazach świata, na etycznym samopoczuciu; wszystko to są już wyniki: cała świadomość nasza jest wynikiem procesu życiowego, w którym bierzemy udział. Po przez walki poznania, rozterki wewnętrzne, do tego właściwie dążymy; do zrozumienia, czym jesteśmy jako cząstka życia, co czynimy w życiu. Świadomość nasza i ukazująca się nam jako dany gotowy świat, jej zawartość, to wynik biologicznego historycznego procesu: samo poznanie właściwie polega nie na tem, by zrozumieć w jaką harmonijną całość da się zawrzeć nasza świadomość, lecz czem jesteśmy jako żywi ludzie wobec zbiorowego życia ludzkości. Świadomość kulturalna rozważa zawsze jako dany świat swoją własną wytworzoną przez biologiczno-dziejowy proces zawartość. Żyje jak w stanie natury w świecie stworzonym przez olbrzymi wysiłek; pragnie stąpać jako po trwałym gruncie, po tem, co

FIG. 17.

It is equally difficult to distinguish which reading traces are left by Brückner and which by other readers in Stanisław Brzozowski's *Legenda Młodej Polski* from 1910. Similarly as in the case of Wasilewski and Feldman, we find here listing of pages containing interesting information, both on the half-title page [Fig. 15] and the empty page preceding it [Fig. 16].[33] Due to a different handwriting, it is easy to decide that the lists come from different individuals, however, that on the half-title page could have been written down by Brückner, this testified to by the handwriting. When looking at the pages the listing mentions all of them, except for two (40 and 42), feature some other traces, most commonly vertical lines on the side [Fig. 17].[34] However, all the other notes found in the book (on the empty page before the half-title one and next to the text)

33 St. Brzozowski, *Legenda Młodej Polski. Studja o strukturze duszy kulturalnej*, Lwów 1910 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. Oha 1100/40).

34 Ibidem, pp. 37–40, 42, 46, 256, and 435.

definitely were not left by Brückner, firstly because they are in German, and secondly, the marking and underlining manner on the mentioned pages differs from that known from his other books (e.g., arrows on the side of the text which Brückner does not seem to have used) [Fig. 18].[35] However, it must be added that throughout the whole book other reading traces can be found which in many cases cannot be unequivocally attributed to Brückner; neither can it be stated with certainty that he did not author them.[36]

Thus, the book by Brzozowski illustrates one of the key problems we face when investigating Brückner's reading traces: in numerous books he owned the traces he left are found side by side with those marked by other readers. Hence the question: how to distinguish them. As demonstrated above, sometimes it is easy to exclude Brückner as the one who left them, however, there are a number of situations when this seems much harder, particularly in the case of the books Brückner knew very well, since, for instance, he reviewed them in detail. It can thus be assumed that at least some of the traces we come across in such a book were left by him.

Such is the case of Stanisław Pigoń's study on *Pan Tadeusz* from 1934, received by Brückner from the author with an impressive dedication, and which he must have carefully read, this testified to by an extensive review he wrote for *Pamiętnik Literacki*.[37] In the book itself, however, we come across a number of comments, remarks, and underlinings which were left by at least two other readers. The first of them used a pencil: both a graphite and a red one, and may have been a German speaker since he/she translated the word 'ekspiacja' [expiation] to German ('Busse') [Fig. 19].[38] Ad-

35 E.g., ibidem, pp. 458–459.

36 Ibidem, pp. 13, 16–17, 23, 45, 57–60, 256–257, 265–271, 452–460.

37 A. Brückner, 'Pigoń Stanisław, Pan Tadeusz. Wzrost, Wielkość, Sława', *Pamiętnik Literacki* y. 31, fascs. 1–4, pp. 570–574 (https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/publication/314118/edition/300679; accessed: 31 December 2025).

38 St. Pigoń, *«Pan Tadeusz». Wzrost, wielkość i sława. Studjum literackie*, Warszawa 1934, p. 153 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. KO 8694 P633 P1). The proper German spelling is: „Buße", unless the author of this addition was Swiss where letter 'ß' is replaced by 'ss'.

o przyszłości, typy: świat drobnych karjerowiczów, urzędniczków, pośredników z Fermentów, Ziemi Obiecanej. Mamy dalej jego silny zmysłowy stosunek do przyrody (wystarczy przeczytać jego Burzę, aby poznać jak wielką jest jego siła). Te cechy zamykają Reymonta w odcięciem od przeszłości i przyszłości postrzeganiu; jego świadomościowe zachcianki w kierunku pogłębienia — o ile nie płyną z rzeczywistego, fizjologicznego niemal strachu przypadkowości własnego przemijania — pochodzą ze źródeł intelektualnych. W Chłopach Reymont umyślnie starał się powstrzymywać od tego rodzaju wycieczek i dał jaskrawy i silny obraz chłopskiego temperamentu, obraz, w którym nieprzemyślenie rzeczywiste tragizmu i niebezpieczeństwa, jakiemi grozi wsi cały istniejący poza jej obrębem świat występuje w masce epickiego objektywizmu. [Chłopi Reymonta byliby epopeją, gdyby można było już przedstawić samo życie wsi naszej jako wystarczającą sobie dziejową całość,] całość, która by swoim kształtem już i istnieniem tłumiła tragizm, była wcieleniem wartości. Tu tragizm się nie zbudził: i dla tego wieś ta odbija się nie w zwycięskiej historycznej świadomości, lecz w przypadkowem spojrzeniu nie znającej swych historycznych podstaw psychiki aktualnej. W innem zupełnie położeniu znalazł się w obec swoich Roztok Orkan. Jego artystyczne ja wyrosło w tym świecie: znalazł go on w sobie samą siłą artystycznej anamnezy. Dusza jego — to właśnie ten skrawek ziemi z jego ludźmi: i z tego świata wydobył Orkan formy swej osobistej myśli. Gdy chce on sobie odpowiedzieć na pytanie, czem jest śmierć i życie człowieka: cisną mu się tu zrodzone obrazy. Nie potrzebuje o niczem

FIG. 18.

wód jego wydaje się mocną bezsprzecznie. «Sądzę przeto, — pisze on — że według pierwotnego planu poeta... włożył [w poemat] jako fabułę pogodzenie powaśnionych rodzin Sopliców i Orzeszków przez sprawcę niezgody, Zegotę, ukrytego w mnisim kapturze».[1] Rola jego i zadanie w poemacie pierwotnym według tego jasne: ma on doprowadzić do skutku małżeństwo Zosi z Tadeuszem, w ten sposób pojednać oba rody, a ponadto ma za zbrodnię swą dokonać ekspiacji. Tak sprawa stoi już w pierwotnym pomyśle, to znaczy w tym, który według zamierzenia poety miał się wyczerpać w jakichś kilku, czterech czy pięciu pieśniach.

W jakiż sposób w obrębie tego maleńkiego planu, na tak szczupłej przestrzeni, miałaby się dokonać ekspiacja Jacka? Odpowiedzieć możemy na to oczywiście tylko przypuszczeniem, dowodów bezpośrednich niema. Pocieszyć się można tem jedynie, że przypuszczenie to będzie, jeżeli nie lepsze, to co najmniej równie dobre, jak dawniejsze, — Pilata, który przyjmował poprostu, że poeta nie miał tu «wogóle dokładnie obmyślanego planu».[2]

Wydaje się mianowicie, że dwa skrawek ze spisem treści pierwotnej księgi IV może nas nieco naprowadzić na ślad. Kiedy poeta nie myślał jeszcze o scenie w karczmie, myślał już przecie o polowaniu na niedźwiedzia, myślał o niebezpieczeństwie, zagrażającem tam Tadeuszowi, — zapewne, ale także i Hrabiemu. Otóż czy nie tutaj szukać należy pierwszej ekspiacji Jacka? Wydaje się wcale prawdopodobne, że miało nią być uratowanie na polowaniu życia Hrabiemu — za cenę własnego. W ten chyba sposób należy się domyślać zamierzonego pierwotnie przez poetę rozwiązania wątku tragicznego w ramach pięciu pieśni.

Na dowód trafności przypuszczenia może posłużyć wzgląd, że pomysł ten: ekspiacji przez ocalenie życia «ostatniemu

1. *Pam. Tow. Liter.*, V 130. — 2. Tamże, V 131.

FIG. 19.

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ditionally, the reader, a bit to our surprise, wrote down grammar information related to prepositions and the required case form (e.g., next to the phrase 'na mieszkańcach' the note 'na Lok' can be found, being short for 'Lokativ', namely 'locative', following the preposition 'na').[39] It seems that this reader was not well familiar with grammar, since he/she clearly was unaware of the combination of preposition 'z' with the genitive case (not only with the instrumental case), as he/she left a question mark next to the respective phrase [Fig. 20].[40] The reader's other underlinings and remarks refer to definite fragments; he/she sometimes expressed his/her reservations about the read fragments, suggesting some corrections, while in other cases he/she underlined the evidently unknown words.[41]

As much as all the above points to a reader without insider's knowledge, the traces left by the other one display much greater initiation. They are, first of all, longer commentaries in Polish left in three places, like, for example, that about Commissioner Buchman who is 'ubrany z niemiecka' [dressed in a German manner] where words in Polish reading as follows were written down: 'a convenient way of eliminating Poles' negative features; outside the circle of Poles' community → Buchman is a stranger' [Fig. 21].[42] The handwriting of these commentaries excludes Brückner. The majority of other reading traces, such as e.g., undulating lines on the side, long angular curly brackets to the side of a paragraph, circling words in the text, underlining longer phrases or vertical lines on the side do not seem in line with Brückner's reading manner, so these originate most likely from this very reader. [43]

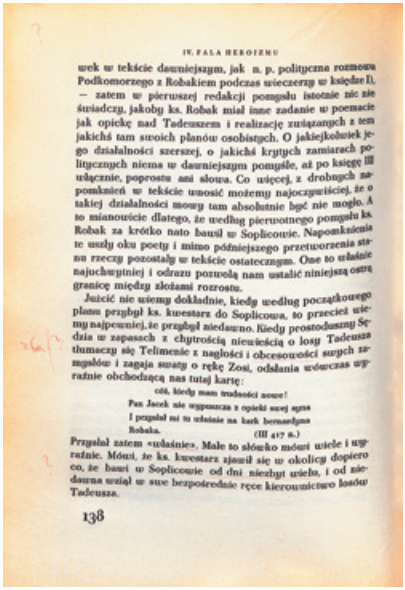
39 Ibidem, p. 45. See also pp. 147 i 284.

40 Ibidem, p. 138. The questioned word is underlined, while the whole phrase reads: 'Kiedy prostoduszny Sędzia [...] tłumaczy się Telimenie z nagłości i obcesowości swych zamysłów [...]'. On the side we then see annotation: „z Gen ?" ('Gen' is Genitiv, namely genitive case).

41 E.g.: Ibidem, pp. 78, 95, 98, 146, 236, 284, or 289–296.

42 Ibidem, p. 207. Other commentaries of that reader to be found on pp. 180 and 204.

43 Ibidem, pp. 45, 118–119, 120–122, 179, 180–181, 204–207, 210–211, 222–223.



IV. FALA HEROIZMU

wek w tekście dawniejszym, jak n. p. polityczna rozmowa Podkomorzego z Robakiem podczas wieczerzy w księdze I), — zatem w pierwszej redakcji pomysłu istotnie nic nie świadczy, jakoby ks. Robak miał inne zadanie w poemacie jak opiekę nad Tadeuszem i realizację związanych z tem jakichś tam swoich planów osobistych. O jakiejkolwiek jego działalności szerszej, o jakichś krytych zamiarach politycznych niema w dawniejszym pomyśle, aż po księgę III włącznie, poprostu ani słowa. Co więcej, z drobnych napomknień w tekście wnosić możemy najoczywiściej, że o takiej działalności mowy tam absolutnie być nie mogło. A to mianowicie dlatego, że według pierwotnego pomysłu ks. Robak za krótko nato bawił w Soplicowie. Napomknienia te uszły oku poety i mimo późniejszego przetworzenia stanu rzeczy pozostały w tekście ostatecznym. One to wskazują najuchwytniej i odrazu pozwolą nam ustalić niniejszą ostrą granicę między złożami rozrostu.

Jużcić nie wiemy dokładnie, kiedy według początkowego planu przybył ks. kwestarz do Soplicowa, to przecież wiemy najpewniej, że przybył niedawno. Kiedy prostoduszny Sędzia w zapasach z chytrością nieuściską o losy Tadeusza tłumaczy się Telimenie z naglości i obcesowości swych zamysłów i zagaja swatę o rękę Zosi, odsłania wówczas wyraźnie obchodzącą nas tutaj kartę:

cóż, kiedy mam trudności nowe!
Pan Jacek nie wypuszcza z opieki swej syna
I przysłał mi tu wskaźnie na kark bernardyna
Robaka. (III 417 n.)

Przysłał zatem «wskaźnie». Małe to słówko mówi wiele i wyraźnie. Mówi, że ks. kwestarz zjawił się w okolicy dopiero co, że bawi w Soplicowie od dni niezbyt wielu, i od niedawna wziął w swe bezpośrednie ręce kierownictwo losów Tadeusza.

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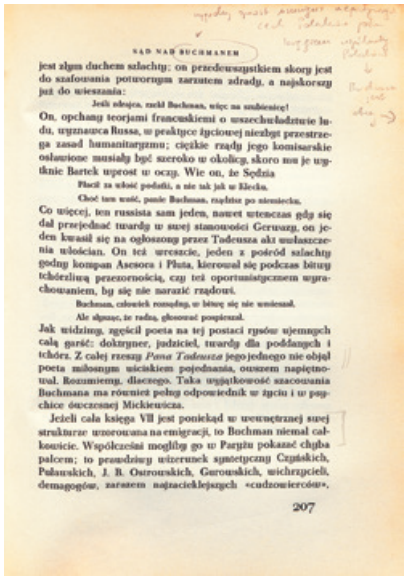
FIG. 20.



NAD NAŁ BUCHMANEM

jest złym duchem szlachty: on przedewszystkiem skory jest do szafowania potwornym zarzutem zdrady, a najskorszy już do wieszania:

Jeśli zdrajca, rachl Buchman, więc na szubienicę!

On, opchany teorjami francuskiemi o wszechuszczęśliwieniu ludu, uznawca Russa, w praktyce życiowej niezbyt przestrzega zasad humanitaryzmu; ciężkie rządy jego komisarskie osławione musiały być szeroko w okolicy, skoro nas je wytknie Bartek wprost w oczy. Wie on, że Sędzia

Płacił za włość podatki, a nie tak jak w Kleciu.

Choć tam wieś, panie Buchman, rządzisz po niemiecku.

Co więcej, ten russista sam jeden, nawet wtenczas gdy się dał przejednać twardy w swej stanowości Gerwazy, on jeden kwasił się na ogłoszony przez Tadeusza akt uwłaszczenia włościan. On też wreszcie, jeden z pośród szlachty godny kompan Asesora i Pluta, kierował się podczas bitwy tchórzliwą przezornością, czy też oportunistycznem wyrachowaniem, by się nie narazić rządowi.

Buchman, człowiek rozsądny, w bitwę się nie wmieszał.
Ale słysząc, że radną, głosować pospieszał.

Jak widzimy, zgęścił poeta na tej postaci rysów ujemnych całą garść: doktryner, judziciel, twardy dla poddanych i tchórz. Z całej rzeszy *Pana Tadeusza* jego jednego nie objął poeta miłosnym uściskiem pojednania, owszem napiętnował. Rozumiemy, dlaczego. Taka wyjątkowość znaczowania Buchmana ma również pełną odpowiedniość w życiu i w psychice ówczesnej Mickiewicza.

Jeżeli cała księga VII jest poniekąd w wewnętrznej swej strukturze wzorowana na emigracji, to Buchman niemal całkowicie. Współczesni mogliby go w Paryżu pokazać chyba palcem; to prawdziwy wizerunek synetetyczny Czyńskich, Puławskich, J. B. Ostrowskich, Gurowskich, wichrzycieli, demagogów, zarazem najzaciekleszych «cudzoziemców».

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FIG. 21.

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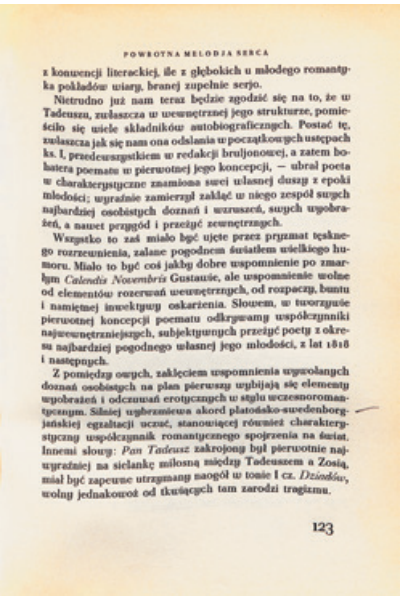

POWROTNA MELODJA SERCA

z konwencji literackiej, ile z głębokich u młodego romantyka pokładów wiary, branej zupełnie serjo.

Nietrudno już nam teraz będzie zgodzić się na to, że w Tadeuszu, zwłaszcza w wewnętrznej jego strukturze, pomieściło się wiele składników autobiograficznych. Postać tę, zwłaszcza jak się nam ona odsłania w początkowych ustępach ks. I, przedewszystkiem w redakcji bruljonowej, a zatem bohatera poematu w pierwotnej jego koncepcji, — ubrał poeta w charakterystyczne znamiona swej własnej duszy z epoki młodości; wyraźnie zamierzył zakląć w niego zespół swych najbardziej osobistych doznań i wzruszeń, swych wyobrażeń, a nawet przygód i przeżyć zewnętrznych.

Wszystko to zaś miało być ujęte przez pryzmat tęsknego rozrzewnienia, zalane pogodnem światłem wielkiego humoru. Miało to być coś jakby dobre wspomnienie po zmarłym *Calendis Novembris* Gustawie, ale wspomnienie wolne od elementów rozerwań wewnętrznych, od rozpaczy, buntu i namiętnej inwektywy oskarżenia. Słowem, w tworzyście pierwotnej koncepcji poematu odkrywamy współczynniki najwewnętrzniejszych, subjektywnych przeżyć poety z okresu najbardziej pogodnego własnej jego młodości, z lat 1818 i następnych.

Z pomiędzy owych, zakłóciem wspomnienia wywołanych doznań osobistych na plan pierwszy wybijają się elementy wyobrażeń i odczuwań erotycznych w stylu wczesnoromantycznym. Silniej wybrzmiewa akord platońsko-swedenborgjańskiej egzaltacji uczuć, stanowiącej również charakterystyczny współczynnik romantycznego spojrzenia na świat. Innemi słowy: *Pan Tadeusz* zakrojony był pierwotnie najwyraźniej na sielankę miłosną między Tadeuszem a Zosią, miał być zapewne utrzymany naogół w tonie I cz. *Dziadów*, wolny jednakowoż od ckliwych tam zarodzi tragizmu.

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FIG. 22.

Hence the question whether Pigoń's book allows us to identify also the reading traces left by Brückner. Some suggestions can be provided by the abovementioned review, since he refers in it to page 123 where in his copy we do indeed find one short horizontal line to the side of the discussed fragment [Fig. 22].[44] As can be verified in comparison with other books from his collection, it is precisely such short lines that seem typical of Brückner, thus an assumption can be made that the few ones to be found in Pigoń's book also come from him.[45] Pigoń's book demonstrates that Brückner was generally reserved in leaving reading traces, which may hamper their identification, particularly in the cases where a book bears traces left by other readers.

44 Ibidem, pp. 123 and: Brückner, *Pigoń Stanisław...*, p. 572.

45 Ibidem, pp. 98, 120, 122–123, 147 i 211.

With respect to the latter words let us mention here the editions of Piotr Skarga's *Kazania sejmowe* prepared by Ignacy Chrzanowski. Brückner had two copies of it: both the first edition from 1903 with the author's hand-written dedication, as well as the second one from 1912 being a revised and expanded edition in a personalized copy with printed dedication. Both editions bear numerous traces of reading, though not all of them can be attributed to Brückner, particularly in the second edition which abounds in them, however, their majority may be with a high degree of certainty denied attribution to Brückner, since in their character they resemble the first of the above-discussed readers of Pigoń's book, first of all, in view of the similar character of the comments related to Polish grammar, written down both in Polish and German, as well as the comments referring to the very text of the *Kazania*.[46] These are numerous and long underlinings as well as question marks added in pencil to the text's side.

Therefore, as much as there is no proof that Brückner read the second edition of the *Kazania sejmowe*, the fact can be stated for sure with respect to the first edition from 1903. Since he wrote two extensive and detailed reviews of the *Kazania*, thanks to which, among other things, we can with a high degree of certainty attribute to Brückner the reading traces that can be found in this very copy. This relates in particular to two spots in the text: in the first, Chrzanowski erroneously gives 1556 as the year of the creation of *Postylla albo wykłady ewanieliej niedzielnych i na święta* of Grzegorz of Żarnowiec instead of 1582.[47] Brückner marked this place with an underlining and a question mark [Fig. 23], clearly referring to this issue in one of his reviews.[48] The second spot refers to the date on

46 P. Skarga, *Kazania sejmowe Piotra Skargi*, ed. and preface Ignacy Chrzanowski, 2nd edition corrected and substantially complemented, Warszawa 1912, pp. 241, 243, 247, 263–265, 323, 331, 335, 338, 340, and 342–343 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. Oi 3119/9).

47 P. Skarga, *Kazania Sejmowe*, ed. and preface Ignacy Chrzanowski, Warszawa 1903, p. 6 – footnote 7 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. Oi 3119/8).

48 A. Brückner, 'Piotra Skargi „Kazania Sejmowe' (2), *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* no. 14/1904, pp. 269–272, here: p. 269.

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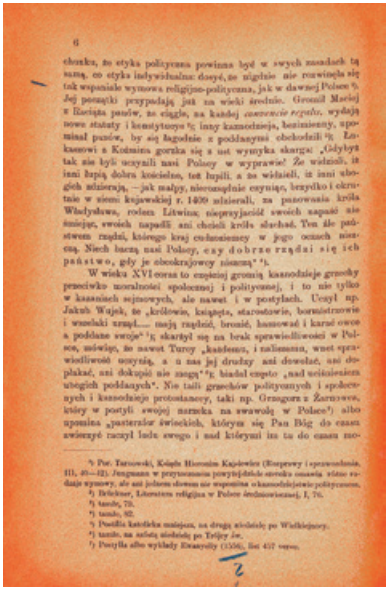

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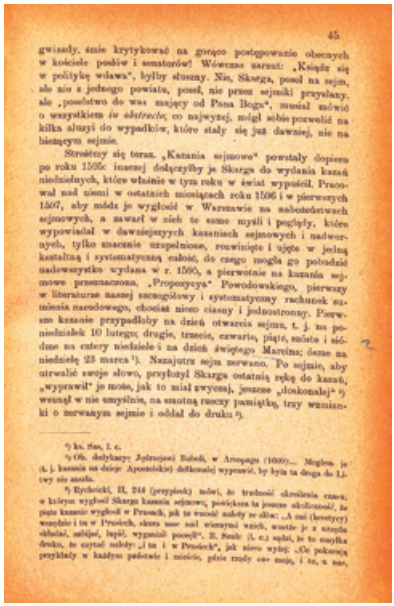
chenka, że etyka polityczna powinna być w swych zasadach tą samą, co etyka indywidualna: dosyć, że nigdzie nie rozwinęła się tak wspaniale wymowa religijno-polityczna, jak w dawnej Polsce [5]. Jej początki przypadają już na wieki średnie. Gromił Maciej z Raciąża panów, że ciągle, na każdej *convencie regnis*, wydają nowe statuty i konstytucye [6]; inny kaznodzieja, bezimienny, upominał panów, by się łagodnie z poddanymi obchodzili [7]. Łukaszowi z Koźmina gorzka się a nut wymyka skarga: „Gdyby tak nie były uczyniły nasi Polacy w wyprawie! Że widzieli, iż inni łapią dobra kościelne, też łupili, a za widzieli, iż inni ubogich ubierają, —jak mądrze, nieroztropnie czyniąc, brzydko i okrutnie w niem: krajowskiej r. 1400 ubierali, za panowania króla Władysława, rodem Litwina, niepryjaciół swoich napaść nie śmiejąc, swoich napadli ani chcieli króla słuchać. Ten złe państwem rządzi, którego kraj cudzoziemcy w jego oczach niszczą. Niech baczą nasi Polacy, czy dobrze rządzi się ich państwo, gdy je obcokrajowcy niszczą" [8].

W wieku XVI-ym za mniejszą groźną kaznodzieje grzechy przeciwko moralności społecznej i politycznej, i to nie tylko w kazaniach sejmowych, ale nawet i w postylach. Uczył np. Jakub Wujek, że „królowie, książęta, starostowie, hersztowie i wszelaki zwierzchność — mają rządzić, bronić, karować i karać owce a poddane swoje" [9]; skarżył się na brak sprawiedliwości w Polsce, mówiąc, że nawet Turcy „kadiemu, i saliemanu, wnet sprawiedliwość uczynią, a u nas jej drudzy ani dowołać, ani dopłakać, ani dokupić nie mogą" [10]; biadał często „nad wciśnieniem ubogich poddanych". Nie tacili grzechów politycznych i społecznych i kaznodzieje protestanccy, taki np. Orzechowski z Żarnowca, który w postyli swojej nazwała na zwawolę w Polsce [11]) albo upominał „pasterzów świeckich, którym się Pan Bóg do czasu zwierzyć raczył ludu swego i nad którymi za to do czasu no-

[5] Por. Tarnowski, Książe Hieronim Kajdowicz (Rozprawy i sprawozdania, III, 40—42). Jungmann w przytoczonem powyżej dziele ojczystej omawia różne rodzaje wymowy, ale ani jednem słowem nie wspomina o kaznodziejstwie politycznem.
[6] Brückner, Literatura religijna w Polsce średniowiecznej, I, 76.
[7] tamże, 79.
[8] tamże, 92.
[9] Postilla katolicka mniejsza, na drugą niedzielę po Wielkiejnocy.
[10] tamże, na niedzielę siedmdziesiątą po Trójcy św.
[11] Postylla albo wykłady Ewangelyi (1556), list 457 verso.

FIG. 23.



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gwiazdy, śmie krytykować na gorąco postępowanie obecnych w kościele posłów i senatorów! Wówczas usłyszał: „Ksiądz się w politykę wdawa", byłby słuszny. Nie, Skarga, poseł na sejm, ale nie z jednego powiatu, poseł, nie przez sejmiki przysłany, ale „posolstwo do was mający od Pana Boga", musiał mówić o wszystkiem *in abstracto*; co najwyżej, mógł sobie porwolić na kilka aluzyi do wypadków, które stały się już dawniej, nie na bieżącym sejmie.

Skreślony się teraz. „Kazania sejmowe" powstały dopiero po roku 1595: inaczej dałyżyby je Skarga do wydania kazań niedzielnych, które właśnie w tym roku w świat wypuścił. Pracował nad niemi w ostatnich miesiącach roku 1596 i w pierwszych 1597, aby módz je wygłosić w Warszawie na nabożeństwach sejmowych, a zawarł w nich to same myśli i poglądy, które wypowiadał w dawniejszych kazaniach sejmowych i nadwornych, tylko znacznie uzupełnione, rozwinięte i ujęte w jedną kształtną i systematyczną całość, do czego mogła go pobudzić nadewszystko wydana w r. 1595, a pierwotnie na kazania sejmowe przeznaczona, „Propozycya" Powodowskiego, pierwszy w literaturze naszej szczegółowy i systematyczny rachunek sumienia narodowego, chociaż nieco ciasny i jednostronny. Pierwsze kazanie przypadłoby na dzień otwarcia sejmu, t. j. na poniedziałek 10 lutego; drugie, trzecie, czwarte, piąte, szóste i siódme na cztery niedziele i na dzień świętego Marcina; ósme na niedzielę 23 marca [1]). Nazajutrz sejm nerwano. Po sejmie, aby utrwalić swoje słowo, przyłożył Skarga ostatnią rękę do kazań, „wyprawił" je może, jak to miał zwyczaj, jeszcze „dokonalej" [2], wcunął w nie umyślnie, na smutną rzeczy pamiątkę, trzy wzmianki o nerwanym sejmie i oddał do druku [3].

[1] ks. 8m, l. c.
[2] Ob. dedykacyę Jędrzejowi Bobolі, w Arcopagu (1600)... Mogłem je (t. j. kazania na dzieje Apostolskie) dokładniej wyprawić, by była ta druga do Ludwy nie szła.
[3] Rychcicki, II, 244 (przypisek) mówi, że trudności ukończenia rzeczy, w którym wydaniu Skarga kazania sejmowe, powiekszą ta jeszcze okoliczność, że piąte kazanie wygłosił w Prusach, jak to wnosić należy ze słów: „A mi (hersztowie) wszystkie i tu w Prusiech, skąd nas nie wiemy, wiadomi, wiedzą je z strzelu słuchać, zabijać, łupić, wyganiać poczęli". Z. Szulc (l. c.) sądzi, że to omyłka druku, że czytać należy: „i tu i w Prusiech", jak nieco wyżej: „Ale pokazują przykłady w każdym państwie i mieście, gdzie rządy nie mają, i to, a nie,

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FIG. 24.

which the forth sermon would be delivered: here Chrzanowski erroneously defines 24 February as the day of Saint Martin instead of that of Saint Matthias [Fig. 24].[49] At this point Brückner underlined the name of Martin with a short line, placing a question mark on the side, also mentioning this issue in one of his reviews.[50] Both notes were made in blue pencil, therefore it can be assumed that other reading traces made like this in this book originate from Brückner. These are crosses, question marks, short lines or hooks on the side, single underlinings, or longer vertical lines along a paragraph [Figs. 25, 26, and 27].[51]

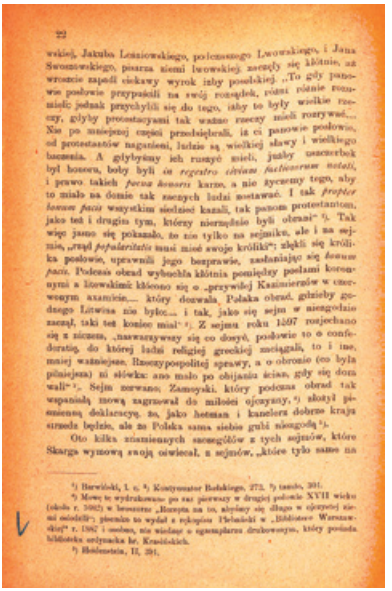

FIG. 25.

49 P. Skarga, *Kazania Sejmowe...* 1903, p. 45. Chrzanowski corrected this place in the second edition - see P. Skarga, *Kazania Sejmowe...* 1912, p. 61.

50 A. Brückner, 'Piotra Skargi „Kazania Sejmowe"' (2), *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* no. 14/1904, pp. 269–272, here: p. 269.

51 P. Skarga, *Kazania Sejmowe...* 1903, pp. 3, 6–7, 21–22, 29 (together with an illegible commentary), 41–43, 45–46, 52–54, 61, 84, 114, and 123. As for this edition of the *Kazania sejmowe* from 1903 it needs to be added that it also features traces of another reader who left complements and comments in the margin, in handwriting which clearly differs from that of Brückner - Ibidem, pp. 25, 91, 107, and 109.

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#2

cia autytora, pływał[a] 9. Prawda, że Birkowski mówi, iż tak bywało „pierwszych czasów", ale czy godzi się przypuścić, że Skarga odstąpił od pierwotnej swojej zasady wówczas, kiedy się przygotowywał do wygłoszenia kazań w tak świętej sprawie, zwłaszcza, że ma, jak sam wymaja, pisanie kazań przygodnych „daleko z większą trudnością przychodziło, niżli postylne", bo „rychłej głowę wiadomością i nauką napełnić, aniżli wołą i serdecznem łzukiem rozsyć kto może"[10]. W samym tekście kazań sejmowych jest jedna przynajmniej wskazówka, upoważniająca do wniosku, że były napisane przed wygłoszeniem, z wyraźnym zamiarem ich wypowiedzenia. Mianowicie w kazaniu drugiem czytamy: „Mówmy *dziś* za pomocą Bożą o tej pierwszej chorobie Rzeczypospolitej". Gdyby to kazanie było tylko napisane, nie wygłoszone, nie byłoby wyrazu „dziś"; jakoż niema go w wydaniu trzeciem z r. 1610, kiedy to „dziś" przestało być aktualnem. Że kazania były istotnie wygłoszone, o tem świadczą jeszcze tytuł kazania pierwszego („Pierwsze na początku sejmu u, przy 6 Mcy sejmowej"), jego początek („Zjachaliście się w imię Pańskie") i początek ósmego („O szóstej i ostatniej chorobie, która królestwa umarza, już nam mówić przychodzi na tem rozjachaniu waszem"); inaczej, musielibyśmy posądzać Skargę o jakąś umyślną mistyfikacyę.

Dowody, którymi posługują się niektórzy, aby podać w wątpliwość, czy „Kazania sejmowe" były w ogóle kiedykolwiek wygłoszone, nie wytrzymują krytyki.

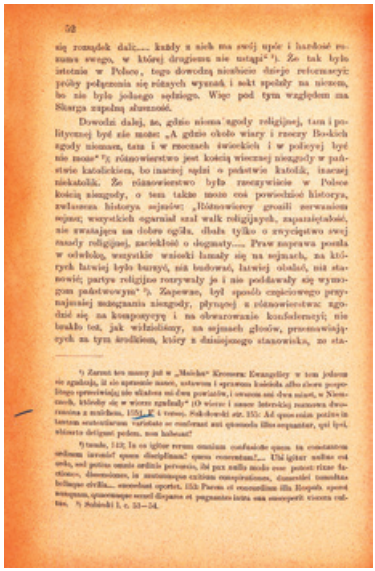
Gdyby Skarga wygłosił był istotnie swoje kazania na sejmie, byłoby o tem głośno, mielibyśmy świadectwa współczesnych;

„W Węgrzech, gdzie wszystko bowiem z wojska z ministry ostatni na Turki idą, prędko przygrywają; i teraz, jako słyszym, gdy im roku *przeszłego*" etc. „Teraz" nie bardzo się jakoś zgadza z „roku przeszłego", chyba, żeby wiedz o bitwie dawała do Polski dopiero po upływie dwu przeszło miesięcy (bitwa odbyła się w końcu Października 1595), co trudno pilnego zachowania wszelkich nowin o Turku, którego tak się wówczas obawiano, nie jest prawdopodobne. Cały ustęp, pisany widocznie pod świeżem wrażeniu zwycięstwa tureckiego, powstał przeds piedzinie jesienią r. 1596, a później dopiero, oddając kazania do druku w roku 1597, wtrącił Skarga słowa: „roku przeszłego".

[9] Mowy pogrzebowe i przygodne, wyd. „Bibl. dzieł chrześcijańskich" (1905), I, 91.

[10] Przedmowa do łaskawego czytelnika w wydaniu kazań z roku 1600.

FIG. 26.



52

się rozsądek dalej.... każdy z nich ma swój upór i hardość rozumu swego, w której drugiemu nie ustąpi"[7]). Że tak było istotnie w Polsce, tego dowodną niezbicie dzieje reformacyi: próby pokojowego się różnych wyznań i sekt spełzły na niczem, bo nie było jednego sędziego. Więc pod tym względem zna Skarga zupełną słuszność.

Dowodzi dalej, że, gdzie niema zgody religijnej, tam i politycznej być nie może: „A gdzie chcesz wiary i rzeczy Bożkich zgody mieszać, tam i w rzeczach świeckich i w polityej być nie może"[8]; różnowierstwo jest kością wiecznej niezgody w państwie katolickiem, bo inaczej sądzi o państwie katolik, inaczej niekatolik. Że różnowierstwo było rzeczywiście w Polsce kością niezgody, o tem także może coś powiedzieć historya, zwłaszcza historya sejmów: „Różnowiercy grozili zerwaniem sejmu; wszystkich ogarniał szał walk religijnych, zapanowała złość, nie zważająca na dobro ogółu, dbała tylko o zwycięstwo swej zasady religijnej, zaciekłość o dogmaty.... Praw najprawa posła w odwołaniu, wszystkie wnioski lamały się na sejmach, na których łatwiej było burzyć, niż budować, łatwiej obalać, niż stanowić; partye religijne rozrywały je i nie poddawały się wymogom państwowym"[9]). Zapewne, był sposób częściowego przynajmniej uniezgodnienia niezgody, płynącej z różnowierstwa: zgodzić się na kompromisy i na obwarowanie konfederacyi; nie brakło też, jak wiadomo, na sejmach głosów, przemawiających za tym środkiem, który z dzisiejszego stanowiska, po sta-

[7]) Zarzut ten znany już w „Modrzewiu" Krowera: Ewangelicy w tem jednem się zgadzają, iż co sprzeczne między sobą, ustawami i sprzysiężeniami kościoła złym ludziom przeciwnego sprzeciwiają; nie władzom mi dwu powiatów, i ustawom mi dwu miast, w Niemczech, którzy się w wierze zgadzały" (O wierze i mocy kościoła rzymowa dwuczęścina z modrzewiu, 1551, I. 4 verso). Fokylidesowi etc. 153: Ad quos enim potius in tantam scelerisorum varietate se confugiant aut ejusmodi illius sequantur, qui lyci. vitiosis detigunt pedem. non habeant?

[8]) tamże, 142: In eo igitur rerum omnium confusione quem in consortium sedulum invenio? quem discipulum? quem concordem?.... Ubi igitur nullus est ordo, sed potius omnis ordinis perversio, ibi pax nullo modo esse potest: tanta factiones, dissensiones, in mutuosque exitium conspirationes, damnatici tumultus bellaque civilia.... succedunt oportet. 153: Parem et concordiam illa Regula, quem nunquam, quamvismagno servet diligentia et pugnantes inter eos concordi vinculo cohibeas. [9]) Sobieski I, c. 53—54.

FIG. 27.

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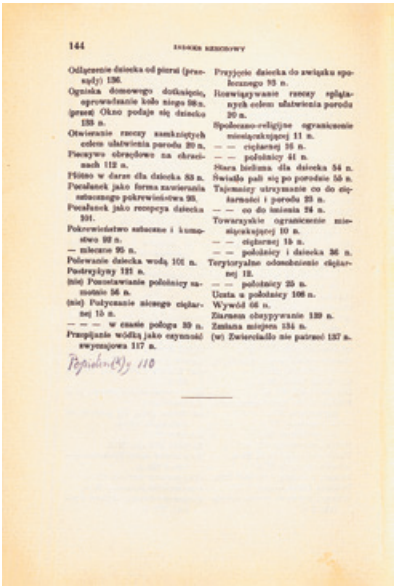
144

Odłączenie dziecka od piersi (przesądy) 136.
Ogniska domowego dotknięcie, oprowadzanie koło niego 96 n.
(przez) Okno podaje się dziecko 138 n.
Otwieranie rzeczy zamkniętych celem ułatwienia porodu 20 n.
Pieczywo obrączkowe za chrzcinach 112 n.
Płótno w darze dla dziecka 83 n.
Pocałunek jako forma zawierania małżeńskiego pokrewieństwa 93.
Pocałunek jako recepcya dziecka 101.
Pokrewieństwo zabawne i kumostwo 92 n.
— mleczne 95 n.
Polewanie dziecka wodą 101 n.
Postrzyżyny 121 n.
(nie) Pozostawianie położnicy samotnie 56 n.
(nie) Podyczanie ciężarnej 15 n.
— — — w czasie połogu 39 n.
Przepijanie wódki jako czynność zwyczajowa 117 n.
Popielin(k)y 110
Przyjęcie dziecka do związku społecznego 93 n.
Rozwiązywanie rzeczy zgiętych celem ułatwienia porodu 20 n.
Społeczno-religijne ograniczenie miesiączkującej 11 n.
— — ciężarnej 16 n.
— — połogu 41 n.
Stara biblioa dla dziecka 54 n.
Światło pali się po porodzie 55 n.
Tajemnicy utrzymanie co do ciężarności i porodu 23 n.
— — co do imienia 24 n.
Towarzyskie ograniczenie miesiączkującej 10 n.
— — ciężarnej 15 n.
— — połogu i dziecka 36 n.
Terytoryalne odosobnienie ciężarnej 12.
— — położnicy 29 n.
Usta u położnicy 106 n.
Wywód 66 n.
Ziarnem obsypywanie 139 n.
Zmiana miejsca 134 n.
(w) Zwierciadło nie patrzeć 137 n.

FIG. 28.

The book *Słowiańskie obrzędy rodzinne* by Jan Bystroń (1916) also features reading traces many of which can be identified with high certainty as coming from Brückner, this owing precisely to his detailed and extensive review. In the first place, let us mention his note in the book's index with a relevant page noted, this also frequently found in his other books. One can recognize Brückner's handwriting, precisely the word 'popielin(k)y' he added and page 110, which he also refers to in his review [Fig. 28].[52] Interestingly, however, on page 110 of Bystroń's book where the word appears there are no reading traces. Similarly, several sentences or fragments quoted in the review are not marked in the book in any way.[53] In the next case the reference can be found in the verti-

52 J. P. Bystroń, *Słowiańskie obrzędy rodzinne. Obrzędy związane z narodzeniem dziecka*, Kraków 1916, pp. 110 and 144 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. Bb 222/20) and: A. Brückner, 'Starożytności Słowiańskie', *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 32/1918, pp. 411–435, here: p. 422 (in this paper Brückner discusses another publication on a similar topic).

53 Brückner, *Starożytności słowiańskie...*, pp. 419, 422 and: Bystroń, *Słowiańskie obrzędy...*, pp. 54, 115–116 (in the review Brückner erroneously gives p. 114), and 132.

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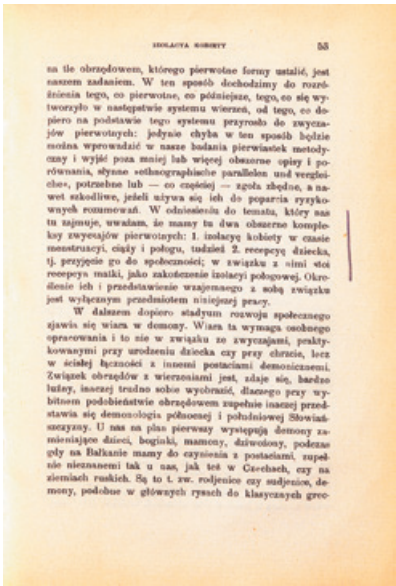

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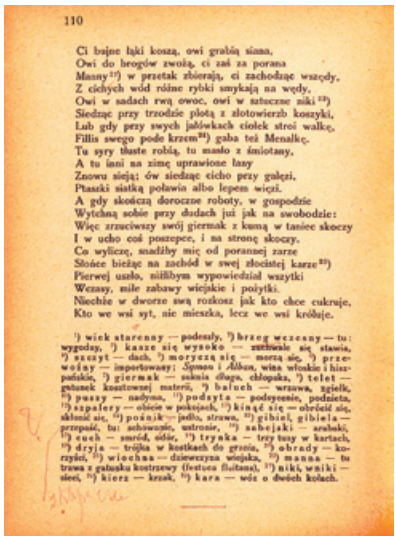
na tle obrządowem, którego pierwotne formy ustalić, jest naszem zadaniem. W ten sposób dochodzimy do rozróżnienia tego, co pierwotne, co późniejsze, tego, co się wytworzyło w następstwie systemu wierzeń, od tego, co dopiero na podstawie tego systemu przyrosło do zwyczajów pierwotnych: jedynie chyba w ten sposób będzie można wprowadzić w nasze badania pierwiastek metodyczny i wyjść poza mniej lub więcej obszerne opisy i porównania, słynne ethnographische parallelen und vergleiche, potrzebne lub — co częściej — zgoła zbędne, a nawet szkodliwe, jeżeli używa się ich do poparcia ryzykownych rozumowań. W odniesieniu do tematu, który nas tu zajmuje, uważam, że mamy tu dwa obszerne komplekty zwyczajów pierwotnych: 1. izolacyę kobiety w czasie menstruacyi, ciąży i połogu, tudzież 2. recepcyę dziecka, tj. przyjęcie go do społeczności; w związku z nimi stoi recepcya matki, jako zakończenie izolacyi połogowej. Określenie ich i przedstawienie wzajemnego z sobą związku jest wyłącznym przedmiotem niniejszej pracy.

W dalszem dopiero stadyum rozwoju społecznego zjawia się wiara w demony. Wiara ta wymaga osobnego opracowania i to nie w związku ze zwyczajami, praktykowanymi przy urodzeniu dziecka czy przy chrzcie, lecz w ścisłej łączności z innemi postaciami demonicznemi. Związek obrządów z wierzeniami jest, zdaje się, bardzo luźny, inaczej trudno sobie wyobrazić, dlaczego przy wybitnem podobieństwie obrządowem zupełnie inaczej przedstawia się demonologia północnej i południowej Słowiańszczyzny. U nas na plan pierwszy wysuwają demony zamieniające dzieci, boginki, mamony, dziwożony, podczas gdy na Bałkanie mamy do czynienia z postaciami, zupełnie nieznanemi tak u nas, jak też w Czechach, czy na ziemiach ruskich. Są to t. zw. rodjenice czy sudjenice, demony, podobne w głównych rysach do klasycznych grec-

FIG. 29.



110

Ci bujne łąki koszą, owi grabią siana,
Owi do brogów zwożą, ci zaś za porana
Mamy[17]) w przetak zbierają, ci zachodząc wszędy,
Z cichych wód różne rybki smykają na wędy,
Owi w sadach rwą owoce, owi w sztuczne niki[18])
Siedząc przy trzodzie plotą z złotowierzb koszyki,
Lub gdy przy swych jabłówkach ciotek stroi walkę,
Fillis swego pode krzem[19]) gaba też Menalkę.
Tu syry tłuste robią, tu masło z śmiotany,
A tu inni na zimę uprawione lasy
Znowu sieją; ów siedząc cicho przy gałęzi,
Ptaszki siatką połowia albo lepem więzi.
A gdy skończą doroczne roboty, w gospodzie
Wytchną sobie przy dudach już jak na swobodzie:
Więc zrzuciwszy swój giermak z kumą w tańce skoczy
I w ucho coś poszepce, i na stronę skoczy.
Co wyliczę, snadźby mię od porannej zarze
Słońce bieżąc na zachód w swej złocistej karze[20])
Pierwej uszło, niżlibym wypowiedział wszytki
Wczasy, miłe zabawy wiejskie i pożytki.
Niechże w dworze swą rozkosz jak kto chce cukruje,
Kto we wsi syt, nie mieszka, lecz we wsi króluje.

[1]) wiek starczy — podeszły. [2]) brzeg wczesny — tu: wygodny, [3]) kasze się wysoko — zuchwale się stawia, [4]) szczyt — dach. [5]) moczyć się — moczą się. [6]) przewieźny — importowany; Symon i Alban, wina włoskie i hiszpańskie. [7]) giermak — suknia długa, chłopska. [8]) telet — gatunek kosztownej materii. [9]) bałuch — wrzawa, zgiełk. [10]) pusty — nadymy. [11]) podsyta — podsycenie, podniecia. [12]) szpatery — obicie w pokojach. [13]) kinąć się — obrócić się, skłonić się. [14]) pośnik — jadło, strawa. [15]) gibiel, gibiela — przepaść, tu: schowanie, ustronie. [16]) szabejaki — arabski. [17]) cuch — suroś, odór. [18]) tryaka — trzy tuzy w kartach. [19]) drzja — trójka w kostkach do grania. [20]) obrady — korzyści. [21]) wiochna — dziewczyna wiejska. [22]) manna — tu trawa z gatunku kostrzewy (festuca fluitans). [23]) niki, wniki — sieci. [24]) kierz — krzak. [25]) kara — wóz o dwóch kołach.

FIG. 30.

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cal line to the side of the text [Fig. 29], however, not by the fragment tackled in the review.[54] Since the remaining reading traces in Bystroń's book were made with the same kind of pencil as the ones that with full certainty were left by Brückner, it can be assumed that also these: mainly longish vertical lines along the edges of respective fragments, in one place also with a question mark, come from him.[55] In general, the reading traces in Bystroń's book confirm once again that Brückner used to actually leave traces of reading with moderation, not always even marking the places he sometimes raised objections to.

Nevertheless, on the examples of the books by Pigoń, Chrzanowski, and Bystroń it can be clearly seen how the traces left by Brückner can be unquestionably identified, and how to distinguish them from those left by other readers using over the last decades one of the books from Brückner's book collection at the public library. Applying these as a benchmark we can identify certain characteristic features and repeatable traces or marginalia in other books coming from Brückner's collection which can be with high certainty attributed to him. On the other hand, however, it has to be borne in mind that over the several decades of his research Brückner may have changed his habits and the manner of taking notes or underlining elements when reading. Such a change might have resulted from various factors, this seen on the example of Stanisław Kot's book *Urok wsi i życia ziemiańskiego w poezji staropolskiej* from 1937 and the traces it contains. Generally speaking, they are not highly legible, while the underlinings or corrections are imprecise and a bit clumsy [Fig. 30].[56] This may have had something to do with the fact that, according to Józef Frejlich, in his older age Brückner suffered from arthritis and his handwriting was becoming less and less legible.[57]

54 Brückner, *Starożytności słowiańskie…*, p. 420 and: Bystroń, *Słowiańskie obrzędy…*, p. 53.

55 Bystroń, *Słowiańskie obrzędy…*, pp. 55, 72–73, 91, 103, 107, and 116.

56 St. Kot, *Urok wsi i życia ziemiańskiego w poezji staropolskiej*, Warszawa 1937, pp. 39, 51, 64, 71, 78, 80, 84, 102, 109–110, 128, or 144–145 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. Ohb 236/60).

57 J. Frejlich, 'Samotnik berliński. W 25-ą rocznicę zgonu', *Wiadomości. Tygodnik* Y. XIX/1964, no. 45, pp. 1–2, here: p. 1.

4. Characterization of Brückner's Traces of Reading

In the last Section of this paper I would like to describe Brückner's most representative reading traces which show how he worked on his books; my intention is also to introduce their preliminary classification. As mentioned above,[58] for the purpose the classifications worked out by Bamert and Wieland allowing to systemize the descriptions will be applied. The first of them focuses more on the formal aspects, since Bamert divides the traces of reading into the three following categories:[59] annotations ('Annotationen'), which he considers broadly as including all the possible signs (e.g., single letters, punctuation marks, corrective or graphic marks, numbers, etc.) as well as so-called 'para-signs' ('Parazeichen') whose meaning is explained only through their relation to other marks or to a text fragment (e.g., underlining, marking, encircling, crossing out, etc.). Bamert distinguishes marginalia ('Marginalien') that can be found on the side of the text and which have a semantic value (e.g., verbalized remarks, comments, etc.). Thirdly, Bamert speaks of so-called 'intracerpts' ('Intrazerpte'). This neologism opposes excerpts, i.e., notes based on the text reading, yet placed on separate pieces of paper, in notebooks, while intracerpts define notes and remarks found within a given book, however not in the direct vicinity of the text to which they refer, but e.g., on half-title pages, on inside the covers, etc.

The classification proposed by Wieland is a bit more precise and refers in the first place to the factual character of the traces of reading stemming from the intellectual confrontation with the text. It distinguishes between active, selective, and productive receptive traces.[60] The first testify roughly to intensive reading, most frequently taking on the form of simple lines, underlinings, or marks

58 In Section 2. On traces of reading and research into them.

59 With respect to these remarks: Bamert, *Stifte am Werk…*, pp. 88–94 and 130–135.

60 With respect to these remarks: Wieland, *Materialität des Lesens…*, pp. 158–172; in German they are as follows: 'aktiv-rezeptive Spuren', 'selektiv-rezeptive Spuren', and 'produktiv-rezeptive Spuren'.

to the side of a paragraph; furthermore, they may refer to larger text fragments. The selective-receptive traces, in turn, are connected with very definite spots in the text marked with respective signs (e.g., crosses, exclamation marks, graphic signs, etc.), meant to facilitate, among other things, finding them later. These traces are often accompanied by newly-created indexes on the half-title pages or inside the covers (what Bamert called 'intracerpts'). The third category distinguished by Wieland encompasses productive-receptive traces which he uses to define information added by a reader to the printed text (e.g., marginalia, comments, remarks, etc.). [61]

According to Bamert's classification, the majority of Brückner's traces of reading can be defined as annotations, since they are placed directly by the text fragments they refer to. They are both signs and para-signs, many having already been discussed in the present paper, e.g., most commonly short, yet sometimes also slightly longer lines on the side: horizontal or vertical, punctuation marks (exclamation marks, question marks), or underlinings of single words, more rarely of phrases or whole sentences. Since Brückner was, as mentioned above, quite moderate in marking the texts he was reading, as a rule it is hard to classify his annotations as active-receptive traces in Wieland's understanding, also because in one text he would rarely mark many different places or longer fragments.

However, at this point, let us mention two examples of Brückner's traces of reading which could be ranked among this group,

61 Besides, Wieland distinguishes traces of the following character: possessive-receptive ('possesiv-rezeptive Spuren'), expressive-receptive ('expressiv-rezeptive Spuren'), and creative-receptive ('kreativ-rezeptive Spuren'), which, however, according to my so-far research are not found in Brückner's books. Two other types: non-receptive and destructive-receptive have already been discussed in Section 2 On traces of reading and research into them. The last category distinguished by Wieland: situational-receptive traces ('situativ-rezeptive Spuren') can be found in one of the two editions of Piotr Skarga's *Kazania sejmowe* though their Brückner's authorship is excluded by their handwriting. An unknown reader noted at the page's bottom the date on which he completed the subsequent section of reading, e.g., on Tuesday 4 Dec. he read up to p. 356, on Wednesday 5 of March until p. 360, etc., up to p. 374 on Sunday 8 December, etc. – Skarga, *Kazania Sejmowe...* 1912, pp. 342, 356, 360, 364, 366, 368, 370, and 374.

and which constitute an exception among all the traces he left, first of all because they are very clear and extremely invasive.[62] We can find them in the offprint of Włodzimierz Spasowicz's paper on Konrad Wallenrod from 1889, where they were made with a red pencil Brückner often used when reading; his attribution can also be confirmed through one written word in his handwriting [Fig. 31]. Apart from these, what we find here are thick framings of whole paragraphs as well as crossing outs with a diagonal line of whole text fragments or even pages, actually quite untypical of Brückner[63] [Fig. 32].

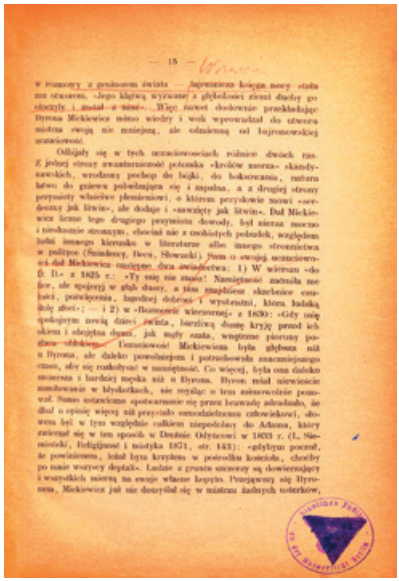
We can see a similar attitude in the book by Józef Ujejski on Antoni Malczewski (1921) in which, particularly in the two chapters on *Marja*, one finds numerous and very clear traces of reading, such as crossing out with a large cross of a substantial fragment of the text [Fig. 33] or very long vertical lines on the side of a whole text page.[64] These traces were made in pencil, similarly as the others which are clearly attributed to Brückner. These are two comments in which we recognize his handwriting and one in-text reference [Figs. 34 and 35], which he often used in his books, and which we will talk about in due course.[65] Brückner's interest in Ujejski's work yielding attentive reading may have been caused by the fact that four years later he published his *Marja* by Malczewski. In a short preface to his book he actually referred to Ujejski to whom, as far as 'the poet's biography and the analysis of his work' were concerned,

62 For this reason a question can be asked here to verify whether these traces come from Brückner with full certainty, first of all because from today's perspective it is hard to unequivocally confirm this or deny. I personally, however, consider it likely, e.g., for the reasons I give in the paper above.

63 W. Spasowicz, *Konrad Wallenrod. Odczyt miany w dniu 10go września* [sic!] *1889 roku w Sali ratuszowej we Lwowie*, Lwów 1889, pp. 6–9, 13–15 and 20–21 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No Oj 2067/100). Unfortunately, this word ('wrzawa'?, meaning 'uproar') is illegible.

64 J. Ujejski, *Antoni Malczewski (Poeta i poemat)*, Warszawa 1921, pp. 204, 211–212, 321 i 328 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. KO 8649 U33). Strictly speaking these reading traces are found in the chapters discussing *Marja*'s presentation and language.

65 Ibidem, pp. 324–325, 327, and 329.



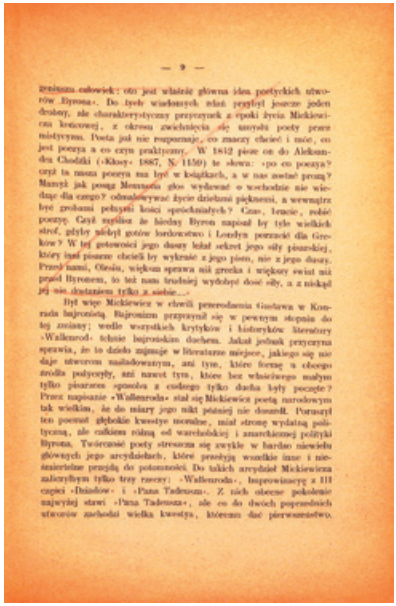
— 15 —

w rozmowy z genialnym światu — tajemniczą księgą nocy — stale nie otworem. «Jego klątwą wyrażanie z głębokości ziemi duchy go otoczyły i znalazł w nim». Więc nawet dosłownie przekładając Byrona Mickiewicz mimo wiedzy i woli wprowadzał do utworu niektóre swoją nie mniejszą, ale odmienną od łajronowskiej uczuciowość.

Odbijały się w tych uczuciowościach różnice dwóch ras. Z jednej strony awanturniczość potomka «kreków morza» skandynawskich, wrodzony pochop do bójki, do bohaterstwa, natura bliższa do gniewu pobudzającego się i impulsu, a z drugiej strony perypetyty właściwe plemieniowi, o którym przychodzi mówić «serdeczny jak litwin», ale dodaje i «zawzięty jak litwin». Dał Mickiewicz liczne tego drugiego przymiotu dowody, był nieraz mocno i niedbale stronnym, chociaż nie z osobistych pobudek, względem ludzi innego kierunku w literaturze albo innego stronnictwa w polityce (Śniadecky, Ossa, Słowacki). Jeśli o swojej uczuciowości dał Mickiewicz ostrzejsze dzieła świadectwa: 1) W wierszu «do D. D.» z 1825 r.: «Ty mię nie znasz! Namiętność znienawidzone lice, ale spojrzeń w głąb duszy, a tam znajdziesz skarbnice czułości, poświęcenia, łagodnej dobroci i wyrozumień, która ludzką złość złoci» — i 2) w «Rozmowie wieczornej» z 1830: «Gdy mię spokojnym mrozią dzieci świata, barziej duszę krzyż przed ich okiem i obojętna dłoń, jak mgły zrania, wrogiemi pioruny pali». Uczuciowość Mickiewicza była głębsza niż u Byrona, ale daleko powolniejsza i potrzebowała znaczniejszego czasu, aby się rozkochiwać w namiętności. Co więcej, była ona daleko szczersza i bardziej męska niż u Byrona. Byron wziął nierzadko namiętność w błyskotkach, nie myśląc o tem zanadto poważnie. Stąd ostatecznie spotwarzanie się przez bezwzględnych, że dbał o opinię więcej niż przystało samodzielnemu człowiekowi, obawiał był w tym względzie całkiem niepodobny do Adama, który zacierał się w ten sposób w Drezdnie Odyńcowi w 1803 r. (L. Siemieński, Religijność i nietzyka 1871, str. 143): «gdybym poczuł, że powinienem, leżał bym krzyżem w postrollu kościoła, chociby po nasie wszyscy deptali». Ludzie z grunta szczerzy są dowierzającymi i wszystkich miarą na swoje własne kopyto. Przejawowy się Byronem, Mickiewicz już nie dozwalał się w miarach żadnych osterków,

Biblioteka PAN w Krakowie

FIG. 31.



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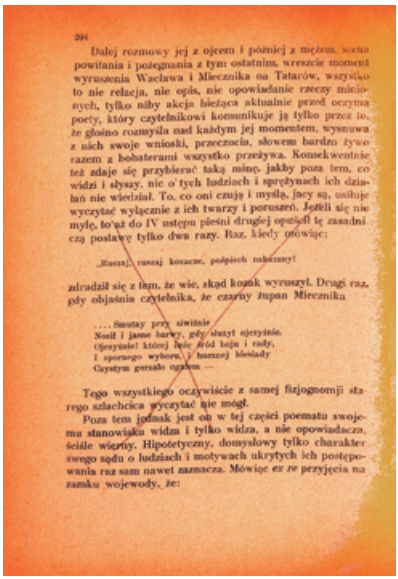
Byrona człowiek; on jest właśnie główną ideą poetyckich utworów Byrona». Do tych wiadomych zdań przyłożył jeszcze jeden drobny, ale charakterystyczny przyczynek z epoki życia Mickiewicza krakowskiej, z okresu zwichrzenia się naiwnie poety przez mistycyzm. Poeta już nie rozumuje, co znaczy chcieć i może, co jest poezya a co czyn praktyczny. W 1832 pisze on do Aleksandra Chodźki («Kłosy» 1887, N. 1150) te słowa: «po co poezya? czyż ta nasza poezya ma być w książkach, a w nas zostać pustą? Mamyż jak posąg Memnona głos wydawać o wschodzie nie wiedząc dla czego? odmalowywać życie dziełami pięknemi, a wewnątrz być grobami pełnymi kości spróchniałych? Czas, lecimy, rośnie poezyę. Gazy myślisz że hiedy Byron napisał by tyle wielkich strof, gdyby nie był gotów bardzo stwo i Londyn porzucić dla Grekow? W tej gotowości jego duszy leżał sekret jego siły poetyckiej, który inni pisarze chcieli by wykraść z jego pism, nie z jego duszy. Przed nami, Olesia, większem sprawa niż grecka i większy świat niż przed Byronem, to też nam trudniej wydobyć dość siły, a z niej jej nie dostaniem tylko z siebie...»

Był więc Mickiewicz w chwili przerodzenia Gustawa w Konrada bajronistą. Bajronizm przyswoił się w pewnym stopniu do tej zmiany; wedle wszystkich krytyków i historyków literatury «Wallenrod» tchnie bajronskim duchem. Jakaż jednak przyczyna sprawia, że to dzieło zajmuje w literaturze miejsce, jakiego się nie daje utworom naśladowczym, ani tym, które formę a obcego źródła pożyczyły, ani nawet tym, które bez właściwego małym tylko pisarzem sposobu z cudzego tylko ducha były poczęte? Przez napisanie «Wallenroda» stał się Mickiewicz poetą narodowym tak wielkim, że do miary jego nikt później nie dosiegł. Porusył ten poemat głębokie kwestye moralne, miał stronę wydatną polityczną, ale całkiem różną od warcholskiej i anarchicznej polityki Byrona. Twórczość poety streszcza się zwykle w bardzo niewielu głównych jego arcydziełach, które przedstawiają wzniłe inne i niezaniedbalne przejścia do potomności. Do takich arcydzieł Mickiewicza zaliczyłym tylko trzy rzeczy: «Wallenroda», inspirowniczy z III części «Dziadów» i «Pana Tadeusza». Z nich obecne pokolenie najwyżej stawi «Pana Tadeusza», ale co do dwóch poprzednich utworów zachodzi wielka kwestya, któremu dać pierwszeństwo.

FIG. 32.

A Book Collection as Foundation of Academic Work



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Dalej rozmowy jej z ojcem i później z mężem, scena powitania i pożegnania z tym ostatnim, wreszcie moment wyruszenia Wacława i Miecznika na Tatarów, wszystko to nie relacja, nie opis, nie opowiadanie rzeczy minionych, tylko niby akcja bieżąca aktualnie przed oczyma poety, który czytelnikowi komunikuje ją tylko przez to, że głośno rozmyśla nad każdym jej momentem, wysnuwa z nich swoje wnioski, przeczucia, słowem bardzo żywo razem z bohaterami wszystko przeżywa. Konsekwentnie też zdaje się przybierać taką minę, jakby poza brzeg, co widzi i słyszy, nie o tych ludziach i sprężynach ich działań nie wiedział. To, co oni czują i myślą, jacy są, usiłuje wyczytać wyłącznie z ich twarzy i poruszeń. Jeżeli się nie mylę, to aż do IV ustępu pieśni drugiej opuścił tę zasadniczą postawę tylko dwa razy. Raz, kiedy mówiąc:

„Kozacy, ruszaj kozacze, podpiecz zakrzany!

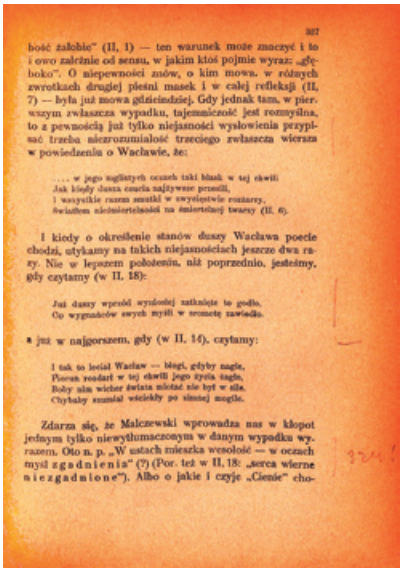
zdradził się z tym, że wie, skąd komik wyruszył. Drugi raz, gdy objaśnia czytelnika, że czarny pan Miecznika

... Smutny przy siwiźnie
Nosił i jasne karky, gdy służył ojczyźnie.
Ojczyźnie! której losy źródł boju i rady,
I sporego wyboru, i hucznej biesiady
Czystym gorsało ogniem —

Tego wszystkiego oczywiście z samej fizjognomji starego szlachcica wyczytać nie mógł.

Poza tem jednak jest on w tej części poematu swojemu stanowisku widza i tylko widza, a nie opowiadacza, ściśle wierny. Hipotetyczny, domysłowy tylko charakter swego sądu o ludziach i motywach ukrytych ich postępowania raz sam nawet zaznacza. Mówiąc *ex re* przyjęcia na zamku wojewody, że:

FIG. 33.



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bość żałobie" (II, 1) — ten warunek może znaczyć i to i owo zależnie od sensu, w jakim ktoś pojmie wyraz „głęboko". O niepewności znów, o kim mowa, w różnych zwrotkach drugiej pieśni musek i w całej refleksji (II, 7) — była już mowa gdzieindziej. Gdy jednak tam, w pierwszym zwłaszcza wypadku, tajemniczość jest rozmyślna, to z pewnością już tylko niejasności wysłowienia przypisać trzeba niezrozumiałość trzeciego zwłaszcza wiersza w powiedzeniu o Wacławie, że:

... w jego mglistych oczach taki blask w tej chwili
Jak kiedy dusza czerpie najżywsze przeżycia,
I wszystkie razem zamknie w zwycięstwie rozkazy,
Świadom nieśmiertelności na śmiertelnej twarzy (II, 6).

I kiedy o określenie stanów duszy Wacława poecie chodzi, utykamy na takich niejasnościach jeszcze dwa razy. Nie w lepszem położeniu, niż poprzednio, jesteśmy, gdy czytamy (w II, 18):

Już duszy wprzód wyzwolonej zatknięto to godło,
Co wygnańców swych myśli w ucieczce zawiodło.

a już w najgorszem, gdy (w II, 14), czytamy:

I tak to leciał Wacław — biegł, gdyby nagle,
Piorun rozdarł w tej chwili jego rycia tagle,
Boby nim wicher świata miotać nie był w siła,
Chybaby zamiast wściekły po ziemskiej mogile.

Zdarza się, że Malczewski wprowadza nas w kłopot jednym tylko niewytłumaczonym w danym wypadku wyrazem. Oto n. p. „W ustach mieszka wesołość — w oczach myśl **zgadnienia**" (?) (Por. też w II, 18: „serca wierne **niezgadnione**"). Albo o jakie i czyje „Cienie" cho-

FIG. 34.

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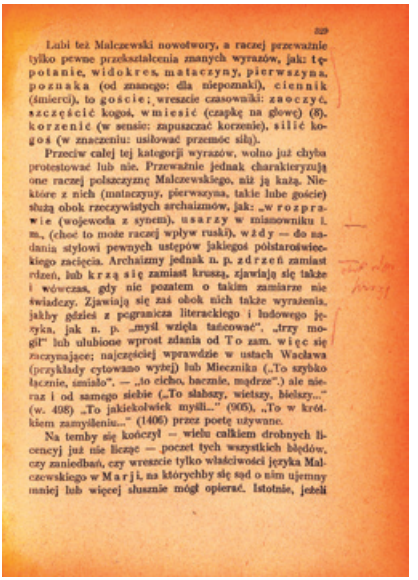


Lubi też Malczewski nowotwory, a raczej przeważnie tylko pewne przekształcenia znanych wyrazów, jak: tępotanie, widokres, mataczyny, pierwszyzna, poznaka (od znanego: dla niepoznaki), cienik (śmierci), to goście, wreszcie czasowniki: zaoczyć, szczęścić kogoś, wmiesić (czapkę na głowę) (8), korzenić (w sensie: zapuszczać korzenie), silić kogoś (w znaczeniu: usiłować przemóc siłą).

Przeciw całej tej kategorji wyrazów, wolno już chyba protestować lub nie. Przeważnie jednak charakteryzują one raczej polszczyznę Malczewskiego, niż ją każą. Niektóre z nich (mataczyny, pierwszyzna, takie lube goście) służą obok rzeczywistych archaizmów, jak: „w rozprawie (wojewoda z synem), usarzy w mianowniku l. m., (choć to może raczej wpływ ruski), wżdy — do nadania stylowi pewnych ustępów jakiegoś półstaroświeckiego zacięcia. Archaizmy jednak n. p. zdrzeń zamiast rzeń, lub krzą się zamiast kruszą, zjawiają się także i wówczas, gdy nic pozatem o takim zamiarze nie świadczy. Zjawiają się zaś obok nich także wyrażenia, jakby gdzieś z pogranicza literackiego i ludowego języka, jak n. p. „myśl wzięła tańcować", „trzy mogił" lub ulubione wprost zdania od To zam. więc się zaczynające; najczęściej wprawdzie w ustach Wacława (przykłady cytowane wyżej) lub Mieczmika („To szybko łącznie, śmiało". — „to cicho, baczmie, mądrze".) ale nieraz i od samego siebie („To słabszy, wietszy, bielszy..." (w. 408) „To jakiekolwiek myśli..." (905), „To w krótkiem zamyśleniu..." (1406) przez poetę używane.

Na temby się kończył — wielu całkiem drobnych licencyj już nie licząc — poczet tych wszystkich błędów, czy zaniedbań, czy wreszcie tylko właściwości języka Malczewskiego w Marji, na którychby się sąd o nim ujemny mniej lub więcej słusznie mógł opierać. Istotnie, jeżeli

FIG. 35.

he did not wish to add anything, basing himself to a large degree on Ujejski's edition of the text.[66]

The biggest group of Brückner's traces of reading is undoubtedly constituted by the selective-receptive ones (in Wieland's terms), precisely marking definite spots in the text that aroused his interest. Among them we will find both annotations, marginalia, and intracerpts, as distinguished by Bamert. When studying Brückner's traces of reading, let us not forget that he was a professional reader, and would read books against the background of his own extensive expertise he confronted the absorbed texts with. Therefore, the primary aim of his reading was not to acquire new knowledge of a given topic, but he predominantly approached his reading critically.

Numerous traces of this approach can be found, for example, in Karol Badecki's bibliographic monograph *Literatura mieszczańska*

66 A. Malczewski, *Marja. Powieść ukraińska*, preface and explanations Aleksander Brückner, Lwów/Warszawa/Kraków 1925, pp. V–VI.

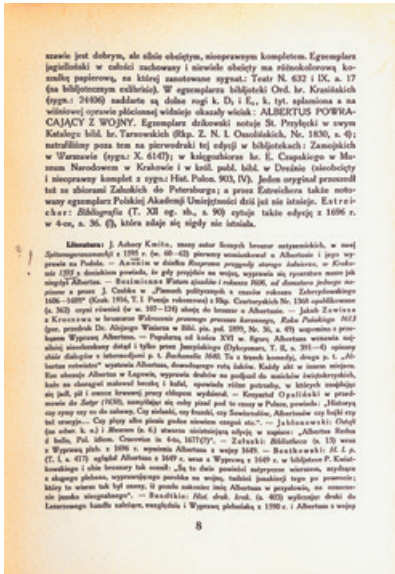
w Polsce XVII wieku from 1925. They are characteristic of Brückner, and demonstrate that he read the book with vivid interest, possibly due to the fact that he authored the preface to it, which is also clearly visible in his almost enthusiastic review of the study.[67] The traces in this book assume the form of numerous, most commonly, short, underlinings and vertical lines along the paragraphs' sides (sometimes occurring simultaneously), short horizontal lines to the side of the text or question marks and exclamation marks by the places that aroused his interest [Figs. 36, 37, 38 and 39].[68] The traces generally refer to a very definite place in the text, e.g., a date, name, or word, sometimes only merely to a part of them; we occasionally observe a combination of two signs/parasigns within one annotation, e.g., a vertical line on the side together with an exclamation mark or an underlining in the text.

In many cases Brückner's selective-receptive traces can be classified as corrections focusing on oversights, defaults, or errors that he found, which reflects the image of him as an expert and a professional reader. Many of such correcting reading traces can be found in the Polish translation of *Historia de duobus amantibus* written by Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who later became Pope Pius II, translated by Krzysztof Golian, and published by Samuel Adalberg in 1896. The fact that Brückner had numerous objections to the translation itself and the translator, can be found in the long review he wrote and in which we can read the following among other things:

> 'Behind that meaningful difference there appears the translator pacing strictly in the wake of the sound of the original, provided the translator is capable of understanding and rendering it. Not boasting a trace even of a poetical talent, he ranks among those rhymesters

67 A. Brückner, 'Karol Badecki. Literatura mieszczańska w Polsce XVII wieku…', *Reformacja w Polsce* y. IV/1926, nos. 13–16, pp. 240–243. Brückner also received the third of the ten personalized copies.

68 Badecki, *Literatura mieszczańska…*, pp. 8, 14–15, 19, 21, 22–23, 43, 112, 126, 130, 132, 134, Figs. 57, 139, 145, 167–168, 179, 189, 204, 236, 238, 247, 251, 272–273, 276, 296, 314, 409, 412, 445, 476, 479, 483, 499, 505, 530, 533–539 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. KO 2700 B133).

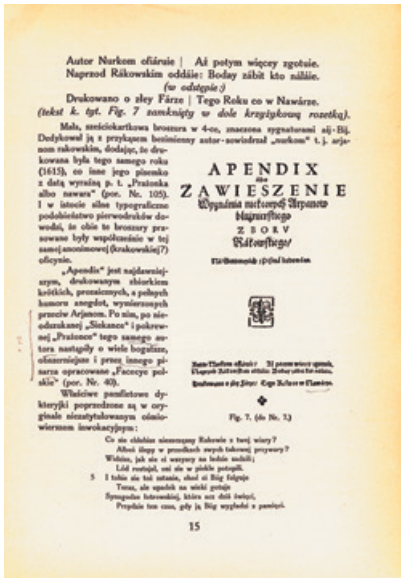


szawie jest dobrym, ale silnie obciętym, niesprawnym kompletem. Egzemplarz jagiellońskí w całości zachowany i niewiele obcięty ma różnokolorową kanzlej papierową, na której zanotowane sygnat.: Teatr N. 632 i IX. a. 17 (na biblijotecznym exlibrisie). W egzemplarzu biblijoteki Ord. hr. Krasińskich (sygn.: 24036) naddarte są dolne rogi k. D, i E₄, k. tyt. splamiona a na wiślanej oprawie płóciennej widnieje okazały wlepek: ALBERTUS POWRACAJĄCY Z WOJNY. Egzemplarz dzikowski notuje St. Przyłęcki w swym Katalogu bibl. hr. Tarnowskich (Bkp. Z. N. I. Oszolińskich, Nr. 1830, s. 4); natrafiliśmy poza tem na pierwodruki tej edycji w biblijotekach: Zamojskich w Warszawie (sygn.: X. 6147); w księgozbiorze hr. E. Czapskiego w Muzeum Narodowem w Krakowie i w król. publ. bibl. w Dreźnie (niecobcięty i nieprzarty komplet z sygn.: Hist. Polon. 903, IV). Jeden oryginał przeszedł też ze zbiorami Załuskich do Petersburga; a przez Estreichera także notowany egzemplarz Polskiej Akademji Umiejętności dziś już nie istnieje. Estreicher: *Bibliografia* (T. XII cg. xb., s. 90) cytuje także edycję z 1696 r. w 4-ce, s. 36. (!), która zdaje się zgoły nie istniała.

Literatura: J. Ashorz Kmita, zmory autor licznych broszur antyszwedzkich, w swej *Spitzrutenpostmenschi* z 1595 r. (w. 60–62) pierwszy wzmiankował o Albertonie i jego wyprawie na Podole. — Aeneim w dziełku *Rozprawa przygody sławnego Jednorożca, w Krakowie 1597* z dosiekliwą powiastkę, że gdy przyjście na wojnę, wyprawia się rycerstwo mocno jak niegdyś Albertus. — Szczuczanie *Wotum złożone i rokosza 1606, od domowego jedności rozpienie* z prozy J. Cośków w *Pamiętnik politycznych i rzeczy rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego* 1606–1609" (Kraków 1916, T. I: Pomija rokoszowej z Bkp. Czartoryskich Nr. 1368 opublikowane (s. 362) czyni również (w w. 107–124) złośliwy do broszur o Albertonie. — Jakub Zawisza z Krzczonowa w broszurze *Widzowanie przemocy przeciwko Szwedzkiego, Rzeka Polskiego 1613* (por. przedruk Dr. Alojzego Wiszera w Bibl. pis. pol. 1899, Nr. 36, s. 47) wspomina o przebiegu Wyprawy Albertona. — Popularną od końca XVI w. figurę Albertona wzięcia najchętniej szczebrzeszyn detal i tylko przez Jana Jabłońskiego (Dykcjonarz, T. II, s. 391—6) opisany *chiże dialogiczne o interesujący* p. t. *Bachanalia 1640*. To o trzech kumotry, drugą p. t. „Albertus rotmistrz" wystawia Albertona, dowodzącego rotą żydzim. Każdy akt w innem miejscu. Kto słuszuje Albertus w Legnicy, wyprawia drabiny na przyjaciół do miejscine łaciętkowych, kuło na chorągwi malowal herchy i kufal, opowiada różne potrzeby, w których znajdzieje się jeść, pić i cnocze krwawej przez chłopom wydzierał. — Krzysztof Opaliński w przedmowie do *Satyr* (1650), nazywając się sobą pisał pod ten czasy w Polsce, powiada: „Historyą czy czasy czy co do zabawy. Czy siedzisz, czy frantel, czy Szwierzyńce, Albertusów czy hajki czy też uroczyc... Czy płyny albo piesni godne niewiem czegoś stu.". — Jabłonowski: Ostoji (jw. zobac. k. a.) i *Bezorm* (s. 6.) stwierdza niezbitnie odjęcie w napisie: „Albertus Redux d bello, Pol. idem. Cracoviae in 4-to, 1677(?)". — Załuski: *Bibliotheca* (s. 13) wzmi z Wyprawą pisb. z 1696 r. wymienia Albertona z wojny 1649. — Bentkowski: *Hist. Lit. p.* (T. I, s. 417) wzgląd Albertona z 1649 r. wzm z Wyprawą z 1649 r. w bibljotece P. Kwiatkowskiego i chce broszury tak zwaną: „Ja to dwie powieści zatrzymie wierszem, zczybam z skąpego płobosa, wyprawiającego pocztka na wojnę, tudzież jonakiej tego po powrocie; który to wierzu tak był znany, iż prawie zakonnie imię Albertusa w przysłowiu, na oznaczenie jenaka niezgrabnego". — Bandtkie: *Hist. druk. krak.* (s. 403) wyliczając druki do Letniczego handlu zabiegu, wzgląd. i Wyprawę głobiańską z 1590 r. i Albertusa z wojny

8

FIG. 36.



Autor Nurkom ofiaruie | Ad potym więcey zgotuie.
Naprzod Rákowskim oddáie: Bodáy zábit kto nádáie.
(w odstępie.)
Drukowano o złey Fárze | Tego Roku co w Nawárze.
(tekst k. tyt. Fig. 7 zamknięty w dole krzyżykową rozetką).

Mała, szesciokartkowa broszura w 4-ce, znaczona sygnaturami aij–Biij. Dedykował ją z przykazem bezimienny autor-nowinarz „nurkom" t. j. wojnom rakowskim, dodając, że drukowana była tego samego roku (1615), co inne jego piesnska z datą wyraźną p. t. „Prazonka albo nawara" (por. Nr. 105). I w istocie silne typograficzne podobieństwo pierwodruków dowodzi, że obie te broszury prawdopodobnie były współczesnie w tej samej (anonimowej (krakowskiej?) oficynie.

„Apendix" jest najdawniejszym, drukowanym zbiorkiem krótkich, prozaicznych, a pełnych humoru anegdot, wymierzonych przeciw Arjanom. Po nim, po niedatowanej „Siekanze" i pokrewnej „Prazonce" tego samego autora nastąpiły o wiele bogatsze, ofiarniejsze i przez innego pisarza opracowane „Facecye polskie" (por. Nr. 40).

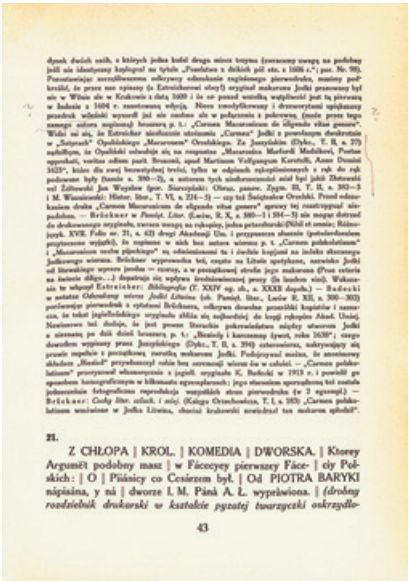
Właściwe pamflietowe dykteryjki poprzedzone są w oryginale niezatytułowanym ośmiowiersem inwokacyjnym:

Co nie zlákánim niezmeszany Rakowie z twoj wiary?
Albos śkapy w prozdnych swych tabernaj przywary?
Widzisz, jak sie ci warzywy na ludzie zadáli;
Lúd rostrząs, ony sie w piekle potrapli.
I tobie zie też zatásie, chcesz ci Bóg folgoje
Toraz, ale upadek na wiecki gotuje
Synagodze fałszowskiej, która nas dziś świętej,
Przydáie ten czas, gdy ją Bóg wygbebi z pamięci.

15

FIG. 37.

A Book Collection as Foundation of Academic Work



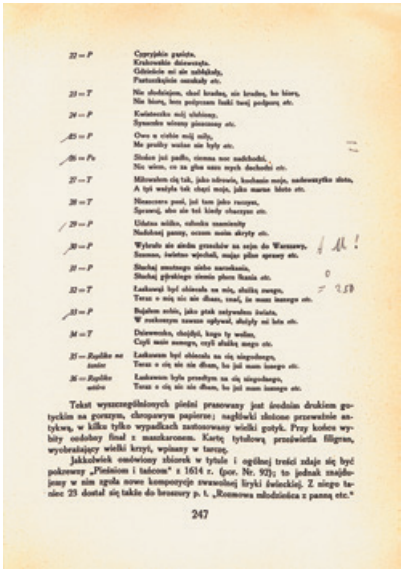
dynek dwóch osób, z których jedna kobiet drugą mówi trzymą (zwracamy uwagę na podobną jeśli nie identyczną kompozycję na tytule „Powieści z dziejów pol. etc. z 1626 r.“) por. Nr. 99). Przeciwieństwie szczegółowemu odkrywcy odnalezienie zaginionego pierwodruku, mniejszy podkrólić, że przez nas opisany (u Estreichera nr. 1805) oryginał makaronu Jodki przynosiły był nie w Wilnie ale w Krakowie z daty 1620 i że on ponad wątpliwość jest tą pierwszą w Jodkach z 1604 r. zaznaczoną edycją. Nieco zmodyfikowany i przeredytowany najpóźniejszy przedruk wileński wyszedł już nie osobno ale w połączeniu z pokrewną, (może przez tego samego autora napisaną) broszurą p. t.: „Carmen Macaronicum de aligardo vitae genere“. Widzi się, że Estreicher niesłusznie utożsamia „Carmen“ Jodki z powołanym dwukrotnie w „Satyrach“ Opalińskiego „Macaronem“ Orzeskiego. Za Janczykiem (Dykc., T. II, s. 378) najbliższym, że Opaliński odwołuje się na rozpoczęte „Macaronica Marforii Modalkovi, Postae oppidani, varitas odium parit. Svasoni, apud Martinum Vidgangum Kovetelli, Anno Domini 1625“, które dla swej humorystycznej treści, tylko w odpisach rękopiśmiennych z rąk do rąk podawane były (tamże s. 390—2), a autorem tych niedrukowanych miał być jakiś Zbitowski vel Zdirowski Jan Wasyliw (por. Starczyński: Obraz. pamow. Zygm. III, T. II, s. 382—3 i M. Wiszniewski: Histor. liter., T. VI, s. 224—5) — czy też Świętosław Orzeski. Przed odnalezieniem drobne „Carmen Macaronicum de aligardo vitae genere“ sprawy tej rozstrzygnąć niepodobna. — Brückner w *Pamiętn. Liter.* (Lwów, R. X, s. 980—1 i 984—5) nie mogąc dotrzeć do drukowanego oryginału, zwrócił uwagę na rękopisy, jedna petersburski (Nibl et omnia; Różnojęzyk. XVII. Folio nr. 21, s. 62) drugi Akademji Um. i przypuszcza słuszne (potwierdzonem przytoczone wyżej), że tożsame w nich bez autora wiersze p. t. „Carmen polskolatinum“ i „Macaronicum oratio pijackiego“ są odmiennemi tu i dwiema kopjami na luźnie skreszego Jodkowego wiersza. Brückner wypowiedzia też, często na Litwie spotykane, nazwisko Jodki od litewskiego wyrazu jodas = ocet, a w poszukiwaniu etymologji ojczyzn jego makaronu (Prus ostrzeia na świecie długo...) dopatruje się wpływu środkowoniemieckiej prozy (za Inowrocławiem). Wskazania te wbrew Estreicher: *Bibliografia* (T. XXIV wg. ch., s. XXXII dopełn.) — Radecki w notatce Odezdanej wierze *Jodki Litwina* (ch. Pamięt. liter., Lwów R. XII, s. 300—302) porównuje pierwodruk z wydaniem Brückners, odkrywa drugie pozniejsze kopistów i zamazan, że tekst jagiellońskiego oryginału zdaje się najbardziej do kopji rękopisu Akad. Umiej. Nowszemu też dodaje, że jest prozne Starzeckie pokrewieństwo między utworem Jodki a zierzeniu po dziś dzień broszury p. t.: „Niezwykły i kurzemny żywot, roku 1630“; czego dowodem wypisany przez Janczykiego (Dykc., T. II, s. 394) ostrowniczy, zakrzywiający się prawie napełnie z poziąbkowej narzeby makaronu Jodki. Podejrzywać można, że anonimowy składem „Nestor“ przyrabnerzył robie bez zarzeczeń wiersz ów w całości. — „Carmen polskolatinum“ przerywnął ułamanie z jegoli oryginału K. Radecki w 1913 r. i powtórł go opatrzeniu fotograficznym w kilkunastu egzemplarzach; jego stanowiem sporządzenia też zostało zdjęcie fotograficzne reprodukcja wszystkich stron pierwodruku (w 2 egzempl.) — Brückner: *Cechy liter. szlach. i mies.* (Księga Orzechowicza, T. I, s. 393) „Carmen polskolatinum wreszcie w Jodku Litwina, chociaż krakowski wydawca] ten makaron ogłosił“.

21.

Z CHŁOPA | KROL. | KOMEDIA | DWORSKA. | Ktorey Argumẽt podobny masz | w Fáccecyey pierwszey Fácę- | ciy Polskich: | O | Piáńicy co Cesárzem był. | Od PIOTRA BARYKI náp̃isána, y ná | dworze I. M. Páná A. Ł. wypráwiona. | *(drobny rozdzielnik drukarski w kształcie pyzatej twarzyczki oskrzydlo-*

43

FIG. 38.



22 — P	Cyrzyńkie zgięte, Krakowskie dziewczęta. Gdzieście mi się zabłąkały, Partuteńskie smukały etc.
23 — T	Nie chodziajem, chod krudna, nie krudna, bo biorą, Nie biorą, bom podyrcam łatki twojej podpaszą etc.
24 — P	Kwiateczku mój zielony, Dyscenku wiosny pierwszemy etc.
25 — P	Owo u rzeźnie mój miły, Me prośby wcale nie były etc.
26 — Pc	Słońce już padło, ciemna noc nadchodzi, Nie wiem, co za głos nasz nocy dochodzi etc.
27 — T	Milionkiem cię tak, jako zdrowie, kochanie moje, nadewszytko złote, A tyś wszyta tak chęci moje, jako marne błoto etc.
28 — T	Nieszczera pani, jać tam jako rzeczem, Sprzeczaj, ako się tak kiedy chcecyan etc.
29 — P	Udałam miłko, udałam nasmienity Nadobnej panny, ocsem moim skryty etc.
30 — P	Wybrała się siedm grzechów za nojm do Warszawy. Szumno, świetno wjechali, mając pilne sprawy etc.
31 — P	Słuchaj smutnego słowa narzekania, Słuchaj płynącego z serca płaczu Hania etc.
32 — T	Laskawaj być chciała za mią, służką swego, Teraz o mią nie nie dbasz, znać, że mam innego etc.
33 — P	Bojałem zelżeń, jako ptak zelżywego świata, W rozkoszyu zawsze upływał, służyły mi lata etc.
34 — T	Dziewczeńka, chojdyj, kogo ty wołas, Czyś mało swego, czyś służką swego etc.
35 — *Zupełnie na temże*	Laskawam był chciała za cią singolnego, Teraz o cią nie nie dbam, bo jał mam innego etc.
36 — *Zupełnie*	Laskawam była przedtym za cią singolnego, Teraz o cią nie nie dbam, bo jał mam innego etc.

Tekst wyszczególnionych pieśni przenowany jest średnim drukiem gotyckim na gorszym, chropawym papierze; nagłówki złożone przeważnie antykwą, w kilku tylko wypadkach zastosowany wielki gotyk. Przy końcu wybity osobny finał z maszkaronem. Kartę tytułową prześwietla filigran, wyobrażający wielki krzyż, wpisany w tarczę.

Jakkolwiek osobliwy zbiorek w tytule i ogólnej treści zdaje się być pokrewny „Piosnkom i tańcom“ z 1614 r. (por. Nr. 97); to jednak znajdujemy w nim zgoła nowe kompozycje zwszechnej liryki świeckiej. Z niego tanlec 23 dostał się także do broszury p. t. „Rozmowa młodzieńca z panną etc.“

247

FIG. 39.

> whom Zimorowicz complains about that "they are not as yet able to tie goats' tails, and begin to tie words' tails". His ineptitude is best seen in meaningless lines recurrently added for rhyming sake; what is worse, he does not really understand Latin well, he has hardly heard anything about mythology, history, and the Bible; he has actually made little effort to read the original thoroughly, only clumsily trying to verbalize what he can roughly grasp of the meaning. His work, the most awkward of all the translations in the 16th and 17th centuries, is actually but a solid mockery of the subtlety of style and observations of the Italian humanist. And he makes one blunder after another.[69]

Furthermore, Brückner gently reproaches the publisher Adalberg for repeating the errors from the first edition of the *Historyja o Euryalu i Lukrecji* from the 16th century, however, by the end of his review, he praises Adalberg for reissuing not very well-known works from the history of Polish literature, which does not mean to say that he is less severe with respect to the translator and his work, since he adds here a very long footnote enumerating a number of examples of the 'scandalous' translation.[70]

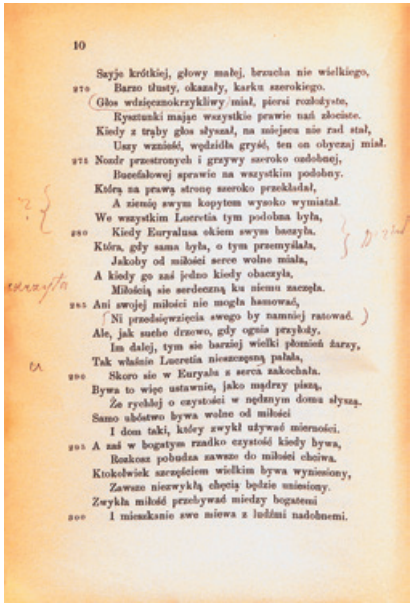
The numerous critical remarks Brückner formulates, mentioning some of them in his review, can be found because of that in the very book, since it contains many varied traces of reading. From out of 99 pages of the text only 32, namely a third, do not feature any annotations made by Brückner. While on the others we can find many markings on the side with a horizontal or straight line, or a decorative vertical bracket, underlinings, question and exclamation marks, etc. Thus Brückner evidently marked the places where he spotted a mistake with a simple annotation, in some cases correcting the erroneous concepts in the margin leaving longer comments or complements; on several occasions he also added the given poem's line in its Latin original version [Figs. 40, 41, 42, and 43].[71]

69 A. Brückner, 'Biblioteka pisarzów polskich, nr. 32. Adalberg Samuel: Historya o Euryalu i Lukrecyi…', *Kwartalnik Historyczny* y. 11/1897, pp. 821–823, here: p. 821.

70 Ibidem, pp. 822–823.

71 *Historya o Euryalu i Lukrecyi*, published P. Adalberg, Kraków 1896, pp. 17, 30, 32 i 57 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. 2016-SA-650).

A Book Collection as Foundation of Academic Work



10

Szyję krótkiej, głowy małej, brzucha nie wielkiego,
Barzo tłusty, okazały, karku szerokiego.
Głos wdzięcznokrzykliwy miał, piersi rozłożyste,
Ryzztunki mając wszystkie prawie nań złociste.
Kiedy z trąby głos słyszał, na miejscu nie rad stał,
Uszy wzniósł, wędzidła gryść, ten on obyczaj miał.
Nozdr przestronych i grzywy szeroko ozdobnej,
Bucefałowej sprawie na wszystkim podobny.
Którą na prawą stronę szeroko przekładał,
A ziemię swym kopytem wysoko wymiatał.
We wszystkim Lucretia tym podobna była,
Kiedy Euryalusa okiem swym baczyła.
Która, gdy sama była, o tym przemyślała,
Jakoby od miłości serce wolne miała,
A kiedy go zaś jedno kiedy obaczyła,
Miłością sie serdeczną ku niemu zaczęła.
Ani swojej miłości nie mogła hamować,
Ni przedsięwzięcia swego by namniej ratować.
Ale, jak suche drzewo, gdy ognia przykłady,
Im dalej, tym sie barziej wielki płomień żarzy,
Tak właśnie Lucretia nieszczęsną pałała,
Skoro sie w Euryalu z serca zakochała.
Bywa to więc ustawnie, jako mądrzy piszą,
Że rychlej o czystości w nędznym domu słyszą.
Samo ubóstwo bywa wolne od miłości
I dom taki, który zwykł używać mierności.
A zaś w bogatym rzadko czystość kiedy bywa,
Rozkosz pobudza zawsze do miłości chciwa.
Ktokolwiek szczęściem wielkim bywa wyniesiony,
Zawsze niezwykłą chęcią będzie unieśiony.
Zwykła miłość przebywać miedzy bogatemi
I mieszkanie swe miewa z ludźmi nadobnemi.

FIG. 40.



17

Każdy z nas człowiek mniejszej nadziei [1]) rad bywa
I barziej w nas panuje, niżeli myśl cheiwa.
Gdy Euryalus w sobie znak uznał miłości,
Strofując sie, dziwował swej głupiej mądrości.
Euryalo, te słowa mówisz w samym sobie,
Czy za miłość serdeczną chcesz królować tobie?
Krótki śmiech i wesele i krótkie radości.
Wielką bojaźń, długi żal i srogie boleści.
Kto umiera, ten zawsze umiera żyjący,
A przecię nie umiera wielki żal mający.
Czemu w swe serce frasek takowe przypuszczasz
I na szrot swoję zacność w miłości rozpuszczasz?
Lecz gdy próżne namowy myśli widział swojej,
Rzekł: trudno zahamować mam miłości mojej!
Zaś sie mnie srogo z sobą postępować godzi,
Zaś miłość uzbrojona przeciwko mnie chodzi,
Jako Juliuszowi i Anibalowi,
Jako mocno zbrojnemu Alexandrowi. [2])
Tym sie szkoda dziwować, jako ludziom sławnym,
Lecz inszym, w starych ludziach obyczajom dawnym:
Vergilius, poeta, patrz jak ten miłował,
Że dla wielkiej miłości nie sie nie szanował.
Jedna pani, co w wieży wysokiej mieszkała,
Po powrozie do siebie zawsze go wściągała:
Tylko żeby sie z sobą spólnie całowali,
Gdyż przez małość okienka wzajem nie bywali.
Lecz poetę może kto wymówić zacnego,
Który życia w myśleniu barzo był ścisłego.
Jeśli przez mię wspomnieni będą ludzie dawni,
Filozofowie zacni i w rozumie sławni,

[1]) Tak w pierwodr. [2]) Tak w pierw.

FIG. 41.

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Którzy przeszłobnego życia nauczali,
A przecię wenerzynej miłości żądali.
Arystoteles szczęny takiej był miłości,
Że przez nię potym przyszedł do wielkiej lekkości,
Bo niewiasta w której się zakochał serdecznie,
Jak konia osiodławszy, jeździła bezpiecznie.
Uzdę na głowę jego rzemienną włodyła,
Ostrogami i biczem, jako bydlę, biła.
O Boże, jako cesarz nasz miłości chciwy!
Co powiedział, nie jest ten w powieści prawdziwy.
Że w majestacie siedzieć nie mogą społecznie,
Wenus z królem i nie chcą zgodzić się statecznie.
Nad cesarza kto bardziej miłość sobie słodzi?
Kto na miłość niewieścią bardziej jak on godzi?
Mówią bydź Herkulesa w moey swej zacnego,
I z rodzaju przeznaczych Bogów zrodzonego.
Ten wszystkie ochędóstwa wojenne porzucił,
Do przędzienia kądziele z niewiastą się rzucił.
Palcy swemi smaragdy jak proch ścierał drobny,
A przecię warkoczem swym był dziewkom podobny.
Bażawę położywszy, używał wrzeciona,
(Przeto sława w tym jego była naganiona.)
Lecz trudno miłość w sobie wrodzoną uskromić,
Tylko przez kres śmiertelny może się zatłumić.
Rzadko człowieka najdzie bydź takiej wolności,
Żeby Cupidynowej nie uznał srogości.
Nawet ptacy tę miłość między sobą mają,
(Że przez swej społeczności nigdy nie latają.)
Synogarlica, kiedy towarzysza zgubi,
Siedź na pięknozielonym jaż drzewie nie lubi.
Gołębie takiej z sobą są miłej jedności,
(Że ludzie nie nie mają nad nie w społeczności.)

FIG. 42.

Rozum to, albo raczej chytre oszukanie,
By tajemnej miłości nie było wydanie.
Jaż Baccarus szaleje w miłości serdecznej,
Pocieszony nie może bydź, ale społecznej
Z Lucretią użyje rozmowy chętliwej
I dozna przeciw sobie w miłości życzliwej.
W Sedakim mieście obyczaj wszystkie panie mają,
Iże Panny Maryej kamień nawiedzają,
Który w kaplicy leży, z Bethleem przysłany
I długiemi odpusty na wieki nadany.
Tam Lucretia z dwiema pannoma jechała,
Babę za starą panią z sobą spólnie miała.
Tamże pozedł Baccarus, w ręku różeczkę mając,
Lucretią, jakby mu chętna była, znając.
W której list o miłości był subtelnie skryty,
A miedzy złocistemi kwiatkami zawity.
Lecz nie dziw, i Cycero pisał zacny o tym,
Gdy mu list okazała, Iliada potym,
Który był w orzechowej łupinie zawarty,
Takież to miedzy słodzią są przemądre żarty.
On kwiatek Lucretiej Baccarus oddawać
Począł, ale go ona nie chciała przyjmować.
Prośbami usilnemi prosił, by przyjęła,
W tym rzekła baba paniej, o byś oto wzięła,
Nie wiem, czemu się masz bać wziąć kwiatek od niego.
Wiem, iże w nim nie najdzie nic niebezpiecznego.
Małać to rzecz, a prośbie jego w tym dogodzić,
Takiemu żołnierzowi wszak pod tym nie chodzić.
Dość Lucretia babiej radzie uczyniła,
Że on kwiatek od niego darowany wzięła.
Trochę dalej odsiedszy, kwiatek on podała
Paunie jednej, co za nią tudzież pochadzała.

FIG. 43.

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In these cases we can already speak of marginalia Bamert distinguished as a separate category within the annotations. Apart from this example we also find marginalia in several of Brückner's other books, for example, in Józef Bartłomiej Zimorowicz's poem *Żywot Kozaków Lisowskich* published by Korneli Heck in 1886. There are three places that must be pointed to: at one Brückner proposed to replace the word 'neca' with 'nęka'; he also suggested to join the words: 'strzeże' and 'łba' (the suggestion he additionally designated with a question mark); and at the third place he corrected 'tworzą' to 'trwożą' [Figs. 44 and 45].[72] It is interesting to compare these changes with a more recent edition of Zimorowicz's poem by Roman Krzywy from 2006 where we indeed find 'strzeżyłba' and 'trwożą', as suggested by Brückner; however, in the case of 'neca', the new publisher points to the fact that this word comes from Latin, and means the imperative of 'kill', and not 'scare', as hinted by Brückner.[73] It remains to be verified whether Brückner's proposal came maybe from a different version of the text. Besides, it is difficult to ascertain today whether Brückner himself was tempted to add certain drawing elements to the portraits of two Cossacks: Kiwajło and Iwan [Fig. 46].[74]

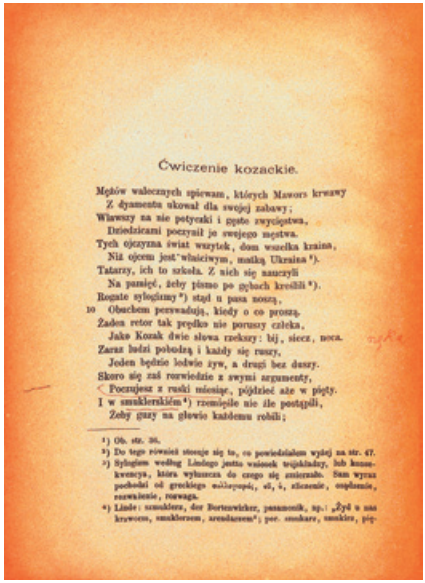
Furthermore, two other reading traces Brückner left regularly in different books can be defined as marginalia within the selective-receptive traces: these are predominantly in-text references, and secondly additions to the indexes with a reference to a definite page in the book.[75] We can notice them, among others, in the already-mentioned book on Polish bourgeois literature of the 17th century by Karol Badecki. On page 94 we can see, for example, that Brückner made reference to pages 246 and 251 [Figs. 47, 48, and 49],

72 J. B. Zimorowicz, *Żywot Kozaków Lisowskich,* judged and ed. Korneli Juliusz Heck, Lwów 1886, pp. 60–61 i 67 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. Oi 3415/15).

73 J. B. Zimorowicz, *Utwory młodzieńcze,* comp. Roman Krzywy, Warszawa 2016, pp. 51, 53, and 63.

74 Zimorowicz, *Żywot Kozaków Lisowskich…,* p. 67.

75 I have already mentioned above this type of traces with relations to the book *Słowiańskie obrzędy rodzinne* by Bystroń.



Ćwiczenie kozackie.

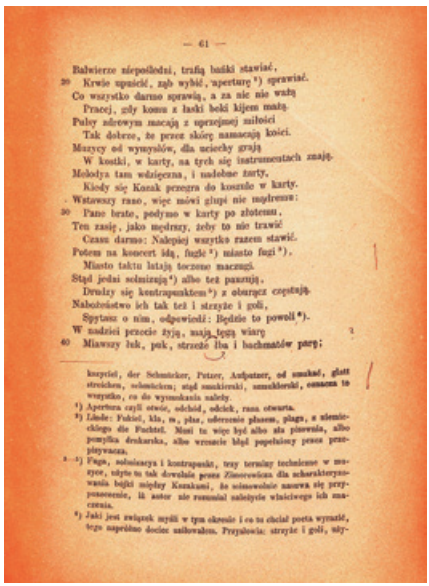
Mężów walecznych śpiewam, których Mawors krwawy
Z dyamentu ukował dla swojej zabawy;
Wiawszy na nie potyczki i gnate zwycięstwa,
Dziedzicami poczynił je swojego męstwa.
Tych ojczyzna świat wszytek, dom wszelka kraina,
Nie ojcem jest właściwym, matką Ukraina *).
Tatarzy, ich to szkoła. Z nich się nauczyli
Na pamięć, żeby pismo po cyłach kreślili *).
Rogate sylogizmy *) stąd u pasa noszą,
Obuchem perswadują, kiedy o co proszą.
Żaden retor tak prędko nie porusy człeka,
Jako Kozak dwie słowa rzekszy: bij, siecz, nocа.
Zaraz ludzi pobodzą i każdy się ruszy,
Jeden będzie ledwie żyw, a drugi bez duszy.
Skoro się zaś rozwiedzie z swymi argumenty,
Poczujesz z ruski mięsiąc, półzrzeć aże w pięty.
I w smuklerskiém *) rzemiośle nie źle postępili,
Żeby guzy na głowie każdemu robili;

*) Ob. str. 36.

*) Do tego również stosuje się to, co powiedziałem wyżej na str. 47.

*) Sylogizm według Lindego jestto wniosek trójdzielny, lub konkwencya, która wyłuszcza do czego się zmierzało. Sam wyraz pochodzi od greckiego συλλογισμός, ος, ὁ, zliczenie, osądzenie, rozważenie, rozwaga.

*) Linde: smuklerz, der Bortenwirker, passamentir, sp.: „Żyć u nas krawcem, smuklerzem, arendarzem"; por. smukare, smuklin, pię-



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Bałwierze niepośledni, trafią baśki stawiać,
Krwie upuścić, zgb wybić, aperturę *) sprawiać.
Co wszystko darmo sprawią, a za nic nie wezmą
Pracej, gdy komu z łaski beki kijem mażą.
Pulcy zdrowym macają z uprzejmej miłości
Tak dokrze, że przez skórę namacają kości.
Muzycy od wymysłów, dla uciechy grają
W kostki, w karty, na tych się instrumentach znają.
Melodya tam wdzięczna, i nadobne żarty.
Kiedy się Kozak przegra do koszuli w karty.
Wstawszy rano, więc mówi głupi nie mądremu:
Pane brate, podymo w karty po złotemu.
Ten zasię, jako mędrszy, żeby to nie trawić
Czasu darmo: Nalepiej wszytko razem stawić.
Potem na koncert idą, fugle *) miasto fugi *).
Miasto taktu latają toczone maczugi.
Stąd jedni solmizują *) albo też panmią.
Drudzy się kontrapunktem *) z oburącz częstują.
Nabożeństwo ich tak też i strzyże i goli,
Spytasz o nim, odpowiedź: Będzie to powoli *).
W nadziei przeto żyją, mają tęgą wiarę
Miaswszy łuk, puk, strzeże Ilu i bachmatów parę;

kuyrzić, der Schmutzker, Putzer, Aufputzer, od smukać, glatt streichen, schmücken; stąd smuklerski, smuklerskié, oznacza to wszystko, co do wymuskania należy.

*) Apertura czyli otwór, odchód, odcick, rana otwarta.

*) Linde: Fuckel, klo, m., plus, oberzenie płaszcz, plagi, z niemieckiego die Fuchtel. Musi tu więc być albo zła piszenia, albo pomyłka drukarska, albo wreszcie błąd popełniony przez przepisywacza.

–) Fuga, solmizacya i kontrapunkt, trzy terminy techniczne w muzyce, użyte tu tak dowolnie przez Zimorowicza dla scharakteryzowania bujdi niejaky Kozaków, że ostrożnie nazwa się przypuszczenie, iż autor nie rozumiał należycie właściwego ich znaczenia.

*) Jaki jest związek myśli w tym ułrywie i co tu chciał poeta wyrazić, tego napróżno dociec usiłowałem. Przysłowia: strzyże i goli, nży-

FIG. 44.

FIG. 45.

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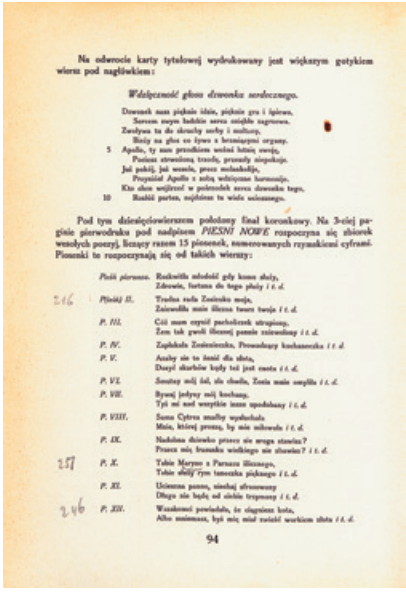
Ażeby heretycy ślepi nie błądzili,
Wyście je od złej drogi za łeb odwodzili.
Wyście Lutrom do nieba porobili mosty
Obudziwszy pokutę i wskrzesiwszy posty.
Wyście srogim bluźniercom zatykali ęgły.
Że leciały na ziemię z nich jako grad zęby.
Słusznie się też wam boją, słusznie dla was tworzą,
Słusznie was zazrywają dziwną pomstą Bożą.
Wszystkiego wam nie powiem, jeśli jeszcze chcecie
Słyszeć o nich, od tych dwu pytać się będziecie.

Kiwajło. Iwan.

I. Pomahaj Boh Kiwajło! *K.* Spasi Boh Iwane!
I. Od kul idesz? *K.* Z Morawców. *I.* Proszn te mój Pane
Szczo tam czuwat? *K.* Wsie licho Czechom! *I.* Szczo czynity
Wam? *K.* Mołojcom terpity. *I.* Nemcom? *K.* Nemców bity.

FIG. 46.



Na odwrocie karty tytułowej wydrukowany jest większym gotykiem wiersz pod nagłówkiem:

Wdzięczność głosu dzwonka serdecznego.

Dzwonek nasz pięknie idzie, pięknie gra i śpiewa.
Sercom swym ludzkie serca ciągle zagrzewa.
Zwalywa tu do skruchy serby i multany,
Bierzy na głos co żywo z brzmiącymi organy.
Apollo, ty nam przydkiem wolisz bitwy zwoje,
Puścisz strwożoną trzodę, prawdy nie zapokoje.
Już pokój, już wesołe, precz melancholije,
Przyszedł Apollo z nową wdzięczną harmonije.
Kto chce wojźrzeć w polotrodek serca dzwonka tego,
Rozbić porten, najdzisz tu wiele uciesznego.

Pod tym dziesięciowierszem położony finał koronkowy. Na 3-ciej pagini pierwodruku pod nadpisem *PIESNI NOWE* rozpoczyna się zbiorek wesołych poezyj, liczący razem 15 piosenek, numerowanych rzymskimi cyframi. Piosenki te rozpoczynają się od takich wierszy:

Pieśń pierwsza. Rozkwitła młodość gdy kosa złoży,
Zdrowie, fortuna do tego płoży *i t. d.*

Pieśń II. Truchta rudo Zośiczka moja,
Zniewoliła mnie liczna twarz twoja *i t. d.*

P. III. Cóż mam czynić pachołczek ubogiemu,
Żem tak ptwił liczonej pannie zniewolony *i t. d.*

P. IV. Zaphalo Zośiczka, Prowadzący kochaneczka *i t. d.*

P. V. Anaby nie to żenić dla złota,
Daszyć skarbów kędy tak jest cnota *i t. d.*

P. VI. Smutny mój żal, ale chwała, Zosia moje zasyła *i t. d.*

P. VII. Rywaj jedyny mój kochany,
Tyś mi nad wszystkie inne upodobany *i t. d.*

P. VIII. Sama Cytera zmalby wydychała
Mnie, której prozna, by mie miłowała *i t. d.*

P. IX. Nadolina dziewko przeco się mogą stawiać?
Przecz mię frasunku wielkiego nie zbawiać? *i t. d.*

P. X. Tobie Maryan z Parnazu liliczego,
Tobie zbiły tym tanecznka pięknego *i t. d.*

P. XI. Uciesznu panno, niechaj zbrowesny
Długu nie będą od siebie trzymany *i t. d.*

P. XII. Wszakoweś powiedała, że ciągniesz kota,
Alho mniemasz, byś mię miał zwieść workiem złota *i t. d.*

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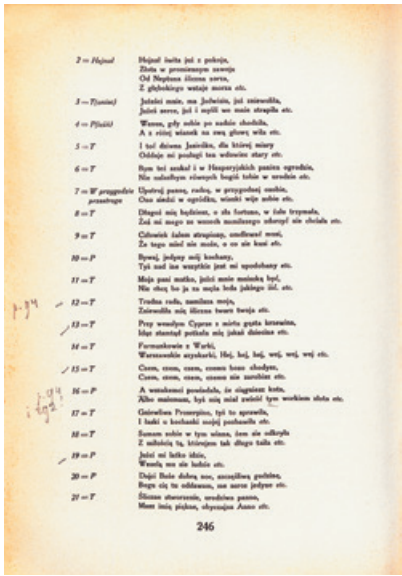
FIG. 47.



2 — Hejnał — Hejnał świta już z pokoju,
Złoty w promieniu zawoju
Od Neptuna słonna zorza,
Z głębokiego wstaje morza etc.

3 — Tyniec — Jakieś mnie, ma Jerbicie, już zniewoliła,
Jakoś serce, jak i myśli we mnie straszyła etc.

4 — Pijaki — Wezmę, gdy zobie po sadzie chodzisz,
A z różnej winnek na swą głowę wiła etc.

5 — T — I tyś dziwna Jasieńko, dla której miary
Oddaje mi posługi ten wdowiec stary etc.

6 — T — Bym też szukał i w Hesperyjskich panien ogrodzie,
Nie odnalazłym równych bogiń tobie w urodzie etc.

7 — W przygodzie przestrogo — Upatrzyj panno, radzę, w przyszłości osobie,
Ono siedzi w ogródku, wianki wije sobie etc.

8 — T — Długoć mię bujdzieć, o zła fortuno, w tobie trzymała,
Żeś mi mogła za wszech zasługi zabronić nie chciała etc.

9 — T — Człowiek żadne utrapienie, zmiłować mowi,
Że tego nimć nie może, o co nie kwi etc.

10 — P — Bywaj, jedyny mój kochany,
Tyś rad ino wszystkie jest mi upodobany etc.

11 — T — Moja pani matko, jakoś mnie mamką był,
Nie chcę bo ja za mąża bede jakiego żył. etc.

12 — T — Trudna rada, zamilcz moja,
Zniewolił mię ilicem twarz twoja etc.

13 — T — Przy wesołym Cyprze z miru grata krzesanie,
Idąc stamtąd potłuka mię jakaś dziewica etc.

14 — T — Furmanskowie z Warki,
Warszawskie szynkarki. Hej, hej, hej, wej, wej, wej etc.

15 — T — Czem, czem, czem, czemu bono chodzisz,
Czem, czem, czem, czemu nie zarobisz etc.

16 — P — A wszakżeś powiadała, że ciągniesz kotu,
Albo maszmam, byś mię miał wziąć tym workiem złota etc.

17 — T — Gniewliwa Przemysło, tyś to sprawiła,
I hańć w kochanki swojej pozbawiła etc.

18 — T — Samem sobie w tym winien, żem się zdkochał
Z miłością tą, którejem tak długo tajł etc.

19 — P — Jakoś mi latko idzie,
Wezmę, nie się bałdzie etc.

20 — P — Dajci Boże dobrą noc, szczęśliwą godzinę,
Boga cię to oddawam, na morze jedzesz etc.

21 — T — Ślicznaś stworzenie, urodziwa panno,
Mnet imię piękne, chyrzujna Anno etc.

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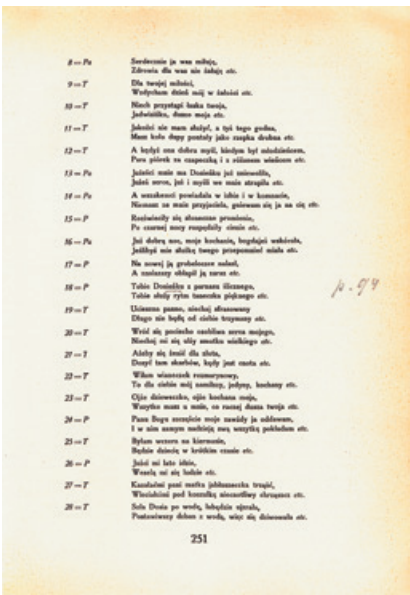

8 — Pa — Serdecznie ja was miłuję,
Zdrowia dla was nie żałuję etc.

9 — T — Dla twojej miłości,
Wotrzchem dzień mój w żałości etc.

10 — T — Niech przystąpi łaska twoja,
Jadwisiśko, domie moja etc.

11 — T — Jakoś nie mam służył, a tyś tego godna,
Mam kto dupy pontofy jako szapka drukna etc.

12 — T — A bydyś ona dobra myśl, którym był niedzielecem,
Para piórek ze czapeczką i z siłkowem wieńcem etc.

13 — Pa — Jakoś mnie na Dzielińku już zniewoliła,
Jakoś serce, jak i myśli we mnie straszyła etc.

14 — Pa — A wszakżeś powiadała w izbie i w komorze,
Niemam ze mnie przyjaciela, gniewam się ja na cię etc.

15 — P — Rozlewnicy się słowemie prowincie,
Po czarnej mocy rozpędzały cimie etc.

16 — Pa — Jak dobrą noc, moje kochanie, bogdajci wskórała,
Jedlibyś mie słodkę twego przepomnieć miała etc.

17 — P — Na nowej ja grobelszcze nabrał,
A rozlazły obłogił ja zarat etc.

18 — P — Tobie Dzielińku z parzenia iliczego,
Tobie słodły rytm tamecka pięknego etc.

19 — T — Uciekasz panno, niechaj strzeżony
Długo nie będę od cichie trzymany etc.

20 — T — Wróć się prędko cnotliwa serca mojego,
Niechaj mi się siły zmocnia niebiego etc.

21 — T — Alaby się śmiał dla złota,
Dosyć tam skarbów, kędy jest cnota etc.

22 — T — Wkon winszunek rozmarzony,
Tu dla cichie mój rozdany, jedyny, kochany etc.

23 — T — Ojże dziewczeńko, ojże kochana moja,
Wszystko mam u mnie, co rozsaj dusza twoja etc.

24 — P — Panu Bogu szczęście moje nowidy ja oddawam,
I w nim samym nadzieję mej wszystek pokładam etc.

25 — T — Bydem wczora na kierwanie,
Bydzie dziecia w krótkim czasie etc.

26 — P — Jakoś mi lato idzie,
Wezmę mi się bałdzie etc.

27 — T — Kanalarni pani matka jakbumarecka trzęsi,
Wbrzichlini pod kozuchy niecnotliwy chrapnes etc.

28 — T — Sole Dvsia po wodę, bobędzie ujrzała,
Postawiwszy dzbon z wodą, więc się dziewczała etc.

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FIG. 48.

FIG. 49.



FIG. 50.

since he noticed that literary texts printed there partially coincide, particularly with respect to certain phrasing; he also marked differences in the sound, e.g., a different name.[76] In the index we find, in turn, a similar reference: here it concerns the remark on Bartosz Paprocki and reference to page 476 where we can find some information of bibliographic character related to the works of this author (which Brückner, however, marked merely with a short horizontal line) [Fig. 50].[77]

Similar traces can be found in another book by Badecki dealing with a kind of Polish satiric comedies from the 16th and 17th century (1931),[78] which features a printed dedication to Brückner 'as a tireless researcher into the history of 17th-century literature' on his 75th

76 Badecki, *Literatura mieszczańska...*, p. 94, 246 i 251. We can find similar references on pp. 247 and 250.

77 Ibidem, pp. 476 and 532.

78 Po polsku „komedia rybałtowska" – rodzaj literatury satyrycznej z XVI i XVII wieku, posługującej się rubasznym językiem (przyp. tłumaczki).

Birthday.[79] Brückner reviewed the book amicably and extensively in German,[80] which shows that he read it thoroughly, this, in turn, reflected in the traces of reading he left. These are numerous annotations of various type (underlinings: short horizontal lines, sometimes undulating, question marks, etc.) [Fig.51], but also the places Brückner corrected (e.g., respective concepts) in marginalia [Fig. 52],[81] just as he did in the afore-discussed edition of the *Historyja o Euryalu i Lukrecji* or *Żywot Kozaków Lisowskich*. Furthermore, we can find one in-text reference[82] and numerous notes as marginalia in the very index, referring to a definite text page.[83] In these marginalia Brückner repeated a given word or a whole phrase in the index, indicating a respective page number, marking these places in the book's text with various annotations [Fig. 53 and 54].

Among Brückner's selective-receptive traces one can also rank two intracerpts: the first has already been described in the discussion of Brzozowski's *Legenda Młodej Polski*. The second example can be found in the book *Błędy językowe* by Artur Passendorfer from 1904. The interesting pages and places in the book are listed on the half-title page; these are accompanied by several pieces of information, while the handwriting suggests this was done by Brückner [Fig. 55].[84] Let me recall that Bamert applies the concept of 'intracerpts' to notes and remarks written down on the book's empty pages; according to Wieland, in turn, these may also include newly created indexes. The latter traces, however, do not seem typical of Brück-

79 K. Badecki, *Polska komedja rybałtowska. Pierwsze zbiorowe i krytyczne wydanie,* Lwów 1931, unnumbered pages (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. Ow 615). Brückner received copy 112 out of 575.

80 A. Brückner, 'Karol Badecki. Polska Komedja rybałtowska…', *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie* vol. 9, nos. 1–2/1932, pp. 240–245.

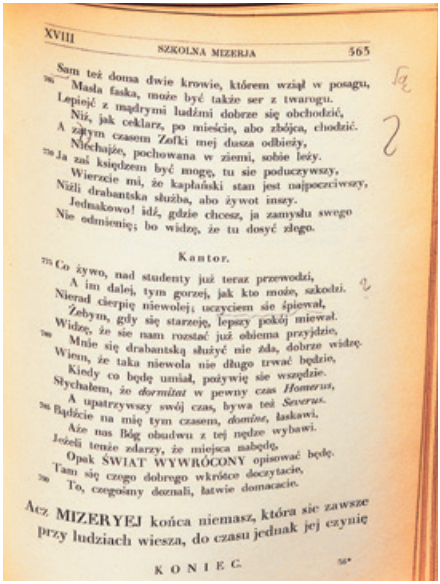
81 Badecki, *Polska komedja rybałtowska…,* pp. 505, 563, 572, and 666.

82 Ibidem, pp. 74 and 668.

83 Ibidem, pp. 84 and 725, 176 and 723, 316 and 743, 439 and 753 (with additional comments), 508 and 749 (it remains unclear why additionally p. 176 was given), as well as 765 and 767. Regrettably, it has been impossible to clarify all Brückner's comments in the index, partially because the bookbinder cut off a side of the book – pp. 772, 533 and 750, 756, 765 and 762.

84 A. Passendorfer, *Błędy językowe,* Lwów 1904, half-title page.

A Book Collection as Foundation of Academic Work



XVIII SZKOLNA MIZERJA 563

Sam też domu dwie krowie, któreм wziął w posagu,
Masła faska, może być także ser z twarogu.
Lepiejć z mądrymi ludźmi dobrze się obchodzić,
Niż, jak ceklarz, po mieście, albo zbójca, chodzić.
A zatym czasem Zofki mej dusza odbieży,
Niechajże, pochowana w ziemi, sobie leży.
Ja zaś księdzem być mogę, tu sie poduczywszy,
Wierzcie mi, że kapłański stan jest najpoczciwszy,
Niżli drabantska służba, albo żywot inszy.
Jednakowo! idź, gdzie chcesz, ja zamysłu swego
Nie odmienię; bo widzę, że tu dosyć złego.

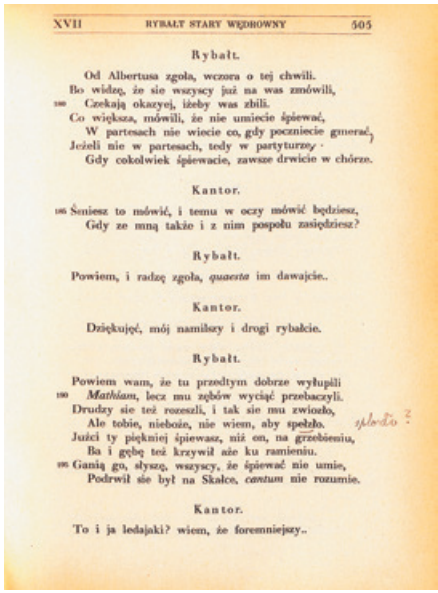
Kantor.

Co żywo, nad studenty już teraz przewodzi,
A im dalej, tym gorzej, jak kto może, szkodzi.
Nierad cierpię niewoleję; uczyciem sie śpiewał,
Żebym, gdy się starzeję, lepszy pokój miewał.
Widzę, że sie nam rozstać już obiema przyjdzie,
Mnie się drabantską służyć nie żda, dobrze widzę.
Wiem, że taka niewola nie długo trwać będzie,
Kiedy co będę umiał, pożywię sie wszędzie.
Słychałem, że *dormitat* w pewny czas *Homerus*,
A upatrzywszy swój czas, bywa też *Severus*.
Bądźcie na mię tym czasem, *domine*, łaskawi.
Aże nas Bóg obudwu z tej nędze wybawi.
Jeżeli tenże zdarzy, że miejsca nabędę,
Opak ŚWIAT WYWRÓCONY opisować będę.
Tam się czego dobrego wkrótce doczytacie,
To, czegośmy doznali, łatwie domacacie.

Acz MIZERYEJ końca niemasz, która sie zawsze
Przy ludziach wiesza, do czasu jednak jej czynię

KONIEC. 56*

FIG. 51.



XVII RYBAŁT STARY WĘDROWNY 505

Rybałt.

Od Albertusa zgoła, wczora o tej chwili.
Bo widzę, że sie wszyscy już na was zmówili,
Czekają okazyej, iżeby was zbili.
Co większa, mówili, że nie umiecie śpiewać,
W partesach nie wiecie co, gdy pocznięcie gmerać,
Jeżeli nie w partesach, tedy w partyturze,
Gdy cokolwiek śpiewacie, zawsze drwicie w chórze.

Kantor.

Śmiesz to mówić, i temu w oczy mówić będziesz,
Gdy ze mną takie i z nim pospołu zasiędziesz?

Rybałt.

Powiem, i radzę zgoła, *quaesta* im dawajcie.

Kantor.

Dziękuję, mój namilszy i drogi rybałcie.

Rybałt.

Powiem wam, że tu przedtym dobrze wyłupili
Matthiam, lecz mu zębów wyciąć przebaczyli.
Drudzy sie też rozeszli, i tak sie mu zwiozło,
Ale tobie, nieboże, nie wiem, aby spełzło.
Juści ty piękniej śpiewasz, niż on, na grzebieniu,
Ba i gębę też krzywił aże ku ramieniu.
Ganią go, słyszę, wszyscy, że śpiewać nie umie,
Podrwił sie był na Skałce, *cantum* nie rozumie.

Kantor.

To i ja ledajaki? wiem, że foremniejszy..

FIG. 52.

lista XVI. 565 — glista, robak.
liste XX. 706, 708, 719, 752, 748 — *z rus.* tylko.
literak XVIII. 624, 757 — umiejący czytać.
liśkup XI. 619 — poczęstunek po kupnie, targu.
litować (przyjaciela) III. 1055 — miłować, żałować.
loch IX. 428 — dół, piwnica.
łokat VIII często — zastępca (pomocnik) bakałarza, nauczyciela.
lud V. 125 — ob. *pod lud postać.*
ludyczye II. 546, 461 — ludowa nazwa kalendarzy od 17 w. utarta.
lutier XI. 1 — luteranin.
lutościwy III. 285, XII. 257 — litościwy, miłosierny.

łacíny ująć XX. 472 — ująć łajania, strofowania; *łacińe* IV. 265 — łacina.
łacno IV. 154, VII. 927, XVI. 506, XVIII. 547 — łatwo.
łamane IX. 160, 252 — podatek dwugroszowy od łanu.
łatański IV. 155, 172 — łaciński.
łbica XIX. 245 — łeb, głowa.
łektać V. 20 — łechtać, łaskotać; *łektać po łbu* — bić po łbie.
łeptać (wodę) XX. 222, 427 — chłeptać, pić.
łęk IX. 550 — wyniosła część siodła.
łęzina nowa VII. 1256 — pohacz.
łokrusa VII. 721, 1555 XX. 662 — płachta, chusta.
łopata VIII. 51 — zam. *łokat.*
łóżnicę na wannie naprawić XVI. 144-5 — urządzić łóżko na wannie.
łub II. 254 — buda na wozie z kory lipowej; *łubie* II. 361, 401, 454 — sajdak, kołczan na strzały.
łupić VI. 665 — bić.
łyczak I. 529 — wić z łyka, powróz łykowy.
łyko XIII. 456 — więzy, kajdany, pęta; *łyka drzeć, kiedy się drą* XIII. 83 — przysłowie równe temu: kuć żelazo, póki rozpalone.

macerować XXI. 522 — moczyć dla zmiękczenia.
macherzyna VII. 696 — pęcherz.
machlarz VII. 952 — faktor, stręczyciel; *machlować* V. 269, VII. 143, 150, VIII. 156, XVI. 247 — oszukiwać, szachrować.
maciek III. 194 — rodzaj kiełki.
magierka XII. 504 — czapka węgierska.
magister — mistrz, magister nauk wyzwolonych, nauczyciel. kierownik szkoły.

Jest to tam rzecz wspaniała, gdy chodzi w ogrodzie,
Ni ukąsi, ni wierzga, ani też ubodzie.
Zębów o zakład nie ma, choćby też chciał kąsać,
Sałtów, skoków nie umie, Bóg uchowaj pląsać.
Stąpa jako z regestru, z nienagła, statecznie,
Każdy sie na nim może osiedzieć bezpiecznie,
Nie utrapi żołnierza, trzymam pewnie za niem.

Pan.

Byleś jedno, Matya, gdzie zajechał na niem,
Abo jeśli zajedziesz, jeśli cię popiszą...

Mat[yasz].

Lepszyć owo, co djabli wszytko go kołyszą.
Łbem trzęsie, dupą kręci, a ogonem wierci,
Aż sie cnie, siedząc na nim i równa sie śmierci.
Marcha zrzuci, potłucze, może i rozkrwawić,
A do owegoć może drabinę przystawić.
Nie umknie sie na stronę, stoi jako wryty,
Owa zgoła na wszytkim konik znamienity.

Pan.

A siodło gdzie?

Mat[yasz].

Biblią rozłożę,
Bo ma grzbiet zaostrony, dobrze nań przyłożę.
Klauzury miasto strzemion, a deszczki z puklami
Po wierzchu leżeć będą, jakby z tebinkami.
Z jednę stronę wiercimak, z drugą łużny worek
Przypnę, w ręku miękowisko, za pasem toporek.
Kamieni w torbę wezmę, przyda sie też ciskać,
Będę gromił Wołoszą, aż sie będzie łyskać.

FIG. 53.

FIG. 54.

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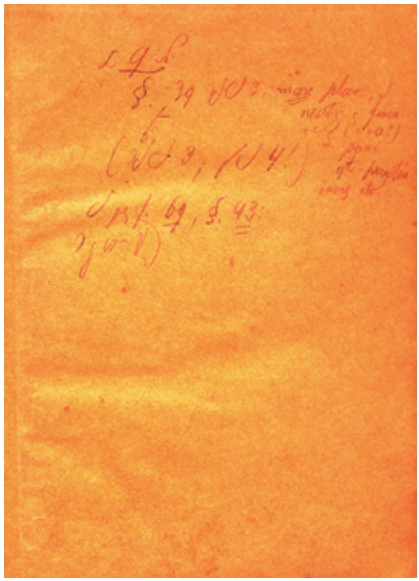

FIG. 55.

ner, since they appear merely in two out of about 120 to-date studied books.

The last category that encompasses many of Brückner's traces of reading are the productive-receptive ones. They mostly assume the form of marginalia, since we mean here information added by the reader to the read text. In Brückner's, case they also appear in this form: being a reader-researcher, Brückner boasted adequate knowledge with which he could confront the reading he was involved in, and adequately supplement it if needed. Thus, many of these traces are directly related to his research. The information may be of bibliographic character, as in the above-mentioned *Literatura mieszczańska w Polsce XVII wieku*, where in the margin Brückner noted the name of the library where the text discussed in the book was available. For example, next to the poem by an anonymous author using the pen name of 'Jadam Nieboraczkowski z chudej woli' Brückner added information that the print was at the Ossolineum, which he actually later crossed out again

[Fig. 56].[85] In the case of the leaflet *Baba albo stary inwentarz* published by Maurycy Pieprzycki using the pen name of 'Prokop Matłaszewski' Brückner added the information that its third edition was available at St Petersburg's Academy (assuming this is a justifiable understanding of the abbreviation 'Akad. ptbg.') [Fig. 57].[86]

Other reading traces of this category directly complement the text of a given book, as was the case in the facsimile edition of the *Pstałterz Puławski* from 1880, which Brückner received from the Warsaw lawyer and historian Romuald Hube with a dedication referring to his stay in Warsaw in 1890. For example, Psalm 78 features numerous marginalia on the side referring to the edition itself or containing other remarks concerning respective concepts or their form, demonstrating an expert in late-mediaeval literature [Figs. 58 and 59]. [87]

A similar situation can be observed in the aforementioned book by Passendorder *Błędy językowe*, in which we find an interesting addition to the entry 'prosić'[ask for], namely Brückner added a phrase from Rej's Postil: 'asking the mountains for the land to cover them' [Fig. 60].[88] This type of a remark unequivocally points to a reader who is perfectly familiar with the topic the reading covers, and who writes down an additional source for his own use to be able to apply such notes in the future.

Traces of such a reader can finally be found in the *Materiały do Słownika Łacińsko-Polskiego średniowiecznej łaciny i starożytności polskich* by Władysław Łebiński from 1885, which demonstrate, among other things, Brückner's lexicographic interest. In this book, for instance, next to the entry 'ager', which contains the word 'plosza', what we find is another added word 'plosa', together with

85 Badecki, *Literatura mieszczańska...*, p. 13.

86 Ibidem, p. 26.

87 Eds. A. and St. Pilińscy, *Psałterz Puławski. Przedruk homograficzny z kodeksu pergaminowego Księcia Władysława Czartoryskiego*, Kórnik 1880, unnumbered pages (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. Oi 430). In marginalia Brückner's characteristic handwriting can be recognized.

88 Passendorfer, *Błędy językowe...*, p. 153.

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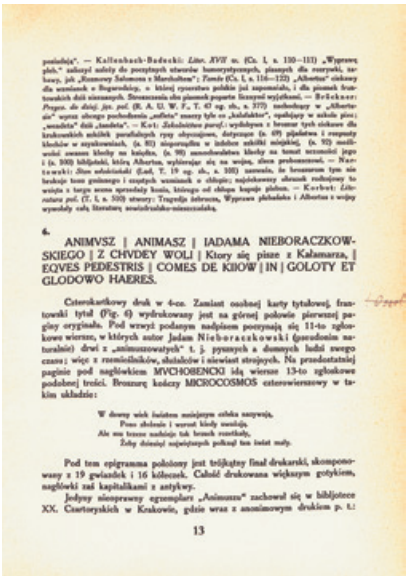


posiadają". — Kallenbach-Budzicki: *Liter. XVII w.* (Cz. I, s. 130—131) „Wypraw plah." zalicza‘ zabaty do poczytnych utworów humorystycznych, pisanych dla rozrywki, tacy, jak „Rozmowy Salomona z Marchułtem"; *Tamże* (Cz. I, s. 116—122) „Albertus" ciekawy dla wzmianek o Bogurodzicy, o której rycerstwo polskie już zapomniało, i dla pieśni ludowych dziś nieznanych. Streszczenia obu pieśni poparte licznymi wyjątkami. — Brückner: *Przyczy. do dziej. lit. pol.* (R. A. U. W. F., T. 47 rep. 1b, s. 377) zachodzący w „Albertusie" wyraz ubogo pochodzenia „mefita" uważy tylo za „kalafakter", spalający w szkole pisz; „uczalita" dziś „kandyta". — Karl: *Zakładnictwo pawęź*: wydobywa z bronzur tych ciekawe dla krakowskich szkółek porafialnych rysy obyczajowe, dotyczące (s. 69) pijaństwa i rozpusty klechów w szynkowniach, (s. 81) niepoprawlin w jednoce szkółki miejskiej, (s. 92) możliwości zostania klechy w kościele, (s. 98) samochwalstwa klechy na temat wzniosłości jego i (s. 100) biblijności, którą Albertus, wyśmiewając się za wojsz, słusz prohowczuł. — Nartowski: *Słow. wdolnictwski* (Lud, T. 19 rep. 1b., s. 102) zauważa, że brzmurom tym nie brakuje tem gminnego i ciupych wzmianek o chłopiu; najciekawszy obrazek rodzajowy to wnięta z targu scena sprzedaży konia, którego od chłopa kupuje pleban. — Korbut: *Literatura pol.* (T. I, s. 500) streszy: Tragedja żebraczu, Wyprawa plebańska i Albertus i wojny wywodzy całą literaturę nowolatynsko-niemieckiego.

6.

ANIMVSZ | ANIMASZ | IADAMA NIEBORACZKOWSKIEGO | Z CHVDEY WOLI | Ktory się pisze z Kałamarza, | EQVES PEDESTRIS | COMES DE KIIOW | IN | GOLOTY ET GLODOWO HAERES.

Czterokartkowy druk w 4-co. Zamiast osobnej karty tytułowej, frontowski tytuł (Fig. 6) wydrukowany jest na górnej połowie pierwszej paginy oryginału. Pod wrzyż podanym nadpisem poczynają się 11-to zgłoskowe wiersze, w których autor Jadam Nieboraczkowski (pseudonim naturalnie) drwi z „animuszowatych" t. j. pysznych a dumnych ludzi swego czasu; więc z rzemieślników, służalców i niewiast strojnych. Na przedostatniej paginie pod nagłówkiem MVCHOBENCKI idą wiersze 13-to zgłoskowe podobnej treści. Brosurę kończy MICROCOSMOS czterowierszowy w takim układzie:

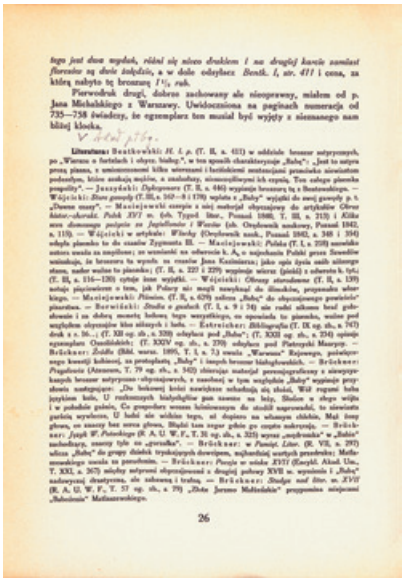
W drzewy wiek świątem naszejnym człeka nazywają,
Pono złożenie i wzrost kiedy uważają,
Ale ono trzeme nadzieje tak bronch rozchłody,
Żeby dzisiejsi najwyższych polknął ten świat mały.

Pod tem epigramma pokojowy jest trójkątny final drukarski, skomponowany z 19 gwiazdek i 16 kółeczek. Całość drukowana większym gotykiem, nagłówki zaś kapitalikami z antyky.

Jedyny nieuszkodzony egzemplarz „Animuszu" zachował się w bibliotece XX. Czartoryskich w Krakowie, gdzie wraz z anonimowym drukiem p. t.:

13

FIG. 56.



tego jest dwa wydań, różni się nieco drukiem i na drugiej karcie zamiast florenów są dwie kółeczka, a w dole odsyłacz Bentk. I, str. 411 i cena, za którą nabyto tę bronzurę *1½ rub.*

Pierwodruk drugi, dobrze zachowany ale nieoprawny, miałem od p. Jana Michalskiego z Warszawy. Uwidoczniona na paginach numeracja od 735—738 świadczy, że egzemplarz ten musiał być wyjęty z niemanego nam bliżej kloska.

Literatura: Bentkowski: *H. l. p.* (T. II, s. 431) w oddziale bronzur satyrycznych, po „Warsaw o furtach i obyczaj. bielsz.", w ten sposób charakteryzuje „Babę": „Jest to satyra prozą pisana, z umieszczonemi kilku wierszami i kościelnemi śmiesznie przeinaczonemi pieśniami, które zaskaja mojsze, a znalezłszy, niemożliwymi ich czynią. Ten całego pisemka pomysłły". — Jaszczołt: *Dyplogowarz* (T. II, s. 446) wypisuje bronzurę tę z Bentkowskiego. — Wójcicki: *Stare gawędy* (T. III, s. 163—8 i 178) wspiera o „Babę" wyjątki do swej gawędy p. t. „Dawne mody". — Maciejowski zamyka z niej materjał objaśniający do artykułów *Obraz histor.-obyczaj. Polsk XVI w.* (ob. Tygod. liter., Poznań 1860, T. III, s. 213) i *Kilka słów domowego pożycia za Jagiellonów i Wazów* (ob. Orędownik naukowy, Poznań 1842, s. 113). — Wójcicki w artykule: *Włochy* (Orędownik nauk., Poznań 1842, s. 348 i 354) odnosi pisemko to do czasów Zygmunta III. — Maciejowski: *Polska* (T. I, s. 218) uważa autora wcale za zagubiony; ze wzmianek na odnośnie k. A, o najechaniu Polski przez Szwedów wnioskuje, że brosurza ta wyszła za czasów Jana Kazimierza; jako opis życia ówcześ ziemian, zwłaszcza ich pijaństwa, uważa to pisemko; (T. II, s. 229 i 229) wspomina wiersz (pieśń) z zakończ k. tyłu; (T. III, s. 116—120) cytuje inne wyjątki. — Wójcicki: *Obrazy starodawne* (T. II, s. 139) notuje pijaństwowe o tem, jak Polacy nie mogli nawyknąć do ślimaków, przysmaku ówczesnego. — Maciejowski: *Pismien.* (T. II, s. 679) nalezy „Babę" do obyczajowego „pamiętnika" pisarstwa. — Borwiński: *Studia o gustach* (T. I, s. 9 i 34) nie radzi nikomu brać gobelinów i za dobrą monetę bolowej tego wszystkiego, co opowiada to pisemko, unikać pod względem objaśnień kilku ustępów i bota. — Estreicher: *Bibliografia* (T. IX rep. 1b., s. 747) druk z r. 16..; (T. XII rep. 1b., s. 320) odsyłacz pod „Babę"; (T. XXII rep. 1b., s. 224) opisuje egzemplarz Ossolińskich; (T. XXIV rep. 1b., s. 270) odsyłacz pod Pietrzyckiego Mauryc. — Brückner: *Źródła* (Bibl. warsz. 1895, T. I, s. 74) zamia „Warszawa" Rejowego, pośledzego wydania kwestji kobiecej, za prototypatę „Baby" i innych bronzur bizbogłowskich. — Brückner: *Pogadanie* (Atenaeum, T. 79 rep. 1b., s. 542) zbierając materjał porównawczy z ówczesnych bronzur satyryczno-obyczajowych, z rozwagi w tym względzie „Babę" wyjmuje przydawek następujące: „Do bokowej krótci zawsiężone rebatkują się skalni, Wiś rapami bobu jazykiem kole, U rozkrzesanych biskupiłów gon zawsze na leży, Sledzon z ebgo wiąbu i w podobie gnieni, Co grzegorzkowy wrzesz bilmiczowym do stodół zagrzewali, to zawsiatu parkiej wywleczu, U hudzi się widzisz tego, ni dupiecu na wiśmyca ciśkiu, Mąż żony głowa, co zmarzy bez wrzesz głowy, Błądzi tam zegar gebin go często nakręcają. — Brückner: *Język W. Potockiego* (R. A. U. W. F., T. 31 rep. 1b., s. 325) wyraz „zwątrzaki" w „Babie" zachodzący, znany tylo ze „gwarzka". — Brückner: w *Pamiąt. Liter.* (R. VII, s. 297) uliczn „Babę" do grupy dziełek trykających dowcipem, wątpliwiej wartych przedwiec: Mathematologio nauka to powszechna. — Brückner: *Powieść w wiekach XVII* (Zarząd. Akad. Um., T. XXI, s. 267) między satyrami obyczajowemi z drugiej połowy XVII w. wymienia i „Babę" zachowującą dramatyzmu, ale zabawną i trafną. — Brückner: *Studja nad liter. w. XVII* (R. A. U. W. F., T. 57 rep. 1b., s. 79) „Złote Jarzmo Małżeńskie" przypomina ustępami „Babolenia" Matiaszewskiego.

26

FIG. 57.

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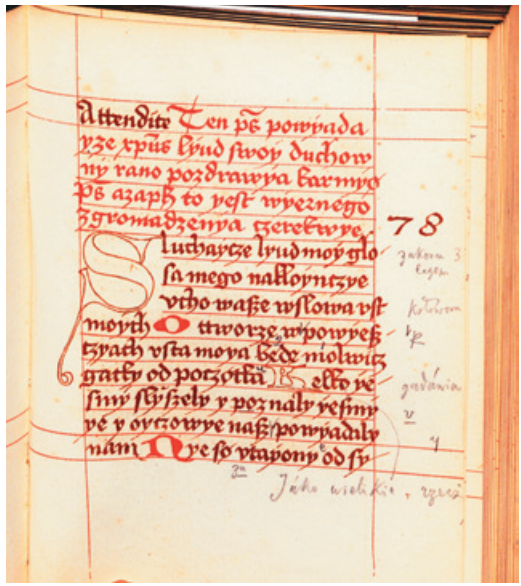


FIG. 58.

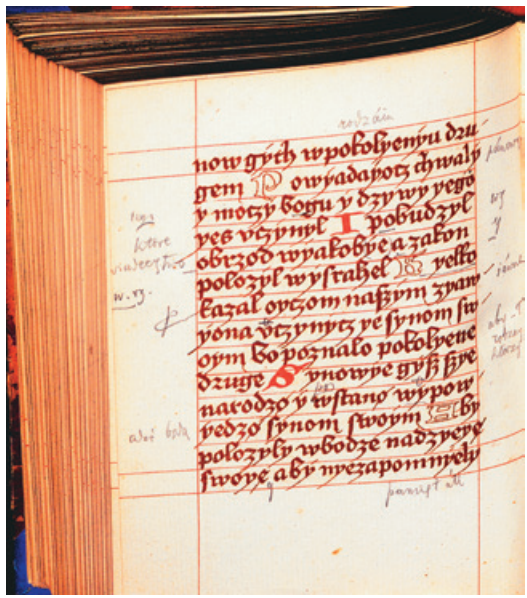
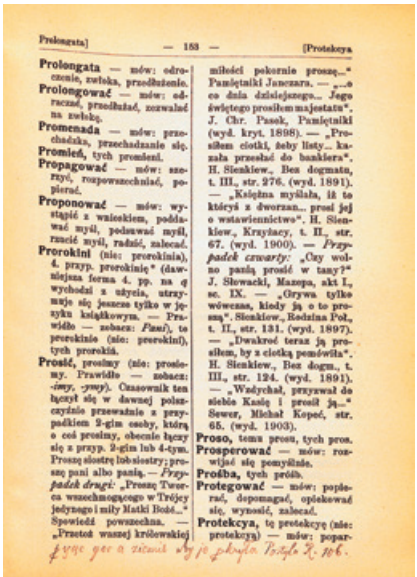


FIG. 59.

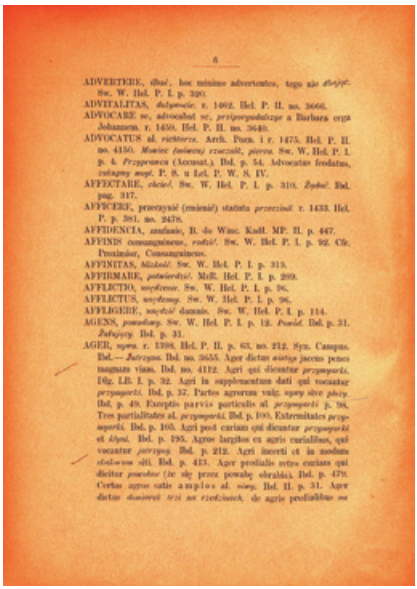
A Book Collection as Foundation of Academic Work



Prolongata] — 153 — [Protekcya

Prolongata — mów: odroczenie, zwłoka, przedłużenie.
Prolongować — mów: odraczać, przedłużać, zrzucać na zwłokę.
Promenada — mów: przechadzka, przechadzanie się.
Promień, tych promieni.
Propagować — mów: szerzyć, rozpowszechniać, popierać.
Proponować — mów: wystąpić z wnioskiem, poddawać myśl, podsuwać myśl, radzić, zalecać.
Prorokini (nie: prorokinia), 4. przyp. prorokinię" (dawniejsza forma 4. pp. na ę wychodzi z użycia, utrzymuje się jeszcze tylko w języku książkowym. — Przeciwnie — zobacz: *Paź*), to prorokinie (nie: prorokiń), tych prorokiń.
Prosić, prosimy (nie: prosiemy. Przeciwnie — zobacz: *-imy, -ymy*). Czasownik ten łączył się w dawnej polszczyźnie przeważnie z przypadkiem 2-gim osoby, którą o coś prosimy, obecnie łączy się z przyp. 3-gim lub 4-tym. Proszę siostry lub siostry; proszę pani albo panią. — *Przypadek drugi*: „Proszę Twórca wszechmogącego w Trójcy jedynego i miły Matki Bożej..." Spowiedź powszechna. — „Przeto waszej królewskiej miłości pokornie proszę..." Pamiętniki Jana Czeczara. — „...o co dnia dzisiejszego... Jego świętego prosiłem majestatu". J. Chr. Pasek, Pamiętniki (wyd. kryt. 1898). — „Prosiłem ciotki, żeby listy... kazała przesłać do bankiera". H. Sienkiew., Bez dogmatu, t. III., str. 276. (wyd. 1891). — „Księżna myślała, iż to którejś z dworzan... prosi jej o wstawiennictwo". H. Sienkiew., Krzyżacy, t. II., str. 67. (wyd. 1900). — *Przypadek czwarty*: „Czy wolno panią prosić w tany?" J. Słowacki, Mazepa, akt I., sc. IX. — „Grywa tylko wówczas, kiedy ją o to proszą". Sienkiew., Rodzina Połaniec, t. II., str. 131. (wyd. 1897). — „Dwakroć teraz ją prosiłem, by z ciotką pomówiła". H. Sienkiew., Bez dogm., t. III., str. 124. (wyd. 1891). — „Wzdychał, przyrzwał do siebie Kasię i prosił ją..." Sewer, Michał Kopeć, str. 65. (wyd. 1903).
Proso, temu prosu, tych pros.
Prosperować — mów: rozwijać się pomyślnie.
Prośba, tych próśb.
Protegować — mów: popierać, dopomagać, opiekować się, wynosić, zalecać.
Protekcya, tą protekcyą (nie: protekcyą) — mów: popar-

FIG. 60.



6

ADVERTERE, *think*, hoc minime advertentes, tego nie *dostrzegając*. Sw. W. Hel. P. I. p. 320.
ADVITALITAS, *dożywocie*, r. 1402. Hel. P. II. no. 3666.
ADVOCARE se, advocabat se, *przyporządkuje* a Barbara orga Johannem. r. 1450. Hel. P. II. no. 3640.
ADVOCATUS al. *victorix*. Arch. Pozn. I r. 1475. Hel. P. II. no. 4150. *Mowice fawiecznj rzeczalik, pierwa* Sw. W. Hel. P. I. p. 4. *Przyprawca* (Accusat.). Ibd. p. 54. Advocatus fendatus, *zakupny swoj*. P. S. u Lel. P. W. S. IV.
AFFECTARE, *chcieć*. Sw. W. Hel. P. I. p. 310. *Żądać*. Ibd. pag. 317.
AFFICERE, przeczynić (zmienić) statuta *przeciwne* r. 1433. Hel. P. p. 381. no. 2478.
AFFIDENCIA, *zaufanie*, B. do Winc. Kadl. MP. II. p. 447.
AFFINIS consanguineus, *rodzić*. Sw. W. Hel. P. I. p. 92. Cfr. Proximior, Consanguineus.
AFFINITAS, *Małżeństwo*. Sw. W. Hel. P. I. p. 313.
AFFIRMARE, *potwierdzić*. Mdl. Hel. P. I. p. 269.
AFFLICTIO, *uciśnienie*. Sw. W. Hel. P. I. p. 96.
AFFLICTUS, *uciśniony*. Sw. W. Hel. P. I. p. 96.
AFFLIGERE, *uciskać* damnis. Sw. W. Hel. P. I. p. 114.
AGENS, *powodowy*. Sw. W. Hel. P. I. p. 12. *Powód*. Ibd. p. 31. *Sukujący*. Ibd. p. 33.
AGER, *ogrod*. r. 1398. Hel. P. II. p. 63. no. 212. Syn. Campus. Ibd. — *Latyzyna*. Ibd. no. 2655. Ager dictus *winica* jacens penes magnam vian. Ibd. no. 4112. Agri qui dicuntur *przyporzki*. Dlg. LB. I. p. 32. Agri in supplementum dati qui vocantur *przyporzki*. Ibd. p. 37. Partes agrorum vulg. *ogrody sive plebij*. Ibd. p. 49. Excepto parvis particulis al. *przyporzki* p. 98. Tres partialitates al. *przyporzki*. Ibd. p. 100. Extremitates *przyporzki*. Ibd. p. 105. Agri post curiam qui dicuntur *przyporzki* et *klyni*. Ibd. p. 195. Agros largitos ex agris curialibus, qui vocantur *pirzyny*. Ibd. p. 212. Agri incerti et in modum *skalowisk* siti. Ibd. p. 413. Ager predialis retro curiam qui dicitur *pomolne* (in sly przez pomyłkę ołrabia). Ibd. p. 479. Verbus *agros* vatis *a naplos* al. *nowy*. Ibd. II. p. 31. Agri dictus *dominici trzi na rzeczinach*, de agris predialibus *na*

FIG. 61.

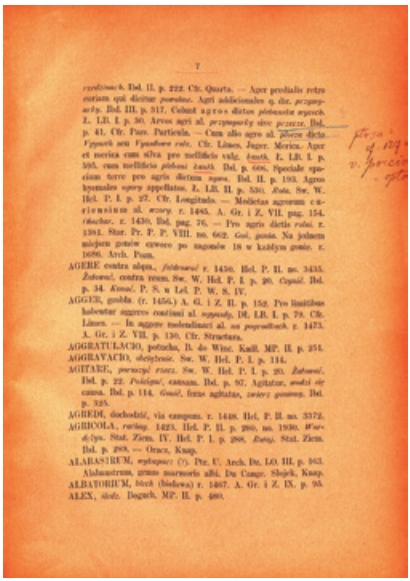


FIG. 62.

a question mark and reference to page 127 as well as to the entry 'porcio' [Figs. 61 and 62].[89] This comment may have also been added by Brückner to serve his own purpose.

5. Conclusion and Summary

In the present paper I tried to show although only several, yet representative examples from Aleksander Brückner's books in which traces of his reading can be found, allowing us to reconstruct the manner in which he worked with the text. Bearing in mind that his book collection which could be reconstructed amounts today to about 1,000 items, and that his research activity went on for several decades, it would be stating the obvious to say that there

89 W. Łebiński, *Materyały do słownika Łacińsko-Polskiego średniowiecznej łaciny i starożytności polskich*, Poznań 1885, pp. 6–7 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. A 847/1). As a matter of fact, the entry 'porcio' is on p. 137. In this book we can also find some annotations typical of Brückner: underlining, longer and shorter vertical or horizonal lines, punctuation, etc. – Ibidem, pp. 7, 28–29, 31, or 171.

are still many books which could have been discussed here. They include such ones which contain the whole range of Brückner's traces of reading, thus various annotations (lines, underlinings, punctuation marks, and other graphic signs, etc.), and – to a lesser extent – marginalia in the form of single words, phrases, or page numbers, constituting a reference between two spots in the text, or between the index and the text. To name just one example, let us mention the copy of the *Krótka rozprawa między trzema osobami Panem, Wójtem a Plebanem. 1543 Mikołaja Reja* published by Roman Zawiliński in 1892 [Figs. 63 and 64][90] or *Historya o chwalebnym zmartwychwstaniu Pańskim Mikołaja z Wilkowiecka* published by Stanisław Windakiewicz a year later,[91] in which we come across numerous and varied traces of reading, undoubtedly left by Brückner. It must not, however, be forgotten that in Brückner's book collection there is a number of books which feature no annotations or marginalia, and that there are also books among them which were never read. Some more research would be needed to ascertain the reason for the fact, however, the likely one is that Brückner was presented with many books which remained slightly outside the area of his interest.

The next step to be taken in the research into Brückner's traces of reading – and in a longer run, also the traces of usage – would their detailed characterization and classification in harmony with the already elaborated methodological concepts, applied in other works analysing library legacies of authors or researchers. Bamert's and Wieland's proposals applied in this paper could constitute a convenient departure point, since they allow classification which in many aspects coincides with the traces we find in Brückner's books. This task, however, could be undertaken only

90 M. Rej, *Krótka rozprawa między trzema osobami Panem, Wójtem a Plebanem. 1543*, ed. by Roman Zawiliński, Kraków 1892 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. 2016-SA-649).

91 M. z Wilkowiecka, *Historya o chwalebnym zmartwychwstaniu Pańskim*, ed. by Stanisław Windakiewicz, Kraków 1893 (ZwB Fremdsprachl. Philologien/TB Großbritannien-Zentrum, Call No. 2016-SA-649).

Gdy się wam dostanie wełna,
Wierę z ostatka ty owce
Niechaj skubie, jako kto chce.
Bo dziś prawie prości ludzie
Gonią skowronka na grzbiecie.
A tak się prawie zbłaźnili,
Wszytkę wiarę w to włożyli,
Iż go żadna rzecz nie zbawi,
Jestli go ksiądz nie wyprawi.
Anoby snadź tak miało być,
Jednego wiarą nagrodzić,
Bo nex żadny w to nie łuczy,
Jako święte Pismo uczy,
A każdy człowiek z krewkości
Więcej się ciągnie ku złości,
Lecz się wżdy tym ciesz, niebożę:
Prawa wiara wiele może.
Tą masz wszytkiego nagrodzić,
Choćby miało potym szkodzić;
Drugiego, dobroci uczynki,
A nie wszytko upominki.
Mabóć Pan Bóg dla o datki;
Azaż mu złożać na dziatki
Albo się troskać o długi
Albo odprawować sługi?
Nic trzeba mu się nic starać,
Nigdy tam przodnowia nie znać;
A snadź, co ma, wszytko nam dał,
Sam na równej rzeczy przestał.
Jedno chce, byśmy się bali,
A iż każdy niech go chwali,
A prawym sercem miłuje,
A bliźniego tak szanuje,

FIG. 63.

Iście się mało zuboży,
Że pieniądz w tabliczę włoży:
Boć próżno inaczej mówić,
Mogąć nam wżdy pomoczni być.
Mojżesz w onym starym wieku
Wiele pomagał człowieku,
Abo Dawid i prorocy,
Wiele słychać o ich mocy,
A wiele Bóg przez nie czynił,
A częstokroć swój gniew mienił.
A snadź za świeckiej pomięci
Co dziwów czynili święci:
Że umarłe ożywiali,
Krzywe kości naprostowali.
Acz to idzie z boskiej mocy,
Ale wżdy przez ich pomocy.
Bo rzekł to oddać we troje,
Co uczynicie przez moje.
A tak nie masz ci oca ciężyć,
Obadwaście nie dali nic,
A bychmy się nie oparli,
I tem kęs byście wydarli.

PAN.

Ba, tod prawda, miły ojcze,
Niechaj kto powiada, co chce,
Że nam trudno k' zbawieniu przyjść
Nie będziemli dobrze czynić.
Ale tym trzeba zapieprzyć, per Nitr. Kurz. 1221
Wiarą wszytkiego podeprzeć,
A to iście na pieczy mieć:
Dobrowolnie wszytko czynić;
Bo zaś Bogu za dzieci robić.

FIG. 64.

A Book Collection as Foundation of Academic Work

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once the precise volume of his book collection is definitely known. Then it would be also possible to answer whether in certain periods of his, after all, long career as a researcher he left more traces in his books than in others, and whether his reading traces differed in particular periods.

At that point it would also be possible to comprehensively examine various relations between the usage traces and Brückner's literary criticism and research. Brückner can definitely be regarded as a professional reader who read his books from the perspective of his own expertise and in the first place in relation to his publicistic activity and research. This can be seen in the numerous reviews he published, whose analysis could allow to trace the relations between the fragments of texts discussed by Brückner and the traces in specific book copies from his collection. It would also be advisable to look from this perspective at Brückner's research texts in order to check if and in what manner he used his books for their preparation. The research into the book collection may thus contribute to achieving a better understanding of Brückner as a researcher and his manner of working, this as seen, among others, in the discussed book by Ujejski on Malczewski. Furthermore, in the reading of the critical editions of literary texts, mainly Old-Polish, Brückner was more interested in the literary text itself, since it is first of all there that his traces of reading can be found, and not so much in the historical or theoretical prefaces, these generally lacking marginalia added in his handwriting. What served him in his research were also in-text references or those between the index and the main book's text. For this reason many of his annotations and marginalia, as well as infrequent intracerpts may be classified as selective and productive receptive traces.

Moreover, Brückner certainly was a critical reader, often putting question marks, corrections, or an underlining where he had any objections to the text. However, it has to be emphasized that he marked those places with high precision and spot-wise, not resorting to more extensive marginalia, such as, for instance, double exclamation marks or lines. In certain cases he did not even

mark all the places of interest to him which he later discussed in his reviews.

The main challenge in analysing reading traces in Brückner's books results from the fact that for several decades they were available to the readers of the Library of the Berlin Institute of Slavonic Studies, owing to which they also bear notes, underlinings, or comments of other readers. Therefore, not all of Brückner's traces can be unequivocally identified as left by him, however, it seems that the more books known for sure as once belonging to the Professor are examined from this perspective, and compared among them, the more reliable conclusions can be reached.

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SOURCES OF LAW RELATING TO ACCESS TO RESOURCES OF POLISH PUBLIC AND SCIENTIFIC LIBRARIES

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ABSTRACT

The 1997 Act on Libraries stipulates that libraries organize and assure access to resources of achievements of science and of Polish and global culture, and it enumerates two, naturally interconnected, fundamental responsibilities of libraries: to collect, process, preserve and protect library materials, and to serve users, primarily by way of providing access to resources. The Act confirms the general right to use libraries according to rules provided in the law, precising the general declaration of the Polish Constitution, according to which the Republic of Poland ensures conditions for equal access to cultural assets.

The problem of making collections available, however, arises from the overlapping of the definition of library materials in the Act of 27 June 1997 on Libraries and that of archival materials formulated in the Act of 14 July 1983 on the National Archival Fonds and Archives. The latter contains provisions relative to rules and procedures of, generally also free, access to archival materials, whereas the Act on Libraries leaves regulating the use of libraries to libraries themselves. That raises the question whether libraries

– in particular, public and scientific ones – which could preserve and often preserve materials covered literally by the definition of archival materials (being simultaneously library materials) are obliged, as far as user access to is concerned, to apply the provisions of the Law of 14 July 1983 or to apply their proper regulations issued on the basis of the Act on Libraries. The article is an attempt to solve that, genuinely legal, problem. The conclusion is that all materials that are held in library collections, regardless of whether they meet the statutory definition of archival materials or not, should be made available to the public on the terms and in the manner prescribed according to the Act on Libraries – in the regulations established by the libraries themselves.

KEYWORDS: access to library resources, archival materials, library materials, National Library Fonds

Introduction

The 1997 Act on Libraries[1], the fundamental piece of legislation concerning the entire library system in Poland, states (Article 3 Para. 1) that libraries organize and assure access to resources of achievements of science and of Polish and global culture, and it enumerates (Article 4 Para. 1) two fundamental responsibilities of libraries: to collect, process, preserve and protect library materials, and to serve users, primarily by way of providing access to resources. Those responsibilities are naturally interconnected – the mission of libraries is to make resources they collect, process, and preserve available to interested persons, protecting simultaneously resources against misuse, damage or loss. Article 3 Para. 2 of the Act confirms the general right to use libraries according to the rules provided in the Act, precising, therefore, the general declaration of Article 6 Para. 1 of the Polish Constitution, according to which the Republic of Poland creates conditions for equal access to cultural assets[2].

1 Journal of Laws of 2022, item 2393.

2 Cf. H. Izdebski, *Komentarz do Konstytucji RP. Art. 6, 70, 73* [*Commentary on the Constitution of the Republic of Poland: Articles 6, 70, 73*], Warszawa 2019, pp. 257 sqq.

The preservation of cultural assets falls within the scope of responsibility of many institutions and persons as well, primarily of such institutions as institutions of culture in the legal sense, run by the authorities of central government and of territorial self-government, in particular libraries and museums[3], and of the state archives functioning as specialized state offices, and all these institutions should contribute to ensuring equal access to cultural assets. The problem is that the rules and procedures for access are specified separately in the texts concerning the given specific category of entities, first of all libraries (the above cited Act on Libraries), and archives (the Act of 14 July 1983 on the National Archival Fonds and Archives[4] further referred to as "the Act on Archives"), as well as respective categories of cultural assets – as "archival materials" referred to in the Act on Archives – are referred to a the appropriate pieces of legislation.

The institution (e.g. the library) may not simultaneously have the status of the institution of culture and of the archive, the latter traditionally associated with administrative services, but the definition of library materials included in the Act on Libraries overlaps with the definition of archival materials included in the Act on Archives. The latter contains provisions relative to the rules and procedures of access, also generally free, to archival materials, whereas the Act on Libraries leaves regulation of access to libraries themselves (to be precise – to their heads). That raises the question whether libraries – in particular, public and scientific ones – preserving materials covered literally by the definition of archival materials (being simultaneously library materials) are obliged, as far as user access to is concerned, to apply the provisions of the Law on Archives or to apply their proper regulations issued on the basis of the Act on Libraries.

3 Cf. the Act of 25 October 1991 on Organizing and Conducting Cultural Activity (Journal of Laws of 2026, item 457).

4 Journal of Laws of 2020, item 164, with subsequent amendments.

The article is an attempt to solve that, genuinely legal, problem – important in the general perspective, but also practical one, and, in spite of its importance, rather marginally treated in the literature – which, moreover, is authored mainly not by lawyers but by archivists (and archive-oriented historians) or librarians, interested more in defining respective obligations and rights of archives and libraries regarding the building of collections and distinguishing in this context between archival and library materials than in the legal bases for accessing materials collected in the libraries[5]. Nevertheless, the concepts of archival and library materials should serve also, because it could seem to result from split legislation, as the starting point for the considerations presented in this article.

Library Materials and Archival Materials – Unclear Legal Definitions

The Act on Libraries, as previously mentioned, identifies serving users, primarily by way of providing access to resources, as one of the two fundamental responsibilities of libraries. The basic term defining the subject matter of library fundamental responsibilities is "library materials". The Act on Libraries contains an extensive definition of library materials, but it is not comprehensive, as the Act provides (Article 5) that these are, *in particular* (that is to say, not only), "*documents containing recorded expressions of human thought, regardless of their physical medium and the means used to record, especially graphic (using writing, cartographic, iconographic and musical), sound recording, visual, audiovisual and electronic documents*". Graphic documents can take the form of publication (i.e. in writing: book, periodical, etc.), but they could also be to the letter written or drawn, and, therefore, classified, in particular, as manuscripts: pieces, letters and archival fonds (*zespoły archiwalne*), the latter divided into family, personal, press, institutional archives and manuscript collections, as well as drawings within the broader group of icono-

5 Cf. the comprehensive study by the historian M. Konstankiewicz, 'Regulacje prawa polskiego mające znaczenie dla działalności archiwalnej' ['Regulations of Polish Law Relevant to Archival Activities'], *Archeion* 2020, in particular pp. 50 sqq.

graphic documents[6]. The term "archival fonds" is traditionally used by librarians in relation to the documentary (in the broad sense) legacy of individuals, families or other private collective subjects, and the attempts to apply the term *spuścizna* (to be translated literally as "legacy", although in librarian terminology this is referred to as "papers") in this instance – to distinguish from "archives" associated with products of public institutions and structures of public administration as well – has proved unsuccessful.

Some library materials also belong, as particular movables created some time ago, to the broad category of historical monuments, the monument having been defined in Article 3 Point 1 of the Act of 23 July 2003 on Protection and Care of Historical Monuments[7] as "*any immovable or movable property, their parts or complexes created by humans or relating to their activity, which bear witness to a bygone era or event and whose preservation is in the interest of society due to their historical, artistic, or scientific value*". This partial overlap of law provisions, however, does not give rise to major practical problems, as the Act relative to monuments declares (Article 2 Para. 1) that it does not infringe provisions, *inter alia*, of the Law on Libraries, and the latter differentiates (Article 6a) between library materials being and not being monuments.

This absence of major problems does not apply to the overlapping of the provisions of Law on Libraries with those of the Act on Archives, though the former is much more recent than the latter what could cause also thinking about the effects of the principle *lex posterior derogat* in the given matter *priori*.

The overlap is due to the broad and – formally – exhaustive definition of archival materials. According to Article 1 of the Act on Archives, archival materials (included in the National Archival Fonds what should mean that there are not included ones, but they are outside the scope of the definition) are "*acts and documents of any*

6 See Annex 3 of the Regulations of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 29 October 2008 relating to the method of inventorying library materials (Journal of Laws of 2008, item 1283).

7 Journal of Laws of 2024, item 1292, with subsequent amendments.

kind, correspondence, financial, technical and statistical documentation, maps and plans, photographs, films and microfilms, sound and videophone recordings, electronic documents [...] as well as other documentation, irrespective of the way of its creation, important as a source of historical value information on activities of the Polish State, its particular authorities and other state organizational units and its relations with other states, on development of social and economic life, on activities of political, social and economic, professional and confessional organizations, on organization and development of science, culture and art, and on activities of units of territorial self-government and other organizational units of self-government – created in the past and being created today".

It is obvious that the above definition, even assuming it excludes books and periodicals (what depends, however, upon the approach of interpretation)[8] would encompass a significant portion of documents preserved in libraries, in particular in major public and scientific ones.

Public libraries, as it is provided in Article 18 Para. 1 of the Act on Libraries, these are: the National Library ("the central library of the state" according to Article 16 Para. 1 of the Act), and libraries organized by the units of regional and local self-government. Article 21 Para. 1 of the Act on Libraries states that *ex lege* scientific libraries are: the National Library as well as libraries of higher schools (public and non-public), of the Polish Academy of Sciences (and its entities, in particular scientific institutes), and of the state R&D institutes. Other libraries can gain that status individually, on their motion and by the decision of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage; as experience shows, this optional participation may concern some public (especially regional) libraries as well as libraries of specialized NGOs, but also certain ecclesiastical

8 Moreover, interpretation could be oriented by such extreme opinions as that of P. Garderen for whom the library is a type of archival collection that consists of predominantly published materials which belong to the broader category of archival material – 'Archival material: a practical definition' (vangerderen.net/posts/archival-materials-a-practical-definition.html).

ones[9]. All public libraries belong to the public sector (but only the National Library represents the state sub-sector), whereas within the category of scientific libraries there are representatives of the state sub-sector, of the territorial self-government sub-sector and of the diverse types of the non-public sector.

Only some of the libraries under consideration possess legal personality – essential from the perspective of the ownership of the collected library, as legal persons may be formal owners of their own collections. The National Library has legal personality by virtue of Article 16 Para. 2 of the Act on Libraries, and the principle is that legal personality characterizes all other public libraries as they are territorial self-government institutions of culture possessing legal personality by virtue of Article 14 Para. 1 of the Act on Organizing and Conducting Cultural Activity[10]. On the other hand, libraries of higher schools, of the Polish Academy of Sciences or of the R&D institutes are internal entities of their organizers (higher schools, the Academy, institutes, etc.) who, being legal persons, are owners of their collections; for instance, the Seym Library, that has the status of scientific library, as an internal entity within the Chancellery of the Seym (i.e. the main parliamentary house) holds materials owned formally by the State Treasury.

The problem of overlapping definitions is complicated by other terms used in the Act on Archives, while compared with a respective term of the Act on Libraries. In the former, that concerns two terms: the National Archival Fonds (including in principle all archival materials[11]), and the State Archival Fonds as, together with

9 See the list in the Regulations of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 2 April 2012 on the rules and procedure to classify libraries among some scientific libraries and establishing their list (Journal of Law of 2021 item 251, with subsequent amendments).

10 See Note 3.

11 Cf. M. Ruzhanski, 'Pojęcie materiałów archiwalnych w prawie polskim' ['The Concept of archival materials in Polish Law'], *Actual Problems of Law – Aktual'ni Problemi Pravoznavstva* 2019/4, s. 50 sq. It has to be noted that, however, the quoted definition of archival materials concerns literally (Article 1 of the Act of 14 July 1983) materials belonging to the National Archival Fonds; it serves, therefore, simultaneously as a definition of the Fonds. As Article 14 Para. 3 of the Act relates

the Non-state Archival Fonds, an internal category within the National Fonds, distinguished due to the criterium of ownership (Article 2 Para. 2)[12].

The State Archival Fonds is composed (Article 15) of two groups of archival materials: materials generated and being generated as a result of activities of authorities of the state and of the territorial self-government, and of their organizational units (Para. 1), and materials generated as a result of activities of: political parties and other political, social, professional and economic organizations; churches and religious organizations; other non-state organizations and organizational units; political, social and economic activists, creators in the field of science and technology, culture and art, and other persons who made a historic contribution to development of the Polish state, political, social and economic life, and to development of science and culture, and of culture and art; families and noble houses that have had a historical influence on state affairs, political, economic and social relations, and relative to their estates, enterprises and other economic activity (Para. 2).

As the archival materials referred to in Para. 1 can be regarded as belonging *ex lege* to the State Archival Fonds (what does not rule out problems related to ownership), it is precisely the archival materials referred to in Para. 2 that may can specifically fall within the definition of library materials simultaneously. They form, however, part of the National Archival Fonds only if they entered the property of the state as a result of purchase, donation or other cause. This reservation should be very important from the perspective of the core issue of this article, because it relates essentially to the nature of materials preserved in libraries; as for archives, pursuant to Article 25 Para. 2 and Article 26 Para. 2 of the Act on Archives, they preserve their historical holdings (*zasób historyczny*) accumulated in the past, and they may also – if they so decide and

to export of archival materials that do not enter the Fonds, that means that, nevertheless, there have to be such materials – outside the definition of the Act.

12 The names of these aggregates will be written in capital letters in this study – even though lowercase letters are used in the appropriate pieces of legislation.

have the possibilities – acquire for the state the materials referred to in Article 15 Para. 2 of the Act on Archives.

It should be emphasized that Article 16a of the Act on Archives (added in 2016), declaring right of each person to access to archival materials, concerns access to materials belonging to the State Archival Fonds, and, thus, constituting state property. The problem is that Article 15 of the Act has remained fundamentally unchanged since 1983 (except of adding in Para. 1 territorial self-government as a result of decentralization of the state administration inaugurated in 1990), whereas the same wording had a different sense in 1983 and has nowadays.

In 1983, practically all libraries that would have been considered public or scientific if the Act on Libraries had been in force, were either state organizational units (generally equipped, like the National Library, with legal personality) or internal units within state organizational units, and, according to the then principle of uniform state property, all they acquired and preserved, except for formal deposits, was becoming state property. The separation of ownership between the state legal persons and the state (represented by the formal figure of the State Treasury), inaugurated in 1989, was formally declared in 1990[13], and there is no doubt that archival materials having been acquired since 1989/1990 by the state legal persons enter their property, and not that of the state. The ownership consequences of an earlier acquisition, generally considered as changed due to abandonment of the principle of the uniformity of state ownership, though the Act on Libraries does neither contain any provision about "historical holdings", could be open to debate, but only from the very formal point of view. The state archives had not and have not legal personality, and all they possess and acquire belongs formally to the State Treasury.

The Act on Libraries has introduced (Article 6) the institution that could seem similar to the National Archival Fonds – *"resources of li-*

13 The Act of 28 July 1990 amending the Civil Code (Journal of Laws of 1990, item 321).

braries of particular value and significance to the national heritage constitute, in whole or in part, the National Library Fonds". The resemblance, however, is only apparent. The definition of the National Library Fonds, based on the value and significance of the collections to the national heritage, is detached from the concept of any materials. Moreover, no library is covered by the institution *ex lege*, and this is the Minister of Culture and National Heritage who establishes, after having consulted the Council for the National Library Fonds (the usual translation of the name, somewhat misleading is "the Council for the National Library Resources"), the list of libraries which collections, in whole or in part, are classified as part of the National Library Fonds[14]. If the resources of specific libraries can constitute the National Library Fonds in their entirety (what is the case primarily for the National Library and the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow, the latter being the internal entity of the Jagiellonian University of Cracow), the distinction between archival and library materials may be considered as irrelevant, if not from the point of view of all libraries, at least from the point of view of those libraries[15].

14 See the list in the Regulations of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 4 July 2012 relative to the National Library Fonds (Journal of Laws of 2024 item 1117, with one subsequent amendment); the Regulations enumerate (Para. 5) categories of the Fonds, in particular manuscripts and drawings.

15 Remains outside the scope of our interest the production of archival materials themselves by libraries (or their organizers), that belong to the public sector and are obliged as well, according to the provisions of the Law on Archives, to maintain their internal institutional archives (*archiwa zakładowe*); the task of the institutional archive is to collect, preserve, and protect records generated by the organization in order to classify, select, and transfer them if they are classified as archival materials, as constituting state property, to the appropriate state archive, developing in that way the State Archival Fonds within the provision of Article 15 Para. 1 of the Law on Archives. As far as the institution of internal institutional archive is concerned, it should be added that access to documents held in such an archive is not subject to the provisions of the Act on Archives; however, the provisions of the Act of 6 September 2001 on Access to Public Information may apply. The judgment of the High Administrative Court expressing such a view (of 31 January 2017, I OSK 1258/16) should apply accordingly to the libraries in question, including the National Library, concerning, however, access to the documents held in their (if they are) internal institutional archives only.

Therefore, the institution of the National Library Fonds could provide an argument in favour of the general opinion that library collections consist solely of library materials, and, because of that, there are no grounds for distinguishing between archival and library materials within these collections. Librarians seem to share this opinion, but archivists could think otherwise – as follows also from the outline of views on the matter in question presented below.

Library Materials and Archival Materials – Varying Scholarly Opinions

The terms "archival materials" and "library materials" were carried over into the current acts from previous pieces of legislation, respectively the Decree of 29 March 1951 on State Archives[16] (which introduced the institution of the State Archival Fonds modelled after the Soviet regulations), and the Act of 9 April 1968 on Libraries[17], the latter containing the definition with an illustrative list of library materials[18]. Therefore, the terms were in use well before the current acts came into force, and they did not necessarily have to be unclear in themselves, especially if one takes into account the very broad definition of archival material in the previous regulations. Moreover, the terms discussed were already used to some extent by specialists before World War II, although at that time the official term *archiwalia* was much popular than *materiały archiwalne.*

From the interwar period onwards, however, fierce debates, with their peak in the 1950s, were taking place – and not only in Poland – between archivists and librarians. The debates regarded the genuinely contentious scope of respective fields of interest. The essential subject matter was, therefore, the demarcation of manuscripts

16 Journal of Laws of 1951, item 149, with one subsequent amendment.

17 Journal of Laws of 1968, item 63, with subsequent amendments.

18 It might be interesting to note that the Law-Decree of 24 February 1928 on the National Library (Journal of Laws of 1928, item 183), in force to 1968, specified "the intellectual output of the Polish nation, expressed in handwriting, print or by any other mechanical or chemical means" as the object of the Library activities – cf. T. Makowski, 'Principles for Developing the Collections at the National Library of Poland', *Polish Libraries* 2021, pp. 276 sqq.

of an archival nature and those of a library nature – demarcation not so much for the sake of the advancement of science, and certainly not to resolve the issue of the legal basis for making specific materials available in libraries[19], but rather in order to bring about the separation in relation to the acquisition of materials between libraries and archives, and, during the 1950s, also to the transfer of manuscripts deemed archival from libraries to the state archives[20]. In fact, in the 1950s, a number of collections, primarily manuscripts, were moved from libraries to archives, despite fierce opposition from the community of librarians. That means that it was the archivists who were the attacking party, while the librarians sought to defend their holdings; it was quite possible to call the debate a conflict.

In consequence, no uniform position could exist regarding to the theoretical foundations for distinguishing between archival and library manuscripts (and materials) – as there is no full consensus to this day. Among many numerous proposals, criteria such as following can be mentioned: the maker (institution, official vs. individual, private), the ultimate purpose (document intended for permanent preservation in a specific location as a source and record of facts of the past vs. document focused on contents as an end in itself), the method of construction (an ensemble, logically constructed and organic whole vs. loose collection of documents), or relationship with legal regulations (manifestation of the application of law provisions vs. detachment from the contents of provisions)[21].

19 It was not until 1983 that "the innovative rule of free access to materials constituting the state archival resource" was introduced – M. Konstankiewicz, 'Legal norms as a context for collecting, processing and providing access to archival materials in Poland in 1919–2019', *Klio* 2025/3, p. 166.

20 See, for instance, J. Kaliszuk, 'Rękopis archiwalny i biblioteczny. Dwa wykłady Piotra Bańkowskiego wygłoszone w trakcie kursu dla archiwistów (KUL, Lublin 1956, 1961)' [Archival and Library Manuscript. Two Lectures of Piotr Bieńkowski Delivered During a Course for Archivists (KUL, Lublin 1956, 1961')], *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 2025, pp. 228 sqq.

21 The following definitions proposed by the distinguished librarian – who served as director of the National Library from 1956 to 1962 – can still be considered

At present, there are no grounds to speak of a conflict between archivists and librarians, but the difference in positions remains evident, also manifesting itself in a different interpretation of the provisions of the same relevant acts.

Thus, on the one hand, some authors – while noting, however, that "the legal status of archival materials held in libraries and museums had become complex" following the enactment of respective legislation in 1997 and 1996[22] – maintain that the state and self-government libraries specified in Article 22 Para. 2 of the Act on Archives (these are, in particular, all public libraries and the majority of scientific libraries)[23] may hold significant quantities of archival materials belonging to the State Archival Fonds, and consequently (a point to which we shall return in the next part of this article) they should make these materials available under rules of the Act on Archives[24].

On the other hand, the librarian has noted that "the only reason why the archival materials of a person or institution end up in a library, and not in an archive, is a fundamental rule that should apply (and usually does apply) in a modern society that relates to private property: it is the owner of the documents held or the creator of the archival fonds who should decide where it is to be lo-

applicable: "An archival manuscript is a product of collective life regulated by the provisions of law; it is an expression of the provisions themselves and their application. A library manuscript is a product of an individual's life; it is an expression of his/her experiences, talents, interests, and the attitude toward the community" – B. Horodyski, 'Z pogranicza bibliotekarstwa i archiwistyki' ['At the Intersection of Librarianship and Archival Science'], *Przegląd Biblioteczny* 1956/3, p. 210.

22 M. Konstankiewicz, A. Niewęgłowski, *Narodowy Zasób Archiwalny i archiwa. Komentarz* [*The National Archival Fonds and Archives. Commentary*], Warszawa 2016, p. 453.

23 *Archival activities, within the scope of the state archival fonds are also carried out by [...] 2) libraries and museums holding archival materials that form part of the state archival fonds, and collecting archival materials specified in Article 15 Para. 2 that constitute the state archival fonds: a) for which the organizer is: minister or head of central office, unit of territorial self-government, state organizational unit; b) operating within state organizational units and organizational units of territorial self-government.*

24 Cf. M. Konstankiewicz, A. Niewęgłowski, op. cit., pp. 454 sqq.; also K. Konstankiewicz, 'Regulacje prawa polskiego dotyczące archiwów i bibliotek – obszary wspólne, podobieństwa i różnice' ['Regulations of the Polish Law Relative to Archives and Libraries – Common Fields, Similarities, and Differences'], *Przegląd Archiwalno-Historyczny* 2025, pp. 85 sqq.

cated and stored during his/her lifetime or after his/her death"[25]. Even more significant is his conclusion, according to which archival materials are collected in libraries, but, in such cases, they do not belong to the National Archival Fonds, if they are part of its library counterpart – the National Library Fonds; therefore; classifying materials as part of the National Library Fonds entails treating them differently[26]. If materials do not belong to the National Archival Fonds all the less they can belong to its part constituting the State Archival Fonds.

Library Access to Materials Considered Archival

The cautious title of this section stems from the fact that it could be often difficult to determine whether a material, in particular manuscript, held in a library – which meets the overlapping definitions of both archival and library material – actually constitutes archival material from the perspective of the Act on Libraries, the general act binding librarians, or not. If a given item is classified as archival material, furthermore belonging to the State Archival Fonds, a problem arises – which is the focus of this study: whether access to such material is governed by the rules set up in the Act on Archives or by the regulations of the specific library issued pursuant to the Act on Libraries.

It should be recalled that the libraries specified in Article 22 Para. 2 of the Act on Archives may hold archival materials belonging to the State Archival Fonds[27], but this resource is distinguished only

25 M.A. Supruniuk, 'Gromadzenie i opracowywanie kolekcji archiwalnych w bibliotekach naukowych na przykładzie Archiwum Emigracji Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Toruniu' ['Acquisition and Processing of Archival Collections in Scientific Libraries: The Example of the Emigration Archive of the Toruń University Library'], *Bibliotheca Nostra. Śląski Kwartalnik Naukowy* 2010/3–4, p. 26.

26 Ibidem, p. 27.

27 It should be added that in this provision there is a distinction between archival materials which enter (*wchodzą do*) the Fonds and which constitute (*stanowiące*) the Fonds, the latter within the category of materials specified in Article 15 Para. 2. The wording is not clear and, therefore, open to various interpretations, including, literally, the understanding that "entering" encompasses only new materials generated by public institutions.

basing on ownership – ownership by the State Treasury. Therefore, in fact, the issue of access does not concern materials deemed by librarians to be the property of the library or its organizer, and inventoried as such in the inventory registers maintained in accordance with the provisions of the regulations relating to the method of inventorying library materials[28]; in this practical way, moreover, the aforementioned issue of ownership of pre-1989/1990 "historical resource" was resolved separately for each interested library.

What has been mentioned or stated so far in this section is not sufficient to indicate whether the libraries covered by this study – starting with the National Library – should, from a legal standpoint, differentiate the rules governing reader access to archival materials (even those only which belong to the State Treasury) and to library materials. Solving the problem, therefore, requires taking into account four further circumstances.

First, it should be borne in mind that the collections of certain libraries – including archival materials belonging to them – constitute, in whole or in part, the National Library Fonds, requiring – in the case of a partial inclusion – that they be segregated and afforded special protection, what means also special rules of access. This could imply the need to create a third, separate set of access rules of the same library, established, however, on the basis of the provisions of the Act on Libraries – without regard to the Act on Archives. May be, this would prompt one to recall Occam's razor.

Second, even if a conflict arises in general between the principles *lex posterior derogat priori* and *lex specialis derogat legi generali,* such conflict does not arise in the case under discussion. The Act of Libraries is both significantly more recent than the Act on Archives and – with regard to archival materials – contains special provisions that are specific with respect to the general Act on Archives.

Third, in addition to the aforementioned regulations concerning the National Library Fonds and the inventorying of library materials, particular attention must be paid to Article 14 Para. 4 of the

28 See Note 6.

Act on Libraries – concerning all libraries within the meaning of the Act – which stipulates that "*the rules and conditions for using the library are set out in the regulations to be established by its director (principal)*". The regulations – since they are intended to govern *the use of the library*, and even not of library collections (Article 4. Para 2 of the Act mentions making collections available) – are consequently intended to serve as the sole document regulating reader access to the entirety of the materials held by the library. This aggregate comprises library materials, archival materials (if they are – in the abovementioned sense), and – in cases when only a portion of the library's holdings is classified as belonging to the National Library Fonds – all materials included to that Fonds.

Fourth, there could be an additional argument, factual rather than legal. As part of a 2019 audit concerning the protection of the National Archival Fonds, the Supreme Chamber of Control examined the procedures for making materials within the fonds available to the public. However, the audit covered only state archives (and – falling outside the scope of the present study – so called "separate archives" maintained by institutions such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior and Administration). The fact that archival materials belonging to the National Archival Fonds but located outside the audited archives were excluded from the audit could imply that such materials are of negligeable (if any) importance within the National Archival Fonds, yet it also suggests the possibility that they may be made available under legal bases other than the Act on Archives.

Consequently, it is very difficult to subscribe to the view – cited in the previous section – that all archival materials belonging to the State Archival Fonds, including those held in libraries specified in Article 22 Para. 2 of the Act on Archives, should be made available under the rules of that Act. This view is based on the very broad wording of Article 39 Para. 2 of the Act on Archives[29] – with-

29 Organizational units specified in Para. 1 are subject to the provisions of this Act with respect to the archival resources they possess", and Paragraph 1 refers to

out taking into account the described actual changes in the ownership of library collections following 1989/1990, and – above all – without considering the effects of the entry into force of the 1997 Act on Libraries, which, in relation to the 1983 Act on Archives, constitutes not only *lex posterior*, but also *lex specialis.*

Final Remark

The conclusion is that all materials that are held in library collections, even if they meet the statutory definition of archival materials belonging to the National Archival Fonds (and within it to the State Archival Fonds) should be made available to the public on the terms and in the manner prescribed according to the Act on Libraries. These are regulations governing the use of individual libraries covered by this study. Even documents held in the internal institutional libraries (provided they are required by the Act on Archives to maintain such archives) are not subject to the provisions of the Act on Archives regarding their disclosure; instead, the provisions of the Act on Access to Public Information apply in this regard[30].

the libraries and museums specified in Article 22 Para. 2 that collect and preserve archival materials forming part of the state archival fonds.

30 See Note 15.

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INCUNABULA IN THE LIBRARY OF THE HIGHER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IN KIELCE

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ABSTRACT

It is the collection of incunabula amassed in the Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Kielce as presented against the backdrop of the institution's history in the 18th–20th centuries that is discussed in the paper. The major facts which affected the creation and content of the present incunabulum collection are shown; the essential information on the number of titles and volumes is provided, summing up the to-date research.

KEYWORDS: incunabula, Library of the Higher Theological Seminary (BWSDK), Kielce, history of the book collection in 18th–20th centuries

The launch of works on the printing of the catalogue of incunabula in the Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Kielce (below BWSDK), planned to celebrate the 300 years of the institution, prompts the attempt at giving an outline of the collection's content, the history of its accumulation, extraordinary vicissitudes in this history, as well as the collection's current state. All the more so the to date literature on the subject provides rather scant information on the topic. The present paper does not aspire to thoroughly characterize the collection, providing merely essential information on it.

1. History Outline of the Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Kielce

The Kielce Seminary was established by Cracow Bishop Konstanty Felicjan Szaniawski in 1726 with a foundation act issued two years after the launch of the construction of the Seminary building.[1] Classes started in 1727, and the Bishop's foundation act was confirmed by Benedict XIII a year later. The organization of the Kielce Seminary was conducted by its first teachers, at the time members of the Institute of the Apostolic Union of Secular Priests, and it was most likely them who brought the basic book collection essential for studying to the Library, although the lack of archival materials related to the Apostolic Union does not allow us to claim this with certainty.[2] The above-shown sequence of events

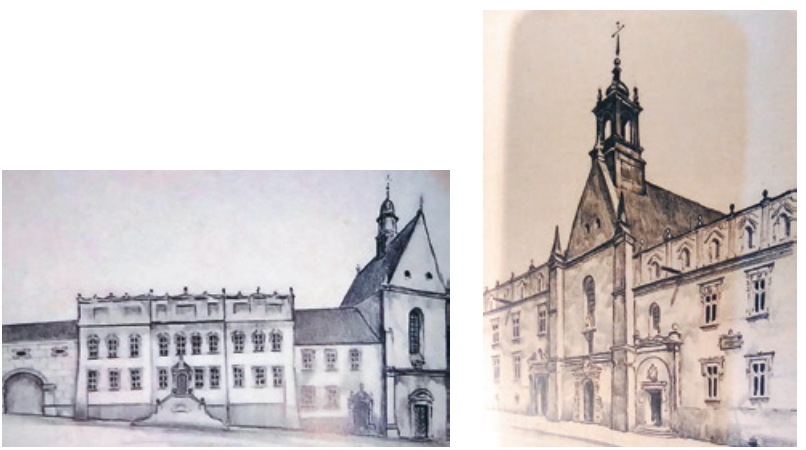


FIG. 1. Church of the Holy Trinity and the school, drawing. R. Prauss, 1943, *Sztuka Kielecczyzny po 1945 ze zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Kielcach*, Kielce 2005, ACNOs 1246, 1247, p. 121 (BWSDK's original location)

1 'Konstanty Felicjan Szaniawski', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (below: PSB), vol. 47, 2010–2011, p. 19; K. R. Prokop, *Poczet biskupów krakowskich*, Kraków 1999; P. Nitecki, *Biskupi Kościoła w Polsce w latach 965–1999. Słownik biograficzny*, Warszawa 2000, p. 426; D. Olszewski, 'Seminarium Duchowne i szkolnictwo średnie w osiemnastym stuleciu', in: *Kielce przez stulecia*, Kielce 2014, pp. 93–96; M. Pieniążek-Samek, 'W czasach potrydenckiej reformy', in: ibidem, p. 83.

2 However, certain regularities can be pointed to, e,g., examples of diocesan seminaries run by the Apostolic Union of Secular Priests (*Institutum Clericorum Saecularium in Communi Viventium*), see: J. Zdanowski, *Seminarjum Duchowne w Kielcach. Szkic historyczny w dwóchsetną rocznicę założenia*, Kielce 1927, pp. 11–17; T. Wróbel,

points unequivocally to 1727 as the beginning of the operation of the Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Kielce (BWSDK), also available to seminarians in harmony with the general rules adopted at the time.[3]

Despite the fact that the Seminary began to operate in one of the most prominent seats of the Cracow bishops: in the city where bishops had resided from the early mediaeval times, with the fourth Collegiate Chapter in the Diocese, following in precedence those of Cracow, Sandomierz, and Wiślica, the beginnings of the book collection were hardly impressive. On the grounds of the preserved source materials[4] and the manuscript chronicle tradition[5], as well as the state of research into BWSDK's history known from literature[6], what we can recreate is an incomplete image of the Library in the 18th–20th centuries, marked with numerous 'twists' in history, but also negligence and indolence of its carers.

All the studies on the topic present the number of 100 books, predominantly manuscripts serving as textbooks (mainly on theology, homiletics, and biblical studies) which constituted BWSDK's first book collection. More precise data preserved came only from around the mid-18th century. At that time, precisely under the date of 16 Au-

'Nauczanie filozofii i teologii w kieleckim seminarium duchownym (1727–1962)', *Nasza Przeszłość* 59, 1983, pp. 100–101; W. J. Górczyk, 'Szkolnictwo Bartolomitów na ziemiach polskich na przykładzie seminariów w Węgrowie, Kielcach i Sandomierzu. Zarys problematyki', *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* (below: ABMK) 115, 2021, pp. 93–100.

3 Pamiętnik Sandomierski II, 1829, p. 308 (on the beginnings of the Library prior to 1809).

4 Diocesan Archives in Kielce, Records of the Kielce Chapter.

5 T. Wróbel, *Seminarium Duchowne w Kielcach*, part 1, pp. 228–300 (MS in BWSDK's reading room).

6 First of all: D. Olszewski, 'Wprowadzenie historyczne', in: *Katalog duchowieństwa i parafii diecezji kieleckiej*, Kielce 1999, pp. 36–38. Among others see: R. Nir, 'Informator o archiwach, bibliotekach i muzeach kościelnych w Polsce', *Chrześcijanin w świecie* 56/57, 1977, pp. 199–227; idem, 'Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Seminarium Duchownego w Kielcach', ABMK, vol. 40, 1980, pp. 329–400; vol. 41, 1980, pp. 91–126; *Zbiory rękopisów w bibliotekach i muzeach w Polsce*, compiled by D. Kamolowa in cooperation with K. Muszyńska (ecclesial collections), Warszawa 1988, p. 67; *Biblioteki Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce. Informator*, compiled by W. Żurek, Kielce 2005; M. Pieniążek-Samek, 'W czasach...', op. cit., p. 81.



FIG. 2. Diocesan Archives in Kielce, parchment document 54, 1728, fragment of *Beneplacitum Apostolicum* concerning the Kielce Seminary, in Latin, parchment 84 × 74 cm, leaf 1. Printed: F. Puchalski, *Seminarium kieleckie*, Kielce 1901, p. III; P. Kardyś, 'Wykaz dokumentów ze „Zbioru dokumentów pergaminowych i papierowych" Archiwum Diecezjalnego w Kielcach', *Studia Muzealno-Historyczne* 10, 2018, pp. 223–273, item 55

gust 1753, the Records of the Collegiate Chapter bore the entry with the information that in the course of the Chapter's session Fr Canon Eustachy Słonka was assigned to check the Seminary Library for the presence of Chapter books borrowed from the Chapter as authorized by Fr Bishop Cardinal Jan Lipski in 1747. In subsequent years, the Chapter assigned further inspectors to the Library, however, no information has been found as for the results of their work.[7]

At the time, the Library was located in a room on the other side of the Seminary Church of the Holy Trinity, on the first floor of the secondary-school building. The Library room had two windows from the side of the street, a door with a lock and a padlock; bookcases with the books were placed along the walls, and there was a large table in the middle. Seminarians were allowed to access the Library along the middle gallery of the Seminary Church of the

7 T. Wróbel, *Seminarium*..., op. cit. pp. 228–230.

Holy Trinity. Since, as mentioned above, the priests also ran the secondary school, it is likely that its students, too, could use the Library[8]. It seems that throughout the 18th century the most numerous was the deposit of books belonging to the Kielce Chapter, including mediaeval manuscripts[9], incunabula, and early-printed books[10] which ended up in the Seminary Library[11]. Subsequently, as for the number and quality involved there came donations from Seminary teachers and diocesan priests[12].

The next century was started with a fire which destroyed the Seminary and Library rooms in 1809. On 28 December 1809, injured

8 Ibidem, pp. 229–230.

9 J. Wolny, 'Inventaire des manuscrits théologiques médiévaux de la Bibliothèque du chapitre à Kielce', *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 16, 1971, pp. 43–85; P. Kardyś, 'Przyczynki do dziejów księgozbioru kolegiaty kieleckiej w średniowieczu i okresie wczesnonowożytnym', *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* (below: BBJ) 56–57, 2006–2007, pp. 17–44; idem, 'Z dziejów pewnego rękopisu. Przyczynek do związków intelektualnych kanoników regularnych kłodzkich z Małopolską w XIV–XV wieku', in: *Realia życia codziennego w Europie środkowej ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Śląska*, ed. A. Barciak, Katowice-Zabrze 2011, pp. 94–105; idem, 'Dwa rękopisy Adama wikarego kolegiaty kieleckiej z XV w. i jego księgozbiór', *Między Wisłą a Pilicą* 12, 2011, pp. 55–64; idem, 'Stanisław z Jankowic – kanonik kielecki z XV w. i jego księgozbiór', *Studia Muzealno-Historyczne* (below: SM-H) 3, 2011, pp. 87–97; idem, 'Inicjały z pieskiem w rękopisie średniowiecznym Rk-41/23 z Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Kielcach', in: *Zwierzęta w historii, literaturze i sztuce Europy*, eds. S. Konarska-Zimnicka, L. Kostuch, B. Wojciechowska, Kielce 2017, pp. 187–198; K. Bracha, 'Statuta vel praecepta scholarium. Przyczynek do dziejów najstarszej szkoły w Kielcach w XV w.', SM-H 3, 2011, pp. 31–51; idem, 'Średniowieczne rękopisy dawnej Biblioteki kieleckiej kapituły kolegiackiej. Badania i źródła', in: *Rękopiśmienne księgi dawnej Biblioteki kolegiaty kieleckiej*, Kielce 2019, pp. 9–26.

10 P. Kardyś, 'Inkunabuły „medyczne" z Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Kielcach', *ABMK* 118, 2022, pp. 147–170; idem, 'Szyszkowiana/pseudoszyszkowiana z dawnego księgozbioru bernardynów z Karczówki przechowywane obecnie w zbiorach Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Kielcach', *Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi* 12, 2018, pp. 429-442; idem, 'Stanisław z Bodzentyna, wikariusz kolegiaty kieleckiej z XVI wieku i jego księgozbiór', in: *850 lat Katedry pw. Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Kielcach*, eds. K. Wojciechowska, T. Gocel, S. Konarska-Zimnicka, Kielce 2021, pp. 81–98.

11 A. Kwaśniewski, 'Księgozbiory prywatne zachowane w Bibliotece Kapituły Kieleckiej (XV–XVIII wiek)', BBJ 62, 2012, pp. 69–94; idem, 'Księgozbiór kapituły kieleckiej w świetle inwentarza z 1598 r.', ABMK 99, 2013, pp. 43-93; idem, 'Księgozbiór kanonika kieleckiego Wojciecha Strzemeskiego (†1602) w świetle inwentarza z 1650 r.', *Rocznik Kolbuszowski* 12, 2012, pp. 87–107; idem, 'Księgozbiór Kapituły Kieleckiej w świetle inwentarza z roku 1650', in: *Książka dawna i jej właściciele*, vol. 2, eds. D. Sidorowicz-Mulak, A. Franczyk-Cegła, Wrocław † 2017, pp. 207–227.

12 T. Wróbel, *Seminarium...*, op. cit., p. 232.

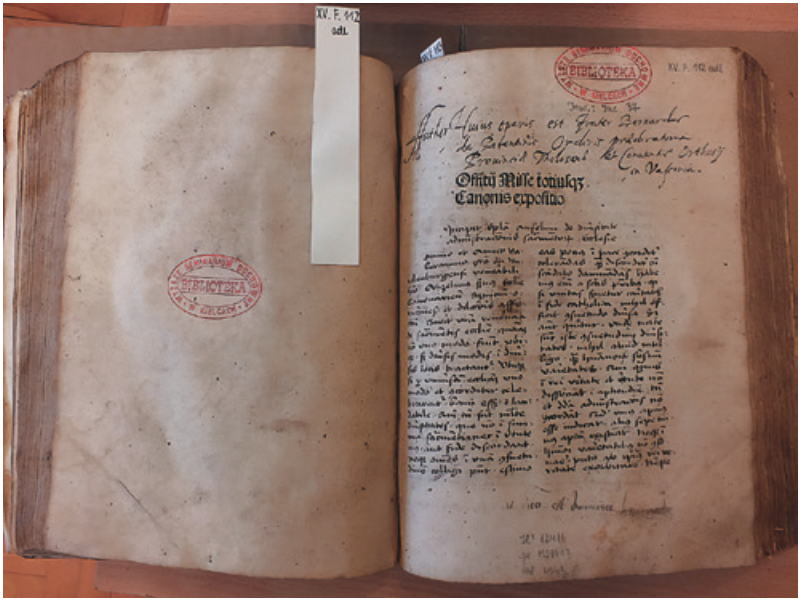


FIG. 3. Bernardus de Parentinis, *Expositio officii missae*, Speyer: I[oannes et] C[onrad] H[ist], 1487, BWSDK Inc. 37/XV.F.112 adl, IBP 4543, H 12416, GW M29413, ISTC ip00111000, leaf 1r, (with 15th-c. manuscript prologue: 'Incipit epistola Anselmi De divinitate administrationibus sacramentorum Ecclesiae')

soldiers of the troops of the Duchy of Warsaw (the building was serving as a field hospital) accidentally set fire which consumed a large part of the building. During the fire the books were thrown onto the street, into mud, and collected only once the fire had been extinguished, following which they were taken to the Bishop's Palace, where they were kept until 1813, namely to the end of the reconstruction of the destroyed part of the building.

In 1813, the Library was transferred back to the premises adjacent to the Church of the Holy Trinity, yet this time it was placed in a room on the ground floor next to the church, from the side of the street. The number of the books saved remains unknown; neither is it known whether a part of the books were separated from the collection to serve the voivodeship school founded at the time and located in the same building. Even more regrettably, in the Decree of 1 August 1820 (signed by Fr S. Staszic) the Committee of

Religious Denominations and Public Education of the Kingdom of Poland issued an instruction to have the Seminary Library transferred to Sandomierz, since plans were made to close down the Seminary, the latter decision, however, eventually cancelled following some protests.

It was only in 1823 that Bishop Jan Paweł Woronicz[13] ordered to have the Library collection put in order and catalogued (by then the collection encompassing over 2,000 items), and assigned a librarian to organize the collection. The total number of 2,609 books were divided into sections: 505 dealing with theology, 296 with Canon Law, 231 with Church history, 250 with philosophy, 158 with the Holy Scriptures, 124 with Polish preaching, 108 with French preaching, 54 with Italian preaching, and 213 with Latin preaching (this amounting to 1,939 books, thus with as many as 670 missing!).

In subsequent years reports emphasized the lack of acquisitions, while also pointing to enormous needs in this respect; nonetheless, the collection had increased substantially by 1841 (by as many as 1,300 books) containing the following numbers assigned to respective sections: 215 to the Holy Scriptures; 705 to moral and dogmatic theology + 33 manuscripts, most likely untitled; 336 to Canon Law; 760 to preaching (125 Polish, 108 French, 54 Italian, 40 German, 443 Latin); 376 to asceticism; 319 to philosophy and literature; 65 to grammar, rhetorics, and elocution; 10 to the Church Fathers; 29 to Latin and Polish literature; 29 to liturgy, 180 being priests' legacy; in total amounting to 3,293.[14]

However, in the 19th century the one who contributed most to turning the Seminary Library into an academic and teaching tool was Fr Maciej Majerczak[15], serving first as the Seminary Rector

13 E. Gigilewicz, 'Woronicz Jan Paweł', in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 19, 2014, cols. 923–925.

14 T. Wróbel, *Seminarium...*, op. cit., pp. 233–237.

15 Idem, 'Maciej Majerczak', in: PSB, vol. 19, 1974, pp. 168–169; J. Szczepański, 'Sylwetki biskupów krakowskich', in: *Pamiętnik Świętokrzyski. Studia z Dziejów Kultury Chrześcijańskiej*, Kielce 1991, pp. 331–333.

(the 1840s) responsible for the Library, and later as the administrator of the Cracow-Kielce Diocese, to finally become its Bishop (1849–1870). It was thanks to, among others, his commitment that the collection was enriched with the *Patrologiae Cursus Completus* series. Nonetheless, the beginnings were not easy: when becoming the Rector in 1841, Fr Maciej Majerczak is said to have encountered the Library in a bad state: 'Incomplete, scattered, unorderly'. He was immediately instructed to multiply the number of shelves and bookcases; in consequence, he prepared a new room, and having transferred the collection, he organized it to be shared with readers. The major challenge to the Library resulted from the fact that the building once housing the Seminary and the Library had been given to house the voivodeship school already in 1816 when the Apostolic Union of Secular Priests were not allowed to run the lower secondary school any longer. Following the 1830 November Uprising the problem was even more acute. In 1844, a school system reform was introduced, with the school building taken over by a county school; at that point Rector Fr M. Majerczak prepared a three-window room on the first floor of the boarding school, previously referred to as a 'museum', to receive the transferred collection. As of 1844, seminarians supervised by deputy rectors catalogued the collection, the fact observed by Andriej Storożenko, Member of the Council of State of the Kingdom of Poland who expressed his appreciation for the Library and the organization introduced there. On the whole, while serving as the Seminary Rector, Fr M. Majerczak imported many foreign books, having found financing for the purpose; including the cost of arranging the Library premises, he spent over 10,000 zlotys on the purpose.[16]

As of 1864, a characteristic correspondence with the government regarding taking over the libraries of the dissolved monasteries was exchanged, this, regrettably showing that the Seminary Rector was unwilling to take over the books of the Franciscans from Nowy Korczyn and Lelów, the Augustinians from Książ Wielki,

16 T. Wróbel, *Seminarium...*, op. cit., pp. 243–244.

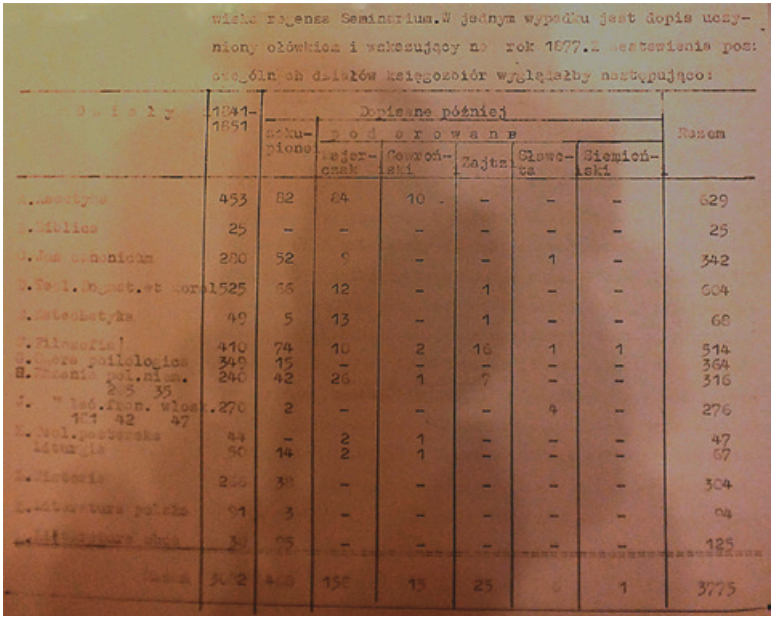
the Wolborz Collegiate, the Bernardines from Karczówka, and of the Pauline Fathers from Leśniów, claiming they were damaged and worthless, adding that he had no room to store them.[17] What is more, having looked through the catalogues, he claimed that it was not worth having these books brought over owing to a high cost; he accepted only the books from Karczówka and partially from Nowy Korczyn (without specifying the actual number). In consequence, he requested the permission from the consistory to have the 'warm-infested' books burnt which the consistory granted.

On the grounds of the catalogue preserved from that time (essentially, based on the additional entries to the catalogue it can be assumed that it reflects the Library's state as of 1872) the Library featured 13 sections, bearing letters from A to X. They were as follows:

- Asceticism 629;
- Biblica 25;
- Canon Law 342;
- Dogmatic and moral theology 604;
- Catechesis 68;
- Philosophy 514;
- Filologica 364;
- Preaching: Polish 285, German 35, Latin 101, French 42, Italian 47 (?= 316+276);
- Pastoral theology: 47;
- Liturgica: 67;
- History: 304;
- Polish literature: 94;
- Foreign literature: 125.

Regrettably, there is no information available in the documentation on the incunabula, although works on the collection from e.g.

17 Ibidem, pp. 250–251. For the Karczówka Bernardines see: P. Kardyś, 'Patrum Bernardinorum Conventus Sancti Caroli Kielcijs ad Bibliothecam. Biblioteka oo. Bernardinów z Karczówki od założenia konwentu do XIX wieku', in: *Dzieje Karczówki w Kielcach w latach 1624–2024*, t. 6, *Biblioteka bernardynów na Karczówce od 1632 roku do kasaty klasztoru w 1864 roku*, ed. J. Michta, Kielce 2019, pp. 13–270.



D z i a ł y	1841-1851	Zakupione	Dopisane później: Podarowane: Rejerczak	Gawroński	Zajtz	Słowacka	Siemieński	Razem
[illegible]	453	82	84	10	–	–	–	629
[illegible]	25	–	–	–	–	–	–	25
[illegible]	280	52	[illegible]	–	–	1	–	342
[illegible]	1525	66	12	–	1	–	–	604
[illegible]	49	5	13	–	1	–	–	68
[illegible]	410	74	10	2	16	1	1	514
[illegible]	349	15	–	–	–	–	–	364
[illegible] 2.5 35	240	42	26	1	7	–	–	316
[illegible] 161 42 47	270	2	–	–	–	4	–	276
[illegible]	44	–	2	1	–	–	–	47
[illegible]	50	14	2	1	–	–	–	67
[illegible]	250	30	–	–	–	–	–	304
[illegible]	91	3	–	–	–	–	–	94
[illegible]	30	95	–	–	–	–	–	125
[illegible]	3412	440	150	15	25	6	1	3775

FIG. 4. Page from T. Wróbel's typescript distinguishing sections and volume numbers for 1841–1851, BWSDK, Seminarium Duchowne w Kielcach, p. 1, portfolio 1, p. 247

Karczówka, unequivocally demonstrate that such were admitted to the Seminary Library at the time.[18]

The late 19th century yielded new negative consequences for the collection, particularly on part of the Russian administration who sealed off the Library in 1893 as instructed by Governor General Hurk. By 1897 the Library had 'experienced' three searches conducted by the Russian military police, an arson, and fire extinguishing by firemen. The 'theoretical' Russian reform of the Seminary ended up in the situation in which books were scattered around the Library room, and whoever entered was free to take what they wanted.

The situation like this continued until 1905 when works were begun to tidy and catalogue the Library.[19] Finally, so-called 'librar-

18 See: ibidem, passim.

19 T. Wróbel, *Seminarium...*, op. cit., pp. 258–259.

ians' were selected from among the seminarians; they were the most avid readers vitally interested in tidying and inventorying the collection.

Around that time also the remains of the old book collections of the dissolved monasteries were arriving; and so were books left after deceased bishops, as well as legacies of diocesan priests and Kielce canons. Thanks to this in the early 20th century (1907) the collection contained already 5,970 titles. Fortunately, WW I and II did not cause any damage to it, despite some dangerous moments, and the quantitative growth of the collection was substantial throughout the whole 20th century.

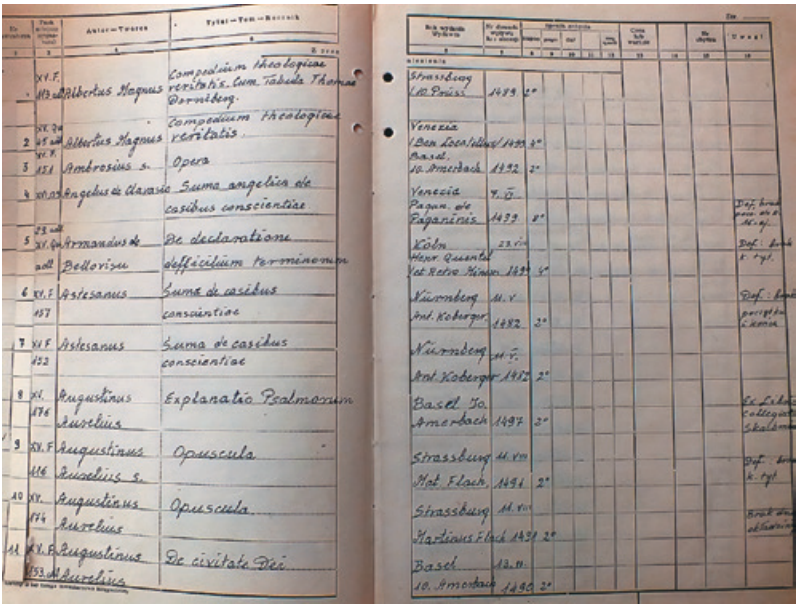


FIG. 5. Fragment (items 1–11) of BWSDK's inventory of incunabula from the 1990s. Photo by P. Kardyś

2. Concise Description of the Collection of Incunabula at the Library of the Higher Theological Seminary in Kielce

The history of research into BWSDK's incunabula goes back to 1963 when the first works on cataloguing all 15th-century books in the Library resources, while also registering their bookplates, were conducted on behalf of the National Library. The registering performed for the needs of IBP[20] asservantur being established at the time was the first attempt at systematizing the knowledge of BWSDK's incunabula, forming the departure point for conducting further and more thorough research. As the result of the work of the team headed by Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa showed, BWSDK received copies of catalogue records of 104 incunabula.[21] This clearly demonstrating that the to-date history of research into the Library's incunabula brings much catalogue-wise information. The aforementioned elaboration of catalogue cards carried out by A. Kawecka-Gryczowa's team allowed to disseminate much precious bibliographic and typographic information retained in IBP and GW.[22] However, what remains the research recommendation is the attempt at a complex study in view of the collection's provenance and its factual and content analysis. The incunabula as such, or their respective collections[23] contained within the Library collection, have only been dedicated one study. I mean here the paper dealing with the incunabula of medical content.[24] Interestingly, the 1998 catalogue provides information on over 300 manu-

20 *Incunabula quae in bubliothecis Poloniae asservantur*, t. 1, moderante A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, composuerunt M. Bohonos et E. Szandorowska, t. 2, *Addenda. Indices*, moderante A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, composuerunt M. Bohonos, M. Spandowski et E. Szandorowska, Wratislaviae–Varsaviae–Cracoviae 1970–1993.

21 T. Wróbel, *Seminarium...*, pp. 289–290.

22 *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, herausgegeben von der Kommision für den Gesamtkatalog de Wiegendrucke, Bd. 1–11, Leipzig - Stuttgart 1925–2008, https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/.

23 When I use the term 'collection' in this particular Library I mean sets of incunabula grouped in view of ownership, provenance, topics, or binding type.

24 P. Kardyś, 'Inkunabuły...', op. cit., pp. 147–170.

scripts, 92 incunabula, and about 10,000 early-printed books.[25] Actually, all the remaining information to be found in the literature on the subject is limited to signalling the basic statistical information or ownership characterization in the context of discussing the Library's collection as a whole in compendia or on the occasion of characterizing respective institutional or private book collections from the Library.[26]

For the moment the Author has personally investigated 124 incunabula[27] which thanks to BWSDK's staff have been identified in the existing Library collection. Importantly, some of them are co-bound, so the number of volumes is lower. As there are at the moment two BWSDK's incunabulum catalogues (one of paper cards and a digitalized one) and two inventories, the necessary move to make a concord between the incunabula identified in personal examination and the items in all the catalogues and inventories had to be made. The oldest card catalogue contains 158 items, of which a majority are co-bound. It is highly likely that this card catalogue at least partially reflects the cards produced in the 1950s by the team studying incunabula and headed by A. Kawecka-Gryczowa,[28] but it also contains catalogue cards produced by librarians or Seminary Rectors responsible for the Library prior to WW II. The next digitalized catalogue available on the desktop computer at BWSDK is the amplest, boasting all the qualities of a modern digitalized catalogue, yet at the moment it is not fully complete. Among the two remaining inventories in the form of A4 format ring binders the earlier one dates to the late 20th century. The other one was

25 See: D. Olszewski, 'Wprowadzenie...', op. cit, pp. 36–38; T. Wróbel, 'Dzieje Seminarium Duchownego w Kielcach na przestrzeni 150 lat', in: *Księga Jubileuszowa 1727–1977. 250 lat Seminarium duchownego w Kielcach*, Kielce 1977, pp. 51–176; *Księga jubileuszu diecezji kieleckiej (1883–1983)*, Kielce 1986; *Skarby Kielc*, ed. H. Witczyk, Kielce 1992; A. Kaleta, 'Powstanie i rozwój Biblioteki wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Kielcach', *Kielecki Przegląd Diecezjalny* 4, 1998, pp. 335–341.

26 See footnotes 7, 10–12.

27 From 130 listed in inventories; we have been unable to reach 6.

28 This is suggested by the information provided earlier by Fr T. Wróbel claiming that BWSDK had received copies of the catalogue cards produced by the team of the National Library.

started in 2012. Despite certain discrepancies in the recording format, their analysis shows that the Library boasted a common 'cataloguing' tradition.

As an example let us use two oldest Seminary incunabula: *Mammotrectus super Bibliam* by Joannes Marchesinus from 1472 published in Strasbourg by Henrici Ariminensis/Georg Reyser (XV.F.159, item 62 in the old inventory; in the current BWSDK inventory Call No 83/IBP 3585, HC 10522, GW M20806, ISTC im00234000) and *Biblia* from the same year published in Mainz by Peter Schäffer (XV.F.166, item 22 in the old catalogue; in the current BWSDK inventory Call No Inc. 90/IBP 988, GW 4211, ISTC ib00536000).[29]

Inside the catalogues and inventories constructed in such a way there are further divisions, this exemplified by the inventory from

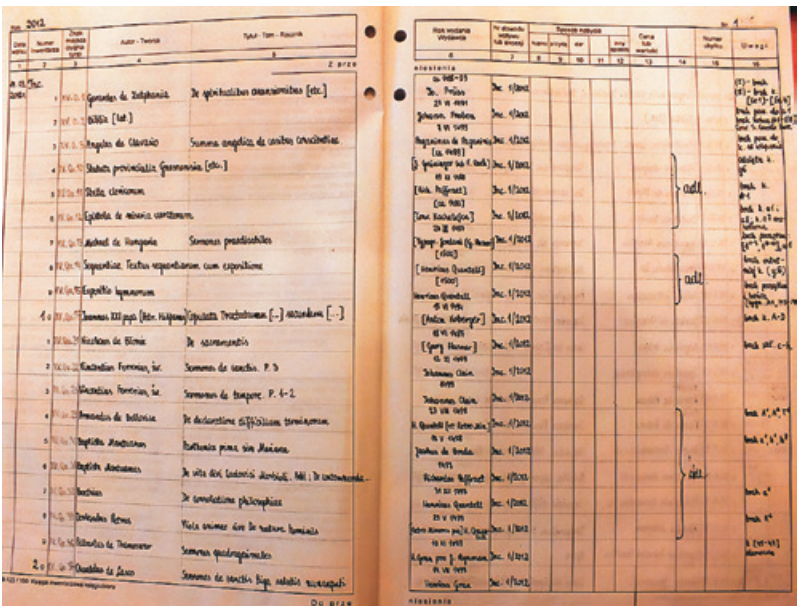


FIG. 6. Fragment (items 1–20) of Inventory of BWSDK's incunabula initiated in 2012. Photo by P. Kardyś

29 Different inventory numbers resulted from different rules for making entries; in the older of the entries into inventory books, the alphabetical order was complied with.

the 1990s.[30] For instance, the incunabula under letter K, with their number standing at 36, actually refer to the number of titles co-bound in 26 volumes which came from the former Chapter library, and which were not as yet BWSDK's 'property', remaining as if out of its integrated book collection. Even in the card catalogue the cards containing the description of the incunabula in question have been kept separately, featuring no alphabetical order. The remaining 94 of them marked with the Roman numeral 'XV' and the letters F, Qu, or Q, as well as Arabic numerals are also co-bound in their majority.

In the 1997 inventory notes reading 'missing' were entered in different handwriting on an ongoing basis next to over twenty items, which were also crossed out at that point, just as it happened in the card catalogue. The most up-to-date inventory in the form of the ring binder, put together and completed by BWSDK's staff, since 2012 has contained only 110 titles, with no information on the incunabula marked with the letter K, thus those from the former Chapter library, as they were entered into this inventory omitting old call numbers, having been given new ones in harmony with IBP, thus following the scheme: Roman numeral 'XV' and letters and Arabic numerals. These incunabula need to be added the incunabulum found at BWSDK during the preliminary research when the Author was studying the library of the Bernardine Fathers from Karczówka near Kielce, added a subsequent Call No which, however, has been included only in the most recent inventory.[31] The above-mentioned remarks concerning the catalogues in use at BWSDK indicate the amount of work required on the part of a researcher of the topic.

A certain compensation for the confusion observed in the card catalogue and the later inventories can be seen in the digitalized catalogue available at BWSDK, and made meticulously, with refer-

30 *Księga inwentarzowa księgozbioru. Inkunabuły*, BWSDK. The inventory starts with the date: 11 September 1997.

31 P. Kardyś, 'Patrum...', op. cit., p. 180.

ences to the major online incunabulum catalogues (*Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, *Icunabula Short Title Cataloque*) as well as printed ones by Hain, Coppinger, Reichling, and obviously *Incunabula quae in bibliotecis Poloniae asservantur* (in some exceptional situations also Bodleian Library/Bod-Inc. and Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Inkunabelkatalog/BSB-Inc.), as of 2022 containing merely 86 incunabula. At this point one could possibly claim reference to the online WorldCat currently containing the broadest title database, however, this should not be treated as criticism of the authors of the digitalized version of the BWSDK catalogue. The online BWSDK catalogue contains all the necessary information for a researcher: author and title, place of publication, information on potential illuminations, initials, and rubrications, information on notes and marginalia, endpapers, added leaves, defects, above-mentioned references to catalogues and online databases, basic information on the state of preservation, elements missing, binding type and decoration. One could perhaps consider extending it by including identified watermarks[32] and possibly a more precise deciphering of more extensive notes (provided this is possible owing to the preservation state and paleography), for example, the manuscript prologue 'Officii Misse totiusquae Canonis Expositio' which precedes *Expositio officii missae* by Bernard de Parentis (provided this is possible owing to its preservation state and paleography).[33] However, this is not an *ad meritum* criticism. Therefore the data from the digitalized catalogue and the physical examination of all the incunabula found at BWSDK will be extremely helpful in the study preparing the BWSDK incunabulum catalogue planned for print.[34]

32 For a current model study for catalogued collections of seminary incunabula on the Polish territories see: J. Tondel, *Inkunabuły w zbiorach Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Pelplinie*, Pelplin 2007, passim.

33 Bernardus de Parentinis, *Expositio officii missae*, Speyer: I[oannes et] C[onrad] H[ist], 1487, BWSDK Inc. 37/XV.F.112 adl, IBP 4543, H 12416, GW M29413, ISTC ip00111000, leaf 1r.

34 It goes without saying that these works as well as the identification of all the essential details with respect to BWSDK's catalogues and inventories and reaching all the incunabula would not have been possible had it not been for the assistance provided by BWSDK's Director and the Library staff.

LDR *a*: +++++ *b*: n *c*: a *d*: m *e*: + *f*: + *g*: 2 *h*: 2 *i*: +++++ *j*: + *k*: i *l*: + *m*: 4500
001 *a*: WSD_KAN
008 *a*: 130403 *b*: s *c*: 1488 *d*: ++++ *e*: fr+ *f*: ++++ *g*: + *h*: + *i*: ++++ *j*: ! *l*: 0 *n*: 0 *o*: 0 *p*: + *q*: s *r*: + *s*: lat *t*: + *u*: !
040 *a*: WSD_K *c*: WSD_K
100 0. *a*: Pseudo-Petrus de Palude. *0*: n 98009606
245 10 *a*: Sermones Thesauri novi de sanctis.
260 *a*: Strassburg : *b*: Martin Flach, *c*: 1488.
300 *c*: 2º.
500 *a*: Nazwy aut. i druk. wg IBP.
500 *a*: Wg GW online autorstwo nieokreślone.
510 4. *a*: Reichling, *c*: 5425.
510 4. *a*: IBP, *c*: 4371.
510 4. *a*: GW online, *c*: M41806. *u*: http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/M41806.htm
510 4. *a*: ISTC online, *c*: ip00513000. *u*: http://data.cerl.org/istc/ip00513000
530 *a*: Dostępny również w formie elektronicznej.
561 *a*: Anno D[omi]ni 1617 Ego joannes a Przyrow Plebanus in jrządze comparans... [nota na k. a2r]
561 *a*: Ex libris V. Joannis Luskj Plebanus D...ens[is] [nota na k. a2r]
561 *a*: M. Michael Stąporkiewicz PhD Can[onicus] C... Kiel[censis] Semin. [nota na k. a2r]
561 *a*: Ex libris M. Michaelis ... Stąporkiewicz thD Can[oni]ci Kielcen[sis] ... [nota na k. c1r]
563 *a*: Deski, skóra jasna, tłoczenia ślepe. Okł. przednia: w ramie 2 radełka z personifikacją cnót (figurki Caritas, Spe, Fides, Iustitia), w zwierciadle kompozycja złożona z 4 lilii, drobnych kwiatów i słabo widocznej plakiety, tłoczony majuskułą napis: SERMO: THESAVR: NO DE SANCTIS. Okł. tylna: w ramie 2 radełka z personifikacją cnót (figurki Caritas, Spe, Fides, Iustitia), w zwierciadle kompozycja złożona z 4 lilii, drobnych kwiatów, plakiety i liter I P I P. Dwie klamry skórzane z metalowymi okuciami (część. zachowane). Na grzb. biało-niebieska papierowa naklejka z dawną sygn. (3261).
569 *a*: Brak k. a1 oraz b6 (czystej). K. l6 i B4 przedarte.
655 .4 *a*: Kazania *x*: katolicyzm
655 .4 *a*: Inkunabuły
700 1. *a*: Flach, Martin *d*: (14..-1500). *e*: Druk. *0*: n 2010140208
752 *a*: Francja *d*: Strasburg.

856 41 *u*: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0007/bsb00073269/images/
900 0. *a*: Jan z Przyrowa.
900 1. *a*: Luski, Jan.
900 1. *a*: Stąporkiewicz, Michał *d*: (16..-1725).
923 *z*: WSD_K *s*: XV.F.105 *n*: Inc.33
960 *u*: XV.F.105 - Obj. [262] k. Inicjały czerwone, niebieskie. Rubryki. Noty marginalne łac. Na wyklejce okł. przedniej nota: Dum transis effigiem quem cernis honora. Non effigiem, sed quem designat adora oraz dawna sygn. (3261). U góry k. a2r nota biblioteczna: Ex Bibliotheca Semin[arii] Kielcen[sis]. Na k. Q5v rps łac. 2 szp. Proweniencja: Michał Stąporkiewicz był kanonikiem Kapituły Kieleckiej (kanonia kaznodziejska 2 ministerium prebendy Tumlin).

An exemplary description of an incunabulum available in the digitalized catalogue available at BWSDK

Among the more interesting issues connected with the study of incunabula is the question of provenance. Only few of the preserved incunabula have no provenance records noted. This problem essentially applies to strongly defected copies, lacking the first pages traditionally featuring information on book's ownership or information on the subsequent locations of the volume. The provenance of the Kielce incunabula is most often contained in handwritten notes in the classical, well-known schematic and concise form, typical of ecclesiastical institutions, limited to several words, e.g.: *Conventus FF. Recollectorum Kielcensium. . .*; *Iste liber datus est ecclesiae . . .*: *Iste liber Byblie est testamentaliter legatum pro Ecclesia collegiata Kyelcensis . . .*, and others, frequently showing complex history of respective incunabulum's ownership, yet additionally containing substantial information on their owners, showing if they were private individuals.[35]

35 E.g., BWSDK, Call No Inc. 33/XV.F.105, Pseudo-Petrus de Palude, *Sermones Theasuri novi de sanctis*, Strassburg: Martin Flach, 1488: 'Anno D[omi]ni 1617 Ego Joanne a Przyrow Plebanus in Jrządze comparens', folio a2r; 'Ex Libris V[enerabilis] Joannis Dluskj Plebanus D[...]ens[is]', folio a2r; 'M. Michael Stąporkiewicz PHD Can[onicus] C[...] Kiel[censis] Semin[arii]', folio a2r.

However, it is sometimes the case that only external features are the elements permitting identification of earlier owners, meaning inventory stickers, a supralibros, or the binding.[36] This particularly applies to volumes from large catalogued book collections of monastic orders or the Kielce Collegiate Chapter. Importantly, it has to be borne in mind that at least some of the incunabula feature bindings which are definitely later than those they had originally.

It is only exceptionally that we find records informing on the place where the book was purchased, or how much it cost, or how much the binding cost. The notes on purchasing the book may often inform on the 'long duration' of the content of the incunabulum in the career of its owners, as was the case of several co-bound medical texts by Michele Savonarola and Gentilis de Fulgineo[37] or the incunabula which belonged to the Canons of the Kielce Collegiate Chapter.[38] The latter also constitute the richest provenance set (36 incunabula in 26 volumes).[39] At the current stage of research other collections significant as for the number of volumes with preserved provenance that can be distinguished among BWSDK's book collection is that from the former library of the Franciscans from Nowy Korczyn, the Franciscans of Primitive Observance from Pińczów, and of the Bernardines from Piotrkowice. Identifying this is possible thanks to accidental findings when on the bindings in view of the lack of provenance notes we find signatures typical of the aforementioned monastic collections or references to patrons of particular congregations, to the purpose, or the location,

36 As a good example of this let us give the effective search for the Karczówka Bernardines' book collection among around 10,000 early-printed books at BWSDK; it was possible to a great degree thanks to the identification of characteristic inventory stickers from the former Karczówka library. See: P. Kardyś, 'Patrum…', op. cit., passim.

37 See: idem, 'Inkunabuły…', op. cit., pp. 141–170.

38 See: A. Kwaśniewski, 'Księgozbiory…', op. cit., passim; idem, 'Księgozbiór kanonika…', op. cit., passim.

39 Idem, 'Księgozbiór Kapituły Kieleckiej…', op. cit., passim.

e.g.: 'Pro cella Praedicatoris in heremo 1534'[40] or 'Liber Bonaventura monasterio opatouien[sis]'.[41]



FIG. 7. Gilded initial R[elictis], BWSDK, Inc. 34/XV.F.106, *Manuale parochiale sacerdotum*, Leipzig, Conradus Kachelofen 1489, folio 3r

A very superficial topo- and typographic analysis allows to characterize the collection of BWSDK's incunabula as a typical one. What dominates in them are German publishing houses (mainly Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Cologne); among the remaining ones there are numerous books from Venice and Basel. The whole collection contains incunabula in the 2° and 4° formats published in Latin. A number of them feature numerous decorations such as coloured initials; some have preserved gilded initials, similarly as

40 In this particular case it is the Bernardine monastery at Św. Katarzyna, BWSDK, Call No Inc. 39/XV.F.114 adl., Cyprianus [Pseudo], *Opera*, Stuttgart: Typographus „Erwälhlung Maximilians" 1486.

41 The Bernardines from Opatów, BWSDK, Call No Inc. 47/XV.F.122, Bonaventura, Opuscula, Strassburg: Tyopographus Iordani = Georg Husner 1495.

fleurons. Merely a fraction of the incunabula boast genuine 15th-century bindings, and even if so, they are substantially defective, e.g., the aforementioned incunabula of medical content[42]. However, the majority of the preserved bindings are of the 16th-century Renaissance provenance.[43]

3. Conclusions

To recapitulate, let us conclude that the incunabulum collection at BWSDK is on the one hand a collection of incunabula typical of ecclesiastical collections on Polish territories, both in terms of the topics, state of preservation, and of tegumentological and internal features (ornaments, marginalia, provenance) on the

42 The incunabulum binding is made of boards covered with dark-brown leather featuring numerous stampings: of presses and knurl. The upper cover is enclosed within a double frame with floral and animal motifs knurled inside rhombuses and ovals. The central part of the cover is taken by a plaque with numerous stampings of the rue motif. Badly damaged, the bottom cover lacks a part of the board, and the whole has been destroyed by woodworms, the leather has peeled, while the stamping remains unidentifiable, therefore without a full conservation of the volume it is impossible to conduct any bookbinding comparative studies. Both the top and the bottom covers feature three brass corners each with circular buttons (the top cover lacking the top left button, while the bottom cover missing the bottom right one). The central part of the top and bottom cover centres feature preserved rhomboidal plaques with buttons identical with those on the corners, though featuring differently stamped copper sheet than on the corners: the characteristic feature is Gothic letter 'm' stamped centrally in each of the plaque rhombuses. Another element preserved on the top cover are brass fixings of two clasps with the motif of a six-leaf punched rosette on a plant runner; on the bottom cover a fragment of one clasp has been preserved. The whole is sewn with four double cord binds, see: A. Chmiel, 'Introligatorzy cudzoziemscy i zamiejscowi w Krakowie w latach 1574–1646', Exlibris 7, 1929, fasc. 2; J. Dobrowolski, *Zarys dziejów introligatorstwa w Krakowie*, Kraków 1968, passim;, *Inkunabuły Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, comp. A. Lewicka-Kamińska, Kraków 1962, passim; A. Lewicka-Kamińska 'Rzut oka na rozwój oprawy książkowej w Krakowie', *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 16, 1972, fascs. 1–2, pp. 49–68; J. Tondel, *Inkunabuły...*, op. cit., pp. 147–177, 549–551; J. S. Van Leeuwen, *The Golden Age of Bookbindings in Cracow 1400–1600*, Kraków 2011, passim; *Katalog inkunabułów Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie*, compiled by T. Dąbrowska, E. Knapek, J. Wojtowicz, Kraków 2015, passim.

43 E.g: St Augustine, *Opuscula*, Strassburg: Martin Flach 11 August 1491, – 2°. Binding: boards, light leather, lack of a part of leather of the bottom cover, stamping, knurls with images of Reformers: M. Luther, P. Melanchthon, J. Hus, and figural ones in the form of heads in medallions encircled in arabesques; traces of two clasps' fastening, BWSDK Inc. 41/XV.F.116.



FIG. 8. Hand-rubricated woodprints, Farinator Mathias, *Lumen animae*, Strassburg, Typogr. Legendae aurae, 1482, BWSDK Inc. 43/XV.F.123

other.[44] Nonetheless, from the perspective of the history of books and book collections on Poland's territory, particularly in the region conventionally referred to in historiography as the land 'between the Vistula and the Pilica Rivers', it is a unique and significant legacy, greatly worth being studied in a form of a book catalogue. In this respect we are of a contradicting opinion to that of IBP's authors considering this book collection of slightly over 100 incunabula as ranking among the least interesting. Importantly, its exceptional value actually stems from the circumstances of its creation, since it was composed of bequests of diocesan clergy, collection fragments reaching it after the dissolution of monasteries,[45] the turbulent history of BWSDK, and a number of other circumstance impossible to identify at this point. Currently, the incunabula kept at BWSDK are deposited in one of the bookcases, however, it is likely that a complete inventory will reveal other missing early-printed books or post-incunabula, as was precisely what happened in the case of the book collection of the Karczówka Bernardines studied by the Author of the present paper.[46]

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

44 See: *Katalog inkunabułów Biblioteki*, passim; *Catalogue of Incunabula in the National Library of Poland*, vols. 1–2, Warszawa 2021.

45 See: J. Rył, 'Katalog inkunabułów zespołu seminaryjnego Biblioteki Katedralnej w Gnieźnie', *ABMK* 25, 1972, pp. 115–208; J. M. Marszalska, *Katalog inkunabułów Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Tarnowie*, Tarnów 1997.

46 See: P. Kardyś, 'Patrum...', op. cit., pp. 139–140, 184.

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GENERAL RELIGIOUS SCHEMATISMS IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF THE JOHN PAUL II CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF LUBLIN

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ABSTRACT

Religious schematisms (catalogues, elenchi) are official directories containing information on the administrative structure of a religious community, its membership, history and statistical data for a given religious province. Probably the largest collection in Poland – and one of the largest in Europe, comprising around 4,500 ecclesiastical schematisms – is held in the University Library of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (hereafter: BU KUL). A certain proportion of the schematisms in this collection are general religious schematisms (that is, order-wide schematisms). In the context of the collection as a whole, this is not a large number, as it comprises 83 items belonging to 14 male religious communities. However, it appears sufficiently representative to serve as the subject of preliminary reflections.

This article presents not only the general religious schematisms in the BU KUL collection, but also a general external critique and

a discussion of the range of information they contain. The types of information and the frequency with which these types appear allow us to distinguish between information that is found in most annual volumes, which may be described as constant – including data on the authorities of the religious community, details of its members and the localities in which its religious houses were located – and information that appears only sporadically or is characteristic of only some religious communities – including various kinds of indexes (mainly of names), more extensive histories of the order or of individual religious houses, maps and charts.

The specific nature of general schematisms lies in their worldwide scope: they cover an entire institute of consecrated life, making it appropriate to distinguish them as a separate subcategory of religious schematisms. This distinction is justified by the fact that they provide a global view of the entire religious community rather than just one part of it, usually a religious province or other equivalent unit.

KEYWORDS: order-wide schematisms, general schematisms, religious order, religious congregation, religious communities

In recent decades, ecclesiastical schematisms, as a separate category of printed works, have become increasingly popular among scholars of the past as a source for studying history.[1] A "schema-

1 A rich survey of literature on schematisms and rubrycles from the Polish lands, primarily diocesan publications, has been compiled, among others, by Ł. Krucki in his article "Rubrycele i schematyzmy archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej (1532–2019)", *Roczniki Teologiczne*, 2020, vol. 67, no. 4, pp. 5–7; J.R. Marczewski, "Rubrycele i schematyzmy diecezji lubelskiej w dobie zaborów", *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* (hereafter: *ABMK*), 2022, vol. 118, p. 220. Among the most recent works are: M. Dębowska, "Schematyzmy diecezji łuckiej i żytomierskiej (1801–1938)", *Archivum seu thesaurus Universitatis et acta aliorum officiorum. Studia ofiarowane dr hab. Annie Łosowskiej na czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, eds. M. Kuchciak, K. Skupieński, Lublin 2022, pp. 307–320; J.R. Marczewski, "Rubrycele i schematyzmy diecezji lubelskiej w okresie międzywojennym", *ABMK*, 2024, vol. 122, pp. 243–256; R. Kozyrski, "Schematyzmy diecezjalne z lat 1938–1939 jako źródło do badań nad parafiami zakonów męskich w Polsce. Analiza statystyczna, baza danych i aplikacja internetowa", *Studia Geohistorica*, 2024, vol. 12, pp. 69–92.

tism" – also commonly referred to as a *schematismus*, *elenchus*, directory, catalogue or annual volume – is a list of the clergy of a given diocese or religious administrative unit. They are official printed works, which means that the data they contain may be regarded as reliable, and they are also practical in character, providing specific groups of users with access to practical information of an organisational and administrative nature. Their intended recipients were primarily diocesan clergy or members of religious communities.[2]

Diocesan printed works still predominate in research, but religious printed works are also increasingly being used as sources.[3] Publications in this field include studies of religious schematisms presented as source-critical discussions,[4] bibliographies and lists of this type of printed work[5] as well as analyses of rare annual vol-

2 Ł. Krucki, *Rubrycele i schematyzmy archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej. Katalog druków przechowywanych w Archiwum Archidiecezjalnym w Gnieźnie*, Gniezno 2016, p. 9.

3 An example here may be the work carried out at the Ośrodek Badań nad Geografią Historyczną Kościoła w Polsce KUL (Institute for the Historical Geography of the Church in Poland at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, hereafter: OBnGHKwP). Schematisms are not the only sources of information, but they are often among the first used in work on administrative structures or personnel matters, whether relating to dioceses or to religious orders. In accordance with scholarly practice, data obtained from this type of source is compared there with other available source materials and scholarly publications. For more on the work carried out at OBnGHKwP, see https://geo-ecclesiae.kul.pl/dane-i-aplikacje/ [accessed 28.08.2026] and works including: E. Chomentowska, "Skład personalny klasztoru oo. Bernardynów w Przeworsku w świetle schematyzmów bernardynów prowincji galicyjskiej pw. Niepokalanego Poczęcia NMP z lat 1851–1918", *550 lat obecności oo. Bernardynów w Przeworsku (1465–2015)*, eds. M.R. Gęśla and A.K. Sitnik, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2015, pp. 113–134; eadem, "Skład osobowy klasztoru dominikanów w Jarosławiu w latach 1851–1918 (na podstawie schematyzmów prowincji galicyjskiej)", *Bazylika Matki Boskiej Bolesnej w Jarosławiu. Dzieje, ludzie, sztuka*, eds. M. Miławicki and R. Nestorow, Kraków 2016, pp. 119–151; R. Kozyrski, "Schematyzmy diecezjalne z lat 1938–1939…", passim.

4 A. Demoustier, "Les catalogues du personnel de la province de Lyon en 1587, 1606 et 1636", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* (hereafter: *AHSI*), 1973, no. 42, pp. 3–105 and 1974, no. 43, pp. 3–84; E. Lamalle, "Les catalogues des provinces et des domiciles de la Compagnie de Jésus Note de bibliographie et de statistique", *AHSI*, 1944, no. 13, pp. 77–101; E. Chomentowska, *Schematyzmy zakonów męskich z ziem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej z lat 1718–1918. Studium źródłoznawcze*, Lublin 2016; E. Chomentowska, "Schematyzmy karmelitów prowincji galicyjskiej", *ABMK*, 2022, vol. 119, pp. 51–64, https://doi.org/10.31743/abmk.12319 [accessed 28.03.2025].

5 S. Librowski, "Katalog rubrycel i schematyzmów diecezji i zakonów historycznej Polski znajdujących się w księgozbiorze podręcznym Archiwum Diecezjalnego we Włocławku", part 2, *ABMK*, 1973, vol. 27, pp. 57–130; A. Kwaśniewski, "Katalog

umes.[6] Despite the development of research on schematisms, publications covering entire religious communities[7] have not so far been studied separately; attention has been paid to them only in general analyses of this type of printed work.[8] It therefore seems appropriate to devote a separate analysis to general schematisms, also known as order-wide schematisms. The main aim of this article is to introduce this type of publication by characterising it and presenting preliminary conclusions from a source-critical analysis, having first discussed its place within the structure of schematisms in the collection of the University Library of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (hereafter: BU KUL).

Because the BU KUL acquired its general schematisms through various channels, its collection of them is far from complete. It

rubrycel i schematyzmów polskich cystersów znajdujących się w księgozbiorze podręcznym Archiwum Diecezjalnego w Kielcach (1788–1816)", *Hereditas Monasteriorum*, 2012, no. 1, pp. 189–205; Ł. Krucki, "Katalog rubrycel i schematyzmów zakonów oraz zgromadzeń zakonnych przechowywanych w księgozbiorze podręcznym Archiwum w Gnieźnie (1767–2008)", *Hereditas Monasteriorum*, 2015, no. 6, pp. 343–396; E. Chomentowska, "Katalog rubrycel i schematyzmów zakonów męskich i żeńskich z obszaru historycznych ziem Rzeczypospolitej za lata 1690–2008 w zbiorze Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II", *ABMK*, 2013, vol. 100, pp. 55–179, https://doi.org/10.31743/abmk.11992 [accessed 28.03.2025]; eadem, *Bibliografia schematyzmów zakonów męskich z ziem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej z lat 1718–1918. Bibliography of schematisms of male religious orders in the former Poland between 1718–1918*, Lublin 2016. For a broader discussion of the cataloguing of the collection of religious schematisms at BU KUL, see: E. Chomentowska, *Katalog schematyzmów i rubrycel zakonnych w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II. Schematyzmy generalne oraz druki jednostek administracji zakonnej poza Polską. Catalogue of religious schematisms (directories) and rubrycles in the collection of the University Library of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin. General schematisms and prints of religious administration units outside Poland*, Lublin 2023.

6 H.E. Wyczawski, "Schematyzm bernardyński z 1753 roku", *ABMK*, 1973, vol. 29, pp. 278–283; C. Gil, "Dwa katalogi prowincji litewskiej karmelitów bosych z XVIII wieku", *Nasza Przeszłość*, 2009, vol. 111, pp. 117–157.

7 The term "religious community" should be understood here as referring to a religious order, religious congregation, society of apostolic life or any other institute of consecrated life. Given the multiplicity of forms of communal life, this study uses "religious order" or "religious order and religious congregation" as equivalent terms referring to all of them.

8 See, among others, E. Chomentowska, *Schematyzmy zakonów męskich…*, passim; eadem, *Bibliografia schematyzmów zakonów…*, [*Misjonarze św. Wincentego a Paulo*], pp. 326–332.

may nevertheless be regarded as representative. It comprises printed works of communities belonging to different groups of religious orders (monastic, mendicant and clerical), from different periods – from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century – and issued either occasionally or periodically. Some of the reflections presented here are therefore only general assumptions, or even hypotheses, although at this stage of research they are already sufficiently well grounded to be presented and, possibly, to encourage other scholars to explore the subject further. Be that as it may, the specific nature of general schematisms – namely that they cover an entire religious community – means that they should be treated as a separate subcategory of religious schematisms.

To present, among other things, the range of content and the similarities and differences found both across individual annual volumes and between the communities for which they were produced, this study mainly uses descriptive, analytical-synthetic and comparative methods. Statistical methods are also used to present the number of annual volumes held at the BU KUL. Numerous examples from the most characteristic or distinctive annual volumes are also included to illustrate extensive content or content not found in other printed works.

The BU KUL Collection of General Schematisms

The collection at BU KUL, one of Poland's oldest university libraries, includes a rich set of diocesan and religious schematisms as well as liturgical calendars.[9] Indeed, numbering around 4,500 titles, only a small proportion of which are duplicates, it may be the larg-

9 During the work to establish the University in Lublin, in June 1918 Karol Jaroszyński undertook to build and furnish its University Library. After the Catholic University of Lublin opened, the former Bernardine building on Dolna Panny Marii Street was handed over for the emerging Library on 1 October 1918, and in November, Emilia Szeliga-Szeligowska, who took over its management, began organising the University Library. The reference collection was made available as early as December of that year (the University of Lublin officially began its activity on 9 December 1918). See more broadly: J. Nastalska-Wiśnicka, *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II. Kronika stulecia 1918–2018*, Lublin 2020, pp. 239–240.

est collection of its kind in Poland and probably one of the largest in Europe. Alongside titles that are mostly of Polish provenance, the schematism collection includes a significant group of printed works which, in the card catalogue, are listed under the heading "Foreign schematisms". These are printed works issued by ecclesiastical administrative units from outside the broadly understood borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, understood here as lands that at any time lay within its borders or were historically associated with it. In addition to diocesan schematisms, this collection includes more than 600 schematisms of religious provenance, dating from the 1830s to the second decade of the twenty-first century. Among the latter are elenchi compiled for entire religious communities and therefore worldwide in scope.

Schematisms, together with rubrycles – that is, liturgical calendars – are generally treated as periodicals and assigned to the periodicals section. A similar approach has been adopted at BU KUL. In examining the entire collection of rubrycles and schematisms, it seemed appropriate to distinguish three parts, followed by further groups, which correspond in part to the classification used in the Card Catalogue, now digitised and available on the BU KUL website:[10]

Part I. General ecclesiastical publications

Part II. Diocesan publications

1. Rubrycles and schematisms of Polish dioceses (in the Card Catalogue: *Schematyzmy diecezjalne polskie* – Polish diocesan schematisms)

2. Rubrycles and schematisms of foreign dioceses (in the Card Catalogue: *Schematyzmy diecezjalne obce* – Foreign diocesan schematisms)

Part III. Religious publications

1. Rubrycles and schematisms of religious provinces, or possibly other units to which the schematisms relate, located in the

10 *Katalog Kartkowy Czasopism*, https://czasopisma.buikkar.kul.pl/ [accessed 28.03.2025].

Polish lands (in the Card Catalogue: *Schematyzmy zakonne polskie* – Polish religious schematisms)
2. Rubrycles and schematisms of religious provinces, or possibly other units to which the schematisms relate, outside the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, including general schematisms (in the Card Catalogue: *Schematyzmy zakonne obce* – Foreign religious schematisms)[11]

In analysing the BU KUL collection of schematisms and the current state of research on religious catalogues, it seems appropriate to distinguish two publishing approaches with regard to general schematisms. The first concerns religious communities that usually published their printed works at provincial level, issuing order-wide schematisms only sporadically, for example to mark a jubilee or another important event. The second was the decision of the highest religious authorities to publish catalogues for the whole community fairly systematically, even annually. The first group includes, among others, the Conventual Franciscans[12] and the Friars Minor; the second includes primarily the Salesians, the Dehonians (or Priests of the Sacred Heart) and the Verbites, as well as the Congregation of the Mission and the Greek Catholic Order of Saint Basil the Great. These two different approaches to publishing general catalogues are reflected both in the differing frequency with which they appeared and in notes in some annual volumes indicating the publication dates of earlier titles, often relatively distant in time.[13]

11 E. Chomentowska, *Katalog schematyzmów i rubrycel zakonnych…*, p. 25.

12 The full names of the religious communities that issued general schematisms and are referred to in the present text are given in the appendix bibliography of annual volumes held at BU KUL.

13 For example, the annual volume of the Friars Minor indicates the years of publication of all the general catalogues (1903, 1909 and 1938); cf. *Schematismus Ordinis Fratrum Minorum iussu Rev.mi P. Augustini Sépinski Ministri Generalis cura Secretariae Generalis studio P. Berardi Bonvini nunc quatrum typis editus*, Romae 1961, p. [2]. Because the titles of schematisms are often similar or identical, it was decided to cite the full title the first time, and in subsequent citations to give: the first word of the title (usually the name of the printed work), followed by the name of the

TABLE 1 NUMBER OF GENERAL RELIGIOUS SCHEMATISMS IN THE BU KUL COLLECTION

No.	Religious community	No. of printed works	Percentage of order-wide schematisms	Annual volumes
1	Basilians	23	27.7%	1949, 1950, 1951/1952, 1953/1954, 1955/1956, 1959/1960, 1964/1965, 1971/1972, 1975/1976, 1978/1979, 1882–1982, 1986, 1989, 1992, 1994, 1997, 2000, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013
2	Marians	22	26.5%	1926, 1928, 1929, 1931–1939, 1957, 1958, 1960, 1965, 1967, 1968, 1971, 1985, 1999, 2000
3	Dehonians	15	18.1%	1947, 1950, 1953, 1960, 1967, 1970, 1974, 1978, 1981, 1984, 1987, 1992, 1996, 2000, 2005
4	Verbites	6	7.3%	1952, 1958, 1959, 1970, 1972, 1973
5	Congregation of the Mission	3	3.6%	1860, 1907, 1957
6	Norbertines (hereafter: Premonstratensians)	3	3.6%	1894, 1900, 1948
7	Pallottines	2	2.4%	1933, 1938
8	Piarists	2	2.4%	1959, 1965
9	Salvatorians	2	2.4%	1974, 1975
10	Benedictines	1	1.2%	1925
11	Friars Minor	1	1.2%	1961
12	Conventual Franciscans	1	1.2%	1960
13	Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate (hereafter: Oblates)	1	1.2%	1933
14	Resurrectionists	1	1.2%	1961
	TOTAL	**83**	**100.0%**	

Source: Author's own compilation based on research at BU KUL

The library research established the number of general schematisms at 83 titles. Three communities are most strongly represented at BU KUL: the Basilians, accounting for 27.7 percent of the general printed works; the Marians, with 26.5 percent; and the Dehonians, with 18.1 percent – together making up 72.3 percent of all

religious community (full or abbreviated, but sufficient to allow its identification) and the year for which the publication was issued. This approach ensures that the shortened form contains all the most important elements needed to refer easily to a specific annual volume.

titles. The next group consists of six orders and congregations represented in the BU KUL collection by between two and six titles. A further five – the Benedictines, the Friars Minor, the Conventual Franciscans, the Oblates and the Resurrectionists – are represented by single publications, accounting for six percent of the total.

In terms of the chronological range of the order-wide catalogues, the study covers printed works from 1860 to 2013, the first of which was published by the Congregation of the Mission and the last by the Basilians. The vast majority, more than 60 titles, relate to the second half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, and belong to the Basilians, Marians, Dehonians and Verbites. The greatest publication continuity can be seen among the Basilians, whose titles cover the period 1949–2013, with short breaks, and among the Marians.

As noted in the introduction, this uneven distribution of general schematisms is due largely to the many sources from which they were acquired by BU KUL and to the lack of regularity in their receipt. In addition to purchases and legal deposit copies supplied by publishers, which were rare since these were usually publications from outside Poland, they came as donations from private individuals and institutions, as indicated by both Polish and foreign provenance marks. These are not frequent, but they do occur and lead back to some earlier owners, making it possible to identify several routes by which order-wide catalogues reached BU KUL.

An example is the 1957 annual volume of the Congregation of the Mission.[14] It belonged to Professor Stanisław Helsztyński,[15] as shown by the stamp on the inside of the front cover, which reads:

14 Shelfmark KUL V-3356/1957, *Catalogue des maisons et du personnel de la Congrégation de la Mission. 1957. 105me année 84me fascicule. Prière de ne pas communiquer ce catalogue au dehors*, Paris 1957. The shelfmarks given for specific annual volumes, to make them easier to identify, refer only to printed works containing, for example, handwritten annotations, provenance stamps and the like, which make them distinctive as individual copies.

15 Stanisław Helsztyński (actually Stanisław Skorupka), a Polish literary historian, English studies scholar, novelist and poet who lived from 1891 to 1986. See more broadly: B. Dorosz, "Stanisław Helsztyński", *Współcześni polscy pisarze i badacze literatury. Słownik biobibliograficzny*, vol. III: *G–J*, eds. J. Czachowska and A. Szałagaj, Warszawa 1994, pp. 214–215.

Prof. Dr STANISŁAW HELSZTYŃSKI
Warszawa 36, ul. Grottgera 19 m. 13
tel. 410 [?]*-111*

[Prof. Dr. STANISŁAW HELSZTYŃSKI
Warsaw 36, Grottgera Street 19, flat 13
tel. 410 [?]-111]

The book was then donated by him to the Jagiellonian Library, as indicated by the handwritten inscription on the inside of the front cover:

BIBLIOTECE
JAGIELLOŃSKIEJ
DEDYKUJE
Stanisław Helsztyński
19 14/6v[?] *70*

[DEDICATED TO
THE JAGIELLONIAN
LIBRARY BY
Stanisław Helsztyński
19 14/6v[?] 70]

After the library had accepted it, as shown by a stamp reading *Bibl. Jag. 1970 D* and by the handwritten notes *1576/34* and *71/1804/wk*, it was transferred to BU KUL as a duplicate, with a stamp on the reverse of the title page reading:

Wyłączono z zasobu
dubletów Bibl. Jagiell.

[Withdrawn from the duplicate holdings of the Jagiellonian Library]

A similar route was taken by the 1985 schematism of the Verbites, although in this case it was probably transferred from the

order's library in Lublin.[16] It was probably first owned by Fr Teofil Chodzidło,[17] as indicated by the handwritten inscription on the front cover: *P. Teofil Chodzidło*, and subsequently by the order's library, since the title page bears a stamp reading *Ex libris SVD-Lublin* [?] and the handwritten note *238*.

Other printed works that reached BU KUL testify to the tradition of ecclesiastical institutions, including religious orders, donating books to research or academic libraries. This is particularly clear in the case of the schematisms of the Dehonians. Their elenchi come from Tarnów,[18] as indicated by a stamp reading:

KSIĘŻA SERCANIE
TARNÓW
ul. Rogoyskiego 16
Tel. 27-67

[DEHONIANS
TARNÓW
Rogoyskiego Street 16
Tel. 27-67]

Alternatively, they come from Kraków-Płaszów,[19] as confirmed on the title page of the schematism by a rectangular stamp reading:

16 Shelfmark KUL V-19544/1958, *Catalogus sodalium Societatis Verbi Divini ineunte anno 1958*, Steylensis [1957]. Where the year of publication of a printed work is absent, the accepted practice followed in the bibliographic description is to give, in square brackets, the year preceding the one for which the printed work was produced. However, where more precise determinations can be made on the basis of the content of the schematism (most often on the basis of the list of deceased members of the order together with their dates of death), the actual year of publication is given.

17 Teofil Chodzidło (1909–1979) – Catholic priest, Verbite, ethnologist, scholar of religion, professor at the Catholic University of Lublin (including, in 1961–1976, the first head of the Department of the History and Ethnology of Religion at KUL) and at the Academy of Catholic Theology in Warsaw. Lecturer at the Missionary Seminary of the Society of the Divine Word in Pieniężno and at the Warmian Seminary in Olsztyn. See more broadly: S. Piotrowski, "Teofil Chodzidło", *Werbiści w Polsce*, ed. R. Malek, Pieniężno 1982, p. 73; E. Fryś-Pietraszkowa, A. Kowalska-Lewicka, A. Spiss, "Teofil Chodzidło", *Etnografowie i ludoznawcy polscy. Sylwetki, szkice biograficzne*, vol. I, Kraków 2002, pp. 42–43.

18 Shelfmark KUL V-19379/1953, *Elenchus Congregationis Sacerdotum a S. Corde Jesu. 1953*, [s.l.] [1952].

19 Shelfmark KUL V-19379/1947, *Elenchus Congregationis Sacerdotum a S. Corde Jesu. 1947*, [s.l.] [1946].

BIBLIOTEKA
STUDIUM TEOLOGICZNEGO
NR. [IV F 289]
XX. SERCANÓW
KRAKÓW – PŁASZÓW

[LIBRARY
OF THE THEOLOGICAL STUDIUM
NO. [IV F 289]
DEHONIAN FATHERS
KRAKÓW-PŁASZÓW]

Or they come from Pliszczyn,[20] as indicated on the title page by a rectangular stamp reading:

NOWICJAT MISYJNY KSIĘŻY NAJŚW. SERCA JEZUSOWEGO
Pliszczyn 78
21-005 Wólka Lubelska

[MISSIONARY NOVITIATE OF THE PRIESTS OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS
Pliszczyn 78
21-005 Wólka Lubelska]

In addition, there are examples from the provincial curia of the Marians[21] and from foreign libraries.[22]

20 Shelfmark KUL V-19379/1970, *Elenchus Congregationis Sacerdotum a S. Corde Jesu. 1970*, Romae [1970].

21 For example, shelfmark KUL V-16059/1960, *Elenchus sodalium et domorum operumque Congregationis Clericorum Regularium Marianorum sub titulo Immaculatae Conceptionis B. M. Virginis pro anno Domini 1960 in Aureo Iubilaeo ab instaurata Congregatione*, Romae 1960.

22 For example, the provenance from Hungarian libraries is indicated by a Premonstratensian copy with three stamps bearing the following inscriptions: *A NÉPKÖNYVTÁRI KÖZPONTTÓL NEM ADHATÓ EL I BP.; PREMONTREI SZÉKRÁZ KÖNYVTÁRA CSORNA* and: *FÖLÖSPÉLDÁNY OSZK Fölöspéldány Központ, and with the handwritten note: OV 76* [?]. See shelfmark KUL V-19865/1894, *Catalogus totius*

Characteristics of General Schematisms

Schematisms are official administrative printed works produced on the initiative of the authorities at the administrative level for which they were intended. In the case discussed here, that level was the general level, and they were produced with the authorisation, or mandate, of the superior general.

The terminology used in the titles of schematisms includes several terms: both those characteristic of such publications, such as *catalogus* (Pallottines, Piarists, Salvatorians, Verbites), *catalogue* (Congregation of the Mission), *elenchus* (Marians, Dehonians) and *schematismus* (Friars Minor), and terms encountered rarely or not at all elsewhere, such as *album generale* (Conventual Franciscans), *état général du personnel* (Oblates) and *directorium*, referring to an address list of religious houses (Salvatorians),[23] as well as descriptive titles (Benedictines). The most common terms, each occurring around 35 times, are *catalogus* and *elenchus*.

Establishing even the basic chronology of when general schematisms began to appear in print requires much further research. On the basis of the evidence gathered so far, it is known that the Congregation of the Mission had been publishing its catalogues since at least 1853 and was probably one of the first religious congregations to begin the systematic publication of annual volumes covering the whole community, a practice that has continued to the present day.[24] Preliminary research also shows evidence of systematic annual publications by the Resurrectionists and the Marians. The former have been publishing their printed works since around 1958, and the likelihood that earlier individual annual volumes are absent from archives, libraries or both the general and provincial

sacri, candidi, canonici ac exempti Ordinis Praemonstratensis ineunte anno 1894. Edidit Franciscus Danner clericus canoniae Wilten. Permittente Rss. Perill. ac Amplss. D. D. Laurentio, abbate, Innsbruck [1894].

23 The term *directorium* usually corresponds to the terminology of liturgical calendars. The Salvatorians, however, use it in the title of a printed work issued on the occasion of the 95th anniversary of the foundation of the congregation and containing address data. See *Directorium 1975. 95. Societatis fundatae*, [s.l.] [1974].

24 E. Chomentowska, *Bibliografia schematyzmów zakonów...*, p. 326.

curias is very low.[25] The elenchi of the Marians, in turn, have appeared, albeit with interruptions, from 1926 to the present day, with gaps for the years 1940–1956, 1966, 1970, 1974, 1991, 1992 and 1994.[26] This means that the BU KUL collection contains most of the Marian annual volumes published up to the 1950s. Such elenchi also appeared periodically among the Salesians, who have published them since 1888 as *Elenco Generale della Società di S. Francesco di Sales* (Turin, Rome, 1888–1979) and *Elenco Salesiani di Don Bosco* (Rome, 1980–present).[27] Some orders belonging to the Franciscan family, as noted above, probably because of their size, published printed works of this kind only occasionally, sometimes several decades apart. In other religious orders and congregations, where this type of printed work exists, it may be assumed that publication began in the nineteenth century, probably the second half rather than the beginning.

As regards the authorship of order-wide publications, responsibility for compiling the catalogue most probably usually lay with the secretary general or another member of the order appointed for this task. One might expect that the more recent the schematism, the greater the likelihood of identifying its author. In fact, the names of their creators rarely appeared in general publications, although this did occur in provincial printed works. Even in the second half of the twentieth century and in the twenty-first century, the practice of omitting their names continued, and even in extensive catalogues, such as jubilee volumes, they are difficult to find. In the collection discussed here, only a few titles are known for which authorship can be inferred from the content. These include,

25 Data based on information from the Archiwum Zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pana Naszego Jezusa Chrystusa. Prowincja Polska (Archive of the Congregation of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Polish Province).

26 Data based on information from the Archiwum Zgromadzenia Księży Marianów Niepokalanego Poczęcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny. Prowincja Polska pw. Opatrzności Bożej (Archive of the Congregation of Marian Fathers of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Polish Province of Divine Providence).

27 J. Pietrzykowski, "Archiwum Salezjańskie Inspektorii Warszawskiej – dzieje zasobu", *ABMK*, 2022, vol. 118, p. 267, https://doi.org/10.31743/abmk.11303 [accessed 27.03.2025].

among others, two Pallottine catalogues compiled by Franciszek Ksawery Hecht,[28] as well as individual catalogues of the Basilians and Premonstratensians.[29]

By contrast, information about the publisher or issuing body of the annual volume, most often the general curia of the order, and about the printer is very rarely omitted. The same applies to the year and place of publication. The latter was most often Rome, but Paris also occurs (in the case of the Congregation of the Mission), as do Innsbruck and Prague (in the case of the Premonstratensians). Preliminary research suggests that the place of publication was identical either with the seat of the general authorities or with the location of the religious house of greatest importance to the community in question. Further research on larger collections of annual volumes may not only confirm these findings, but also point to examples of other solutions adopted.

General schematisms, especially those from the second half of the twentieth century, relatively often include a date indicating the day on which the membership was recorded. This was usually the end of the year, although one of the months of the fourth quarter sometimes appeared instead – for example 30 September 1987.[30] This information was included in the publication details, in the introduction or towards the end of the schematism. Sometimes dates were also recorded separately for each province. This shows that such information was not sent by the individual administrative units to the general curia at the same time, and its inclusion further increases the value of the schematism itself.[31] Where no date

28 *Catalogus Piae Societatis Missionum de mandato Rectoris generalis compositus. 1933,* [ed. Franciscus Xaverius Hecht], [s.l.] [1932], p. 10; *Catalogus Piae Societatis Missionum de mandato Rectoris generalis compositus. 1938*, [ed. Franciscus Xaverius Hecht], [s.l.] [1937], p. 8.

29 For example, for the Basilians: *Catalogus Ordinis Basiliani S.ti Josaphat Nr. 14 (1983) 1882–1982. Anni centesimi reformationis Dobromylensis occasione*, [eds. I. Patrylo, V. Burko and P. Pidručnyj], Romae 1983; for the Premonstratensians: *Catalogus totius sacri [...] Ordinis Praemonstratensis ineunte anno 1894. [...]*, p. 28.

30 *Elenchus Congregationis Sacerdotum a S. Corde Jesu. 1987*, Romae [1987], p. 269.

31 For example, *Elenchus Congregationis Sacerdotum a S. Corde Jesu. 2000*, Romae [2000], p. 103.

is given, and unless the content of the catalogue indicates otherwise – for example through dates of death in the list of deceased members – it is highly likely that the membership is presented as it stood in the final months of the year preceding the year for which the text was published.

The language traditionally used in order-wide schematisms was Latin. This was not the case for the Congregation of the Mission, which, as a congregation founded in France, seems to have published its printed works in French from the beginning,[32] nor for the Oblates, whose 1933 annual volume known from BU KUL was also produced entirely in French.[33] Over time, probably in the second half of the twentieth century, the languages most commonly used in a given religious community began to appear. These were usually Italian, English and French. They tended to be used in introductory texts describing the principles adopted in compiling the catalogue and the arrangement of its contents, while information concerning the religious community itself continued to be recorded in Latin. For example, the Dehonians published in French, English and Latin; in 1996 they also provided a translated list of abbreviations in these languages, while the names of provinces were given in national languages.[34] The Piarists recorded the name of the locality and the patronal title of the religious house in national languages and in Latin, greatly facilitating, even today, the geographical identification of its location.[35] The Basilians, in turn, published their catalogues in Latin and Ukrainian, but the 2013 annual volume was prepared only in Italian and Ukrainian.[36] In 2000,

32 E. Chomentowska, *Bibliografia schematyzmów zakonów…*, pp. 326–332.

33 État général du personnel de la Congrégation des Missionaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée No 11 – avril 1933, Romae [1932].

34 Not all abbreviations (especially those referring to religious categories) were translated, however, nor do they consistently combine elements from both languages, which makes the annual volume difficult to use, particularly with regard to numerical summaries. See *Elenchus Congregationis Sacerdotum a S. Corde Jesu. 1996*, Romae [1997].

35 *Catalogus generalis Ordinis Clericorum Regularium Pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum initio anni 1965*, Romae 1965, pp. 43–49.

36 *Catalogo dell'Ordine Basiliano di San Giosafat 2013 (Nr. 28)*, Roma 2013.

the Marians added to the schematism the resolutions of the General Chapter of 2 July 1999 and a text by Fr Basileu dos Anjos Pires MIC entitled *Misterium Niepokalanego Poczęcia NMP a Miłosierdzie Boże: jednolita i dynamiczna wizja naszego charyzmatu* (*The Mystery of Mary's Immaculate Conception and the Divine Mercy: A Unitary and Dynamic Vision of our Charism*) in Polish and English, while only the document introducing the chapter decrees was in Latin.[37]

The graphic design of order-wide schematisms also deserves brief comment. The bindings are most often original and soft, with the title printed on the front covers, sometimes in the same form as on the title pages and sometimes in an abbreviated version. Hard covers also occur, but they are usually secondary, binder's covers. Among the printed works discussed here, there are none with particularly rich decoration or individual bindings of the kind more often found in elenchi published for provinces. The number of pages in general catalogues depends largely on the size of the order and therefore on the number of members belonging to it. Another factor affecting their length is the graphic form and arrangement in which the contents of a given annual volume are presented, as well as the level of detail. The number of pages appears to range from 70, in the case of the Basilians, to 1,200, in the case of the Friars Minor, although most printed works contain between 150 and 300 pages.

While nineteenth-century printed works do not directly identify the intended users of schematisms, which by their nature were produced for the members of the religious community concerned, such references do appear in some twentieth-century annual volumes. Among the Marians, it was indicated that the publication was internal and intended for use only by the members of that congregation.[38] At the same time, in order to ensure that the data

37 *Elenchus sodalium, domorum operumque Congregationis Clericorum Marianorum ab Immaculata Conceptione B. V. Mariae pro ineunte anno Domini 2000*, pp. 137–159, [2].

38 *Elenchus sodalium et domorum operumque Congregationis Clericorum Regularium Marianorum sub titulo Immaculatae Conceptionis B. M. Virginis pro anno Domini 1965*, Romae 1965, p. 2.

was as accurate as possible, the discussion of the arrangement of the contents and of changes in comparison with earlier titles was accompanied by a request to submit comments, corrections and additions to the secretary general.[39]

A similar text appears in the Oblates' catalogue, stating that the annual volume was sent only to those members of the community who had made perpetual profession. It was also forbidden to make it available to anyone outside this group without the superior's consent. The text by the general included in the same annual volume, in addition to discussing the editorial principles of the catalogue, notes that it was prepared for current use by the Oblates, but also, in the longer term, for historians as a source of knowledge about the history of the congregation.[40] The importance attached to the quality of the information provided by the Oblates is shown by the fact that, before the catalogue was compiled, the provincials were asked to establish the dates on which the religious houses had been founded. At the same time, the catalogue indicated that the data would need to be verified and standardised in future, owing to difficulties in determining the status of some establishments and assigning them to particular groups of religious houses.[41]

Some annual volumes contain handwritten notes, which confirm their practical nature and the fact that they were actively used. It is difficult to say who wrote these notes, but their nature – they usually refer to changes to the membership of provinces (in the case of the volumes in question, Polish ones), corrections of spelling errors in surnames, dates and the like – indicates that they were made by someone with the relevant knowledge, probably a member of the provincial curia responsible for monitoring changes in the province's membership and likely also for passing such data on to the general curia. Alternatively, they may have

39 *Elenchus sodalium domorum operumque Congregationis Clericorum Marianorum sub titulo Immaculatae Conceptionis B. V. Mariae pro ineunte anno Domini 1985*, Romae [1985], p. 2.

40 État [...] *Congrégation des Missionaires Oblats* [...] *1933*, p. 1.

41 Op. cit., p. 3.

been made by a member of the order for whom it was particularly important that the data was up to date because of the function they performed (as archivist, secretary or bursar, for example) or because they were interested in all changes occurring in the province, whether for the purposes of chronicle-writing or simply to keep up with current events in the life of the community.[42]

The findings above are closely connected with the question of the quality and reliability of the information provided by schematisms. Sources of this kind, especially those published before the Second World War, contained errors and inaccuracies. These mainly involved errors in the spelling of surnames, typographical errors, incorrect statistical calculations and repetition of the same content over successive years, especially in diocesan elenchi. In the case of order-wide publications, further detailed comparisons are needed with the source materials on which the schematisms were based. As with printed works produced for lower-level administrative units, possible mistakes resulting from human error and their repetition in subsequent annual volumes should be borne in mind. However, since publications of this kind were produced on the instructions of higher authorities, it should also be recognised that they were prepared with considerable care, reflected the actual state of the religious community and may therefore be regarded as relatively reliable with regard to the data they contain. This is indicated by the examples cited above of practices involving requests for the verification of information, showing that those responsible for publishing the catalogues were aware of possible omissions and errors and sought to correct them as far as possible.

The Range of Information in General Religious Schematisms

Analysis of order-wide schematisms shows that the information they contain can be divided into two categories. The first consists of basic data, which appears in successive annual volumes for al-

42 *Catalogus* [...] *Societatis Verbi Divini* [...] *1958*, passim.

most all orders in the same or a very similar arrangement. The second consists of additional information, the scope of which varies from one catalogue to another; the inclusion of this additional information significantly increases the value of the catalogues. The choice of a particular approach depended historically on several factors, including the creativity of the author of the printed work and the guidelines of the superiors who commissioned it. Since some issues relating to the content of schematisms are difficult to separate, they are discussed together, especially in the case of jubilee volumes.

A) BASIC INFORMATION

The most common structure of a general schematism consists of several elements that rarely change, although they vary in their degree of detail and order.

From the second half of the twentieth century onwards, introductions begin to appear increasingly often in catalogues, explaining in greater detail the circumstances in which a particular printed work was produced, the principles followed in compiling it and how it is to be used. Occasional texts can also appear in this section, as in the Marian schematism for 1935, which includes a letter from the superior general on the anniversary of the renewal of the congregation.[43]

The first pages of the catalogues are usually devoted to general information relating directly or indirectly to the order, such as the patron of the religious community, the name of the current pope, the protector of the order or the superior general. From the beginning of the twentieth century, this information was sometimes already accompanied by photographs of ecclesiastical dignitaries.

The next element, with more extensive content, is historical information. This can take the form of a fuller historical outline from the foundation of the order to the present day, or a chronology lim-

43 *Elenchus sodalium et domorum operumque totius Congregationis Clericorum Regularium Marianorum sub titulo Immaculatae Conceptionis B. M. Virginis pro anno Domini 1935*, Romae 1935, pp. 5–15.

ited to the most important events in its history. In the first case, depending on the approach adopted, this might be a very short account or a text of several, or even a dozen or more, pages outlining the history of the community. This part of the catalogue often includes a list of superiors general with the dates on which they held office, a chronological list of general chapters, or names of members of the order who were bishops, archbishops or held other important positions in the Catholic Church – sometimes, as with the Dehonians, including those who had died before the schematism was published.[44] Such lists of senior clergy are a frequent element of the catalogues, including those of the Dehonians[45] and the Marians.[46] Analysis of the available titles shows that, among order-wide publications, the Marians, alongside the Franciscan family, provide the most extensive accounts of the origins of their religious houses.[47]

The part of the schematism that should be regarded as the most important is the presentation of the order's administrative structure and membership. For most of the religious communities discussed here, this section follows a standard pattern, presenting the staffing of monasteries. The Salvatorians adopted a different solution, issuing two directories for 1975, one containing a list of the authorities and the addresses of the monasteries belonging to the individual provinces, and the other giving the membership by province.[48] With this exception, practically all the annual volumes analysed begin by presenting the general authorities, their place of office – most often Rome – and the administrative bodies directly subordinate to them, such as colleges, organisational units, universities and so on. The staffing of individual religious houses is

44 *Elenchus Congregationis Sacerdotum a S. Corde Jesu. 2005*, Romae [2005], pp. 22–24.

45 Op. cit., pp. 18–22.

46 *Elenchus* [...] *Congregationis Clericorum Marianorum* [...] *2000*, p. 8.

47 See, for example, the Polish Province, *Elenchus* [...] *Congregationis Clericorum Regularium Marianorum* [...] *1934*, pp. 30–37.

48 *Directorium 1975. 95* [...]; *Catalogus generalis Sodalium Societatis Divini Salvatoris. Status personarum de die 1 Septembris 1974*, Romae [1974], pp. 215–216.

then given, usually arranged by provincial-level units and, within these, by monastery. Sometimes only the name of the locality is used to identify the seat of a religious house; in other cases, information is provided that makes it possible to locate it precisely and contact it. This includes address details such as the street, house number and post office, and later telephone and fax numbers, email addresses and even, as in the case of the Resurrectionists, the patronal title of the religious house.

The list of members of the order in this section includes titles, religious name, possibly also secular name, surname, functions performed or offices held and, in the case of those living outside the monastery, place of residence. Additional information, such as the date of birth, entry into the community, profession of religious vows or ordination to the priesthood, is usually included in the personal index of members of the order, discussed in the third part of the schematisms, but could also appear alongside the staffing of the houses. After the composition of the monasteries has been presented in this way, a numerical summary is usually added, followed by a similar summary at the end of the presentation of the province, this time covering all houses in the province.

The schematisms record all changes within the community, including deaths. The surnames of deceased members of the order are listed for the preceding year, especially in the case of annual publications, or for a defined period. In the latter case, this can be the period since the previous publication or a longer span, even from the beginning of the activity of the order or congregation, as with the Resurrectionists and Salvatorians. Such necrologies, covering names from a longer period and arranged according to each day of the calendar year, provided living members of the order with an additional aid in the obligatory prayers for deceased members of the community, since they contain the names of the specific persons for whom the prayers were to be said on a given day.

Regardless of the period covered by the necrology, the information it contains most often includes first name, surname, religious status, date and place of death and, sometimes, functions performed.

For example, one list of deceased Salvatorians covers the years 1885–1974. It includes information on the place of death, but for some of those who died during the Second World War – around 30 persons – neither the place nor the date of death is given, which may indicate that the fate of these members of the order was unknown.[49] The Pallottines also list all deceased members of the community, from around the mid-nineteenth century to 1937. While deceased members are usually listed chronologically by date of death, the Pallottine list is arranged by month of the calendar year, giving the day of death, surname, first name, religious category, and place and year of death. In order to find a specific person in such a list, arranged by the days of the month, an alphabetical index of the deceased by surname and date is therefore essential; the individual member of the order can be found under that date, and the index also repeats all the personal details.[50] General lists are also included by the Dehonians, who use a similar arrangement to the Pallottines, with the date, including the year, appearing at the beginning of the entry, but do not add an index, making it difficult to find specific people. At the same time, they record lists of the deceased separately for each province, often from the beginning of its existence.[51]

A somewhat different solution appears among the Resurrectionists. They do list the deceased by day of death, giving religious category, year and place of death, but in the alphabetical index the deceased are divided by religious category. The index also gives the exact date of death, and users must use that date to find the deceased under the relevant month, as no page number is provided.[52] The Marians, by contrast, sometimes replace the traditional list of the deceased, containing the basic data mentioned above, with extended biographical entries on deceased members of the order, on occasion running to a full page and rich in factual detail. De-

49 *Catalogus* [...] *Sodalium Societatis Divini Salvatoris* [...] *1974*, pp. 215–216.

50 *Catalogus Piae Societatis Missionum* [...] *1938*, pp. 197–200.

51 *Elenchus Congregationis Sacerdotum a S. Corde Jesu. 1950*, [s.l.] [1949], pp. 123–139.

52 *Catalogus Congregationis a Resurrectione D.N.J.C. 1961 (Mense Novembre)*, Romae 1961, pp. 69–93.

pending on the biographical material available, this information includes, among other things, the individual's ministry within the order, the places where they had exercised pastoral ministry and the circumstances of their death.[53]

Indexes are another important element of catalogues, making them easier to use, especially in the case of large orders. The most common are personal indexes; geographical indexes are less frequent. Personal indexes take various forms: most often they are arranged alphabetically by surname, but sometimes by first name or religious category, and within that category alphabetically, for example by surname. Here, not only the page number on which a particular surname appears is often given, but also detailed information about members of the order. It is also in the indexes – unless this information appears in the staffing of the monasteries – that dates of birth, entry into the community, profession of religious vows and ordination to the priesthood are recorded. Some indexes include name-days or place of birth, and even indicate the place of ordination to the priesthood, as in the case of the Salvatorian annual volume. Of particular interest in this specific work is the list of abbreviations, not found among other orders. Each monastery is assigned a separate code consisting of a letter abbreviation, indicating the province, and a consecutive number. These codes are used wherever the place of residence of a member of the order is given, including in the alphabetical personal index, where, in addition to traditional personal information, it is this code, rather than the name of the locality of residence, that appears.[54] For their part, the Piarists compiled extensive personal indexes, which might include: affiliation to a religious province, surname, religious name and predicate, place of birth, diocese of origin, unit of state administration, and dates of birth, entry into the order, simple profession, perpetual profession and ordination to the priesthood.[55]

53 *Elenchus* [...] *Congregationis Clericorum Marianorum* [...] *1985*, pp. 94–99.

54 *Catalogus* [...] *Sodalium Societatis Divini Salvatoris.* [...] *1974*, pp. 3, 171–203.

55 For example, *Catalogus generalis Ordinis* [...] *Scholarum Piarum* [...] *1965*, p. 163.

Most of the male religious communities discussed here have female branches connected with them by spirituality and often by name. In order-wide printed works, however, only a few of these are included. Where data on a female community is included, its scope is much more limited than in the case of the male branch. Thus, the Conventual Franciscans give only a list of the women's monasteries of the Second Order, the Poor Clares, and of the aggregated congregations of the Third Order.[56] The Verbites include more data, listing two female congregations, namely the Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters – the Congregation of the Missionary Sisters Servants of the Holy Spirit (Latin: *Congregatio Missionalis Servarum Spiritus Sancti*, SSpS) – and the Sister Servants of the Holy Spirit of Perpetual Adoration (Latin: *Congregatio Servarum Spiritus Sancti de Adoratione Perpetua*, SSpSAP), together with a short chronology of their activity and detailed statistics presented at ten-year intervals for the years 1900–1972.[57] The Benedictines, in addition to the names of Benedictine women's abbeys, including their diocesan affiliation, give the year of foundation of the religious house (or the restoration of its activity or its relocation), the number of sisters divided by choir and the surname of the superior.[58] The Premonstratensians give the most information on women religious, listing the full staffing of women's monasteries together with personal data. The scope of this data most likely depended on the materials available: sometimes it is just first name and surname, sometimes also the function performed, year of birth, entry into the order and profession, and even place of birth.[59]

56 *Album generale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Conventualium. Jussu Reverendissimi P. Mag. Basilii M. Heiser eiusdem Ordinis post Seraphicum Patriarcham Ministri Generalis CXIV digestum* [1960], Romae 1960, pp. 669–678.

57 *Catalogus sodalium Societatis Verbi Divini ineunte anno 1970*, Steylensis [1969], p. 380.

58 For example, *SS. Patriarchae Benedicti Familiae confoederatae anno Domini MCMXXV* [1925], Romae 1926, p. 737.

59 For example, *Catalogus* [...] *Ordinis Praemonstratensis* [...] *1894*, pp. 85–86.

B) ADDITIONAL AND OCCASIONAL INFORMATION

In addition to the most common arrangement of catalogue content presented above, additional information also appears, serving a supplementary function: without it, the text of the printed work would be complete, but its inclusion deepened the reader's knowledge of the religious community for which it was produced. Its quantity and level of detail probably depended on the initiative of the author and the availability of data, and could also be characteristic only of a particular order. Often, too, even if a community issued its catalogues systematically, such information might appear only occasionally, in special annual volumes. Since it is difficult to separate information characteristic of systematically issued printed works from that found in anniversary publications, they will be discussed together. It sometimes happened that the two approaches overlapped, and practice could vary in successive printed works: communities returned to publishing "basic" versions of schematisms, or retained some information, updating it on an ongoing basis, while other information was included again only after some time. This solution was adopted by the Dehonians, who in the 1960s added biographical entries on members of the order whose beatification or canonisation processes were under way: Jean-Léon Dehon, Léon André Prévot and Marian García Méndez. These entries continue to be printed in later years and are supplemented with the current stage of the process and further names.[60] By contrast, the history of the congregation, presented in the form of a chronology, appears among them only in some annual volumes, but is detailed. It includes not only the dates of the erection of new provinces and general chapters, but also, for example, the beginning of missionary activity in a given country, episcopal nominations and consecrations, and the taking over of parishes.[61]

60 *Elenchus* [...] *Sacerdotum a S. Corde Jesu. 2000,* pp. 25–46.

61 Op. cit., pp. 25–46.

As regards jubilee annual volumes, the BU KUL collection contains several such titles, including those of the Basilians,[62] Dehonians[63] and Marians. These were often anniversary publications, used to mark an exceptional moment for the order or religious congregation: the jubilee of its foundation, but also, as among the Marians, the renewal of its activity[64] or the 300th anniversary of the birth of Fr Józef Wyszyński, one of the congregation's superiors general.[65] Thus, in the Introduction to the annual volume for 1934 mentioned above, the Marians drew attention to the fact that the arrangement of the contents from earlier years had been preserved almost in full, but with the addition of a historical outline. Indeed, over 15 pages, the reader can learn about the origins of the congregation, its renewal, its current activity and the jubilee celebrations. The history of the province and religious houses is discussed in a similar way. For some time the Marian annual volumes were produced as typescripts duplicated by cyclostyle. As a result, the quality of the text is somewhat poorer, a shortcoming also noticed by contemporaries. In the catalogue under discussion, however, it is noted that, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the rebirth of the Marians, it had been issued in printed form.[66] This practice was nevertheless maintained until 1939, while after the war the earlier form of duplicated typescripts was resumed.

Another form of occasional information is the inclusion, again by the Marians in 1985, of several different lists of members of the order marking jubilees: those celebrating significant birthdays (including their 75th), as well as anniversaries of religious profession (50th and 25th) and ordination to the priesthood or to the subdiaconate (25th).[67] A comparison with the catalogue for 2000 shows

62 *Catalogus Ordinis Basiliani* [...] *Nr. 14 (1983) 1882–1982.*

63 *Elenchus Congregationis Sacerdotum a S. Corde Jesu. 1978*, Romae [1978].

64 For example, *Elenchus sodalium et domorum operumque totius Congregationis Clericorum Regularium Marianorum sub titulo Immaculatae Conceptionis B. M. Virginis pro anno Domini 1934*, Romae 1934.

65 *Elenchus* [...] *Congregationis Clericorum Marianorum* [...] *2000.*

66 Op. cit., p. 1.

67 *Elenchus* [...] *Congregationis Clericorum Marianorum* [...] *1985*, p. 100.

an increase in the number of significant anniversaries through the addition of further anniversaries: for religious profession (75th, 70th, 60th, 50th, 40th and 20th), for priestly ordination (50th, 40th and 20th) and for the birthdays of the oldest members of the order, including those celebrating their 97th and 96th birthdays.[68]

In the Dehonian catalogue published for 1978, issued to mark the centenary of the foundation of the congregation in 1977, the authors include a number of additions, such as a chronology of the establishment of successive provinces, a separate presentation of province names in the form of both a list and a chart showing the chronology of their foundation, and a number of statistical summaries with diagrams and charts. Other summaries included already appear in earlier titles, including ongoing beatification processes, an extensive chronology and a list of priests from the congregation, including deceased priests, who had received episcopal nominations (in addition to personal data, the dates of preconisation and ingress are given, along with the date of election to the episcopal see, the titular bishopric, if one had been granted, the name of the home province and the address of residence).[69]

Other individual additions include published ecclesiastical and religious documents containing important provisions concerning, among other things, the rules for celebrating Masses and services, the principles for creating new provinces and for members of the order transferring to them from provinces other than their home province, provisions of canon law and the law of the order in question, or their legal interpretation, the scope of the authority of the superior general, the rules for hearing confessions and similar matters.[70] The Basilian jubilee annual volume, in turn, contains a list of the titles of all order-wide catalogues issued by the order over a period of 100 years,[71] while the Premonstratensian

68 *Elenchus* [...] *Congregationis Clericorum Marianorum* [...] *2000*, pp. 113–115.

69 *Elenchus* [...] *Sacerdotum a S. Corde Jesu. 1978*, pp. 8–11, 23–27.

70 For example, *Elenchus* [...] *Sacerdotum a S. Corde Jesu. 1950*, pp. 140–142.

71 *Catalogus Ordinis Basiliani* [...] *Nr. 14 (1983) 1882–1982*, pp. 135–136.

catalogue of 1894 includes a bibliography relating to the history of the order.[72]

Statistics and numerical summaries relating to various aspects of religious life occupy an important place among additional information. By the interwar period, the Marians were already including summaries of the number of members of the order not only for the current year, but also showing the state of the congregation over a period of years. Thus, the catalogue for 1934 gives the size of the community for 1909 and for the years 1926–1934. In subsequent catalogues this period is extended to include further years. In addition to the number of persons by religious category, such summaries also include columns giving the numbers of archbishops and bishops originating from the Marian congregation.[73] Moreover, after each staffing list for a religious house, a list of pastoral and charitable works is given. These include the running of parishes (with the number of faithful, parish priest, curate and parish address), ministry at other sacred buildings (public and religious chapels, filial churches), catechesis (usually in schools, with the names of catechists), charitable activity and other pastoral activities (publishing houses, hospices, day-care centres).[74] A similar list of schools, parishes and missions run by the order can be found for the Benedictines.[75]

The Verbite catalogues contain various summaries and charts showing changes in the size of the congregation from its foundation onwards. Alongside a general register of the number of members of the order in the latest year, these include: a year-by-year table for the years 1876–1970, arranged according to religious status, with nine "categories" listed, in which, in addition to priests and brothers, seminarians, novices and candidates for the congregation, among others, are distinguished; the number and percentage

72 *Catalogus* [...] *Ordinis Praemonstratensis* [...] *1894*, pp. 130–134.

73 *Elenchus* [...] *Congregationis Clericorum Marianorum* [...] *1934*, p. 57.

74 Op. cit., passim.

75 *SS. Patriarchae Benedicti* [...] [1925], passim.

share of members of the order from individual countries according to their place of pastoral ministry (geographical region); the number and percentage share of members of the order by geographical region of origin in the years 1885–1969, at five-year intervals; and the number of deceased members for the years 1884–1971, shown not only by religious category, but also by continent. In addition to giving the year in which activity began in successive mission territories, the five-year summaries for the years 1890–1960 and 1885–1969 include figures for Catholics, baptised persons, clerics in seminaries, sisters and pupils in schools at various levels. The remaining items include a line chart showing the number of members of the order by religious group in the years 1875–1970, and an age pyramid for fathers and clerics as at 1 January 1969.[76] Earlier, in 1958, the Verbites included a chart showing the size of the congregation in the years 1875–1957, taking account of the moments at which successive provinces were established.[77]

The Dehonian volumes provide another example. They contain a tabular presentation of the size of the whole congregation for a given year by province and religious category, as well as a separate comparison with earlier jubilee years. In the annual volume for 1978 already mentioned, the number of members of the order is given for the years 1903, 1928, 1953 and 1978, together with a separate, this time annual, summary by province for the years 1953–1978. This volume also contains summaries by individual religious category in the form of both tables and pie charts. Another table gives the number of members of the order by religious category and by continent, and the values in the table are also shown in a bar chart. The remaining graphic presentations and registers concern the number of professed members, newly ordained priests, those leaving religious life and deceased members in the years 1953–1978 (shown in a line chart); the age structure of members of the order by religious category (tables and an age pyramid); and the num-

76 *Catalogus* [...] *Societatis Verbi Divini* [...] *1970*, pp. 372–384.

77 *Catalogus sodalium Societatis Verbi Divini ineunte anno 1958*, Steylensis [1958], p. [288].

ber of new members of the order by religious category in the years 1953–1978, divided by province.[78]

Other content enriching the range of information in the elenchi comprises various kinds of visual presentation. In addition to the charts and diagrams discussed above, there are photographs, drawings and maps. The photographs included most often show the highest ecclesiastical and religious dignitaries, the founders of the order or congregation, and saints or Servants of God originating from the community in question. Less common are representations of religious houses or churches, usually appearing alongside the description of a given monastery so that the reader can visualise the place referred to in the catalogue. The richest in this type of information are the Dehonian and Basilian volumes, and, to a lesser extent, those of the Marians.

The Verbites stand out in their use of maps to present their geographical structure. Their annual volumes are furnished with several dozen cartographic representations, covering areas corresponding to continents or regions – for example in the case of islands or a denser network of houses on a particular continent, usually Asia or Africa. Apart from the absence of a key, which makes it necessary to infer the meaning of the symbols used, these representations contain the remaining elements that determine the quality of a map: title, scale, authorship and year of production. Despite the considerable simplification of the space presented, usually showing only the boundaries of a given territory and the boundaries of a province's territorial extent, the location of religious houses is relatively precise and clear.

The holdings of a single library, especially one whose collection of religious schematisms is incomplete, cannot serve as the basis for drawing unequivocal conclusions. For this reason, the present text does not claim to be a full study of this type of historical source, but rather a preliminary contribution to further work on this type of source. It may nevertheless indicate certain editorial

78 *Elenchus* [...] *Sacerdotum a S. Corde Jesu. 1978*, pp. 28–34.

solutions already identifiable at this stage, suggest possible ways of using order-wide catalogues as historical sources, raise questions and identify areas requiring further research into this group of publications. One of the first such tasks is the compilation of the fullest possible lists of order-wide catalogues.

Moreover, while for some questions it will be necessary to look at both general printed works and those issued for individual provinces, for other research the order-wide publications alone may prove sufficient – particularly as the possibility of obtaining annual volumes from individual provinces may be limited, and access to them may be significantly impeded, if only for geographical reasons. It should also be borne in mind that annual volumes issued for individual religious provinces did not necessarily appear in every unit at this administrative level; indeed, unless this was regulated from above, the initiative to publish them lay each time with the individual superiors.

On the other hand, comparative studies of these two types of religious schematism should not be entirely neglected, as they may be one possible basis for verifying the information in order-wide schematisms and assessing how far it can be trusted. This issue requires further in-depth research. There are, however, many more areas for further research, such as examining the reliability of the information in general catalogues, checking the analyses and conclusions presented above against titles from other orders or larger collections, and finally using the information contained in these catalogues in scholarly work on more specific research questions.

Analysis of the general religious schematisms in the BU KUL collection shows that they may be regarded as a unique source of knowledge on the history and organisation of Catholic institutes of consecrated life. They contain a wealth of information that can be used in historical and religious studies, providing insight into the administrative structure and membership of individual orders, their size and the location of their religious houses.

Although the arrangement of the catalogues' content and the range of information they contain are very similar to those of an-

nual volumes published for individual provinces, the presentation of the structure of the whole order worldwide offers much greater possibilities for studying different aspects of its activity.[79] It is advisable to focus on the additional information that can be found specifically in general schematisms and that either does not occur in other annual volumes or, when produced only for part of a religious community, does not show the community's overall state. Indirectly, by indicating areas of activity (educational, hospital and pastoral), and thus also charisms, this information provides insight into the contribution of religious orders to the life of the Catholic Church. Such breadth of content and level of detail in the data are often much greater than in works produced at lower levels, and are also more frequently encountered. This applies above all to various kinds of statistics and cartographic representations covering different aspects of the order's activity. Such material may not occur in all provinces, but is brought together in the general catalogue. It allows comparative studies of the size of the community and, thanks to tabular and graphic summaries (charts, cartodiagrams and the like), makes it easier to identify certain processes over a longer period, as well as to examine changes in the structure of the order and the dynamics of those changes.

This makes it possible to view the whole community globally – in relation to the entire world or substantial parts of it, rather than just within the framework of a religious province or similar administrative unit. It is precisely this global treatment of the whole religious community, together with the broad range of data included in general schematisms, that justifies regarding them as a specific subcategory of religious schematisms, to be identified and treated separately. The basis for distinguishing them is the administrative level for which the personal lists are created. The category of "religious schematisms" therefore comprises the following types: general schematisms (at the order-wide level); schematisms of the order's administrative units (autonomous or non-autonomous),

79 E. Chomentowska, *Katalog schematyzmów i rubrycel zakonnych…*, pp. 17–56.

that is, provincial schematisms; and schematisms of a single religious house or several religious houses.

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Basilians (Order of Saint Basil the Great)

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80 In the bibliographic description of the schematisms, the first title is given, as are those that changed significantly; for the remaining annual volumes, only the year for which they were produced and the place and year of publication are given. The full titles of the annual volumes included in the appendix bibliography, together with a range of additional information (including exact shelfmarks, a general outline of the contents of specific annual volumes, differences between them, findings made during the library research, details concerning bindings etc.), have been published in Polish and English in: E. Chomentowska, *Katalog schematyzmów i rubrycel zakonnych…*, passim.

1953–1954, Romae 1954; *1955–1956*, Romae 1956; *1959–1960*, Romae 1959; *1964–1965*, Romae 1965; *1971–1972*, Romae 1972; *1975–1976*, Romae 1975; *1978–1979*, Romae 1978; *Nr. 14 (1983) 1882–1982. Anni centesimi reformationis Dobromylensis occasione*, Romae 1983; *Nr. 15 (1986)*, Romae 1986; *Nr. 16 (1989)*, Romae 1989; *1992 (Nr. 17)*, Romae 1992; *1994 (Nr. 18)*, Romae 1994; *1997 (Nr. 19)*, Romae 1997; *2000 (Nr. 20)*, Romae 2000*; 2006 (Nr. 22)*, Romae 2007; *2007 (Nr. 23)*, Romae 2008; *2009 (Nr. 24)*, Romae 2009; *2010 (Nr. 25)*, Romae 2010; *2011 (Nr. 26)*, Romae 2011; *Catalogo dell'Ordine Basiliano di San Giosafat 2013 (Nr. 28)*, Roma 2013.

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mae 1938; *1939*, Romae 1939; *1957*, Romae 1957; *1958*, Romae 1958; *1960 in Aureo Iubilaeo ab instaurata Congregatione, Romae 1960*; Romae 1960; *1965*, Romae [1965]; *1967*, Romae [1967]; *1968*, Romae [1968]; *Elenchus sodalium et domorum operumque Congregationis Clericorum Regularium Marianorum sub titulo Immaculatae Conceptionis B. V. Mariae pro anno Domini 1971*, Romae [1971]; *1985*, Romae [1985]; *Elenchus sodalium, domorum operumque Congregationis Clericorum Marianorum ab Immaculata Conceptione B. V. Mariae pro ineunte anno Domini 1999*, Romae [1999]; *2000*, Romae [2000].

Congregation of the Mission (Congregation of Priests of the Mission, Congregation of the Mission)

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Pallottines (Society of the Catholic Apostolate)

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Piarists (Order of Poor Clerics Regular of the Mother of God of the Pious Schools)

Catalogus generalis Ordinis Clericorum Regularium Pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum initio anni 1959, Romae 1959; *1965*, Romae 1965.

Salvatorians (Society of the Divine Saviour)

Catalogus generalis Sodalium Societatis Divini Salvatoris. Status personarum de die 1 Septembris 1974, Romae [1974]; *Directorium 1975. 95. Societatis fundatae*, [s.l.] [1974].

Dehonians (Congregation of the Priests of the Sacred Heart of Jesus)

Elenchus Congregationis Sacerdotum a S. Corde Jesu. 1947, [s.l.] [1946]; *1950*, [s.l.] [1949]; *1953*, [s.l.] [1952]; *1960*, Romae [1959]; *1967*, Romae [1967]; *1970*, Romae [1970]; *1974*, Romae [1974]; *1978*, Romae [1978]; *1981*, Romae [1981]; *1984*, Romae [1984]; *1987*, Romae [1987]; *1992*, Romae [1992]; *1996*, Romae [1997]; *2000*, Romae [2000]; *2005*, Romae [2005].

Verbites (Society of the Divine Word)

Catalogus sodalium Societatis Verbi Divini ineunte anno 1952, Steylensis [1951]; *1958*, Steylensis [1957]; [*1959*], [Steylensis] [1958]; *1970*, Steylensis [1969]; *1972*, Steylensis [1971]; *1973*, Steylensis [1972].

Resurrectionists (Congregation of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ)

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CAMONIANA AND MORE – PORTUGUESE EARLY PRINTED BOOKS FROM THE FORMER PRUSSIAN STATE LIBRARY IN BERLIN IN THE COLLECTION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ŁÓDŹ LIBRARY. RESEARCH RECONNAISSANCE

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ABSTRACT

The article discusses Portuguese early printed books from the collection of the University of Łódź Library (BUŁ) that bear the ownership mark of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin (German: Preussische Staatsbibliothek). This topic has been neglected in research conducted by Polish scholars, with the exception of a minor mention in a publication from 1991. The article presents the results of a research reconnaissance carried out in the Early Printed Books Section of the Special Collections Department of the BUŁ, which was the first stage of research on the books in question. During this stage, information was collected pertaining to, among other things, the number of volumes identified, their general thematic profile, the works represented and the editions dating from the beginning of the 16th to the end of the 18th century. Particular atten-

tion was paid to editions of works by Luís de Camões (1524?–1580), one of the leading Portuguese and European writers of the Renaissance. The article also contains a concise summary of their features, placing them in the context of the reception of Portuguese literature in Germany in the second half of the 18th century and in the 19th century. Another important area covered in the article is historical information about these items, which, after World War II, found their way from the library in Berlin to the BUŁ. Research into these works is ongoing, and important new findings relating to them will be published when ready.

KEYWORDS: Portuguese early printed books, University of Łódź Library, Prussian State Library in Berlin, Royal Library in Berlin, Luís de Camões

In Memoriam of Elżbieta Milewska
(1940–2019)

The presence of Portuguese early printed books in the collections of Polish libraries, especially given that these are often not isolated volumes but larger groups of them, is an intriguing fact for a scholar dealing with Portuguese topics from a historical perspective. More than three decades ago, Elżbieta Milewska drew attention to the existence of such works in an excellent and still relevant monograph devoted to Polish–Portuguese cultural and literary relations from the 16th to the 19th century, although she did so only marginally and in very general terms. Thus, she referred briefly to the "rich collection of old Portuguese books"[1] kept in the University of Łódź Library (BUŁ), excluding them from her analysis because the volumes "went there [to the BUŁ] only after World War II and come mainly from foreign collections,"[2] and therefore

1 E. Milewska, *Związki kulturalne i literackie polsko-portugalskie w XVI–XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1991, p. 117.

2 Ibidem, p. 117.

did not correspond to the general thematic scope of her study. Milewska mentions that this resource, consisting of "23 old Portuguese books," signed with the "round seal 'Ex Bibl. Regia Berolinensi'" contains "extremely valuable editions of the poetry of Luís de Camões – 'Rhythmas...' / Lisboa, 1595 / and 'Os Lusíadas' / Lisboa, 1597/."[3]

The present article aims to expand on this fascinating yet laconic comment by Milewska. It draws on the results of a research reconnaissance carried out in the Early Printed Books Section of the BUŁ, looking at Portuguese early printed books bearing provenance markings of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin (German: Preussische Staatsbibliothek). It should be noted that this research covered a much larger group of volumes than the one indicated by Milewska – several dozen volumes in total, containing works by Portuguese authors written in their native language, published in print from the 16th to the end of the 18th century.

Unlike the Iberian objects – in particular the manuscripts from the Prussian State Library in Berlin, currently stored in the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków (BJ) in the Berlin collection, commonly referred to as the *Berlinka* or "Prussian treasure"[4] – the items that found their way to Łódź in the postwar period have received little scholarly interest. For example, bound manuscripts in Romance languages (including Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan) deposited

3 Ibidem, p. 130.

4 There are various studies about the *Berlinka* at the Jagiellonian Library (BJ). The following recent publications are highly recommended: Z. Pietrzyk '*Libri picturati* i nie tylko – światowe dziedzictwo kultury w zbiorach Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej,' in: *Historia jest polifoniczna. Sztambuch Profesora Krzysztofa Zamorskiego*, ed. M. Kurkowska-Budzan et al., Kraków 2023, pp. 117–127; M. Jaglarz, K. Jaśtal, 'Bestände der ehemaligen Preußischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in der Jagiellonen Bibliothek: Geschichte und Struktur,' in: *Bestände der ehemaligen Preußischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in der Jagiellonen-Bibliothek Forschungsstand und perspektiven*, eds. M. Jaglarz, K. Jaśtal, Berlin–Bern–Bruxelles–New York–Oxford–Warszawa–Wien 2018, pp. 15–30; M. Jaglarz, J. Madajczak, 'Berlinka,' in: J. Madajczak et. al., *Aztecka układanka. Szesnastowieczny rękopis ze zbiorów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, Warszawa 2021, pp. 15–24; J. Partyka, 'Wprowadzenie,' in: *Polonika z „Berlinki" w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej. Rękopisy, rękopisy muzyczne, starodruki, starodruki muzyczne, wydawnictwa rzadkie i druki nowe: katalog obiektów zdigitalizowanych*, Kraków 2016, pp. 7–11.

in Kraków were researched in a scholarly project carried out by members of the Institute of Romance Philology at the Jagiellonian University in 2008–2011,[5] which resulted in a series of scholarly publications.[6] Also, manuscripts in Iberian languages (Spanish and Portuguese) belonging to another collection of the *Berlinka* – namely the Autograph Collection (Sammlung Autographa) – currently form part of a broad, interdisciplinary research project, the completion of which is planned for 2026.[7] In addition, printed books published after 1800, including works in Spanish and Portuguese, are included in a separate "Catalog of 19th–20th century printed books from the collections of the former Prussian State Li-

5 The project was entitled "The history of the collection of Romance manuscripts in the Berlin collection at the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow" and was carried out by the "Fibula" research group under the supervision of Professor Piotr Tylus from the Institute of Romance Philology of the Jagiellonian University.

6 See, among others: A. Rzepka, R. Sosnowski, P. Tylus, *Historia kolekcji rękopisów romańskich z byłej Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej w Berlinie, przechowywanych w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej w Krakowie: studium ogólne/The history of the collection of Romance manuscripts from the former Preussische Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, kept at the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków: the overall study*, Kraków 2011; A. Rzepka, 'Alguns apontamentos sobre os manuscritos portugueses da Biblioteca Jaguelónica de Cracóvia,' *Studia Iberystyczne*, 2019, No. 18, pp. 293–310; A. Rzepka, P. Tylus, R. Sosnowski, 'Romance manuscripts in the Berlin collection at the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow. The state of the research and perspectives,' in: *Bestände der ehemaligen Preußischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin...*, op. cit., pp. 31–40; A. Rzepka, 'La Guerra de la Independencia española (1808–1814) a la luz de los manuscritos hispánicos accesibles en Polonia,' in: *Narrativas de la violencia. Representaciones en las literaturas hispánicas. Guerra, sociedad y familia*, eds. M. Carrera Garrido, M. Pietrak, Sevilla, Lublin 2015, pp. 37–52; idem, 'Pedro Calderón de la Barca en los manuscritos hispánicos de la Colección Berlinesa depositada en la Biblioteca Jaguellónica de Cracovia,' in: *Literatura y (re)escritura*, eds. A. Dotras Bravo, D. Santos Sánchez, S. Augusto, Coimbra 2015, pp. 127–137; idem, 'Manuscripts of Spanish-language historical works from the Berlin Collection kept at the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow,' *Fibula*, 2011, No. 1, pp. 16–26; idem, 'Brazylijskie skarby Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej w Krakowie,' in: *Pismo, lektura, biblioteka w dawnych literaturach romańskich*, eds. A. Rzepka, D. Pudo, M. Wrana, Kraków 2014, pp. 325–344; idem, '*Contraviajes naturales, políticos y literarios* de un misionero español por Filipinas a finales del siglo XVIII,' in: *Alors je rêverai des horizons bleuâtres...: études dédiées à Barbara Sosień*, Kraków, eds. B. Marczuk, J. Gorecka-Kalita, A. Kocik, Kraków 2013, pp. 259–268.

7 Flagship project of "European Heritage in the Jagiellonian Library: Digital Authoring of the Berlin Collections. Core Facility (DiHeLib)" in the strategic program of the Excellence Initiative at the Jagiellonian University. The project manager is Professor Jadwiga Kita-Huber. The assumptions and goals of the project are presented in the article: R. Sosnowski, P. Tylus, 'European Treasure in the Jagiellonian Library. A Flagship Project,' *Polish Libraries*, 2023, Vol. 11, pp. 235–244.

brary in Berlin kept in the Jagiellonian Library," available to all interested persons via the BJ website.[8]

As far as the early printed books from the *Berlinka* located in Łódź are concerned, recent research activities have focused mainly on the *Germanica* from the 16th and 17th centuries. These have been included in projects relating not only to items from the former Prussian State Library, but also to materials from other collections that were gradually used to create the BUŁ in the postwar period.[9] The basis of the BUŁ's collection was what were known as "secured collections" – formerly German-owned collections, collections from manor houses and abandoned collections,[10] "both from Łódź and its surroundings, as well as imported from what are known as the Recovered Territories."[11] These were supplemented by donations

8 The Polish title of this catalog is "Katalog Druków XIX–XX w. ze zbiorów byłej Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej w Berlinie przechowywanych w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej". See https://bj.uj.edu.pl/berlinka/baza#ber_top [accessed 25.07.2024]. In the case of early printed Spanish-language books from the former Prussian State Library in the BJ, these are mostly 17th-century dramatic works (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library: Xk), and linguistic works on American languages (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library: Zs). The very few early modern Portuguese printed books are also linguistic books (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library: Zs).

9 The results of these projects are presented in the publications: *Germanica des 16. Jahrhunderts in der Universitätsbibliothek Łódź. Katalog der Bestände*, eds. von C. Dietl, M. Kubisiak, Łódź 2020, Vols. 1–2, and C. Dietl, M. Kubisiak, T. Ososiński, *Religia, rym i regiment. Germanica z pierwszej połowy XVII wieku w Bibliotece Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. Katalog wystawy*, Łódź 2022. The author of this article would like to thank Monika Sulejewicz-Nowicka, PhD, Head of the Early Printed Books Section of the BUŁ, for her valuable bibliographic guidance.

10 See M. Sulejewicz-Nowicka, 'Gromadzenie rzadkich wydawnictw dziewiętnasto- i dwudziestowiecznych oraz druków przeznaczonych dla Zbiorów Specjalnych w drodze zakupu antykwarycznego w latach 2005–2012 w Bibliotece Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego,' in: *Od przeszłości do teraźniejszości. Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego 1945–2015*, eds. M. Wrocławska, I. Kujawska, I. Słabiszewska, Łódź 2015, p. 188. Piotr Lewkowicz gives an explanation of the term "secured collections": "this was the name given to the collections gathered in designated depots (they were located in Gdańsk, Katowice-Stalinogród, Kraków, Poznań, Szczecin and Wrocław), where Polish book collections and abandoned German sets from Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia, seized by the state, were placed in 1947–1955", in: P. Lewkowicz, 'Użytkowanie książki jako uruchomienie wahadła jej pamięci – wybrane przykłady wypożyczeń starych druków Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego,' in: *Biblioteka w czasie – czas w bibliotece*, eds. B. Kasperek, S. Wojnarowicz, Lublin 2015, Vol. 1, p. 283.

11 See A. Giermaziak, M. Kiersztejn, P. Pol, 'Oddział Opracowania Zbiorów – historia, ewolucja, komputeryzacja,' in: *Od przeszłości do teraźniejszości…*, op. cit., p. 47.

and later also by antiquarian purchases, in addition to deposit copies and exchanges with domestic and foreign institutions.[12]

Portuguese early printed books from the BUŁ, despite the intriguing mention by Milewska over thirty years ago, are still waiting for in-depth research that would allow them to fully re-emerge in scholarly awareness and circulation as an important element of Iberian and European cultural heritage. They reflect the development of intellectual life in the spheres of literature, history and science in Portugal from the 16th to the end of the 18th century, and also the development of the Portuguese printing and publishing market in this period – an area practically unknown in Poland. Another equally intriguing topic is the reception of the works represented in the collection, as well as the personal or institutional contacts that enabled the flow of books and the knowledge they contain, as traced through provenance research. These contacts relate primarily to Central Europe, in particular Germany, as the books originally came from the Berlin library; but this is not the whole story, as books and other items reached Łódź from many sources and in various, sometimes complicated, ways.[13]

The first step toward developing these and other potential lines of research was a research reconnaissance. Special attention was paid to editions of the works of Luís de Camões (1524?–1580), a key figure in Portuguese Renaissance literature, history and culture, who over the centuries has become a symbol of what is Portuguese in the world. The focus on these volumes was facilitated by two momentous anniversaries. First, the 450th anniversary of the *editio princeps* of the Portuguese national epic by Camões, bearing the original title *Os Lusíadas*,[14] was celebrated in 2022. Published in print in 1572,

12 M. Raczyński, 'Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego w latach 1945–1980,' in *Od przeszłości do teraźniejszości…*, op. cit., p. 22.

13 The collection of manuscripts in Romance languages from the BJ serves as a good example in this regard. The fate of individual manuscripts is illustrated in the aforementioned monograph: A. Rzepka, R. Sosnowski and P. Tylus, *Historia kolekcji rękopisów romańskich z byłej Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej w Berlinie…*, op. cit.

14 The epic *Os Lusíadas* (the title of the Polish edition from 1995, translated by Ireneusz Kania, is *Luzytanie*, i.e., "The Lusitanians"; English translations use the

the work now belongs to the strict canon of 16th-century European literature as one of the masterpieces of the Renaissance. Second, the 500th anniversary of the birth of Camões is being celebrated in 2024–2025 with a great variety of cultural and academic events, involving international scholars in the field of Portuguese studies, who deal with various related issues. It is thus an appropriate moment to present current research findings on the items in the BUŁ collection, as a starting point for potential further research not only on the aforementioned *Camoniana* – that is, works related to Camões – but also on the other materials identified.

Portuguese Early Printed Books in the BUŁ – General Findings

Portuguese early printed books from the former Prussian State Library in Berlin do not form a separate collection within the BUŁ.[15] After they were accepted into the BUŁ in the postwar period, they were given the library shelfmarks they bear today; this was general practice at the BUŁ for "secured collections."[16] The volumes in

title: *The Lusiad* or *The Lusiads*) occupies a key place in Camões's literary legacy. The thematic axis of the work is the story of the expedition led by Vasco da Gama (ca. 1486–1524) in search of a sea route to India (1497–1499), but the main protagonists of the work are the Portuguese – the titular Lusitanians. It is their heroic deeds that constitute the history of Portugal over the centuries up to the era of geographical discoveries and overseas expansion that the author celebrates, creatively weaving historical and mythological threads in the work. The epic poem, divided into ten cantos, draws on ancient models, especially Virgil, as well as the Renaissance Italian epic. It also proves the enormous erudition and extensive knowledge of Camões, who demonstrated in-depth knowledge of mythology, history, geography and other fields.

15 Jakub Gortat explains that "as in other Polish libraries storing the *Berlinka* resources, in Łódź they are also not placed in a separate room or a separate section of the library storehouse. They are generally arranged among other books of German origin." In: J. Gortat, 'XVI-wieczne druki Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego', in: *Nieznane skarby. Germanika XVI-wieczne…*, op. cit., p. 114. It is worth adding that, in the case of the *Berlinka* deposited at the BJ, the former shelfmarks from the Berlin library were eventually retained.

16 As Anna Giermaziak, Małgorzata Kiersztejn and Paweł Pol write, "books [from the 'secured collections'] were delivered to the Library [of the University of Łódź] without any selection or division. They had to be sorted first and then processed. In 1947, 250,000 volumes from the 'secured collections' (out of a total of 320,000) were introduced into the library collection of the University of Łódź." In: A. Giermaziak, M. Kiersztejn, P. Pol, 'Oddział Opracowania Zbiorów – historia…,' op. cit.,

question can be identified today primarily by the former ownership marks of the Berlin library. The old shelfmarks at the bottom of the spines are easily spotted, making it simpler to identify them among the thousands of old printed books in the storage areas of the BUŁ.[17] These shelfmarks can also be found, written in pencil or black ink, on the front and back covers or on the first pages of the volumes. In addition, usually on the *verso* of the title page of the books in question, we find ownership markings in the form of circular stamps in red ink that read "Ex Biblioth. Regia Berolinensi," or oval-shaped stamps, also in red ink, that read "Ex Bibl. Regia Berolin." In the first case, there are several variants, differing mainly in size and type of rim. Markings of this type date from the 18th and 19th centuries, especially from the period from about 1795 to 1881–1882,[18] when the German library was called the Royal Library in Berlin.[19]

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p. 47. Joanna Jabłkowska also discusses the reception, ordering and inventorying of books at the BUŁ during the creation of the book collection on the basis of "secured collections" in the early postwar period: "When the BUŁ was established in 1945, volumes were brought to the city from the libraries of Polish aristocratic families and from liquidated post-German libraries. They were stored in library storerooms and had to be moved from there to the shelves as quickly as possible. There was a shortage of staff to create a physical catalogue or reconstruct the old collections. Nor was there any other method to maximize the use of space other than sorting the volumes according to the format provided for the shelving. The books were therefore sorted by format, presumably at the same time given library shelfmarks and, of course, entered in the inventories, and then alphabetical cataloguing was undertaken. Thanks to this efficient arrangement, the books were saved and, above all, protected from mold. However, they had to wait a long time to be catalogued, and it is obvious that just after World War II this task was not one of the financial priorities. The card catalogue – now digitalized and available on the BUŁ website – was not and is not free of errors, and besides, it is only an alphabetical catalogue, revealing little of the substantive content of the books. Therefore, reconstructing the original genealogies was a very difficult task." In: J. Jabłkowska, 'Garść wspomnień. O początkach projektu,' in: *Nieznane skarby. Germanika XVI-wieczne…*, op. cit., pp. 24–25.

17 Currently, the stock of early printed books at the BUŁ amounts to 28,000 volumes, of which over 10,000 are "secured collections". See M. Sulejewicz-Nowicka, 'Gromadzenie rzadkich wydawnictw dziewiętnasto- i dwudziestowiecznych…,' op. cit., p. 188.

18 See https://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/die-staatsbibliothek/geschichte/besitzstempel/abbildungen (items 1, 2 and 3) and https://provenienz.gbv.de/Staatsbibliothek_zu_Berlin_%E2%80%93_Preu%C3%9Fischer_Kulturbesitz (items 1, 2, 3 and 4) [accessed 20.07.2024].

19 The library began its activity in 1661, when, by the will of the Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William I, the ruler's personal book collection was made avail-

Looking again at the bindings of the Portuguese early printed books, the hallmark of some volumes is also the supralibros of the Berlin library, used in the period around 1740–1786 and in the 1820s.[20] However, most of the books have original bindings rather than library bindings. Although often seriously damaged, these bindings managed to fulfill their task effectively, protecting the books from much greater damage or even complete destruction. Today, their general condition can be considered satisfactory, and sometimes even surprisingly good. However, the traces of damage eloquently testify to the complex fate of many volumes before they reached Łódź and the stores of the BUŁ.

It is worth describing how the volumes from the Berlin library came to reside in the BUŁ. Here, we must consider the events of World War II, when, in the face of the dangers posed by military action, a decision was made to evacuate the collections of Berlin's libraries. This was a complex, several-stage process, which had begun in 1939. It was accelerated by the intensification of the Allied air raids on Berlin from April 1941 onwards. In order to protect the collection, it was divided up and individual batches transported to sites (German: Auslagerungsorte) in the then German Reich, far from Berlin. The transported materials were hidden in a variety of locations, including castles, palaces, monasteries, country estates and mines. Some of them found shelter in areas of Lower Silesia, West Pomerania and Prussia. In the territories which, after the end of the War, fell within the Polish borders as a result of peace

able to the general public. The original name of the library – the Electoral Library in Cölln on the Spree (German: Churfürstliche Bibliothek zu Cölln an der Spree) – was altered in the following centuries in line with political changes. From 1701, it functioned as the Royal Library in Berlin (Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin), and from 1918 it was called the Prussian State Library (Preußische Staatsbibliothek). The current name of the institution is the Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz). On this subject, see https://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/die-staatsbibliothek/geschichte [accessed 25.07.2024].

20 See https://provenienz.gbv.de/Staatsbibliothek_zu_Berlin_%E2%80%93_Preu%C3%9Fischer_Kulturbesitz#Supralibros (items 3 and 6) [accessed 25.07.2024].

arrangements, there were twelve locations containing evacuated materials.[21] Contemporary studies dealing with the *Berlinka* most often mention two Lower Silesian sites. More than 500 chests containing library materials from Berlin were secured in the Książ Castle (German: Fürstenstein) in Wałbrzych in 1941 and 1943. Between 1943 and 1944, they were then transported to the monastery in Krzeszów (Grüssau) near Kamienna Góra (Landeshut). It was there that they were found by the Polish authorities as part of their efforts to secure abandoned and derelict book collections and protect them from dispersal and destruction.[22] This part of the Berlin collection, containing the most valuable objects from the special collections (490 chests in total), was finally taken to the BJ, where it is now kept as a deposit of the Polish State Treasury.[23]

In the case of the BUŁ, its book collection was created completely from scratch when the university in Łódź was established on February 11, 1945.[24] As a result of the acquisition campaign undertaken at the time, with the consent of the authorities of the day,[25] the BUŁ

21 M. J. Żółtowski, *Zbiory Biblioteki Pruskiej w Polsce. Studium przypadku*, Warszawa 2012, p. 102 and J. Gortat, 'XVI-wieczne druki Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej...,' op. cit., p. 110.

22 J. Partyka, 'Wprowadzenie,' op. cit., pp. 7–11.

23 The literature discussing the history of the *Berlinka*, its legal status and Polish-German disputes about it, produced by authors from Poland and Germany, is extensive. A detailed bibliography on the subject can be found in, among others: J. Gortat, '*Berlinka*. Ein besonderer deutsch-polnischer Erinnerungsort,' in: *Convivium. Germanistisches Jahrbuch Polen*, 2017, pp. 105–128; M. J. Żółtowski, *Zbiory Biblioteki Pruskiej w Polsce...*, op. cit., pp. 181–189.

24 D. Bartnik, T. Piestrzyński, 'Historia Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. Między tradycją a nowoczesnością,' in: *Nieznane skarby. Germanika XVI-wieczne...*, op. cit., p. 47.

25 Using the example of creating the stock of sheet music at the BUŁ, Jarosław Pawlik and Małgorzata Roszkowska explain: "Since its establishment in 1945, the University of Łódź Library has been amassing music collections, the foundation for which was laid by former monastery and manor book collections, private collections and post-German collections abandoned in panic. These included books from German libraries evacuated to Silesia and Pomerania during World War II. The campaign to 'collect books' and bring the resulting 'secured resources' from the western territories was launched on June 18, 1945, after obtaining the appropriate permission from the Ministry of Education in agreement with the Ministry of Recovered Territories. It was carried out by the first staff of the BUŁ assisted by students and German workers." In: J. Pawlik, M. Roszkowska,

acquired, among other things, former German holdings and collections from manor houses, including from Silesia and Pomerania – including places to which the Berlin library collections had been evacuated during the War. The literature on the subject states that the BUŁ contains objects transported from the palaces in Mierzyn (German: Altmarrin)[26] and Parsów (Parsow), as well as from Jelenia Góra (Hirschberg) and Karpniki (Fischbach).[27] However, the precise total number of early printed books from the Berlin library held by the BUŁ remains unknown to this day.[28] Some publications mention a figure of nearly 30,000 volumes, but in the opinion of staff at the BUŁ, this is a significant overestimation.[29] Research undertaken in recent years on the collections in the Early Printed

'Muzykologiczny zbiór Philippa Spitty: niezwykła historia pewnej kolekcji,' in: *Od przeszłości do teraźniejszości…*, op. cit., p. 287.

26 There are major discrepancies in the numerical data regarding the volumes transported from Mierzyn to Łódź. According to a study by Bernhard Fabian entitled *Fabian Handbuch: Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland, Österreich und Europa*, it was approximately 100,000 volumes (see https://fabian.sub.uni-goettingen.de/fabian?Lodz [accessed 25.07.2024]). Jerzy Andrzejewski gives a figure that is almost half that, i.e., 56,000 volumes. See J. Andrzejewski, 'Piśmiennictwo niemieckie w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego,' in: *Biuletyn Informacji Bibliotecznych i Kulturalnych Wojewódzkiej i Miejskiej Biblioteki Publicznej w Łodzi/BIBiK*, 2005, No. 4, p. 4.

27 Michał J. Żółtowski refers to the information provided by Werner Schochow, a German researcher of the postwar fate of book collections evacuated from the Berlin library, in his monograph entitled *Zbiory Biblioteki Pruskiej w Polsce…*, mentioning Mierzyn and Parsowo on p. 107, Jelenia Góra on pp. 110–111 and Karpniki on p. 111.

28 Jakub Gortat states that "in order to determine the exact number of them [early printed books from the *Berlinka* in the BUŁ], one would have to pick up one copy after another and check whether it had the stamp of that time, and this would have to take many months. The research is further hampered by the fact that these books have not been catalogued electronically, although this problem applies not only to the Łódź library." In: J. Gortat, 'XVI-wieczne druki Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej…', op. cit., p. 114. It should be added that the BUŁ also received books from the Berlin City Library (German: Berliner Stadtbibliothek). On this topic, see P. Lewkowicz, 'Berliner Stadtbibliothek i introligatorzy – ślady związków wśród starych druków Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego,' in: *Introligatorzy i ich klienci*, ed. A. Wagner, Toruń 2017, pp. 245–258. In addition, part of the collections of the Berlin Academy of Music (German: Berliner Hochschule für Musik) can be found in the BUŁ. The fate of this last collection is presented in: J. Pawlik, M. Roszkowska, 'Muzykologiczny zbiór Philippa Spitty…,' op. cit., pp. 285–295.

29 J. Gortat, 'XVI-wieczne druki Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej…,' op. cit., p. 114.

Books Section in Łódź is making it possible to gradually establish the total number of works. This research has also revealed some of the "unknown treasures"[30] in the holding, as selected groups of books, including those from the former Prussian State Library, are gradually processed in a professional manner. Future projects should look not only at the many German early printed books in the collection[31] but also at books in other languages, which represent valuable, original material for multifaceted research, analysis and interpretation.

From the perspective of Iberian studies, the Portuguese early printed books from the Berlin library are particularly valuable for historians of literature and, to some extent, specialists in the history of the Portuguese language. In terms of quantity, the collection contains 82 volumes, counting each volume separately – including multi-volume editions, such as Camões's epic *Os Lusíadas*.[32] The majority of the books are works of Portuguese literature, representing three eras: the Renaissance, the Baroque and the Enlightenment. Among the early printed books surveyed, there are lyric poetry, epics and dramatic works, covering a wide range of types and themes. One important part of the collection is the works of authors today considered among the leading writers in the history of Portuguese literature, first and

30 The two-volume monograph *Nieznane skarby. Germanika XVI-wieczne...* is devoted entirely to this subject, as its title indicates.

31 The German early printed books in the BUŁ number approximately 7,000 volumes. See J. Andrzejewski, 'Piśmiennictwo niemieckie w zbiorach...,' op. cit., p. 4.

32 To this number should be added two volumes containing works by Portuguese authors published in Latin rather than Portuguese. These are medical treatises by Estevão Rodrigues de Castro and Gaspar Rodrigues de Paiva, in editions from the 17th and 18th centuries. Moreover, the 1735 French translation of the epic *Os Lusíadas*, discussed later in this paper, can be included in the resource. The aforementioned challenges in identifying volumes from the Berlin library in the BUŁ make it unsurprising that Milewska significantly underestimated the number of Portuguese early printed books in the collection. As work on this group of early printed books in ongoing at the BUŁ, the figures indicated here may be subject to further adjustment. The author of this paper would like to express her sincere thanks to Piotr Lewkowicz, the former Head of the Early Printed Books Section at the BUŁ (now retired) for making the volumes of Portuguese early printed books from the former Prussian State Library in Berlin available for research, and for his extremely professional and kind assistance.

foremost Camões, but also Bernardim Ribeiro (1482?–1552?), Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcelos (1515?–1585), António Ferreira (1528–1569), João de Barros (1496?–1570), Francisco Rodrigues Lobo (1580–1622), Violante do Céu (1607–1693) and others. Alongside them are authors who are less well-known today but who nevertheless distinguished themselves in the literary life of their era. This is especially true of the 18th-century figures writing in the Arcadian style. Several of the books are 18th-century works by writers born in Brazil – then still a Portuguese overseas colony – and published in the metropolis where they developed their careers, such as José de Santa Rita Durão (1722–1784) and Manuel Inácio da Silva Alvarenga (1749–1814). These are authors well known to scholars of Portuguese-language literature, including Brazilian literature. Although the holdings are dominated by editions of single literary works of key importance for a given author and period, there are also extensive publications of an anthological nature, bringing together poetry and plays. These constitute important evidence from the perspective of the history of literature, providing an overall vision of lyrical and dramatic creativity in Portugal during the transition period from the Baroque to the Enlightenment. In addition, there are two works on the theory of literature, addressing issues in the field of Enlightenment poetics.

The second thematic subset of works, smaller in number, consists of texts with a linguistic profile that present Portuguese from the perspective of its historical development and descriptive grammar, as well as contrasted with French and English, with a view to facilitating the complex process of teaching foreign languages. Of particular interest is a copy of the first edition of the oldest philological treatise on the origins of the Portuguese language, written by the outstanding humanist Duarte Nunes de Leão (ca. 1530–1608) and published in 1606 in the Lisbon workshop of the famous master of the "black art," Pedro Craesbeeck.[33] The collection also con-

33 The work in question is entitled *Origem da lingoa Portuguesa. Per Duarte Nunez de Lião, Desembargador da Casa da Supplicação, natural da inclyta Cidade de Evora, Dirigida a el Rei Dom Philippe o II. de Portugal nosso Senhor*, Em Lisboa: Impresso por Pedro Crasbeeck, Anno MDCVI; BUŁ shelfmark 1018036 (former shelfmark of the

tains first editions of other works by eminent Portuguese authors, as well as volumes with engravings made by well-known artists and engravers from Portugal and elsewhere, as well as books published by renowned Portuguese publishing houses operating from the 16th to the end of the 18th century.

The thematic coherence of the collection, which generally deals with Portuguese literature and language, allows us to assume that the volumes may have originated from a single part of the collection to which they previously belonged. Handwritten annotations in pencil on the pastedowns of the back covers of the volumes also provide an important clue in this regard. These notations were made in identical or similar handwriting, and their form – combining abbreviations with numerical designations, for example: "Litt. Lusit./Poetas/61," "Portug. Litt. 241," "Litt. III, B, Lusit./I, Lexica" – brings to mind the ordering of volumes on library shelves. Numerous volumes contain additional ownership marks from previous owners in the form of *ex libris*, dedications, shelfmarks and so on. Although the current research does not include an in-depth provenance analysis of the Portuguese early printed books, leaving this task for a later stage of research, the preliminary findings already indicate that this subject may yield valuable findings for reconstructing the history of individual volumes before they

Prussian State Library is Xm 11). Peeter van Craesbeeck, known in Portugal as Pedro Craesbeeck (ca. 1571–1632), was a printer of Dutch origins who learned his craft in Antwerp from Christophe Plantin. Probably in 1592, he settled in Lisbon, where he established one of the leading typographic workshops in the country, run by members of subsequent generations of his family until the end of the 17th century, creating a real "dynasty" of printers, enjoying great esteem and recognition. Pedro Craesbeeck's successors were his sons, Lourenço (1599–1678; a printer) then Paulo (1605–1664; a bookseller and publisher), then his grandson António de Craesbeeck de Melo (1640–1684) and then his great-grandson, Teotónio Craesbeeck de Melo (1655–1687). After the last of these died, the workshop passed into the hands of his widow, D. Inácia Maria de Carvalho, who continued the workshop's activities at least until 1690. It is worth adding that, right from the outset, the Craesbeeck workshop was the privileged printer of Camões's works, a fact reflected in the editions in the BUŁ. Among them are printed books made by Pedro, Lourenço, Paulo and António Craebeeck. The printing activities of the Craesbeeck family are discussed extensively in N. Daupiás d'Alcochete, 'A *Officina Craesbeeckiana* de Lisboa,' *Anais. Série História*, 1995, No. 2, pp. 127–148.

came to the Berlin library.[34] By way of example, Friedrich Wilken reports that between 1819 and 1822, a significant number of important works published in Portugal and Brazil were acquired by the then Royal Library in Berlin via Christian Friedrich Bellermann, a Protestant clergyman who had spent the years 1818 to 1825 in Lisbon as a preacher to the local German community. At that time, Bellermann had become interested in old Portuguese literature, publishing on this subject on his return to Germany.[35]

Another distinguished figure who supplied Portuguese-language works to the Berlin library was Ignaz von Olfers.[36] This German naturalist, historian and linguist travelled around Brazil between 1817 and 1821, and later in the 1820s held diplomatic posts in Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro. During this period, Olfers corresponded with Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt about linguistic and bibliophilic issues, sending them materials on the languages of the indigenous inhabitants of Brazil and, at their request, notifying them of books on the subject. These letters are currently held by the BJ and the Staatsbibliotek in Berlin.[37] Old ownership markings, dated Lisbon between 1820 and 1825, which appear in some of the Portuguese volumes in the BUŁ suggest that it would be worthwhile verifying the information provided by Friedrich Wilken (see above) during the next phase of research on the collection discussed here.

Camoniana in the BUŁ's Collection

As mentioned further above, the *Camoniana* undoubtedly attract the most attention among the Portuguese early printed books in the BUŁ, as already noted by Elżbieta Milewska. This is due to the importance of Camões and his literary achievements, at the fore-

34 See F. Wilken, *Geschichte der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Verlegt bei Duncker und Humblot, Berlin 1828, p. 142

35 See 'Bellermann, Christian Friedrich,' https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz3639.html?language=en [accessed 02.08.2024].

36 F. Wilken, *Geschichte der Königlichen…*, op. cit., p. 142.

37 On the activities of I. von Olfers and his correspondence with Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt, see M. Ringmacher, 'Ignaz von Olfers y los estudios lingüísticos americanos de Wilhelm von Humboldt,' *Revista Brasileira de Linguística Antropológica*, 2014, No. 2/6, pp. 397–411.

front of the history of literature in Portugal throughout the centuries and up to the present day. In the early printed books collection discussed here, he is the only author whose work is represented across sections, due to the various editions of both his individual works and his collected works, which cover all areas of his writing – lyrical, epic, dramatic and epistolary. The collection contains editions that occupy an important place in the publishing history of Camões's literary legacy, representative of various stages of the development of the printing craft in Portugal.

Camões's *Os Lusíadas* gave decisive momentum to the reception of Portuguese literature among other European nations. The work was translated into many languages and it was the subject of lively debate, based on in-depth studies of the text and also the biography and achievements of its creator, carried out by scholars and writers on an international scale. Moreover, in the Romantic era, Camões became a tragic literary hero figure whose semi-legendary biography, full of ambiguities due to the lack of evidence, fired the imagination of many foreign authors, resulting in numerous works of creative transformation written in various languages.

German intellectuals also came to share this interest in Camões, whom they discovered in the second half of the 18th century.[38] This was mainly because of Johann Andreas Dieze (1729–1785), professor and librarian of the University of Göttingen for over three decades. Dieze produced the first significant critical works devoted to the literary activities of Camões (1769). As curator of the university library since 1763, he also made great efforts to acquire a significant Iberian book collection, including not only Spanish but also Portuguese books.[39]

38 There are indications that the reception of Camões in German literature and culture may go back to the late 16th century. The issue of familiarity with Portuguese culture and literature in 18th-century Germany, including the work of Camões, is presented in a cross-sectional manner in D. Briesemeister, 'O conhecimento da cultura e da literatura portuguesas na Alemanha do século XVIII: uma sinopse,' in: *Portugal e Alemanha: memórias e imaginários*, ed. M. M. Gouveia Delille, Coimbra 2010, Vol. I, pp. 311–330.

39 This subject is discussed extensively in H. Krapoth, 'A literatura portuguesa na âmbito dos Estudos das Línguas e Literaturas Românicas na Universidade de

At the same time, the earliest German prose translations of fragments of *Os Lusíadas* by Johann Nikolaus Meinhard were published (1762).[40] At the beginning of the 19th century, a time of growing interest in the life and work of Camões, the first two complete German-language versions of this work, by two different translators, were published almost simultaneously. The translation by Carl Christian Heise, published with no date of publication (most likely around 1806–1807) in Hamburg, is considered to be slightly earlier. The second translation, published in 1807 in Leipzig, was by Friedrich Adolph Khun and Carl Theodor Winkler. During the 19th century, there were six further German translations of the Portuguese epic, and also other translations of Camões's poetry.[41]

In 19th-century Germany, in the era of Romanticism and post-Romanticism, the study of Camões thus became a particularly popular field compared to the rest of Europe. The growing desire to know Camões's work, the enthusiasm for him and the fascination with his life, developed in two ways: through translations and lectures about him, and through original literary works inspired by his legend, perceived through the prism of Romantic ideals. The circle of intellectuals fascinated with him include Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829) and his brother August Wilhelm (1767–1845), leading figures among the German Romantics. Next, there are a number of eminent erudite scholars, writers, researchers and university professors, including Friedrich Bouterwek (1766–1828), Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), Ludwig Tieck (1773–1853), Wilhelm Storck (1829–1905) and Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos (1851–1925). The historical-biographical works, critical studies

Göttingen no século XVIII e no início do século XIX,' in: *Portugal e Alemanha…*, op. cit., p. 293.

40 See M. M. Gouveia Delille, 'Receção de Camões na literatura alemã,' in: *Dicionário de Luís de Camões*, ed. V. Aguiar e Silva, Lisboa 2011, p. 1315.

41 On this topic, see ibidem, p. 1324. The translation by C. C. Heise was titled *Die Lusiade: Heldengedicht von Camoens*, Hamburg und Altona, bei Gottfried Vollmer, [s.d. 1806–1807]. A. Khun and C. T. Winkler named their translation *Die Lusiade des Camoens: Aus dem Portugiesischen in Deutsche Ottavereime* übersetzt, Leipzig: in der Weidmannischen Buchhandlung, 1807.

and literary texts they produced concerning him significantly enriched his international reception.[42]

Interest in Camões in Germany in the 19th century is also reflected in private and institutional book collections. Among the private collections, one should undoubtedly mention the impressive library of Ludwig Tieck, one of the greatest bibliophiles of the 19th century. At the end of Tieck's life, his book collection was estimated to be around 17,000 volumes. The library was chiefly dedicated to philological and literary-historical subjects, in accordance with the main areas of intellectual activity of its creator, who distinguished himself as a writer, scholar, translator and literary critic.[43] A significant part of the collection consisted of original Iberian printed books, particularly on the Spanish theatre of the Golden Age. As an avid collector, Tieck amassed a considerable number of such items – more than 1,500.[44] The auction catalogue for the collection, which was put up for sale between 1849 and 1850 by the Berlin bookseller Adolf Asher, shows that the stock of Portuguese printed books was more modest, its core being editions of *Os Lusíadas* in the original language and in Spanish, French and German translations. The catalogue includes a total of seven editions of this work, dating from 1591 to 1833.[45] Tieck became acquainted with Camões's

42 Selected episodes relating to the reception of Camões in Germany in the 19th–20th century are presented in C. Martins, J. Garraio, 'Momentos de recepção de Camões na literatura de expressão alemã (séculos XIX e XX),' in: *Camões na Alemanha. A figura do poeta em obras de Ludwig Tieck e Günter Eich*, ed. M. M. Gouveia Delille, Coimbra 2000, pp. 15–44.

43 A description of the contents of L. Tieck's library and the circumstances of its sale at auction can be found in A. Hölter, P. Ferstl, 'Ludwig Tieck's Book Collection: the Holdings of the Austrian National Library (ÖNB),' in: *Taking Stock – Twenty-Five Years of Comparative Literary Research*, ed. N. Bechleitner, A. Holter, J. A. McCarthy, Leiden–Boston 2020, pp. 90–93.

44 See P. Ferstl, T. Mallmann, 'Ludwig Tieck als Bücherkäufer: Provenienzforschung innerhalb der Bibliotheca Tieckiana,' *Transfer*, 2023, No. 2, p. 23, and A. Hölter, P. Ferstl, T. Schmidt, 'Traces of a Bibliophile Romantic Book Collection in Polish Libraries. The Dispertion of Ludwig Tieck's Library and of the *Klein Oels Manor Library*,' *Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi*, 2020, No. 4/14, p. 677.

45 See *Catalogue de la bibliothèque célèbre de M. Ludwig Tieck: qui sera vendue à Berlin, le 10. décembre 1849 et jours suivants par MM. A. Asher [et] comp.*, Berlin 1849, p. 100. On the subject of this catalogue, see also A. Hölter, P. Ferstl, T. Mallmann, 'Catalogue de la bibliothèque célèbre de M. Ludwig Tieck (1849). Genese, Rezeption, Bestände,'

work during his academic studies in Göttingen in the 1790s (1792–1794), while exploring Spanish literature and language.[46] A few decades later, the figure of Camões, shrouded in myth and legend, inspired Tieck to write a work entitled "Tod des Dichters," published in 1843.[47] This indicates that, for Tieck, Camões was one of the most highly regarded European classic writers.[48]

Some of the aforementioned Iberian printed books from Tieck's book collection, including the two editions of Camões's epic included in Asher's auction, ended up in the Royal Library in Berlin.[49] Today, they are listed in the electronic catalogue of the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (StabiKat) as "war losses" (German: Kriegsverlust).[50] However, these volumes are not to be found among the volumes from the German library in the BUŁ book collection. The *Camoniana* in Łódź include eight copies of other editions of Camões's works, dating from the late 16th century to 1800, including three editions

in: *Ludwig Tieck. Werk – Familie – Zeitgenossenschaft*, eds. A. Hölter, W. Schmitz, Dresden 2021, pp. 171–214.

46 See A. Magen, 'Romanische Literatur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit (Calderón, Cervantes, Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, Camões),' in: *Ludwig Tieck. Leben – Werk – Wirkung*, eds. C. Stockinger, S. Scherer, Berlin, Boston 2011, p. 235.

47 For a comprehensive study of this novel, see C. Martins, 'Camões como paradigma do artista na novela *Tod des Dichters* de Ludwig Tieck,' in: *Camões na Alemanha...*, op. cit., pp. 45–186.

48 The books in Tieck's library reveal his particular interest in the works of Boccaccio, Dante and Cervantes. See A. Hölter, 'Tiecks Bibliothek,' in: *Ludwig Tieck. Leben – Werk – Wirkung...*, op. cit., p. 316.

49 Achim Hölter, Paul Ferstl and Theresa Schmidt report that the Royal Library in Berlin was among the main purchasers of books from Tieck's library. For more on this topic, see 'Traces of a Bibliophile Romantic Book Collection...,' op. cit., p. 678. The information provided here regarding the two editions of Camões's epic was taken from an electronic database created by researchers from Austria who virtually reconstructed L. Tieck's book collection, now scattered across in various European libraries: "Ludwig Tiecks Bibliothek" at https://tieck-bibliothek.univie.ac.at/ [accessed 25.07.2024]. The mentioned editions of Camões's epic from the Tieck library are listed in the Austrian databases https://tieck-bibliothek.univie.ac.at/database/books/book-1504181505 [accessed 25.07.2024] and https://tieck-bibliothek.univie.ac.at/database/books/book-1504181354 [accessed 25.07.2024].

50 For the use of the term "Kriegsverlust" in library catalogues, see V. de Senarclens, 'Der Verweis 'Kriegsverlust' in Bibliothekskatalogen,' in: *Bücher und ihre Wege Bibliomigration zwischen Deutschland und Polen seit 1939*, ed. V. de Senarclens, Schöningh, Paderborn 2024, pp. 213–231.

of lyric poetry, two of *Os Lusíadas* and three editions of his collected works. These materials are therefore more numerous than Milewska indicated. It is worth specifying which editions of Camões's works are concerned here, as the list of the editions published in the period is very long. The editions will be presented according to their publishing chronology. The descriptions will be very brief, focusing on selected features indicating their originality in relation to other editions of Camões's literary legacy. This is because the individual editions are accompanied by a rich, specialized bibliography, thoroughly discussing the various issues related to them. At the same time, the *Camoniana* available at the BUŁ will be indicated; these constitute an important component of the collection of Portuguese literature that could be used by readers in the former Prussian State Library in Berlin.

The two oldest editions of Camões's works available at the BUŁ – considered "extremely valuable" by Milewska – date from the 1590s. It is known that, during his lifetime, *Os Lusíadas* was published by the Lisbon publishing house of António Gonçalves in 1572.[51] In addition, three poems by Camões were published as supplements to works by other authors, as was the custom of the era.[52] Only after the Camões's death was his remaining oeuvre gradually made available to readers, with *Os Lusíadas* invariably remaining the center of attention: Between the 16th to the end of the 19th century, the poem was reissued several dozen times, either as an individual edition or included in collected works of Camões.[53]

The first collected edition of Camões's poetry, entitled "Rhythmas de Luis de Camoes," was published in 1595, fifteen years after the author's death (1580). The volume was the joint work of the Lisbon printer Manuel de Lira and the bookseller Estevão Lopes, who financed the venture, as indicated on the title page. Currently, we

51 On the *edito princeps* of Camões's epic, see the detailed study R. Marnoto, *Luís de Camões. Os Lusíadas. Edição crítica da "princeps"*, Genève 2022, Vols. 1–2.

52 See V. Anastácio, 'A criação de um poeta nacional: breve panorâmica das edições da lírica camoniana entre 1595 e 1870,' *Floema*, 2010, No. 7, p. 65.

53 For the list of all editions, see ibidem, pp. 71–72.

do not have information about any manuscript left by Camões that would constitute an original compilation of his poems, intended for personal or other uses, including publishing.[54] Apart from the three poems published as supplements to other writers' works mentioned above, which were published before 1595, the rest of his poetry circulated as manuscripts, scattered across various locations, often with textual variants. These types of sources were used to prepare the above-mentioned 1595 edition, which includes 176 poems.[55] This was the first proposed corpus of texts, initiating a long process of establishing the canon of Camões's lyric poetry, a task taken up by subsequent scholars and editors.[56] The copy of this pioneering edition belonging to the BUŁ book collection has the shelfmark 1009995.[57]

The collaboration between Manuel Lira and Estevão Lopes also resulted in a new edition of Camões' epic poem in 1597, entitled "Os Lvsiadas de Luis de Camões. Polo original antigo agora nouamente impressos."[58] According to specialists, this edition stands out pri-

54 There is only one rather controversial mention in a Portuguese historical source from the period (*Década VIII*, by Diogo do Couto) that refers to a manuscript with poetic works entitled *Parnaso de Luís de Camões*, stolen irretrievably from the poet during his stay in Mozambique on his way back from the Portuguese East Indies to Lisbon, where he arrived in 1570. For more information, see S. Moura Hue, '*Rhythmas* de Luís de Camões (1595),' in: *Dicionário de Luís*.., op. cit., pp. 1524–1541.

55 This is the number given in: ibidem p. 1537.

56 Various problematic issues related to this edition of Camões's poem and its subsequent editions, published throughout the 17th century, are presented in the article M. do C. Fraga, 'Séculos XVI–XVII: de 1595 à edição de Faria e Sousa,' in: *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000). A Biblioteca Camoniana de D. Manuel II*, ed. J. A. Cardoso Bernardes, Coimbra 2015, Vol. 1, pp. 67–87.

57 *Rhythmas de Lvis De Camoes Diuididas em cinco partes. Dirigidas ao muito Illustre Senhor D. Gonçalo Coutinho*, Em Lisboa: por Manoel de Lyra: A custa de Esteuão Lopez mercador de libros, 1595 (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library: Xm 3051). A concise description of this edition can be found in the bibliographic catalogue A. E. Maia do Amaral, M. de F. Bogalho, M. J. Otão da Silva Pereira, *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000). A Biblioteca Camoniana de D. Manuel II. Catálogo bibliográfico*, Coimbra 2015, Vol. 2, p. 62.

58 *Os Lvsiadas De Luis de Camões. Polo original antigo agora nouamente impressos*. Em Lisboa: Por Manoel de Lyra: A custa de Esteuão Lopez mercador de liuros, 1597; BUŁ shelfmark: 1015283 (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library: Xm 3174). A short description of this edition can be found in the bibliographic catalogue: ibidem, p. 24.

marily due to the unique nature of the censorship affecting the text. The anonymous person making the changes showed great sensitivity and even poetic talent, managing to preserve the high literary value of Camões's work and demonstrating at the same time that the epic is a significant artistic challenge for other poets where changes occur in the religious, moral and political context.[59]

An equally intriguing issue for scholars is the second part of the title of this edition, which translates as "according to the old original, now reprinted." This has led to the hypothesis that Camões's original manuscript, currently unknown, may have been used during the preparation of the edition. However, it is now thought this part of the title is misleading and said hypothesis groundless.[60]

In the 17th century, Camões's poems were reprinted many times. Among the early printed books in the BUŁ there are copies of two re-editions of "Rimas de Luis de Camões" from this period, with publication dates of 1607 and 1645. The first[61] exists in several different editions, differing not only in some elements on the title page, but also the internal layout and organization of the texts. It would appear that the volume in the BUŁ could be an example of edition A, in which, among other things, the title page features a woodcut depicting an armillary sphere with the inscription "In Deo."[62]

The information on the title page that work was printed in Pedro Craesbeeck's typographical workshop seems incomplete. Indeed, the different typefaces used indicate that this edition may

59 For a concise analysis of examples of changes made to the text and comments regarding their possible authorship, see H. J. S. Alves, '*Os Lusíadas*. O problema da Edição *Princeps* e as edições do século XVI,' in: *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000)…*, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 20–22.

60 See the remarks on this topic in: ibidem, p. 20, n. 35.

61 *Rimas de Lvis De Camões. Acrescentadas Nesta Terceyra impressaõ. Dirigidas a Inclyta Vniuersidade de Coimbra*. Em Lisboa: Por Pedro Crasbeeck: A custa de Domingos Fernandez mercador de libros, 1607; BUŁ shelfmark: 1015633 (former shelfmark of the Prussian State Library: Xm 3055).

62 For remarks on this edition, see M. do C. Fraga, 'Séculos XVI-XVII: de 1595…,' op. cit., pp. 68–69. A concise description of the edition can be found in the bibliographic catalogue *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000)…*, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 64.

have been based on a collaboration between Domingos Fernandes (bookseller and financier of the publication) and a separate Lisbon firm headed by two members of the Álvares family, António and Vicente. Also, the information that the volume includes new works by Camões, previously unpublished, is untrue; in fact, the volume reproduces the contents of the previous edition, that prepared by Estevão Lopes at the end of the 16th century (1598).[63]

By contrast, the 1645 edition of "Rimas" published by the printer and bookseller Paulo Craesbeeck[64] contains, in addition to poetry, the text of a drama by Camões, entitled "El Rei Seleuco," presented to readers for the first time. Its publication has special significance in the context of Portugal at the time: Just five years earlier, the country had regained its political independence from Spain, with which it had been linked by a dynastic union for 60 years (1580–1640). In these exceptional circumstances, there was an intense effort in various fields to emphasize national contexts and values in Portugal – as symbolized by Camões's work, especially given the overall message of *Os Lusíadas*, which is full of heroic and patriotic themes. The discovery of a new, hitherto unpublished part of such a valuable legacy was therefore of considerable importance, not only in terms of its literary-editorial dimension.[65] The edition is also distinguished by its small *octavo* format (99 mm), making it a "Lilliputian edition."[66]

63 S. Moura Hue explains that the changes introduced concern some paratexts accompanying the edition. The scholar discusses these issues in more detail in the article S. Moura Hue, 'Domingos Fernandes e as peripécias de um editor camoniano,' *Floema*, 2010, No. 7, pp. 101–105.

64 *Rimas De Luis De Camões Primeira parte. Agora nouamente emendadas nesta vltima impressaõ & acrescentada hu[m]a Comedia nunca atégora impressa.* Em Lisboa: Na Officina de Paulo Craesbeeck Impressor & Liureiro das tres Orde[n]s Militares & à sua custa, 1645; BUŁ shelfmark: 1016947 (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library: Xm 3061).

65 See the argumentation of Vanda Anastácio in: V. Anastácio, '*El Rei Seleuco*, 1645 (Reflexões sobre o "corpus" da obra de Camões),' *Península. Revista de Estudos Ibéricos*, 2005, No. 2, pp. 327–342, and also in: V. Anastácio, 'A edição *princeps* de "El Rei Seleuco",' in: *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000)…*, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 125–127.

66 See the description of this edition in the bibliographic catalogue *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000)…*, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 72.

The next item in the BUŁ collection of *Camoniana* is the third edition of the collected works of Camões,[67] prepared for printing in 1759 in Paris by Pedro Gendron (1743–1779?). The publisher divided the literary material in the edition between three volumes, the first of which covers *Os Lusíadas*, while the other two cover poetry, plays and letters by Camões. This arrangement reflects the traditional hierarchy of texts by Camões in terms of their importance, especially the primacy of *Os Lusíadas* in his literary output.[68]

Volume I is enriched by several copperplate illustrations, including portraits of Camões and Vasco da Gama, as well as a folding map showing a sea route to India around the African continent – a route established during Vasco da Gama's voyage of discovery, the subject of the epic. The content of the individual cantos of the work is complemented by allegorical engravings, as in the 1735 Paris edition of the Portuguese epic translated into French by the writer and diplomat Louis-Adrien Duperron de Castera (1705–1752), from which they were borrowed.[69]

Two further collected works of Camões date from 1772[70] and 1782–1783. They perfectly illustrate subsequent publishers' desire to identify as accurately as possible the works attributed to Camões, particularly the poetry. They also show a clever publishing tactic – already used earlier on, especially in the 17th century – for arous-

67 *Obras de Luis de Camoens. Nova Edição*, Paris: A custa De Pedro Gendron: Vendese Em Lisboa em Casa de Bonardel & Dubeux Mercadores de Livros, 1759, Vols. II–III. The edition available in the BUŁ is incomplete, with Vol. I missing. BUŁ shelfmarks: 1015588/2 and 1015588/3 (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library for both volumes: Xm 3068).

68 A description of this edition can be found in the bibliographic catalogue *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000)*..., op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 91.

69 See G. Peres Marques, *"Os Lusíadas": o projeto de uma edição e as pinturas de Vieira Portuense (1765–1805)*, unpublished diploma thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisboa 2021, p. 66, https://run.unl.pt/handle/10362/121502 [accessed 26.07.2024].

70 *Obras De Luiz De Camoens Principe Dos Poetas Portugueses. Novamente reimpressas, e dedicadas ao Illust. mo e Excel. mo Senhor Marquez de Pombal [...], por Miguel Rodrigues*, Lisboa: Na Officina de Miguel Rodrigues, 1772, Vols. I and III. The edition available in the BUŁ is incomplete, with Vol. II missing. BUŁ shelfmarks: 1016152/1 and 1015381/3 (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library for both volumes: Xm 3073). A description of this edition can be found in the bibliographic catalogue *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000)*..., op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 92.

ing public interest in a new publication: expanding the corpus of lyrical works attributed to Camões.[71] The second of these editions (1782–1783),[72] in particular, contributed to a lively and erudite polemic, concerning, among other things, the inclusion of previously unpublished fragments of poems allegedly by Camões, as well as the attribution to him of some works that were also at the time associated with another leading Portuguese poet of the Renaissance, Diogo Bernardes (ca. 1530–ca. 1594).[73] Moreover, the publication opens with a copperplate frontispiece (Vol. I, Part 1) showing Camões by the illustrator Jerónimo de Barros Ferreira (1750–1803) and the copperplate engraver José Lúcio da Costa (1763–1810), illustrating the high artistic level of Portuguese books in the 18th century – a period of dynamic development of the art of printing, at the time experiencing its own "renaissance" in Portugal.[74]

The most recent edition among the *Camoniana* in the BUŁ is the 1800 edition of *Os Lusíadas*.[75] The editor of this two-volume edition was Joaquim Inácio de Freitas (1760–1831), a renowned lecturer at the centuries-old University of Coimbra, who was also a philologist and poet. Freitas, well versed in the publishing history of Camões's

71 See V. Anastácio, 'A criação de um poeta nacional...,' op. cit., pp. 68–69.

72 *Obras De Luis De Camões Principe Dos Poetas De Hespanha. Segunda Edição Da que, na Officina Luisiana se fez em Lisboa nos annos de 1779, e 1780*, Lisboa: Na Offic. de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira, 1782–1783, Vols. I(1–2)–IV. BUŁ shelfmarks: 1015375/1,1; 1015375/1,2; 1015375/2; 1015375/3; 1015375/4 (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library for all volumes: Xm 3077). A description of this edition can be found in the bibliographic catalogue: *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000)...*, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 94.

73 See M. do C. Fraga, 'Séculos XVIII e XIX,' in: *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000)...*, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 91.

74 See A. L. Marques, 'Trajectos do livro: o seu renascimento no século XVIII,' *Arte Teoria*, 2004, No. 5, pp. 111–125.

75 *Lusiadas de Luis de Camoens*, Coimbra: Na Imprensa da Universidade, 1800, Vol. I. The edition in the BUŁ is incomplete, with Vol. II missing. BUŁ shelfmark: 1016168/1 (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library: Xm 3188). See the description of this edition in the bibliographic catalogues: R. Pinto de Matos, *Manual bibliographico portuguez de livros raros, classicos e curiosos*, coord. por Ricardo Pinto de Mattos, revisto e prefaciado por Camilo Castello Branco, Porto 1887, p. 100; T. Braga, *Bibliographia camoniana por Teófilo Braga*, Lisboa, Imprensa de Cristóvão A. Rodrigues, 1880, p. 61; M. F. de Palha, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque*, Lisbonne, Imprimerie Libanio da Silva, 1896, p. 202.

work, selected and compiled introductory texts for the new edition from several earlier Portuguese editions, the earliest dating from the 17th century.

To complete the list of the editions of Camões's works kept at the BUŁ and bearing the markings of the Berlin library, the 1735 French translation of *Os Lusíadas* by Louis-Adrien Duperron de Castera should be mentioned again.[76] The first decades of the 18th century brought two important publications that boosted the reception of *Os Lusíadas* in France. These were "L'Essai sur le poème épique" by Voltaire (published 1727) and the aforementioned translation by Duperron de Castera. The latter was a pioneering initiative in France, consisting of a comprehensive prose translation with comments by the translator. The discussion that arose after its publication concerned not only its quality – which raised doubts due to certain deviations from the original, and even errors – but also the contents of the preface and annotations by the translator, which maintained a polemical tone towards Voltaire's critical remarks. These lively literary debates continued into the 19th century, laying the groundwork for the reception of Camões's work in France at that time.[77]

The positive reception of Duperron de Castera's translation by French readers in the 18th century is indicated by its two re-editions, from 1768 and 1785.[78] In the three-volume edition of 1735,

76 *La Lusiade Du Camoens, poeme heroique, sur la Decouverte des Indes Orientales. Traduit du Portugais, par M. Duperron de Castera*, A Paris: chez Huart, ruë S. Jacques, à la Justice, [chez] David, quay des Augustins, à la Providence, [chez] Braisson, ruë S. Jacques, à la Science, [chez] Clousier, ruë S. Jacques, à l'Ecu de France, 1735, Vols. I–II. The edition in the BUŁ is incomplete, with Vol. III missing. BUŁ shelfmarks: 1016457/1 and 1016457/2 (shelfmark of the former Prussian State Library for both volumes: Xm 3301). A description of this edition can be found in the bibliographic catalogue *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563–2000)...*, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 116.

77 For more on this subject, see R. Souza Barbosa, 'Leituras mais afamadas do que ditosas: *Os Lusíadas* sob a pena de Voltaire e seus contrapontos em *La Lusiade*,' *Non plus*, 2013, No. 3, pp. 44–55, and also S. P. Guimarães de Sousa, 'Sobre a recepção de *Os Lusíadas* em França até ao século XVIII,' *Boletim do CESP*, 1998, No. 23/18, pp. 43–82.

78 See A-M. Quint, 'Receção de Camões na literatura francesa,' in: *Dicionário de Luís...*, op. cit., pp. 1415–1416.

each of the ten cantos of the epic is preceded by engravings designed by Robert François Bonnart (1652–1733), referring to the content of Camões's work. All copperplate illustrations included in this edition – 11 in total – were made by Jean Baptiste Scotin (1698–c.1755), a renowned Parisian engraver.[79]

The timespan covered by the German library's ownership marks in the Portuguese volumes in the BUŁ discussed in this paper indicates that the *Camoniana*, as well as the other early printed books mentioned here, were added to the collection of the Royal Library in Berlin during a period of gradually growing interest in Portuguese literature in Germany – particularly in its leading author, which was how Camões was undoubtedly perceived at the time.[80] The presence of these items in the holdings of the Berlin library shows that, in order to meet this interest, the library sought to systematically expand its collection of Portuguese printed books in order to offer its readers the widest possible range of relevant works, both in the original language and in translation.

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The research reconnaissance carried out at the BUŁ described in this paper has produced promising results: it has been possible to identify and offer preliminary descriptions of several dozen Portuguese early printed books. Ongoing research aims to further investigate the books' provenance and also place the volumes in their broader context, namely the book collection devoted to Portugal by the Berlin library.[81] The BUŁ collection is just a fragment of a larg-

79 For a broader discussion of this issue, see G. Peres Marques, *"Os Lusíadas": o projeto de uma edição…*, op. cit., p. 66, https://run.unl.pt/handle/10362/121502 [accessed 26.07.2024].

80 As Dietrich Briesemeister and Axel Schoenberger write, "enthusiasm for Camões […] remained the strongest motivation for Portuguese studies throughout the 19th century [in Germany]." See D. Briesemeister, A. Schönberger, 'Geschichte der Lusitanistik in Deutschland,' in: *Portugal heute: Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur*, eds. D. Briesemeister, A. Schonberger, Frankfurt am Main 1997, p. 859.

81 At the same time, Spanish early printed books in the BUŁ and BJ have been studied. The Portuguese manuscripts from the *Berlinka* in Kraków, examined as part of the above-mentioned scholarly project and discussed in the article by

er collection that was dispersed as a result of complex historical circumstances related to World War II.[82] The Portuguese volumes that found shelter in the BUŁ are now available to the public and are gradually being digitalized. For example, the *Camoniana* were digitalized as a key element of the virtual exhibition in 2022, in cooperation with the BUŁ and the BJ, entitled "*Lusitanians* on the Cape Route. Camões and the maritime epic of the Portuguese."[83] This exhibition was organized in the context of the international celebrations commemorating the 450th anniversary of the first printing of *Os Lusíadas*, with the intention of showing editions of Camões's works from different eras in their original form, including their material features. Such an exhibition significantly enriches the perception of works from a historical, cultural and artistic perspective, while emphasizing the unique value and importance of early printed books as valuable items in the history of books, as well as in European and world culture.

A. Rzepka, 'Alguns apontamentos sobre os manuscritos portugueses…' are also worth mentioning. Portuguese and Spanish manuscripts and early printed books together make up the Iberian holdings of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin kept at the BUŁ and the BJ; they are the subject of an important recent research project.

82 As an example, in the case of the works of Camões, see the items marked "war loss" (German: Kriegsverlust) in the current electronic catalogue of the Staatsbibliothek (StabiKat). With respect to early printed books (published up to the year 1800), this is about 30 volumes, including the above-mentioned works held in the collection of the BUŁ.

83 The Polish title of the virtual exhibition is "*Luzytanie* na Indyjskim Szlaku. Camões i morska epopeja Portugalczyków." The exhibition brings together various objects belonging to the collections of the BUŁ and the BJ, namely early printed books, 19th-century printed books, manuscripts, engravings, maps and so on. The exhibition is at https://wystawy.bj.uj.edu.pl/luzytanie [accessed 25.07.2024]. The exhibition was created by a joint team from the Jagiellonian University, the BJ and the BUŁ. Anna Rzepka, PhD (Institute of Romance Philology of the Jagiellonian University) devised the curatorial concept and wrote the introductory texts and descriptions of the exhibits. Graphic and technical preparation of the exhibition was by Małgorzata Kusak and Iwona Wawrzynek (BJ), while the early printed books at the BUŁ were prepared for digitalization by Monika Sulejewicz-Nowicka, PhD (BUŁ). The sections of this article devoted to the *Camoniana* of the BUŁ partly refer to descriptions of the individual early printed books included in the exhibition.

Further research on the books discussed in this paper will be presented soon in a separate publication, currently in preparation. This new work aims to expand on Elżbieta Milewska's brief mention of the works, which – based on current findings – hints at numerous important research topics still awaiting thorough investigation.

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WORD AND ORNAMENT. ARTISTIC FORM OF MATTHEW THE TENTH'S CODEX[1]

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ABSTRACT

This article provides a formal analysis of the biblical codex by Matthew the Tenth, a seminal object of Eastern Christian art from the northern territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The production of the manuscript was a multi-stage process initiated in Vilnius in 1502 and continued at the Supraśl Monastery from approximately 1503–1504 until its completion in 1507, with supplemental folios appended later. Comprising 550 leaves, the codex features a sophisticated decorative program, including one full-page miniature preceding the Psalter, 20 headpieces, and over 700 varied initials in multi-color, bi-color, and monochrome formats. A distinguishing characteristic of the work is the scribe's semantic

1 The present paper has been created as an element of the *Supraśl Liturgical Antologion of Matthew the Tenth from 1507: Academic Study and Translation into Polish of the Oldest Liturgical Manuscript from Supraśl* Project financed from the state budget awarded by the Minister of Science within the National Programme for the Development of the Humanities in 2024-2029, Project No. NPRH/DN/SP/0143/2023/12. In the paper the font used was 'FedorovskUnicode_Mateusz10' prepared for the Project.

application of colored script – e.g. utilizing vermillion, gold, and sky-blue to differentiate specific textual categories - thereby synthesizing the manuscript's aesthetic and liturgical dimensions. Comparative analysis reveals that the Supraśl portions of the codex are artistically more elaborate than the Vilnius section, suggesting that Matthew the Tenth had access to a wider array of models during his tenure at the Supraśl monastery, including Balkan (Bulgarian and Serbian), as well as Western traditions. A study of the codex's visual program underscore the author's creative ingenuity and individual artistic solutions, which were likely inspired by the cultural confluence of Eastern and Western traditions in Vilnius. Ultimately, the codex is identified as a liturgical work intended for the Supraśl monastic community and stands as a significant testament to the artistic and intellectual connections between Vilnius and Supraśl at the dawn of the 16th century.

KEYWORDS: Matthew the Tent, Biblical codex, Supraśl Monastery, Manuscript ornamentation, Orthodox art.

Research into Orthodox art of the northern territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania before 1569 (namely the year when the Union of Lublin was signed) is hampered for several reasons. Firstly: only relatively few artistic objects created before the late 16th century in that territory have been preserved. Secondly: due to the lack of preserved local analogies in literature they have been compared and analysed in relation to works from entirely different contexts. Owing to this, for a long time they were not regarded as works stemming from the common source and of local character, as distinct from the artifacts coming from the southern territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. However, researchers have come to realize that, although the identification of its specificity was challenging, Vilnius being a big and important city must have played an essential role as the centre of Eastern Christian art.

And it was only a relatively short time ago that attempts at the historical and artistic analysis of Vilnius Orthodox artifacts or those

related to Vilnius were undertaken.[2] One of the opportunities that might allow to deepen such research can be seen in the studies of the Supraśl manuscript of Matthew the Tenth,[3] a book that for a long time has been the subject of interdisciplinary studies,[4] and whose content has been recently thoroughly described by Serghei Temchin,[5] Artem Zhukov,[6] Anatoly Alexeiev,[7] Florentina Panchenko,[8] Aleksander Naumow,[9] and others. The book is currently the topic of a collective Project analysing the codex from various perspectives. As one of its aspects, the Project's leader Marek Ławreszczuk

2 See e.g. Н. Комашко, 'Об истории и иконографии Иконы Богоматери Одигитрии Виленской', in: *Wielkie powroty. Tom rozpraw międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej Wielkie powroty. O dziełach sztuki, zbiorach bibliotecznych, archiwalnych i świętościach polskiego prawosławia utraconych i wywiezionych w czasie I i II Wojen Światowych*, 15–17 października 2021 roku, Monaster Św. Onufrego Wielkiego w Jabłecznej, Jabłeczna 2021, pp. 15–33.

3 Facsimiles of the book in the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Cat. No. 24.4.28. Call No. BAN, Sreznevsky's collection, II.75) published in 2020: *Библия Матфея Десятого 1507 года из собрания Библиотеки Российской Академии Наук*, vol. I. *Факсимильное воспроизведение рукописи*, ed. А. А. Алексеев, А. Е. Жуков, Ф. В. Панченко, Санкт-Петербург 2020. Earlier a publication containing four Gospels had been published (*Библия 1499 года и Библия в синодальном переводе*, т. 7. *Господа нашего Иисуса Христа Святое Евангелие от Матфея, Марка, Луки, Иоанна*, Москва 1992), and then the Psalter: *Библия 1499 года...*, т. 4. *Псалтирь*, Москва 1997).

4 The studies were summed up in the publication: *Славянская Библия в эпоху раннего книгопечатания: К 510-летию создания Библейского сборника Матфея Десятого*, ed. А. А. Алексеев. Санкт-Петербург 2017.

5 С. Темчин, 'Роль Матвея Десятого в православной культуре Великого Княжества Литовского', *Latopisy Akademii Supraskiej*, I, 2020, pp. 27–34.

6 А. Е. Жуков, 'Матфей Десятый и его труд', in: *Библия Матфея Десятого 1507 года из собрания Библиотеки Российской Академии Наук*, vol. II. *Исследования и материалы*, ed. А. А. Алексеев, А. Е. Жуков, Ф. В. Панченко, Санкт-Петербург 2020, pp. 9–44.

7 А. А. Алексеев, 'Рукопись Матфея Десятого', in: *Библия Матфея Десятого 1507 года...*, vol. II, pp. 45-70; idem, 'Библия Матфея Десятого: комментарии', in: *Библия Матфея Десятого 1507 года...*, vol. II, pp. 71–120.

8 These works are of a particular importance for the research into the historical and artistic context of the codex. Ф. В. Панченко, 'Концепт художественного оформления Библейского сборника Матфея Десятого', in: *Славянская Библия...*, pp. 124–136; eadem, 'К прочтению миниатюры библейскоо сборника Матфея Десятого 1507 года', *Новое искусствознание*, no 3, 2020, pp. 101–112; eadem, 'Художественное оформление рукописи', in: *Библия Матфея Десятого 1507 года...*, vol. II, pp. 121–187.

9 A. Naumow, 'Biblia Matfieja Dziesiątego w Supraślu (1507) i jej petersburskie wydanie (2020)', *Бельскі гостінэць*, 2/2021, pp. 2–16.

has identified the book's respective elements and described in detail the structure of its content.[10] Further studies will undoubtedly extend our knowledge of various issues related to the manuscript.

Thanks to the to-date findings, based particularly on the long autobiographical note contained in the book we know the author: Matthew, who calls himself the Tenth (fols. 476v–477v [Fig. 1]);[11] he started writing the codex in Vilnius in 1502. The scribe's note

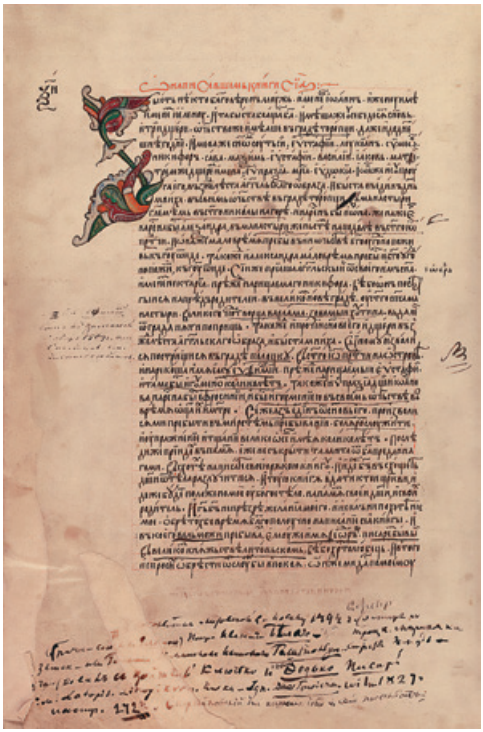

FIG. 1. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, beginning of 16th c. Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Cat. No. 24.4.28. Call No. BAN, Sreznevsky's collection, II.75. Beginning of the *About the author of these books*, fol. 476v. [Public domain]

10 M. Ławreszuk, *Spis zawartości „Antologionu Mateusza Dziesiątego" – supraskiego rękopisu Mateusza Dziesiątego z 1507 roku: Biblioteka RAN St-Petersburg nr kat. 24.4.28. Sygn. BAN, zbiór Srezniewskiego, II.75,* https://doi.org/10.18150/WNSY7S (Accessed: 4 May 2025).

11 *O tym, kto napisał te księgi*, see Naumow, 'Biblia Matfieja Dziesiątego...', pp. 3–7; Ławreszuk, *Spis zawartości „Antologionu..."*, p. 23; see Жуков, 'Матфей Десятый и его трудъ', p. 12.

thus points to the fact that the manuscript may constitute a testimony to book painting of that centre in the very early 16th century. The book, however, sets other challenges to us, which results from the fact that in ca 1503–1504 (though the precise date remains uncertain) the author moved to the Monastery in Supraśl, where he continued his work (the point in the book related to the fact will be retackled in due course), and there, in 1507, he made the above-mentioned note, seemingly as if crowning his work on the manuscript.[12] Nonetheless, the latter's description and evaluation are complicated due to the fact that following the autobiographical fragment there appear subsequent folios: from 478r to 550v, which must have been created later. The existence of this very part encouraged scholars to seek one more author of the book: supposedly Matthew's disciple.[13] Today, however, a different concept has prevailed claiming, following Aleksander Naumow's suggestion, that upon the arrival at the Supraśl Monastery, Matthew continued the work on the book for the already existing orthodox church of St John, concluding it with the autobiographical note; however, he wrote several dozen folios (fols. 478r–550v) placed after the note already later on: for the new orthodox church of the Annunciation. This may be testified to by the fact that the part in question begins with the description of this very holiday.[14] Since it is assumed that the brick church dedicated to the Annunciation at the Supraśl Monastery was completed in 1510–1511,[15] these dates may demark the timeframe for the creation of the last part of Matthew's manuscript.

The issue of the codex's authorship in relation to its historical and artistical context has been raised by Florentina Panchenko,

12 Naumow, 'Biblia Matfieja Dziesiątego…', p. 4.

13 E.g., according to Temchin his work is the fragment on fols. 299r–303v (except for the last 6 lines on 303v) and in the later supplements to the codex containing feast liturgy fols. 478r–542v, 544r, 545r. Темчин, 'Роль Матвея Десятого…', p. 32.

14 See Naumow, 'Biblia Matfieja Dziesiątego…', p. 11. The suggestion appeared in the course of the discussion on the present article.

15 Арх. Н. Далматовъ, *Супрасльскій Благовѣщенскій монастырь. Историко-статистическое описаніе*, Санктпетербургъ 1892, p. 45.

who emphasizes that in the case of such an ample writing artifact, whose creation process lasted for as long as precisely the discussed book's, it is not obvious that the scribe as well as the author of the ornaments and illustrations is the same person. She thus poses the question whether Matthew the Tenth, a scriptor and painter, could be the author of both the texts and the artistic design of the codex.[16] When analysing the circumstances of the creation of the manuscript and its character, while particularly referring to the above-mentioned autobiographical note, the scholar decides, however, that it would be unimaginable for Matthew to regard an incomplete book to be his life oeuvre.[17] This argument seems decisive as for the work's artistic authorship, particularly up to leaf 477v which ends the autobiographical note. Furthermore, it is worth discussing the cohesion of the respective elements of the book, and particularly its decoration, bearing in mind the potential differences not only between the Vilnius and Supraśl parts, but also the dissimilarities within the latter one (up to the autobiographical note and following it).

The above differences seem of key importance for further studies of the codex, also those referring to the artistic aspects. It can be assumed, following the codex's researchers, that the first (Vilnius) part (fols. 1–146v) covers the following books of the Old Testament: 16 Prophets, Book of Job, Solomon's Proverbs, readings from Kings, Book of Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, while the second (Supraśl) part contains (starting as of ca a third of l. 146v) the following books: Sentences of Meander, Wisdom of Sirach, Psalter, New Testament (four Gospels, Apocalypse, Acts of the Apostles), Typikon followed by Matthew's autobiography (up to fol. 477v), with the Menaion and Supraśl Triodion following (fol. 478r–550v).[18] We can thus assume that the first 146 leaves were created in Vilnius, while the

16 Панченко, 'Концепт художественного оформления…', pp. 124–125.

17 Ibidem, pp. 125–126.

18 Темчин, 'Роль Матвея Десятого…', p. 32; see. A. Naumow, 'Biblia w kulturze Rusi polsko-litewskiej w XVI wieku', *Slavia Meridionalis*, 16, 2016, pp. 36–37; Ławreszuk, *Spis zawartości „Antologionu…"*, p. 2.

remaining ones: a predominant majority, as we are talking here about over 400 leaves (!), were executed in Supraśl, of which the last 72 ones were produced and attached to the codex slightly later. However, the content of the book testifies unequivocally to its liturgical purpose, with its target destination being the Supraśl monastic community.

To recapitulate the issue of where the book was created it can be said that the codex of Matthew the Tenth is on the one hand an artifact connected with Vilnius, while on the other, it represents the Supraśl artistic circle, which initially may have been formed by Matthew himself alone. On the other hand, the book can be regarded as an example of the relations: not merely intellectual, but also (which is particularly important in this case) artistic ones between Vilnius and Supraśl. Thus, what it contains shows the direction of cultural influences of key importance for the formation and shaping of the intellectual and artistic aspects of the Supraśl centre. Therefore, Matthew's works can be regarded as one of the oldest artistic artifacts connected with Supraśl; only afterwards there appeared subsequent ones, including the excellent wall paintings from the orthodox church of the Annunciation, created before 1557,[19] yet today preserved only in residual fragments, this testifying to the direct bonds between the Supraśl Monastery and Serbia.[20]

Bearing in mind all the above doubts, we could continue multiplying the codex-related questions, though we would not always be able to answer them satisfactorily. The questions would concern both the artist and his work. Let us, therefore, consider whether the fact that Matthew the Tenth came from Toropets in the Smolensk Land had any impact on the artistic form of the codex. This

19 A. Siemaszko, 'Malowidła ścienne cerkwi Zwiastowania w Supraślu. Rekonstrukcja programu ikonograficznego', in: *Freski supraskie. Relikty XVI-wiecznego malarstwa postbizantyńskiego w kolekcji Muzeum Ikon w Supraślu*, Białystok 2019, p. 207.

20 See S. Petković, 'Nektarij Serb. Malarz z XVI wieku i jego działalność w klasztorze w Supraślu', in: *Freski suprashie…*, pp. 192–203.

may be an essential issue, yet in view of little knowledge of the art of that town it is doomed to remain unanswered, although the situation may change in the future. Actually, it cannot be ruled out that Matthew's writing style was formed only in the chancellery of the Grand Duke in Vilnius, where he was to work for the clerk Fiodor,[21] meaning that as an artist he was mainly shaped by the Vilnius circles. On the book's pages it can be seen how he evolved as an artist over the years. Assuming that his manuscript was created at two locations, namely that it is composed of two parts, of which the latter also seems to be divided, let us decide whether on the artistic level parts or layers created in the subsequent periods are discernible. In other words, whether artistically the Vilnius part can be distinguished from the Supraśl one, and whether in the latter the division into two more sections is discernible. This approach seems to be far more promising than studies in the author's artistic formation. We might move closer to the answer to the previously-asked question helped by the analysis of the major artistic aspects in the book's presentation.

Importantly, the final appearance of the codex results from various elements, spread unevenly and of varied quality. The work of Matthew the Tenth, composed of 550 leaves, contains only one full-page miniature placed on leaf 173v, thus approximately in a third of the book [Fig. 2]. However, the actual decoration of the codex is made up of 20 headpieces preceding certain parts of the text, including a preparatory drawing for a headpiece which was not eventually completed (fol. 478r [Fig. 3]). However, what strikes most are 254 multi-colour initials, 37 smaller tri- or bi-colour ones, and 451 smaller monochrome ones: golden, vermillion, sky-blue, and black. Furthermore, the book contains 20 bi-colour and 91 monochrome signs in the margins and 14 monochromatic drawings with the index finger.[22] Nonetheless, the artistic layout of the

21 See: Жуков, 'Матфей Десятый и его труд', p. 17.

22 See: 'Каталог орнаментики', in: *Библия Матфея Десятого 1507 года…*, vol. II, pp. 222–257.



FIG. 2. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, miniature preceding the Psalter, fol. 173v. [Public domain]

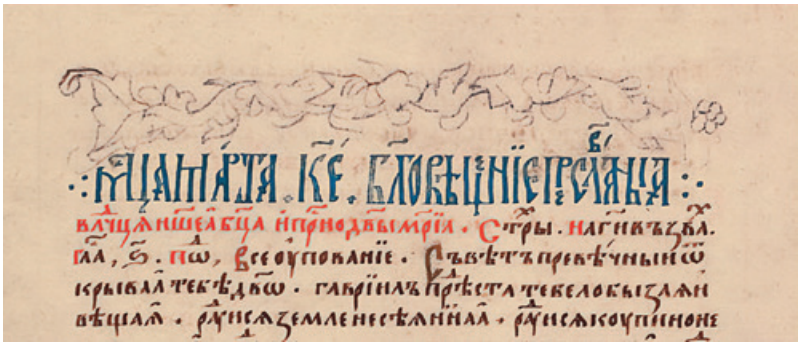

FIG. 3. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, beginning of the Menaion for March, The Annunciation, fol. 478r. [Public domain]

codex does not only boil down to few presentations and a more elaborate ornamentation, since the whole expression of the work is parallelly contributed to by the colourful text organized according to some rules. Not only does it constitute the conveyor of the content, but it also contains a definite aesthetic charge.[23] In her article dedicated to the artistic layout of the book, Panchenko asks about its attribution, but also about the following issues: were the decorative elements created parallelly to the written text, did there exist from the beginning an overall artistic concept, or were the decorations created simultaneously, as if on an on-going basis? Were there existing models from other works used in the process?[24]

An element essential for the analysis of the sources of artistic forms for the codex is the knowledge of the book resources available to Matthew at subsequent stages in his work. Sergey Temchin observes that when active in Vilnius Matthew did not have access to many Old Testament books, and it was a painstaking job to put them together.[25] In the further course of his work what must have played an important role was the collection of books in the Supraśl Monastery. On the grounds of the oldest source that recalls it, namely the 1557 description by Sergius Kimbar, it is known that the library boasted at least 129 liturgical books.[26] Furthermore, it is believed that prior to 1532 the Monastery had had 56 liturgical books, these including 13 Psalters, 12 Menaions, and 67 works of religious literature, including e.g. *The Book of Prophecies* and biblical commentaries, as well as *Catechetical Lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem.*[27]

23 See: Z. Vitković, 'Stranični postav u „Drugome novljanskom brevijaru": Vizualna organizacija teksta u kasnosrednjovjekovnim hrvatskoglagoljičnim liturgijskim kodeksima', *Croatica Christiana periodica*, vol. 48, no. 98, 2024, pp. 47–63.

24 Панченко, 'Концепт художественного оформления…', p. 125.

25 Темчин, 'Роль Матвея Десятого…', p. 30

26 Idem, 'Сколько книг было в Супрасльском Благовещенском монастыре в 1532 году', *Здабыткі*, 12, 2010, pp. 68–73. Matthew's Book was actually introduced there secondarily. Ibidem, pp. 70–71

27 A. Mironowicz, 'Manuskrypty bułgarskie w zbiorach biblioteki monasteru Supraskiego do połowy XVI wieku', *Търновска книжовна школа*, X, 2015, p. 24. Many of these books are now in the resources of the Vilnius Library of the Academy of Sciences, see Н. Морозова, С. Темчин, 'Древнейшие рукописи Супрасльского

At the same time, both Aleksander Naumow and Sergey Temchin share the conviction that as much as the first part of the text written in Vilnius is more related to East-Slavic sources, the fragments written in Supraśl feature stronger Balkan qualities, which yields the supposition that when in the Supraśl library Matthew could use Bulgarian and Serbian books, both those belonging to the Supraśl Monastery and the ones that came from other nearby centres, such as Bielsk.[28] From the point of view of the history of art the key question is whether at all, and if so, how, such an impact can be observed in various fragments of the codex's decoration and in the presentations it contains. The analysis of the influence does not necessarily have to consist in pointing to direct models, since it is also worth analysing certain general tendencies, similarities, and common features in view of different groups of works known from the region of Central and Eastern, as well as Southern Europe.

In this context, let us emphasize that in the course of the study of the codex its scripture has been analysed. Sergey Temchin points to the semantic changeability of its kind. Three different alphabets appear in the book: the dominating Cyrillic one, but also the Greek one (in the titles of some biblical books), and the Hebrew alphabet (the letters in the margin of the Book of Jeremiah).[29] The main text in Cyrillic is written in semi-uncial, the most typical form of the Cyrillic alphabet at the time of the creation of the book; the short summary of the Acts of the Apostles and the Apostles' Epistles are written in another form of decorative semi-uncial with elements of cursive script, while the quote from the New Testament at the

Благовещенского монастыря (1500–1532 гг.)', in: *Z dziejów monasteru Supraskiego. Materiały międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej „Supraski monaster Zwiastowania Przenajświętszej Bogurodzicy i jego historyczna rola w rozwoju społeczności lokalnej i dziejach państwa". Supraśl-Białystok, 10–11 czerwca 2025,* Białystok 2005, pp. 120–121; cf. 'Katalog rękopisów supraskich', ed. A. Mironowicz, N. Morozowa, M. Czistiakowa, E. Kierejczuk, E. Mironowicz, N. Nikołajew, [in:] Rękopisy supraskie w zbiorach krajowych i obcych, ed. A. Mironowicz, Białystok 2014, pp. 85–373.

28 Naumow, 'Biblia Matfieja Dziesiątego…', p. 11; Темчин, 'Роль Матвея Десятого…', p. 32.

29 Ididem, pp. 30–31.

end of the colophon is written in an elegant cursive script.[30] Both Sergey Temchin and Aleksander Naumow distinguish the meaning of the most frequently used script colours in the text: speeches of Jesus, quotes from the Old Testament, and other major texts, e.g., *O All-praised Mother* in the *Akathist* are written in vermillion and gold, while sky blue represents direct speech. Vermillion also serves for rubrics.[31]

A good example illustrating this model is leaf 222v and the subsequent ones, containing the Gospel of Matthew, where black, sky blue, vermillion, and gold can be seen, all performing, as mentioned above, the semantic role [Fig. 4]. A similar procedure is visible on

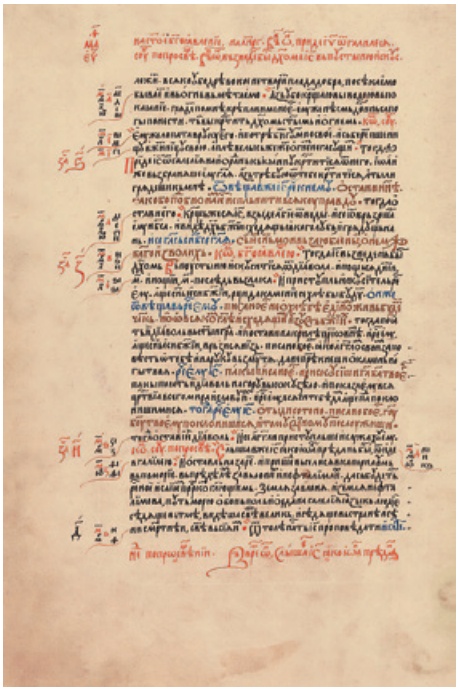

FIG. 4. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, fragment of the Gospel of Matthew, fol. 222v. [Public domain]

30 Ibidem, p. 30.

31 Naumow, 'Biblia Matfieja Dziesiątego...,' p. 11; Темчин, 'Роль Матвея Десятого...', p. 30.



FIG. 5. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, beginning the Acts of the Apostles, fol. 307r. [Public domain]

ornamental leaf 307r beginning the Acts of the Apostles [Fig. 5]. However, at other places, as we observe at the beginning of the Gospel of Luke (fol. 255r), sky blue and gold colours of the letters seem to perform merely a decorative function [Fig. 6]. Similarly, at the beginning of the Gospel of John (fol. 275v) four colours appear in the title: vermillion, gold, sky blue, and black, this arrangement repeated in the inscription filling in the whole verse [Fig. 7]. Such an approach to text is similar to that in some artifacts coming from the time when the discussed codex was created, among which we can count e.g., the Typikon from Leżachów (Jerusalem uncial) from Poland's National Library, though in its case the structuring of the book's form with letter colours is limited only to black and vermillion ink [Fig. 8].[32]

32 Warsaw, National Library, Rps 12168 III. https://polona.pl/preview/0329340e-b2c5-4939-be1d-e1cdd2420097 (accessed: 19 May 2025).



FIG. 6. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, beginning of the Gospel of Luke, fol. 255r. [Public domain]



FIG. 7. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, the beginning of the Gospel of John, fragment of fol. 275v. [Public domain]



FIG. 8. The Typikon from Leżachów, 16th c., Warsaw, National Library, Rps 12168 III, fol. 75r. [Public domain]

Furthermore, it goes without saying that the Supraśl fragments of the codex of Matthew the Tenth as compared to the Vilnius part are evidently richer in the variety of script forms and in the colour of single letters or words. The source of such an approach to scripture can be found in South Slavic or Moldavian manuscripts from an earlier period, since there the application of various scripture colours was present, particularly as of the 14th century.[33] Making the script and letter colour, as well as the colour of respective words, and further, sentences, or longer sections, etc., more attractive, seems to be one of the most characteristic features distinguishing the Vilnius part from the two Supraśl sections, which once again may confirm the fact that the author had a greater access to various books and models when working in Supraśl, while on the other hand, it might demonstrate the artistic progress made by the decorations' author.

When analysing respective fragments of the book it can be stated, and actually without any doubt, that if treating the codex as a whole, it shows little cohesion, while its respective parts are shaped in the way demonstrating a changing attitude to the question of decoration. The comparison might be the most effective when the beginnings of respective books and the use of initials in them are juxtaposed. The whole codex begins with the leaves containing relatively modest decorative elements. The latter are particularly concentrated on the fragments opening subsequent sections of the text, e.g., on fol. 3r, where the Book of Hosea begins, one can see letter ⷪ; it is composed of four elements of whose ends developing plant forms grow, forming above a headpiece [Fig. 9]. On the following leaves the same formula is repeated; there, however, the decoration is formed mainly by plaited initial shapes which are both coloured and monochrome (vermillion as a rule).

33 See: e.g., München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.slav. 4. https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00106322 (accessed: 16 May 2025); Warsaw, National Library, Rps 11801 IV https://polona.pl/preview/6bad9214-29ee-4739-904e-2899a9959808 (accessed: 19 May 2025).



FIG. 9. Matthew the Tenth's Codex.
Beginnig of the Book of Hosea, fol. 3r. [Public domain]



FIG. 10. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, the first leaf of excerpts from the Book of Job, fol. 122r.
[Public domain]

In the subsequent fragments of the Vilnius part of the book of Matthew the Tenth, on leaf 61r, we can see an elaborate multicolour Ꙗ initial whose upper part is shaped like a corolla; meanwhile, on leaf 122r there appears letter Ꙋ in a very extended form echoing a tree, in red, green, dark blue, and ochre [Fig. 10]. Letter Ⱂ on leaf 136v is a relatively small initial; folding leaves grow from its left stem [Fig. 11]. Meanwhile, in the case of letter Ⱂ on leaf 152v, a floral fanciful sky-blue-red-and-ochre form grows from the let-



FIG. 11. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, the beginning of the Book of the Wisdom of Solomon, fol. 136v. [Public domain]



FIG. 12. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, an introduction to the Psalms by St Basil the Great, fol. 165v. [Public domain]

ter's horizontal top. What is more, on leaf 165v an energetically executed letter Н features twisting coloured runners with leaves resembling acanthus emerging from its left stem. Similar forms can also be seen on the top crownings of the initial [Fig. 12].

As for the Supraśl fragments of the book, on leaf 178r, we can find initial Н opening Psalm 19 (18); its stems feature a lighter plant or-



FIG. 13. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, Psalter, initials of Psalms 26 (25), 27 (26), fragment of fol. 180r. [Public domain]

nament painted against dark-blue background, with three multicoloured leaves growing from the top of the left stem. Similar leaves grow from letter Ⱄ opening Psalm 26 (25) (fol. 180r), both from its upper and lower sections. The letter itself is built of organic forms tied approximately in the middle of the letter's height [Fig. 13]. Psalm 28 (27) on the reverse of that leaf (fol. 180v) begins with a wide-stretched letter Ⱪ composed of a stem formed of coloured node-shaped forms and rings, with floral elements at the ends and a band wreathed in the middle, made up of geometrized sky-blue and green ribbons [Fig. 14]. On leaf 181r, Psalm 31 (30) opens with letter Ⱨ from whose left stem there come out abundant leaves partly resembling acanthus with corolla forms. On leaf 187r, letter Ⱪ opens Psalm 50 (49), while letter Ⱂ begins the following one. The first initial has a relatively schematic form, while the second clearly stands out: it remains enclosed within a square-like shape of which leaves, runners, and flowers come out. Both letters form an elaborate decorative composition in the margin [Fig. 15]. On leaf 307r, beginning the Acts of the Apostles, letter Ⱂ is composed of both rings, interwoven sprouts, forming nodes, as well as plant sprouts coming out from the bottom



FIG. 14. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, Psalter, initials of Psalms 28 (27), 29 (28), 30 (29), fol. 180v. [Public domain]



FIG. 15. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, Psalter, initials of Psalms 50 (49) and 51 (50), fol. 187r. [Public domain]

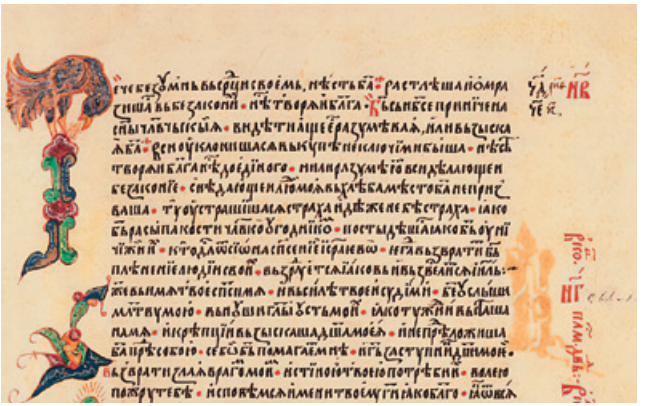

FIG. 16. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, Psalter, initials of Psalms 53 (52), 54 (53), fragment of fol.188r. [Public domain]

part of the letter, and a crowning in its upper part where there appears a decorative tangle of creepers [Fig. 5].

Coloured initials are first of all made up of stylized ornamental elements whose fragments are composed of stylized 'rings'[34] [Figs. 6, 11, 13, 14, 16]; they also contain motifs of plaiting: geometrical and floral[35] [Figs. 14, 15, 17, 18]. Both forms are found in manuscripts between the 11th and 16th century, and both served as models for the initials in Matthew's codex. Today, however, it is hard to identify the existing historic writing artifacts which may have had the direct impact on his manuscript. Nonetheless, definite tendencies revealed in the discussed book can be pointed to. In the territory of Orthodox Slavs, the concept of such initials is known; they are made up of smaller parts: rings, semirings, often tied, with nodes, and edges unfolding into leaf shapes, coloured in their whole, since respective forms are covered with contrasting colours, e.g., the 14th-century Kyiv Psalter[36] or the 1499 Gospel Book from the Us-

34 So-called коленчатые инициалы. И. В. Левочкин, *Инициалы XI–XVI веков*, Москва 1983, pp. 13–14, fig. On p. 18.

35 So-called плетеные инициалы. Ibidem, p. 16, fig. on p. 21.

36 *Киевская Псалтир 1397 года из Государственной Публичной библиотеки имени М. Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина в Ленинграде [ОЛДП F 6]*, Москва 1978, passim.



FIG. 17. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, beginning of the Gospel of Matthew, fol. 221r. [Public domain]



FIG. 18. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, beginning of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, fragment of fol. 345v. [Public domain]



FIG. 19. Gospel Book of Jakov of Serres, Serbia, 1354–1355, beginning of the Gospel of Mark, British Library Add. 39626, fol. 89r. [Public domain]

pensky Cathedral in Moscow.[37] However, the initials in Matthew's codex seem to have been strongly inspired by the kind of the artistic language which yielded the initials in the Serbian Gospel Book of Jakov of Serres dating to 1354–1355[38] [Fig. 19]; similarly, they are present in other 14th-century Serbian heritage pieces, also those related to Mount Athos[39] as well as the Bulgarian Tomić Psalter from ca 1360, [40] and in a version slightly more provincial in the Gospel

37 Г. В. Попов, 'Орнаментация рукописи 1499 года из Московского Успенского собора', in: *Древнерусское искусство. Рукописная книга*, Москва 1972, fig. on pp. 231, 238.

38 British Library, Add. 39626, fols. 5r, 89r, 145r. A. Džurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen. Schätze der Buchmalerei vom 4. Bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, Milano 2001, fig. 187 on p. 223; https://blogs.bl.uk/european/2021/04/the-gospels-of-metropolitan-jakov-of-serres.html (accessed: 21 May 2025).

39 Nikola Staničevic Gospel (Hilandar 14), Gospel Book (Hilandar 13), and Tetraevangelion (Hilandar 21), Džurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen...*, figs. 202 and 203 on p. 241, fig. 204 on p. 242.

40 Moscow, State Russian Museum, GIM 2752. Džurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen...*, fig. 214 on p. 248; See: А. Джурова, *Томичов Псалтир*, vols. 1–2, София 1990.



FIG. 20. The Book of 16 Prophets, Rus', late 15th century, headpiece of Book of Haggai, St Petersburg, Russian State Library, f. 173.I no. 20, fol. 69r. [Public domain]



FIG. 21. The Book of 16 Prophets, Rus', headpiece of Book of Zechariah, fol. 72r. [Public domain]



FIG. 22. The Book of 16 Prophets, Rus', headpiece of Book of Isaiah, fol. 87r. [Public domain]



FIG. 23. The Lavriv Gospel Book, 1500–1520, beginning of the Gospel of Matthew, Warsaw, National Library, Rps 11805 IV, fol. 21r. [Public domain]

Book from ca mid-14th century from the Archaeological Museum in Sofia.[41] They are also close to the initials found in numerous manuscripts dated to the late 15th and 16th centuries, particularly the early 16th century. They appear, e.g., in the Book of 16 Prophets in the Russian State Library from the late 15th century [Figs. 20, 21, 22].[42] From among the works that are worth pointing out let us also mention the Lavriv Gospel Book at the National Library in Warsaw dated to 1500–1520 [Figs. 23, 24, 25].[43] Finally, they can be seen in the

41 ACNO 356. И. Гергова, Й. Гатев, И. Ванев, *Християнско искуство в Националния Археологически музей – София. Каталог*, София 2012, fig. VI.2.в.–VI.2.е.

42 St Petersburg, Russian State Library, f. 173.I no. 20, https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/173-i/f-173i-20/#image-100 (accessed: 6 June 2025); See: В. А. Кучкин, Г. В. Попов, 'Государев дьяк Василий Мамырев и лицевая Книга пророков 1489 года', in: *Древнерусское искусство. Рукописная книга. Сборник второй*, Москва 1974, pp. 107–145.

43 Warsaw, National Library, Rps 11805 IV, https://polona.pl/preview/2087edce-9b99-431c-a2b5-0cdafb0474f6 (accessed: 11 May 2025).



FIG. 24. The Lavriv Gospel Book, beginning of the Gospel of Luke, fol. 219r. [Public domain]



FIG. 25. The Lavriv Gospel Book, beginning of the Gospel of John, fol. 350r. [Public domain]



FIG. 26. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, the first leaf of Psalter, fol. 174r. [Public domain]

margins of the Psalter and the horologion by Mikhail Medovartsev, an associate of Maximus the Greek.[44]

In the codex of Matthew the Tenth it is the leaf opening the Psalter (fol. 174r) that is extensively decorated; a headpiece appears there, and additionally we can see initial Ѓ and two others: Ѕ and Г. They are elaborately developed, forming intricate curving plant forms, climaxing in a voluminous large corolla, which fill up the majority of the margin [Fig. 26]. In this respect an affinity can be seen with the artistic language of the above-mentioned Lavriv Gospel Book [Figs. 23, 24, 25, 27]. The same concept for book decoration can also be found in e.g., the Bulgarian Tetraevangelion from

44 Moscow, Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents, f. 381, collection of Synodal Typography 223, fol. 21r. И. В. Синицына, 'Книжный мастер Михаил Медоварцев', in: *Древнерусское искусство. Рукописная книга*, p. 304.



FIG. 27. The Lavriv Gospel Book, initial on fol. 276v. [Public domain]



FIG. 28. The Tetraevangelion from the late 15th c., beginning of the Gospel of Matthew, Warsaw, National Library, Rps 11802 III, fol. 1r. [Public domain]

the Cherepish Monastery, dated to the turn of the 16th century.[45] At this point, mention can also be made of the Tetraevangelion from the late 15th century from Warsaw's National Library where on leaf 1r, starting the Gospel of Matthew, there appears foliage connected with the headpiece, as well as that placed in the margins, remaining in no relation to other elements [Fig. 28].[46] Similarly as in its case as in the earlier-mentioned works, the characteristic feature of the leaf beginning the Psalter in Matthew the Tenth's codex is the appearance of extremely developed plant elements, this possibly reflecting the impact of modern Western art.

An example similar to the leaf opening the Psalter can be seen in a particularly elaborate decoration of the first sheet of the Gospel of Matthew (fol. 221r). Letter К beginning the sentence: Книгы рождьствa... features longer and shorter creepers that grow out of it. The one that comes out from the central part of the letter develops upwards creating an ample headpiece with abundant foliage resembling an acanthus featuring several corollas. Below the headpiece composed of creepers, leaves, and flowers the title of the Gospel Ѕ҃ Матфеи... is written in vermillion *vyaz*. Furthermore, there are stalks with a foliage growing from the initial's bottom part, filling up the lower part of the leaf. It is precisely these four elements: the book's title, the elaborate initial, and the headpiece above together with the stalk and leaves in the bottom section of the margin that create an extensive artistic decoration of the sheet [Fig. 17]. They show affinity to the models from several codices from Warsaw's National Library, among which let us enumerate the above-mentioned Lavriv Gospel Book [Figs. 23, 24, 25] as well as the Tetraevangelion from the late 15th century with plaited initials and abundant plant patterns in the margins [Fig. 28].[47] Letter

45 Vratsa, Orthodox Church of St Nikolas, no. 1. Džurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen...*, fig. 202 on p. 257; М. Стоянов, *Украса на славянските ръкописи в България*, София 1973, kat. 173, fig. on p. 23, 107–108.

46 Warsaw, National Library, Rps 11802 III, https://polona.pl/item-view/00fd8dc5-7730-4983-9ab9-eb938dbb2884?page=32 (accessed: 15 May 2025).

47 Ibidem III https://polona.pl/preview/00fd8dc5-7730-4983-9ab9-eb938dbb2884 (accessed: 11 May 2025).



FIG. 29. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, beginning of St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, fragment of fol. 370r. [Public domain]

П on leaf 370r enclosed within a rectangular frame filled with sky blue with two plant sprouts [Fig. 29] also echoes some initials from the Lavriv Gospel Book, although the latter's initials are more elegantly elaborated [Fig. 23, 27]. The very concept of decorative letters with plant sprouts growing out of them seems, first of all, to be associated with Bulgarian miniature painting where such forms can be found both in 15th-century works[48] and in 16th-century ones.[49]

Several initials which we can come across in the codex by Matthew the Tenth feature more fanciful forms, since they are accompanied by presentations of animals. They have been quite thoroughly described by Florentina Panchenko,[50] however, it seems that they still deserve more thorough analyses, particularly in the context of the content in which they appear. Within the impact of the Byzantine culture zoomorphic initials can be regarded as a luxury quality of the books created already between the 9th and 11th centuries,[51] while their motifs and patterns were frequently repeated. In Matthew's book the biggest number of imaginative initials are found in the Psalter.

48 See 15th-c. Gospels, Sofia's National Library, СНБ 479. Стоянов, *Украса на славянските ръкописи…*, Cat. 101, fig. on p. 87.

49 See: ibidem, cat. 204, 216, 235.

50 Панченко, 'Художественное оформление рукописи', pp. 126–130.

51 See: e.g. Džurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen…*, figs. 34–35 on p. 35; fig. 61 on p. 69.

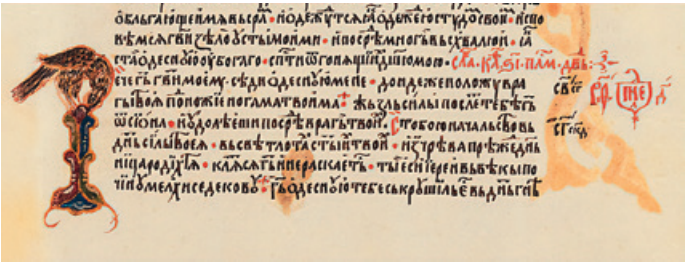

FIG. 30. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, Psalter, initial of Psalm 110 (109), fragment of fol. 204r. [Public domain]

And so, in the upper part of leaf 188r, Psalm 14 (13) begins with letter Р (Рече безумнь въ сердцѣ своемъ, нѣсть Бг҃ъ, 'The fool says in his heart, "There is no God."'[52]). Its basis is plaited, while the upper part formed by a figure of a bird of prey which, according to Panchenko, can be identified as a falcon:[53] its head is lowered, its beak opened, maybe because it is feeding the nestlings [Fig. 16]. A similar bird figure, only with slightly differently arranged wings, in this case gently raised, forming a part of letter Р, can be found on leaf 204r beginning Psalm 110 (109): Рече гс҃ь гс҃ви моему... ('The Lord says to my lord: "Sit at my right hand"') [Fig. 30].[54] Thus, in both cases the letter refers to the word Рече ('said'), and possibly repeats the same model known from a substantial number of analogies, among which let us mention such well-known Moscow works as Khitrovo Gospels (the 1390s), or Koshka Gospels (ca 1392), as well as the Fedieiev Psalter (the 1480s, where actually the figures of birds appear by the same Psalms: 14 (13) and 110 (109). According to Florentina Panchenko, it is precisely the initials from the Koshka Gospels that may be considered as prototypes of those in the codex of Matthew the Tenth.[55] However, it needs to be observed that apart from a similar form of several initials in Matthew's book there is nothing that his codex and the Koshka

52 Psalm translations after *The Bible...*, Revised Standard Edition, The British & Foreign Bible Society, Collins Clear Type Press.

53 See: Панченко, 'Художественное оформление рукописи', p. 126.

54 See: Ibidem, p. 126.

55 Ibidem.

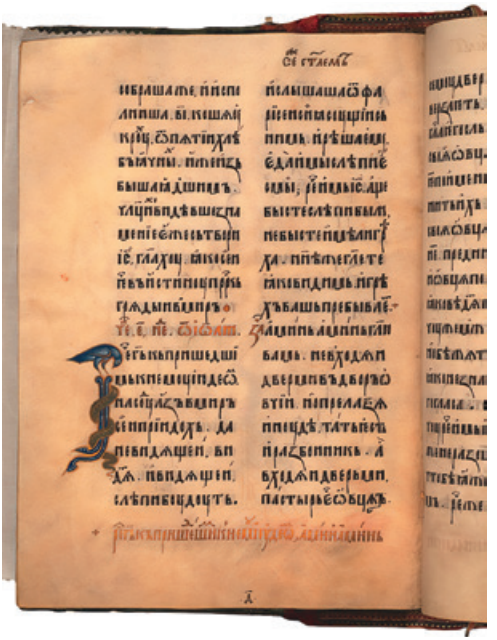

FIG. 31. The Koshka Gospels, Rus', ca 1392, St Petersburg, Russian State Library, f.304, III, No 4, fol. 32v. [Public domain]

Gospels have in common [see Fig. 31].[56] Furthermore, the question that remains unanswered is whether Matthew the Tenth had the chance to view the latter book. In his manuscript there also appears a form of initials with a human face, these associated by Panchenko with similar initials from the Ostromir Gospels (1056–1057),[57] yet, importantly, this formula is present in 12th-century Balkan codices, e.g., Slepche Apostle from the latter half of the century.[58] Therefore, Matthew the Tenth may have found his inspiration in the Balkan environment.

56 St Petersburg, Russian State Library, f.304, III, No 4. https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rg-b/304-iii/f-304iii-4/ (accessed: 7 May 2025).

57 Панченко, 'Художественное оформление рукописи', pp. 124–125.

58 Ivan Vazov Public Library in Plovdiv, Call No. 25(62). https://digital.libplovdiv.com/bg/view/642b0b36a556affbd1cd4686?page=1 (accessed: 6 July 2025); Džurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen…*, fig. 121 on p. 155.

It might seem most appropriate at this point to emphasize the fact that in the biblical codex of Matthew the Tenth there are various forms of initials, this particularly visible when different designs of the same letters are compared: in view of their size, shape, and plaiting forms of which they are composed, as well as of the colour schemes,[59] but also taking into account such additional elements as bird figures. This variety may be considered a premise claiming that the author drew from various sources and used numerous models, however, substantially applying his own personal invention. The analysis of the first of the two issues, namely the application of various artistic models, may be useful in further studies concerning the change of location where the scribe worked and his access to certain characteristic models. The second question related to Matthew's artistic creativity seems more challenging, particularly in view of the fact that Eastern-Christian art is generally attributed lack of individualism. Nonetheless, the discussed codex definitely displays features that confirm the artist's inventiveness, if only to mention here the use of different-colour scripture, which best testifies to his ingenuity and ability to introduce individual solutions [Fig. 6, 7].[60] It thus cannot be ruled out that Matthew's stay in Vilnius, the city where the Eastern and Western traditions encountered, inspired the author from Toropets to adopt certain elements characteristic of Western art not merely as artistic models he began to use in his work, but also as models of a creative approach he began to follow.

Therefore, if the colour scheme of the scripture in Matthew's codex reveals essential semantic qualities, it seems also likely that the initials, particularly those appearing in the text of the Psalter, may play a similar role: drawing attention to some psalms or their certain selected contents. Interestingly, however, on leaf 186r, for unknown reasons (by a simple oversight?) the author omitted initial Ѣ meant

59 See catalogue of coloured initials: 'Каталог орнаментики', pp. 226–243.

60 Темчин, 'Роль Матвея Десятого...', p. 30; Naumow, 'Biblia Matfieja Dziesiątego...', p. 11.



FIG. 32. Matthew the Tenth's Codex, Psalter, Psalms 46 (45) without initial and initial of Psalm 47 (46), fol. 186r. [Public domain]

to begin Psalm 46 (45) [Fig. 32]. This fragment, as a matter of fact, deserves more attention, since it testifies to the individual working mode on the codex in which the basic text was executed first, while all the decorative and complementary elements afterwards.

It is worth emphasizing that in the book's parts containing the Typikon and a fragment of the Menaion and Triodion (thus leaves 407r–550v) the only very decorative initial is that on leaf 476v beginning the fragment speaking of the book's author: an imaginative and highly refined form of letter Ⱄ. Undoubtedly, it was to draw attention to this portion of the codex [Fig. 1]. As a matter of fact, the discussed part of the book together with the initial will become the topic of a separate study;[61] similarly as the monochrome initials

61 This motif was developed in my paper: *'Praise Him with the Timbrel and Dance'. Selected Motifs from the Iconography of the Psalter in the 16th-century Biblical Codex of Mattew the Tenth* delivered at the Conference *Psalms and Psalters in Culture and*

[see e.g., Figs. 11, 29] which constitute a separate artistic question inside the book, and which can initially be considered as pointing to the affiliation to 15th-century Bulgarian miniature painting.[62] Additionally, the codex contains numerous quite skilfully drawn hands with the index finger: they, too, are meant to emphasize certain elements in the texts. And they can also be associated with the Balkan tradition.[63]

As much as the initials filling the codex of Matthew the Tenth display a substantial variety, a big number of homogeneous forms characterize the relatively few headpieces. Some of them (fols. 255r [Fig. 6], 345v [Fig. 18], 395r) seem to directly echo the Byzantine forms known from the 14th century.[64] They contain both geometric and plant motifs. One is a complex many-sided polygon placed in the upper part of leaf 307r beginning the Acts of the Apostles. It is filled with a plant ornament with antithetically placed elements featuring plant sprouts, leaves, and flowers growing from the external corners [Fig. 5].[65] Six headpieces: beginning the Prophecy of Hosea (fol. 3r) [Fig. 9], Gospel of Matthew (fol. 221r) [Fig. 17] and of Mark (fol. 242r), Introduction on 12 Apostles (fol. 299r,), General Epistle of James (fol. 329r), Second Timothy (fol. 389v), and one incomplete (at the beginning of the Menaion for March, The Annunciation (fol. 478r)) [Fig. 3]; they are all unframed plant forms, which may seem to echo modern West European book painting.[66] When pointing to this variety of headpieces it can be noticed that this feature is often encountered in Cyrillic manuscripts in the 15th and 16th centuries, and seen against this background Matthew's codex does not seem particularly exceptional. As an example close

Literature from the Commonwealth until the Late 19th Century (Supraśl, 12–13 February 2026), which will also appear in print in Conference proceedings.

62 See Стоянов, *Украса на славянските ръкописи…*, pp. 90–106.

63 Ibidem, Cat. 163, fig. on p. 104; Cat. 253, fig. on p. 146.

64 See Sofia, St Kliment Ohridski University, Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies 'Prof. Ivan Dujčev', MS D. gr 177 (Džurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen…*, fig. 60 on p. 104) and MS D. gr. 132, fol. 112v (ibidem, fig. 153 on p. 206).

65 'Каталог орнаментики', p. 223.

66 Ibidem, pp. 222–225.

to Matthew the Tenth's codex let us point to e.g., Book of 16 Prophets with explanations from the late 15th century in the collection of the Russian State Library,[67] where, similarly as in the discussed manuscript, some headpieces are enframed, while others feature no borders [il. 20, 21, 22].

When comparing various writing artifacts and referring them to the discussed codex what strikes most is the substantial liberty the author takes when developing decorative elements which fill the book. This is the factor that makes us ponder over the role played in the production of the manuscript by the artist's creativity. One of its symptoms can be observed in the change of the codex's decoration different for the parts created in Vilnius and Supraśl. It can be thus clearly seen that floral elements appear at the very beginning of the book, in the first headpiece [Fig. 9], while the subsequent, more elaborate headpieces containing geometric elements are found only in the sections created already in Supraśl. This may suggest that when at the Supraśl Monastery and on this stage of his work, the author had a greater access to decorated manuscripts which he applied as models. On the other hand, however, the presence of floral forms inspired by Western art at the beginning of the Vilnius part also seems very symptomatic, since they may have been motifs popularized in Vilnius in the early 16th century.

An important element creating the artistic expression of the book by Matthew the Tenth can be undoubtedly seen in its only full-page miniature contained in the Supraśl part of the manuscript (on fol. 173v): extremely rich both iconographically and artistically [Fig. 2]. Within the environment of Eastern Christian art, miniatures, if scarce, as a rule appear at the beginning of a book. This situation is different, since the illustration is as if hidden inside the codex. Its position, however, is not accidental, since in this way the Psalter is exposed. The reason most likely being the exceptional place it takes among the Old Testament books caused

67 In this case it is even larger, since e.g., the headpiece of the Book of Daniel contains animal presentations. St Petersburg, Russian State Library, f. 173.I no. 20, fol. 328r. https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/173-i/f-173i-20/ (accessed: 11 May 2025).

by its very special liturgical status. When compared with other portions of the codex of Matthew the Tenth, the Psalter seems to be particularly richly developed with respect to decorative elements, especially the initials, the topic already discussed above. The very miniature preceding the Psalter displays a very complex structure, since, composed of three registers, it is within a frame, and additionally to its left two presentations of men dancing and in a characteristic headwear are shown: they are Jedutun, i.e., Etan and Asaf, some of David's musicians, authors of certain Psalms.[68] In the upper part of the main section of the miniature the scene of young David's anointing to become king is presented. One can see in it Old-Testament priest Samuel (his person distinguished with a nimbus around his head, as well as a ciborium visible in the background), who touches David's forehead with an oil-filled horn. Bowing David receives the anointing with visible humbleness. Behind his back an angel is lifting his right hand above the king's head in a praying gesture; there is also a wingless figure wearing a white gown, whose head is surrounded by a nimbus made up of two rhombi; the figure can be interpreted as Sophia, Divine Wisdom. In the following scene David is presented as a mature man (his face is surrounded by a shortish round grey beard, and a diadem can be seen on his head); behind his back the same Sophia is visible. David is shown here as a writer, with all the attributes proper to this role. In the lower register, in turn, a scene with a dance procession is to be found; the cavalcade is participated by seven young men. They are dancing *kolo/choro* (Greek: *choros*), a dance typical of southern Slavs.[69] Next to them there is enthroned David and musicians standing in front of him. The lower register

68 Jedutun is a musician mentioned in the headings of Psalms 38, 61, 76, while Asaf in Psalms 49, 72–82 ; their images can be found in the psalter, previously housed in the library in Supaśl. Э.А. Гордиенко, С.А. Семячко, М.А. Шибаев, *Миниатюра и текст: К истории Следованной псалтири из собрания Российской национальной библиотеки F.I.738*, Санкт-Петербург 2011, p. 166 (fols. 19v, 20v).

69 See: S. Zdravkova Djeparoska, 'Performance and Religion: Dancing Bodies in Macedonian Fresco Painting', *Arts*, 10 (4), 88, 2021, https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0752/10/4/88 (Accessed: 6 June 2025).

repeats the scene with six dancing men. This register also features the scene of wise men debating.

Let us emphasize here some particular features of the miniature, such as e.g.: the three-register layout allowing to structure a certain narrative,[70] showing figures in various views in which movement, often very dynamic, is accentuated. Some of the shown poses are quite surprising, e.g., in profile, such as that of one of the dancing men in the red robe: in a leap with his body turned in the opposite direction than the figures' movement and the centre of the scene itself made up of the dance cavalcade. This yields the effect of vigorous dynamism and variety, strongly accentuated by the arrangement of the figures' clothes, and particularly by the characteristic rolls of flowing robes. All these features fully coincide with the tradition of art which drew both from the Middle and Late Byzantine heritage. Let us now focus on the to-date analyses of the miniature in question. In earlier studies the position of Dmitry V. Aynalov , published already in the 1930s, who referred this presentation to the 15th-century art of Veliky Novgorod, was quoted on this aspect.[71] When reflecting on the environment with which the miniature may have been associated, being (as all the premises allow to think) the scriptorium at the Supraśl Monastery, this track should be considered intriguing. Interestingly, some elements of the above-described presentation seem close to the composition *Wisdom Has Built a House for Herself*; this very topic can be associated precisely with the painterly tradition of Veliky Novgorod, although we must not forget that it has its direct prototypes in the Balkans.[72] And if we were to agree that the Psalter forming part of the codex of Matthew the Tenth was copied in Supraśl, this very direction seems particularly important for our search.

70 See: e.g., L. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-century Byzantium. Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus,* New York 2001, passim.

71 П. А. Лавров, 'Библейские книги 1507 года', *Slavia. Časopis pro slovanskou filologii*, XII, 1933–1934, p. 104; See: Ф. В. Панченко, 'Миниатюра: Сюжеты и ихиконогра-фические параллели', in: *Библия Матфея Десятого 1507 года...,* vol. II, p. 147.

72 See: A. Sulikowska-Gąska, *Spory o ikony na Rusi w XV i XVI wieku,* Warszawa 2007, p. 261.



FIG. 33. King David inspired by Holy Ghost (Sofia, Holy Wisdom), The Serbian Psalter, 14th c., München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.slav. 4, fol. 7v. [Public domain]

The characteristic tri-register quality is known both in Byzantine and Balkan miniature painting.[73] However, one of the most significant iconographic motifs in the discussed miniature is the presentation of a writer standing behind the figure of Sophia, and appearing in Balkan 14th-century Psalters [Fig. 33] as well as Gospel Books of later time [Fig. 34].[74] in which Sophia sometimes accompanies all the subsequent Evangelists.[75] Furthermore, what attracts attention are scenes of group dances, quite common in

73 Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning…*, figs. 7, 9–10, 16, 18, 19, 21–23, 35, 38–41, 45–46; Džurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen…*, fig. 166 on p. 214

74 See: Moscow State University, MGU 2 Bg. 42. Džurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen…*, fig. 2 on p. 41.

75 Like in the Benchevo Tetraevangelion. Skopje, National and University Library 'St Kliment Ohridski', nos. MS 17, 167, 168, 169, 171.



FIG. 34. Mark the Evangelist inspired by Holy Ghost (Sofia, Holy Wisdom), The Gospel Book, St Petersburg, Russian State Library, f.I.35, fol. 102v. [Public domain]

Byzantine and Slav Psalters[76] owing to the Book's ideological content, although the dance forms can assume various formats. In the codex by Matthew the Tenth what seems of key importance is that the figures are shown dancing in a circle, which quite obviously echoes Balkan customs. So the discussed miniature can be, on the one hand, compared to the Bulgarian Tomić Psalter from the State Historical Museum in Moscow,[77] while on the other, the Serbian Psalter from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich [Fig. 35].[78] Both are dated to the 14th century, which also allows to confirm

76 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Gr 752, f. 449v. (Džurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen...*, fig. 62 on p. 106); Vat. Gr 746, f. 194v (ibidem, fig. 68, p. 110); Barb. Gr 372, fol. 249r (ibidem, fig. 69, p. 111); Kiev Psalter. *Киевская Псалтир 1397 года...*, fol. 204v; also with the motif of playing instruments. Ibidem, fol. 206r.

77 А. Джурова, *Томичов Псалтир*, op. cit.

78 München, Bayerische Staatssbibliothek, Cod.slav. 4 https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00106322 (accessed: 16 May 2025).



FIG. 35. Scene of dancing dancing kolo/choro. Miniature of The Serbian Psalter, fol. 184v. [Public domain]

the direction for the search of the context for Matthew the Tenth's work.

As stated above, this only miniature opening the Psalter is quite elaborate. It contains scenes which convey the story of David, the Psalms' author, as well as images of other psalmists; on the other hand, these presentations as if introduce us into the Book's atmosphere by showing dance and individuals playing instruments. The images find numerous analogies in the iconography of the time, although what seems of key importance is the affiliation to the Balkan tradition.[79] It should not be overlooked that from the artistic perspective, and particularly with its refined line and colour scheme, the miniature clearly differs from the initials or the headpieces as well as the remaining elements decorating the codex, slightly simpler both in view of the drawing and colours. This difference may suggest that it cannot be ruled out that there was another artist who contributed to the codex by working on this miniature only, which would, however, be a topic for a separate study.

79 See: Zdravkova Djeparoska, 'Performance and Religion', passim.

The present paper focuses, first of all, on the analysis of the selected decorative elements scattered throughout the whole biblical codex of Matthew the Tenth, particularly the numerous initials, however, emphasis has also been put on the characteristic features of the headpieces, the only miniature in the manuscript, and other ornamental elements. Even on the basis of such an overview certain general conclusions can be reached. The comparison of the artistic elements distributed through the whole codex displays a certain randomness, a compilatory character of Matthew's work, this best seen in the varied forms of the initials and headpieces which do not undergo a clear stylistic evolution over time, while generally their forms throughout the whole book show the greatest affinity to what is defined as Balkan[80] or so-called Neo-Byzantine ones.[81] At the same time, the artistic language of the only miniature in the codex, whose iconographic and stylistic sources reach back to 14th-century Balkan artifacts, is not adequate to such elements of a book decoration as the above-mentioned initials or headpieces. Since they actually seem to fit well more with the artistic context of the artifacts from the late 15th – very early 16th century. What is more, the default observed is a certain lack of consistency in terms of working out a system of decorating the leaves beginning respective fragments or books contained in the manuscript. What could all this mean?

The varied character of the system and decoration forms is frequently considered the result of unfinished work on a book. Nonetheless, in the case of the codex by Matthew the Tenth the reasons must have been different, if only for the fact that no empty sheets or spaces to be later filled with miniatures were left. Actually, the manner of writing subsequent Gospels, which is continuous, excludes here placing miniatures with the Evangelists, ranking, af-

80 Džurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen…*, fig. 221 on p. 250; See: Э. В. Шульгина, 'Балканский орнамент', in: *Древнерусское искусство. Рукописная книга. Сборник второй*, pp. 240–264.

81 See: Л. М. Костюхина, 'Нововизантийский орнамент', in: *Древнерусское искусство. Рукописная книга. Сборник второй*, pp. 265–295.

ter all, among the most frequently encountered presentations in books [Fig. 17, 6, 7]. This clearly testifying to the fact that the author from the beginning decided that the subsequent books of the New Testament would not feature illustrations.

The comparison of the manner in which the initials were executed on the first 146 leaves of the codex with the subsequent ones does not justify the statement that the parts: the Vilnius one (fol. 1–146v) and the two Supraśl ones (the first: starting from ca 1/3 of leaf 146v to 477v; the second: from 478r to 550v) differ significantly in their artistic form, namely as far as the drawing and the colour-scheme are concerned. A certain stylistic difference is visible from the point where the Psalter begins: from leaves 173v–174r [Figs. 2, 26], since as of here the initials become more frequent and more varied, thanks to which the whole codex becomes more decorative. However, a question can be asked whether this does not simply result from the structure of the Psalter's text accumulating relatively short separate texts that psalms are. Another essential aesthetic change appears when the autobiographic form ends, namely in the part beginning on leaf 478r. In this respect, too, the reason may be found in the change of the character of the texts following the autobiography of Matthew the Tenth.

In the Church Slavonic tradition the system of a book decoration is created equally by various elements: lettering, the manner of writing texts, colour scheme of respective fragments, the manner of developing the initials, the method of composing ornamental headpieces, and last but not least, the presentations visible in a miniature or miniatures. In the case of the codex of Matthew the Tenth its artistic form in the two Supraśl parts (from ca one third of leaf 146v) shows clearly the possibility that the author was able to access a larger number of artistically richer codices than in the Vilnius period. These may have been available in the Supraśl library and scriptorium. It is the likely reason why in the two Supraśl parts a stronger reference to both Balkan and Western models can be observed when compared to other references we know from other codices coming from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and dated to

the similar period, namely the 15th and early 16th century. The very codex itself, owing to its not uniform artistic layer may thus testify to the variety of books which were available in Supraśl in the early 16th century or were there if only for a brief period of time (possibly in order for its copy to be made).

All the elements which bestow the manuscript of Matthew the Tenth with the artistic character fulfil predominantly the function of enframing, emphasizing, and highlighting senses contained in the message of the work constructed of subsequent biblical books, and completed with the Supraśl Menaion and Triodion. Although we cannot be certain what the original intentions of the author were when he began his work in Vilnius, the whole content of the codex[82] together with its artistic layer show that as of a certain moment: when Matthew the Tenth moved to Supraśl, the codex was created to serve the very community there, possibly as a book used in daily liturgy.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska

82 Particularly the Menaion opening with March and the Annunciation, the Patronal Feast of the Supraśl Monastery, see: footnote 13.

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WW II VICISSITUDES OF THE BOOK COLLECTIONS OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF LUBLIN (OF ITS CENTRAL LIBRARY AND LIBRARIES OF RESEARCH DEPARTMENTS)

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ABSTRACT

Until the outbreak of WW II the book collection of the Catholic University of Lublin (KUL) had contained over 80,000 volumes, mainly acquired as donations and legal deposits, as well as in exchanges. Apart from the Central Library, located at 4 Dolnej Panny Marii Street, there also operated libraries of research departments (seminars), intrinsically connected with the University's teaching resources.

Following the capture of Lublin by the Germans in autumn 1939, KUL's Central Library was controlled by the invaders' authorities. In 1941, it was incorporated into the Staatsbibliothek Lublin, however, thanks to the endeavours of Emilia Szeliga-Szeligowska the collection as such remained at its pre-war premises, effectively avoiding dispersion. Regrettably, the collections of research departments whose activity was stopped suffered a different destiny, as the collections were either partially destroyed or seized by Poland's occupying forces.

The paper is composed of three sections: the first one shows the situation of the Central Library and seminar libraries following the outbreak of WW II: their devastation and interruption of the operations; the second discusses the structure and functioning of the Staatsbibliothek Lublin, with a particular focus on the role played by KUL's Central Library as its branch; the third section is dedicated to the post-WW II efforts to recuperate the collection, partially, for example, from the H. Łopaciński Library, and the attempts to assess the war losses. As a result of the war and occupation the Central Library lost 5,468 volumes (about 6% of its pre-war assets), while the losses suffered by research department libraries stand at 8,256 volumes (33.4%).

The paper is based on a thorough source query, including e.g., library inventories, war loss surveys, witnesses' testimonies, recollections of KUL's staff and of the librarians of the Staatsbibliothek Lublin. This allows at least a partial reconstruction of the war developments and losses, while also indicating potential directions of the further research.

KEYWORDS: University Library of the Catholic University of Lublin, Staatsbibliothek Lublin, WW II – fate of book collections, library inventories, war losses

Introduction

The library collection meant to serve the planned University of Lublin was initially amassed in Petrogrod beginning in February 1918, while at the same time the collection was being inventoried and catalogued. This was happening in the course of the Russian Revolution and in the last months of WW I. However, the book collection reached Lublin only in 1925, only partly; this was in fact possible due to of the restitution of Polish cultural heritage conducted following the Peace of Riga. Regrettably, the catalogues and inventories put together in Russia, which could help today fully assess the losses suffered at that stage, have disappeared.

Throughout the whole inter-war period the Library of the Catholic University of Lublin was located at 4 Dolnej Panny Marii Street, in the building of the former Bernardine Monastery. In 1939, it boasted 77,821 catalogued volumes of books and periodicals, as well as 2,775 special collection items, including 15 incunabula and 122 manuscripts.[1] There also existed substantial uncatalogued resources, mainly the majority of the book collection brought from Petrogrod. The collection was predominantly composed of donated or exchanged volumes, as well as legal deposits, with only a minority of the books acquired through planned purchases.

The Library was headed by Director Fr Prof. Henryk Insadowski (1888–1946), who represented the institution externally. It was, however, Emilia Szeliga-Szeligowska (1878–1954), the organizer and long-standing guardian of the collection, employed as the only full-time librarian, who actually ran the Library.[2] There were also five other ladies employed as so-called 'library assistants', while the position of the caretaker and storeman was taken by one technical worker.[3]

Apart from the Central Library, the University building in Racławicka Avenue housed at least 30 libraries of research departments, colloquially referred to as seminar libraries. The total volume of those, assessed on the grounds of the surveys conducted in June and July 1945, stood at around 25,000 volumes.[4] Their actual

1 R. Gustaw, W. Nowodworski, 'Dwadzieścia lat Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej KUL (1939–1958)', *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 1960, vol. 1, No. 2, p. 133; E. Szeliga-Szeligowska in a note addressed to the National Library dated 16 December 1946 gives slightly different data: 'The number of books together with periodicals: 75,733 volumes, 15 incunabula, 112 manuscripts, 1,376 musical documents, 1,328 maps; (not including duplicates and KUL's publications)'. - University Library of the Catholic University of Lublin [below: BU KUL]. MS 2084, *Papiery Emilii Szeliga-Szeligowskiej, pierwszej pracowniczki i kierowniczki Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej KUL (†1954)*, Vol. 2, *Luźne notatki z działalności w Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej KUL w latach 1923–1951. Notatki bibliotekarskie*, k. 34.

2 J. Jaźwierska, 'Szeliga-Szeligowska Emilia', in: *Encyklopedia 100-lecia KUL*, ed. E. Gigilewicz, vol. 2, Lublin 2018, pp. 428–429.

3 R. Gustaw, W. Nowodworski, op. cit., pp. 133–134; D. Dzierzkowska, 'Biblioteka Główna Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego 1918–1939', *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 1964, vol. 8, pp. 187–242.

4 J. Nastalska-Wiśnicka, *Biblioteka Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II. Kronika stulecia 1918–2018*, Lublin 2020, p. 41.

size ranged from several dozen to over 3,000 volumes respectively. Owing to a substantial distance between the Central Library and the University building, the seminar libraries played a major role in the teaching process: they amassed manuals, basic sources, and guides essential for students and teachers.[5] In harmony with the 1924 regulations it was possible to lend to them books from the Central Library for an indefinite period of time.[6]

The present paper aims at showing the war history of the book collections of the Catholic University of Lublin within the context of the operations of the Staatsbibliothek Lublin. The functioning of the latter German institution has been already discussed by Zdzisław Kowalski (on Lublin libraries under the occupation)[7] and Zdzisław Bieleń (on the H. Łopaciński Voivodeship Library during WW II[8]). Their conclusions remain valid as for the overall characterization of the German State Library, however their discussion as such does not focus on the history of the KUL Library; furthermore, neither does it consider a broader source documentation available only after the publication of the study *Biblioteki naukowe w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945* [Scientific and Academic Libraries in the General Government in 1939–1945] compiled by Andrzej Mężyński in cooperation with Hanna Łaskarzewska (Warszawa 2003).[9] Containing e.g., German official documentation, the publication allows to locate the history of KUL's book collection within a broader context of the invaders' policy regarding libraries in general. What proves particularly vital for the present discus-

5 B. Koszałka, 'Biblioteki zakładowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego', *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 1971, vol. 23, p. 180.

6 University Archive of the Catholic University of Lublin [below: AU KUL]. Biblioteka Uniwersytecka. *Regulamin Bibljoteki Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego*, Lublin 18 December 1924.

7 Z. Kowalski, 'Biblioteki lubelskie w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej', *Folia Bibliologica* 1986/1987, vols. 34/35, pp. 127–145.

8 Z. Bieleń, 'Biblioteka im. Hieronima Łopacińskiego w okresie wojny i okupacji 1939–1944', *Bibliotekarz Lubelski* 2003, vol. 46, pp. 7–40.

9 *Biblioteki naukowe w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945. Wybór dokumentów źródłowych*, comp. A. Mężyński in cooperation with H. Łaskarzewska, Warszawa 2003.

sion are all the materials directly connected with the Staatsbibliothek Lublin whose part KUL's Library became, including Rudolf Kummer's report from the trip on which he inspected libraries of the General Government or Kutschabsky's reports and letters addressed to General Government's Central Library Directorate.

The elements crucial for the topic tackled here are Emilia Szeliga-Szeligowska's notes recorded on an ongoing basis during the occupation and in the first post-WW II years.[10] Some of them are kept in the Special Collection Department in KUL's University Library (loose notes on the library activities in 1921–1951), others in KUL's Archives (e.g., annual reports on the Library activity submitted to the Vice-chancellor[11]). Prepared in 1944–1951 by Director Prof. Andrzej Wojtkowski (1891–1976), the reports document actions undertaken directly following Lublin's liberation, including the recuperation of the book collections once owned by the research departments from the Łopaciński Library, as well as works on organizing and selecting the collection. Among Wojtkowski's records also his notes on the Staatsbibliothek Lublin, which may have served as the basis for his later article published in *Bibliotekarz,* have been preserved.[12]

Moreover, KUL's University Archive keeps documents of crucial importance for the reconstruction of the war losses KUL's libraries suffered. Those include questionnaires and surveys submitted to the Department of Science and Higher Education and the Office of Compensations and Recoveries of the Ministry of Education,[13] as well as surveys documenting war losses of the libraries of research departments put together in June and July 1945 on Vice-chancel-

10 BU KUL. MS 208A. *Papiery Emilii Szeliga-Szeligowskiej, pierwszej pracowniczki i kierowniczki Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej KUL (†1954).*

11 AU KUL. Fonds: *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka – BU. Sprawozdania roczne Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej KUL 1944–1951.*

12 A. Wojtkowski, 'Biblioteka Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego', *Bibliotekarz* 1946, vol. 13, nos. 8–9, p. 184.

13 AU KUL. Fonds: Kancelaria Rektora - KR Dokumenty dotyczące szkód wojennych i Komisji Badań Zbrodni Niemieckich [1945–1946].

lor's order.[14] Although often incomplete, they are an important testimony to the attempts at estimating the losses when the memory of the recent war and occupation was still vivid, while the information and witnesses were still relatively widely available.

The inventories of the Central Library of KUL: nine volumes with the entries made until the end of August 1939 and the *Inventory Catalogue: Section VI* survived the war undamaged. They contain e.g., notes on the losses, including the books requisitioned by the Nazis.[15]

An essential complement to the overall picture can be found in the recollections of the individuals who directly suffered the Nazi occupation. What can be found of particular relevance are Maria Kunowska's records published in the *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* periodical[16] and the book *Losy pracowników i studentów Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego w okresie okupacji niemieckiej* [Experiences of KUL's Employees and Students during the Nazi Occupation],[17] as well as the recollections of Henryk Zins, one of the Library readers at the time.[18] Moreover, what can be regarded as important are the accounts collected by Remigiusz Moszyński and Leopold Policha in the volume titled *Lublin w okresie okupacji (1939–1944)* [Occupied Lublin (1939–1944)], stemming from the testimonies given to the Municipal Commission in Lublin to Investigate the German Crimes, also containing elements related to Lublin libraries.[19] Some precious unpublished materials concerning the Staatsbibliothek Lublin are available in the H. Łopaciński Voivodeship Public Library. Among other records, they contain

14 AU KUL. Fonds: *Kancelaria Rektora – KR Biblioteki Zakładowe, 1945–1952.*

15 BU KUL. *Oddział Opracowania Druków Zwartych Nowych. Inwentarz Biblioteki KUL*, vols. I–IX, [*1918–1939*]; *Katalog inwentarzowy – Dział VI.*

16 M. Kunowska, 'Wspomnienia o bibliotekach lubelskich z okresu okupacji niemieckiej 1939-1944', *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 1971, vol. 23, pp. 198–208.

17 Idem, 'Przeżycia okupacyjne studentek wychowanek KUL', in: *Losy pracowników i studentów Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego w okresie okupacji niemieckiej*, comp. J. Ziółek, Lublin 2009, pp. 107–218.

18 H. Zins, *Przez epoki i kontynenty*, Lublin 1996.

19 R. Moszyński, L. Policha, *Lublin w okresie okupacji (1939–1944)*, Lublin 1948; 2nd edition. *Lublin w okresie okupacji (1939–1944). Na podstawie badań sądowych Miejskiej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich*, Lublin 1964.

minutes from the post-war meetings of the Club of Former Staatsbibliothek Employees, lists of staff, questionnaires filled in by the former employees, who were all women, and photographs from the war times. The amassed collection is a unique source for the knowledge of the functioning of the institution and the role the Polish employees played in it.[20] Although put together following WW II and resembling memoir sources, tainted with the risk of subjectivism and idealizing one's own experiences, it remains an extremely precious testimony to the everyday reality of the occupied country and the memory of the events' protagonists.

1. The First Months of WW II and the Occupation (1939–1940)

1.1. CENTRAL LIBRARY

In September 1939, Lublin was heavily bombarded twice. A substantial number of residents were killed and numerous buildings destroyed.[21] The damage did not spare KUL's Library; as recalled by Maria Kunowska, on 9 September, a high-explosive bomb hit the Library storage, fortunately, not causing destruction to the book collection.[22]

Despite the fierce defence of the city, particularly in the vicinity of the University buildings and the Bobolanum, German troops entered Lublin early in the morning of 18 September.[23] The control of the city was taken over by the German occupation administration headed by the military commander of the city. The Library employees focused mainly on the elimination of the damage caused by the bombardment. As the damage proved relatively irrelevant,

20 Hieronim Łopaciński Voivodeship Public Library in Lublin [below: WPBŁ]. Call No. 2383 Pol. *1941–1987. Materiały dotyczące historii Staatsbibliothek w Lublinie i jej pracowników w latach 1941–1944*.

21 Z. Mańkowski, 'Lublin w latach wojny i okupacji (1939–1944)', in: *Lublin 1917–1967*, ed. H. Zins, Lublin 1967, p. 184.

22 M. Kunowska, 'Wspomnienia o bibliotekach lubelskich…', op. cit., p. 199.

23 T. Radzik, 'W okresie okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1944', in: T. Radzik, W. Śladkowski, G. Wójcikowski, W. Wójcikowski, *Lublin. Dzieje miasta*. Vol. 2, *XIX i XX wiek*, Lublin 2000, p. 242.

it was possible to resume sharing books with readers who at that point still continued to flock into the reading room.[24]

The situation began to slowly change beginning on 26 October 1939 when the General Government was formed. The former Lublin Voivodeship was transformed into a district headed by a governor residing in Lublin.[25] Initially, the Nazi authorities were planning to form a so-called Jewish reserve in the Lublin region, yet in April 1940, they changed their mind transforming the area into a settlement territory for the German population. As a consequence, the previous residents, namely Poles, were relocated.[26] Furthermore, the Institute of German Eastern Labour was established; its task was, among other things, to prove 'Germanic roots' of Lublin. One of the tools to implement that policy was to be libraries, which, almost all immediately, became property of the Propaganda Department at the Office of the head of the Lublin District (later governor).[27]

Gestapo officials appeared in the KUL Library as early as on 18 November 1939. They thoroughly scrutinized the book collection, assessing their usefulness for their purposes.[28] All the Library staff except for Emilia Szeliga-Szeligowska were dismissed; she retained the position as the individual who knew both librarian's tools and the book collection's content. However, as she mentions herself, she was '... continuously followed, guarded, and threatened with harsh imprisonment'.[29]

24 M. Kunowska, 'Wspomnienia o bibliotekach lubelskich...', op. cit., p. 199.

25 The following individuals subsequently served as governors: Friedrich Schmidt (until February 1940), Dr Ernst Zörner (until 22 April 1943), Warsaw's Governor Fischer (only several days by appointment), and Dr Reinhardt Wendler (from 28 April 1943 until the war's end). See: Z. Mańkowski, op. cit., p. 187.

26 Idem, 'Lata wojny i okupacji 1939–1944', in: *Dzieje Lubelszczyzny*, Vol. 1, ed. T. Mencel, Warszawa 1974, pp. 811–814.

27 J. Kasperek, *Kronika wydarzeń w Lublinie w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej*, 2nd edition, Lublin 1989, pp. 5, 7.

28 M. Kunowska, 'Wspomnienia o bibliotekach lubelskich...', op. cit., p. 199.

29 AU KUL. E. Szeligowska, [*Nota*]. Fonds: *Sprawozdania roczne Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej KUL 1944–1951*, l. 1.

The invaders' administration also assigned a German female official (her name has not been preserved; she was possibly the later secretary at the Staatsbibliothek: Heddy Huber, or one of two German women employed as of 1941 as 'library assistants'[30]), whose task was to put together a list of German works and periodicals meant to be transferred to the occupation administration. Eventually, the publications in question reached the later founded Staatsbibliothek Lublin.[31] At the same time the ban on borrowing books outside the library was introduced, which, however, the Germans were exempt from. As later recalled by Kazimiera Gawarecka, who headed the works in the Hieronim Łopaciński Library, 'she was visited by random Germans who would pick various books for themselves as "souvenirs"'.[32] A similar situation may have happened at the KUL Library. This is pointed to by the notes left by Szeliga-Szeligowska in the 'Taken by the

Germans' inventory: [33] 'Taken by Dr. Federsohn [Feddersen's name misspelled] with no call slip', [34] 'Borrowed by Mr Hannemann – unreturned'. [35]

At first, the occupation administration allowed Poles to use the book collection. It was only upon the order of Gustav Abb, Chief of the Central Library Directorate at the General Government, issued in early 1942, that the rule was introduced for exclusively the Germans and their allies to be granted access to book collections. [36]

1.2. LIBRARIES OF RESEARCH DEPARTMENTS

In the first weeks following the capture of Lublin by German troops, the invaders did not act in a synchronized manner: it was

30 Z. Bieleń, op. cit., p. 24.

31 A. Wojtkowski, 'Biblioteka Katolickiego Uniwersytetu…, op. cit., p. 184.

32 [M. Gawarecka], 'Protokół No. 480', in: R. Moszyński, L. Policha, *Lublin w okresie okupacji (1939–1944). Na podstawie badań sądowych Miejskiej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich*, Lublin 1964, p. 125.

33 BU KUL. Library Inventory Vol. I, 437.

34 BU KUL. Library Inventory Vol. IV, 264.

35 BU KUL. Library Inventory Vol. IV, 283.

36 R. Gustaw, W. Nowodworski, op. cit., p. 135.

a transitory period during which military and police forces were only identifying their competences and operation manner.[37] Although the persecutions of Polish intelligentsia were launched really promptly, the authorities of the Catholic University of Lublin attempted at starting the new academic year. Its opening took place on 6 October 1939, without asking for permission for the act from the invaders.[38] Sessions of faculty boards were summoned, however, the resolutions adopted during them were never implemented. Already in September 1939, the majority of the University building in Racławicka Avenue was seized by the German troops. Vice-chancellor Fr Antoni Szymański submitted a petition to the occupation administration to locate an education-related office in the building, and not to assign military purposes to it. Regrettably, his request was declined. The University was left only the eastern wing of the edifice, housing, among others, some libraries of research departments and rooms used for some time by the academic staff and students for foreign language courses. These facilities were not separated from those occupied by the army: the soldiers never stopped pacing this part of the building, treating its furnishing as public property.[39] Upon the arrival of cold weather, German troops began heating up the part of the premises they occupied using furniture, equipment, and books as combustible. This is reported in testimonies and questionnaire documentation concerning the losses of the libraries of the Faculty of Humanities[40] and the Faculty of Philosophy.[41] In this very manner several entire bookcases with medical books meant for the Medical Fac-

37 Z. Mańkowski, op. cit., p. 186; T. Radzik, op. cit., p. 244.

38 Ibidem, p. 267.

39 J. Trzebińska, 'Protokół przesłuchania świadka', in: *Działalność Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego w czasie okupacji*. (*Relacje i dokumenty*), preface and ed. J. Ziółek, Lublin 1983, pp. 31–33.

40 AU KUL. Note dated 15 June 1945, Fonds: Vice-chancellor's Office – Libraries of research departments. Libraries of Research Departments of the Faculty of Humanities 1945–1952.

41 AU KUL. Submission of damages and losses of the Library of the Philosophy Seminar of KUL in Lublin.

ulty, planned for launch in the academic year 1940/1941, were destroyed.[42] KUL's authorities tried to appeal to Major Rubekeil, commander of the battalion stationed in the University building, and to Colonel Dietmar, commander of the city, however, in vain. The building's furnishing and equipment continued to be destroyed. [43] On 9 November 1939, Vice-chancellor Fr Prof. Antoni Szymański was arrested, and so were other professors present in the building two days later. On 17 November, the University was officially closed down, while the whole of the building was entirely taken over by the Wehrmacht. In the following months it housed barracks and subsequently a military hospital.[44] The book collections of research departments and professors' private book collections were used as combustible, and some were plundered (among others, trade journals disappeared). The remains of those were finally deposited in one of the professors' flats located in the attic of the University building. This is recalled in the testimonies of Professors Ignacy Czuma (1891–1963) and Fr Piotr Kałwa (1893–1974), future Bishop of Lublin.[45] In March 1940, an intervention was made by the archival departments at the Office of the Governor of the Lublin District, which finally put an end to the further destruction carried out by the troops. With an immense input of Emilia Szeliga-Szeligowska, who contributed greatly to saving the book collection, a part of it was transferred to the Hieronim Łopaciński Library and a part to KUL's Central Library.[46] The rescued book collection constituted merely a fragment of the pre-war collections of research departments. Moreover, almost all of their furnishing was destroyed: book shelves, tables, chairs, bookcases, and cata-

42 A. Wojtkowski, 'Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski', *Ateneum Kapłańskie* 1946, yr. 38, vol. 45, p. 301.

43 J. Ziółek, 'Wstęp', in: *Działalność Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego*, p. 10; I. Czuma, 'Protokół z przesłuchania świadka', in: ibidem, p. 25.

44 J. Kasperek, op. cit., pp. 33–34; A. Wojtkowski, 'Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski', op. cit., pp. 300–301; J. Ziółek, op. cit., p. 20.

45 J. Ziółek, op. cit., p. 13; I. Czuma, op. cit., p. 27; P. Kałwa, 'Protokół przesłuchania świadka', in: *Działalność Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego*, op. cit., p. 31.

46 A. Wojtkowski, 'Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski', op. cit., p. 301.

logue cabinets, the fact which later significantly hampered the organizing and registering of the preserved collections.[47]

1.3. KUL'S BOOK COLLECTION'S DISPLACEMENT, SELECTION, AND LOSSES IN 1940

In July 1940, the Department of Economic Affairs was established at the Governor's Office of the Lublin District; it was headed by Josef Brandl, Doctor of Laws, Nazi Party member, mastermind of economic plundering across the General Government.[48] His name frequently reappears in the context of the war history of Lublin libraries, since immediately following his assumption of the post an organized process of displacing their collections was started. Those who implemented the actions were: the German librarian Herbert Feddersen[49] and the archaeologist Lev Čikalenko (1888–1965) who came from Ukraine. [50] The collections of various academic and cultural institutions, including KUL, were transferred to the Hieronim Łopaciński Library and the Lublin Museum at 4 Narutowicza Street renamed to Theatergasse. As distinct from the previous actions of the military, the Nazi administration demonstrated a higher awareness of the value of Polish scientific and cultural heritage. Thus, its further destruction was stopped, and what began at that point was selection, cataloguing, and securing of valuable items.[51] What the invaders found particularly interesting were manuscripts, incunabula, and books in historic

47 Z. Goliński, 'Protokół przesłuchania świadka', in: *Działalność Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego*, p. 40.

48 Josef Brandl (1901–1991), doctoral degree, a lawyer. Following the war he was hiding under a false name; as of 1954 he worked in Koblenz; later, he was an advisor at the Ministry of Defence and at the Federal Ministry of Atomic Affairs; in 1961-1968, he managed the National Centre for Nuclear Research in Karlsruhe. - 'Dr jur. Josef Brandl', in: B.A. Rusinek, *Der Fall Greifeld, Karlsruhe. Wissenschaftsmanagement und NS-Vergangenheit*, Karlsruhe 2019, pp. 289–314.

49 In Emilia Szeliga-Szeligowska's records he features as Federson, or Federsohn. – BU KUL. MS 208A, Fonds 2, l. 47: [E. Szeliga-Szeligowska to the publishers of *Przegląd Biblioteczny* in Krakow of 5 October 1946]

50 In Emilia Szeliga-Szeligowska's records he features as Czekalenko. – Ibidem.

51 Z. Bieleń, op. cit., p. 11.

bindings.[52] Ernst Zörner, Governor of the Lublin District, personally sought after the pieces of high artistic and collector value.[53]

The largest losses in the book collection of the Central Library of KUL date precisely from 1939-1940. During that period, among other things, some 18th-century uncatalogued volumes were confiscated; according to the account of Library's post-war Director Andrzej Wojtkowski, their number amounted to about 800 volumes. Since no titles were recorded, their identification is impossible.[54]

However, a part of the losses were documented in detail. In one of E. Szeligowska's notes from 1940 we read as follows: '58 works, 126 volumes taken to the Government (Germany, 1940)'.[55] The majority of them were meticulously recorded by her also in Library inventories. The works in question were predominantly in German. They concerned history of the Reich,[56] history of Russia,[57] culture,[58] literature,[59] the Church and Christianity,[60] philosophy,[61] law,[62]

52 Hugo Andres Krüss, President of the Reich's Council for Libraries to the Minister of Science, Education, and Folk Education of the Reich. Berlin, 23 Feb. 1940. Annexe 1. 'Charakterystyka i zestawienie liczbowe zbiorów inkunabułów polskich wykonane przez Kurta Ohly'ego z Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej w Berlinie. Berlin, 20.02.1940', in: *Biblioteki naukowe...*, op. cit., p. 21.

53 [M. Gawarecka], 'Protokół No. 480...', op. cit., p. 200.

54 AU KUL. BU. A. Wojtkowski, *Biblioteka Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego. Typescript*. Fonds: *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka. Sprawozdania roczne Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej KUL 1944–1951*; Idem, 'Biblioteka Katolickiego Uniwersytetu...', op. cit., p. 184.

55 MS 208A. Vol. 2., l. 34.

56 BU KUL. Library Inventory Vol. I, l. 312 – J.B. Kissling, *Geschichte des Kulturkampfes im Deutschen Reiche*, Freiburg 1922; Vol. II, l. 524 – J. Fuller, *Bismarck's Diplomacy at its Zenith*, Cambridge 1922; Vol. 4, l. 74 – J. Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, Freiburg im Bresgau 1882–1899.

57 BU KUL. Library Inventory Vol. VII, l. 174 – J.F. Ewers, *Kritische Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte der Russen*, Dorpat 1814.

58 BU KUL. Library Inventory Vol. II, l. 112 – C. Faulmann, *Illustrirte Culturgeschichte für Leser aller Stände*, Wien 1881.

59 BU KUL. Library Inventory Vol. II, 530 – H. Nitschmann, *Geschichte der politischen Litteratur*, Leipzig 1882.

60 BU KUL. Library Inventory Vol. IV, l. 69 – G. Esser und J. Mausbach, *Religion, Christentum, Kirche*, Kempten 1912.

61 BU KUL. Library Inventory Vol. VII, l. 343 – C.J. Weber, *Demokritos oder hinterlassene Papiere eines Pachenden Philosophen*, Berlin 1882.

62 BU KUL. Library Inventory Vol. VII, l. 388 – P. Lande, *Allgemeine Landrecht für die Preussischen Staaten*, Berlin 1888.

art,[63] politics and administration,[64] as well as antiquity.[65] Among the confiscated items there were also pieces of classical literature in German and English,[66] as well as works by ancient writers.[67] The title selection suggests that the constructed book collection – possibly with the Staatsbibliothek Lublin, created later, in mind, was to be of a universal character (hence the world literature classical titles) and respond to the needs of German scientists who were aiming at demonstrating the Germanic roots of the occupied territories.[68]

From the very beginning of the Nazi occupation it was Emilia Szeliga-Szeligowska who made efforts to protect some parts of the collection. Perfectly aware of the danger she was in due to the presence of German readers in the reading room, she would hide valuable encyclopaedias and other precious volumes. The following is what we can read in one of her post-war accounts:

> In 1940, the Library was visited by President of the Association of German Librarians Mr Ab[b]. He was interested in the books placed in the Reading Room German readers used on a daily basis and borrowed. In order to try to save them it was necessary to gradually transfer them to storages and camouflage their absence with less valuable publications.[69]

At the same time, numerous entries in pencil began to appear in all the library inventory volumes from that period: 'Not re-

63 BU KUL. Library Inventory Vol. II, l. 534 – I. Lermolieff, *Die Galerien Borghese und Dorie Panfili in Rom*, Leipzig 1890; Idem, Die *Galerien zu München und Dresden*, Leipzig 1891.

64 BU KUL. Library Inventory Vol. III, l. 355 – B. Schultz, *Hilfsbuch zur Einführung in die Praxis der österreichischen politischen Verwaltung*, Wien 1908.

65 BU KUL, Library Inventory Vol. II, l. 534 – I. Madvig, *Die Verfassung und Verwaltung des Römischen Staates*, Leipzig 1882; Vol. II, l. 478 – M. Duncker, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, Leipzig 1878-1882.

66 BU KUL. Library Inventory Vol. IX, l. 356 – W. Shakespeare, *The Dramatic Works*, London 1831.

67 BU KUL. Library Inventory Vol. IX, l. 346 – Crispus Caius Sallustrius, *Werke*, Stuttgart 1855.

68 WBPŁ. Call No. 2383. A. Dołowska, D. Podobińska-Riabinin, *Materiały dotyczące historii Staatsbibliothek w Lublinie w latach 1941–1944*, l. 2.

69 MS 208A. Vol. 1., l. 10 v: To the Management of KUL's Central Library in Szopena Street.

turned from the University in 1940'.[70] These referred to the books borrowed to the seminar libraries before the war and unreturned to the Central Library. Some of them had been destroyed before the autumn of 1939, the remaining ones, as has been mentioned above, were transferred in 1940 to the building of the Hieronim Łopaciński Voivodeship Library (serving later as the Headquarters of the Staatsbibliothek Lublin); it was only following the end of WWII that attempts were made to retrieve them from there.

2. Within the Structure of the Staatsbibliothek Lublin

2.1. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GERMAN STATE LIBRARY

In July 1940, the Central Library Directorate (Hauptverwaltung der Bibliotheken Generalgouvernement) was established at the Office of the Governor General in Krakow, with above-mentioned Gustav Abb (1886–1945), formerly Director of the University Library in Berlin and of the newly-founded Staatsbibliothek Krakau at its head.[71] The purpose of the new structure was to organize a German network of state libraries which would collect materials useful

70 BU KUL. Library Inventory Vol. I, folia: 4, 6–7, 10-11, 15, 16, 18, 20, 23, 26, 32, 34, 43, 52–53, 78, 84, 90, 92–93, 99, 107, 130–132, 135, 170, 172, 177, 179–180, 187, 189, 191, 193, 200, 248, 252–253, 256, 260, 262, 264–265, 274–275, 284, 288, 301, 305, 307, 313, 315, 319, 320, 321, 332, 341, 344, 345, 348–349, 358, 360, 361, 362, 365, 383, 423–424, 427–428, 438–439, 453, 457, 459, 469, 478, 483, 484, 492, 497, 509, 521, 528, 537, 542, 543, 547, 548, 553, 566, 570–571, 578-579, 592, 593, 594, 602–603, 619, 629, 633, 637, 644, 648, 656, 657, 682, 683; Vol. II, l. 19–20, 22–23, 31–32, 49, 51–55, 57–76, 78–84, 86–89, 96, 105, 107, 116, 125, 148, 172, 186–187, 191, 208–209, 220, 245, 272–273, 278, 281, 296–297, 309–310, 313, 324–325, 339, 342, 357, 361, 368, 373, 377, 394, 421, 454, 469–471, 476, 480, 483, 487, 489, 498, 509, 513, 517, 524, 577; Vol. III, folia 32, 57, 63, 81, 89, 91, 93, 99, 118, 149, 262–263, 269, 272, 274, 277, 282, 292–293, 313, 320, 358–360, 362–365, 367–369, 382, 387–388, 401–403, 405–408, 410, 414, 416, 420, 449, 475, 484, 491, 493, 496, 499, 552–553, 574; Vol. IV, l. 2, 6, 9, 65, 88, 93, 121, 168, 311, 326, 336, 347, 396; Vol. VI, folia 122, 280, 284, 294; Vol. VII, folia 10, 37, 40, 109, 116, 176, 178, 185, 200, 204–206, 266, 278, 283, 299, 315–319, 345, 347, 349, 355, 366; Vol. VIII, 15, 21, 45, 70, 74, 247, 251, 269, 278, 285, 291, 309, 325, 343, 346, 384, 397; Vol. IX, 24, 42, 161, 179, 226, 393, 395, 402, 405, 413, 414, 416, 427.

71 Gustaw Abb (1886–1945), a German librarian, a Nazi; Director of the University Library in Berlin; from May 1940, head of the Central Library Directorate at the Department of Knowledge and Science at the Administration of the General Government and Director of the Staatsbibliothek Krakau.

from the point of view of the academic, propaganda, and administrative interests of the Reich.[72]

At that time, the transfer of the book collections confiscated from Lublin institutions to the building at 4 Theatergasse, assigned as the home to the Staatsbibliothek Lublin, was already in progress. In his recommendation dated 29 July 1940 addressed to the Ministry of Education in Berlin Abb pointed to Lublin as the city of 'German character' in which another state library, following that in Warsaw and Krakow, should be founded.[73] However, the official opening of the Staatsbibliothek Lublin took place only on 18 January 1942 in the presence of Governor Ernst Zörner.[74]

It was Vasil Kutschabsky, a historian and former Director of the Library of the Kiel Institute for the World Economy (Institut für Weltwirtschaft zu Kiel) who was appointed to temporarily head it.[75] He officially assumed the post of the Director on 1 April 1941. Józef Grycz wrote about him to Adam Łysakowski: '... a Germanized Ukrainian, but not excessively dangerous'.[76] The women employed at the Staatsbibliothek recalled him as an individual characterized 'by a high personal ethos, manners when dealing with other people, and exceptional friendliness towards the employees, both Poles and Jews'.[77]

The actual organizing of the German State Library was launched in July 1941. Eberhard Rietschel was appointed Kutschabsky's deputy.[78] The institution employed 42 individuals of Polish national-

72 [G. Abb], 'Plan organizacyjny Głównego Zarządu Bibliotek w GG', [no place given] 1 October 1942, in: *Biblioteki naukowe...*, op. cit., pp. 127–129. J. Nastalska-Wiśnicka, op. cit., p. 22.

73 AU KUL. Biblioteka Uniwersytecka. [A. Wojtkowski, *Notatka o Staatsbibliothek Lublin*]. Fonds: *Sprawozdania roczne Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej KUL 1944–1951.*

74 'Lublin. Otwarcie Biblioteki Państwowej', *Nowy Kurier Warszawski* 1942, No. 21 (24-25 I), p. 2.

75 WBPŁ. Call No. 2383. A. Dołowska, D. Podobińska-Riabinin, op. cit.; M. Kunowska, 'Wspomnienia o bibliotekach lubelskich...', op. cit., p. 200.

76 'List Józefa Grycza do Adama Łysakowskiego, Warszawa, 12.04.1942 r.' , in: *Biblioteki naukowe...*, op. cit., p. 243.

77 WBPŁ. Call No. 2383. A. Dołowska, D. Podobińska-Riabinin, op. cit., l. 2.

78 'Sprawozdanie Rudolfa Kummera z podróży inspekcyjnej po bibliotekach GG w dn. 17–26.03.1943', in: *Biblioteki naukowe...*, op. cit., p. 159.

ity, females in their majority. The job provided minimum security: it prevented deportation as forced labour.[79] The staff were trained to catalogue in harmony with the so-called Prussian instruction; the trainee Hanna Pliszczyńska, however, actually also introduced elements of the Polish cataloguing methodology according to Józef Grycz's script, secretly teaching the employees also the Polish cataloguing instructions.[80]

Among other departments, the Staatsbibliothek Lublin contained the following: of accession (Akzession), alphabetical catalogue (Alphabetischer Katalog), early-printed books (Alte Drucken), inventory (Inventar), technical department (Technische Abteilung: responsible for disinfection, binding, labels), also the lending library and a reading room (Ausleihe und Lesesaal), intended exclusively for the Germans.[81] Books were processed in the building at 4 Theatergasse: the cataloguing of non-serial publications was headed by Hanna Pliszczyńska, while that of periodicals by Maria Kunowska. The publications bore so-called 'Signatur Abb', thus they were stamped with the 'Staatsbibliothek Lublin' rubber stamp as supervised by the Secretary Heddy Huber; furthermore, the publications were classified in harmony with the subject scheme as provided by Kutschabsky.[82]

At the moment of the official opening the collection of the Staatsbibliothek Lublin was estimated at 400,000[83] or 500,000 volumes,[84] with some accounts claiming that the number stood at 800,000.[85] According to the information Kutschabsky had, the book collec-

79 M. Kunowska, 'Wspomnienia o bibliotekach lubelskich…', op. cit., p. 200; Idem, 'Przeżycia okupacyjne studentek…', op. cit., pp. 211–213.

80 Z. Bieleń, op. cit., pp. 23–24.

81 WBPŁ. Call No. 2383. A. Dołowska, D. Podobińska-Riabinin, op. cit., folia 4–5.

82 M. Kunowska, 'Wspomnienia o bibliotekach lubelskich…', op. cit., p. 203.

83 'Staatsbibliothek Lublin mit 400 000 Bänden eröffnet'. Bedeutung und Aufbau der Institute, *Krakauer Zeitung* 1942, Bd. 4, Folge 16, p. 5; *Informacja Wasyla Kutschabsky'ego*, p. 103.

84 J. Rudniańska, 'Biblioteka Publ. im. H. Łopacińskiego', *Bibliotekarz* 1946, yr 13, Nos. 8–9, p. 183.

85 T. Radzik, op. cit., p. 271.

tions fully prepared were those of three major institutions: the KUL Library, Hieronim Łopaciński Library, and the Bobolanum Library, which constituted about half of the total collections' volume.[86] The remaining resources came, for example, from the Jewish Community (including the Chachmei Lublin Yeshiva Library), the Seminary, the District Education Board, schools, bookshops, lending libraries, and numerous private book collections.[87]

Moreover, a substantial part of the collection was composed of the books brought from Germany: by late 1942 they accounted for about 15,000 volumes coming mainly from the Leipzig Harrassowitz and Fritsche Publishing Houses. Among them there were precious reference editions, such as e.g., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.[88] The books regarded as of little use were left unprocessed, which contributed to their survival. As a result, the losses of Lublin libraries, including the KUL Library, proved to be smaller than in many other centres of occupied Poland.[89]

2.2. THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF LUBLIN WITHIN THE STRUCTURE OF THE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK LUBLIN

As distinct from the majority of institutions contained within the Staatsbibliothek Lublin, the Central Library of KUL as the only one retained almost all of its book collection at its previous location.[90] This was possible thanks to the determined stand and endeavours of Emilia Szeligowska, Wanda Sampolska, and Hanna Pliszczyńska. When talking to Director Kutschabsky they argued

86 *Informacja Wasyla Kutschabsky'ego*, p. 103.

87 AU KUL. [A. Wojtkowski, *Notatka o Staatsbibliothek Lublin*]..., op. cit.; L. Gawarecka, 'Dzieje Biblioteki im. H. Łopacińskiego w Lublinie', in: *Hieronim Łopaciński i Biblioteka jego imienia w Lublinie 1907–1957*, Lublin 1957, p. 155; A. Mężyński, 'Biblioteka im. Hieronima Łopacińskiego w trudnych dniach okupacji', *Bibliotekarz Lubelski* 2000, yr 43, p. 45.

88 AU KUL. Biblioteka Uniwersytecka. [A. Wojtkowski, *Notatka o Staatsbibliothek Lublin*]..., op. cit.

89 J. Rudniańska, op. cit.

90 *Informacja Wasyla Kutschabsky'ego*, p. 104.

that KUL's resource formed a historically shaped integral whole which should not be dispersed.[91] An additional factor which helped that development was an extremely limited space at the headquarters of the Staatsbibliothek Lublin, where additionally the State Archive and a museum were housed.

The person who took care of the Library of KUL's book collection throughout the whole occupation period was Emilia Szeliga-Szeligowska. According to her account, on two occasions she received from Kutschabsky the proposal to 'organize a public library consisting of the book collections that were being taken over'.[92] However, as it was not a 'categorical order', she evaded it so as to remain 'guarding the Central Library of KUL'.[93] Her attitude required much courage due to the visits of the Gestapo and of other German officials; in 1942, during a search materials on the Library prepared for publishing, manuscripts, and notes were confiscated.[94] Precious items were also sought after, most likely the published works by Nicolaus Copernicus. Eventually, what was being looked for was not found, and the most precious early-printed works and manuscripts were successfully saved.[95]

The resources not catalogued before the war were purposefully hidden by Szeligowska so as to prevent their official cataloguing and incorporation into the Staatsbibliothek's book collection. Thanks to this they were not mixed with the German acquisitions, and were spared displacement. It was impossible to accomplish the same with the appropriated about 800 volumes of the 18th-century printed matter and the book collections of research departments mentioned above; these were in their majority taken over, destroyed, or dispersed.[96]

91 WPBŁ. Call No. 2383. A. Dołowska, D. Podobińska-Riabinin, op. cit., l. 2.

92 BU KUL. MS 208A, Fonds 1, l. 4: [*Życiorys Emilii Szeligi-Szeligowskiej z dnia 25 XI 1948 r.*].

93 Ibidem.

94 Ibidem, l. 4.

95 M. Kunowska, 'Wspomnienia o bibliotekach lubelskich…', op. cit., p. 203.

96 Ibidem, p. 202.

In March 1943, an inspection of Lublin libraries was conducted by the emissary of the Central Library Directorate in Krakow Rudolf Kummer (1896–1987), ministerial counsellor within the structures of the General Government. In the report he put together he informed that the Library of the Catholic University of Lublin boasted around 90,000 volumes, and was housed in an old partially ruined monastery. Its book collection was not transferred owing to the lack of adequate substitute premises. [97] Kummer's estimates as for the number of volumes of the Library may have been based on the data provided by Szeligowska in 1941 showing that the catalogued book collection stood at 77,806 volumes (of which 76,148 volumes were physically on the shelves); the number of press year books at 21,020 volumes; manuscripts at 112 library units; incunabula at 15 volumes; maps at 1,200 sheets; atlases at 87 units; musical scores at 1,376 units. In separate records it was reported that in 1940, 135 volumes were taken for Governor Ernst Zörner, while 1,251 volumes lent earlier for the University (namely for the libraries of research departments) and 282 ones lent by readers were not returned to the Central Library.[98] Single volumes were transferred to the Staatsbibliothek's main seat. Notes entered into library inventories show that on 9 April 1942 there were some books taken from the Library: [99] they dealt with the history of ancient Greece and Rome,[100] Byzantine literature, [101] and Latin literature of the Middle Ages.[102] These collections were considered by Kutschabsky

97 *Sprawozdanie Rudolfa Kummera*, p. 158.

98 AU KUL. *Notatki* [years: 1929, 1930, 1931–1932, 1941]. Fonds: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka – BU. Statystyki roczne i sprawozdania.

99 BU KUL. Library Inventory. Vol. II, folia 60, 63–64, 69–70.

100 E.g. H. Blümner, *Die römischen Privataltertümer*, München 1911; W. Christs, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, München 1913; *Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft in systematischer Darstellung*, München 1913; M. Schanz, *Geschichte der Römischen Litteratur bis zum Gesetzgebung Werk des Kaisers Justinian*, München 1907; W. Windelband, *Geschichte der Antiken Philosophie*, München 1913; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultur der Römer*, München 1912.

101 L. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches* (*527–1453*), München 1897.

102 M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, München 1911.

as particularly worthy from the point of view of the historical policy implemented by Poland's invaders.

Since the building of the Library of KUL was formally dependant on the Staatsbibliothek Lublin, it also served as a temporary repository for collections plundered from other institutions. It was here that the following were deposited among others: books from the Bobolanum Library, Russian printed materials from the attic of the Staszic Gymnasium, as well as book collections from some secondary schools. As can be read in the accounts of the former Staatsbibliothek staff, this was also the place where the book segregation and cataloguing were conducted.[103]

The former reading room was transformed into a storage. Despite the official ban, thanks to Szeligowska's commitment some parts of the collection were made available to selected trusted Polish readers. Prof. Henryk Zins recalled years later:

> Despite the danger she put herself in, Mrs Szeligowska, very kindly, allowed, however, a small group of young readers to come to the Library storage and spend several hours there daily studying some academic works. It was all done in total secrecy, as we were all aware of the danger this implied.[104]

2.3. THE YEAR 1944 – WINDING DOWN OF THE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK

In the spring of 1944, when faced with the approaching eastern front, the atmosphere of apprehension and preparation for evacuation was increasing among the German staff of the Staatsbibliothek Lublin. All the orders for new books to be provided by suppliers from the Reich were suspended, with the main focus on the selection and securing of the so-far amassed collection. Furthermore, the processing of new acquisitions was reduced in order to re-catalogue older items meant for the use by German readers.[105]

103 WPBŁ. Call No. 2383. Surveys – Janina Matysik, l. 47; Surveys – Irena Rutkowska, l. 2.

104 H. Zins, op. cit., pp. 33–34.

105 'Wasyl Kutschabsky do Głównego Zarządu Bibliotek w GG', [Lublin] 7 June 1944, in: *Biblioteki naukowe…*, op. cit., p. 199.

In March and April 1944, there were 48 chests with books sent to Krakow from the Staatsbibliothek in Lublin weighing in total about 600 kg.[106] According to Andrzej Wojtkowski's report, 90% of them were books purchased by the Germans in 1940–1944.[107] Their evacuation meant to secure the latest acquisitions regarded as particularly valuable from the perspective of the cultural policy of the Third Reich.

Director Vasil Kutschabsky was also planning to take away the most precious collections confiscated previously in Lublin libraries. His intention was to send them to the Staatsbibliothek Warschau, since he worried they might be damaged in the potential warfare in Lublin.[108] He was particularly interested in the Germany-related items found in KUL's Central Library, especially works in history, art, philosophy, law, and social sciences. The selection was conducted in the building at 4 Dolnej Panny Marii Street, while some work, as recorded by Maria Kunowska, was carried out in the building's yard.

> ... the group of the staff sent to Dolnej Panny Marii Street were to inspect one by one all the secured books located in the building of the Library of KUL. Trials to overcome the shortage of room consisted in placing a long table-tennis table in the library courtyard meant to serve as a shared desktop. Soon, however, working in the open air had to be interrupted. The approaching war front ... and the bombardment of Lublin by Soviet planes did not really encourage such activities.[109]

The Polish staff tried to secure the collection of the Library of KUL, and prevent its exportation delaying the selection works. The books the Director judged as worthless for the Germans were piled up in structures called 'walls' by some of the staff. These walls actually helped hide many precious volumes in them: both Pol-

106 Ibidem, p. 236, footnote 286a.

107 AU KUL. Library University. [A. Wojtkowski, *Notatka o Staatsbibliothek Lublin*]..., op. cit.; WBPŁ. Call No. 2383. Surveys - Irena Rutkowska, l. 3.

108 'Wasyl Kutschabsky do Głównego Zarządu Bibliotek...', op. cit., p. 200.

109 M. Kunowska, 'Wspomnienia o bibliotekach lubelskich...', op. cit., p. 204.

ish and German. The Director found this out, and reacted angrily, however, he did not choose to punish the employees.[110]

On 7 June 1944, Kutschabsky sent a letter to the Central Library Directorate of the General Government in Krakow asking for the guidelines as for the further operation of the Staatsbibliothek Lublin, at the same time resigning from the Director's position (while declaring the desire to join the army).[111] Nonetheless, he left Lublin only in July 1944, when the Red Army were about to enter the city, assigning Hanna Pliszczyńska to run the Library in his place. All the remaining German personnel left the city together with him, which actually meant closing down of the Library.[112]

The saved book collection of the Library of KUL, although soon prone to further devastation during the fights for the city's liberation, served as the grounds for the Library's reactivation in early autumn 1944.

3. Liberation of Lublin, Reopening of KUL's Libraries, and Loss Assessment

3.1. THE CENTRAL LIBRARY

During the fights for Lublin in July 1944, the book collection of the Central Library of KUL was once again exposed to severe danger. As a result of artillery shelling by the Red Army walls and the roof of the Library building were damaged. As recalled by Emilia Szeliga-Szeligowska, German tanks were positioned directly behind the wall of the Reading Room where they had amassed crates with ammunition. In several rooms also library cabinets with a part of the collection they contained were destroyed.[113] Owing to the destruction of the building's structure, it was necessary to transfer about 20,000 volumes from the first floor to the ground

110 WPBŁ. Call No. 2383. A. Dołowska, D. Podobińska-Riabinin, op. cit., l. 7.

111 'Wasyl Kutschabsky do Głównego Zarządu Bibliotek...', op. cit., p. 201.

112 G. Figiel, '110 lat Biblioteki Publicznej im. Hieronima Łopacińskiego w Lublinie', *Bibliotekarz Lubelski* 2017, yr 60, p. 20.

113 AU KUL. [E. Szeliga-Szeligowska, *Notatka z 12 marca 1946 r.*]. Fonds: *Sprawozdania roczne Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej KUL 1944–1951.*

floor. Additionally, in an attempt to lift the load off the threatened parts of the building publications of KUL's Scientific Society saved from being burnt by the Germans were transferred to the University edifice.[114] Tidying the Library became first of all Szeligowska's responsibility. Assisted by the caretaker Paweł Wierzchowski and the librarian Maria Kunowska she initiated the most urgent tidying jobs. It was essential to restore the Reading Room's genuine function, as it had been turned by the Germans into a book depository. These efforts were effective, and already on 12 November 1944, in order to celebrate the inauguration of the academic year, the Reading Room could welcome first readers.[115]

After the building of the former Staatsbibliothek Lublin in Narutowicza Street was taken over by the Polish authorities on 18 September 1944, the organising of the dispersed collections, mainly scattered across the floors, started. In the subsequent step the books were being returned to their respective rightful owners: libraries, scientific and religious institutions, as well as private individuals.[116] Throughout the whole winter of late 1944 and early 1945 an intense recovery of the books that belonged to the Central Library of KUL, seminar libraries, and KUL's professors was conducted.[117] Employed to assist these works, Krystyna Deptułowa recalled some years later:

> ... I was instructed by the Director to go to the H. Łopaciński Library in order to 'recover' there the books that belonged to the Central Library of KUL, libraries of research departments, as well as private collections of University's professors. I was given a long list of rubber stamps and signatures to be found on some selected books from huge piles transported by the Germans from all the Lublin libraries to the so-called Staatsbibliothek. Tedious, it was however effective work.

114 AU KUL. A. Wojtkowski, *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka KUL*. Fonds: *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka. Sprawozdania roczne Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej KUL 1944–1951.*

115 M. Kunowska, 'Sekcja Starych Druków', *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 1971, vol. 23, p. 149.

116 [M. Gawarecka], 'Protokół No. 480...', op. cit., p. 183.

117 AU KUL. *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka. Sprawozdanie Biblioteki Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego za rok 1944/45.* Fonds: *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka. Sprawozdania roczne Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej KUL 1944–1951.*

> In a dozen days or so I managed to divide a multitude of books into smaller piles classified according to their ownership, which returned to the University, their rightful owner. [118]

Soon after the end of the warfare the action of loss estimation started. In harmony with the decree of 27 September 1944 issued by the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN) it was run by the Polish War Reparations Bureau at the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, and in subsequent years, by the Library Department at the Ministry of Education, later transformed into the General Library Directorate.[119] Although meant to be far-fetched, these efforts were actually short-term, and were interrupted in subsequent years for political reasons.[120]

The war losses of the Central Library of KUL were finally assessed at 5,468 volumes, which amounted to 6% of the total number owned by the Library prior to September 1939.[121] What accounted for the losses were the books confiscated by the Germans, those unreturned by readers, as well as those destroyed in warfare: according to the available data about 500 volumes were destroyed having been hit by an artillery shell. The losses in the library infrastructure were estimated as worth 1,000,000 pre-WW II Polish zloties.[122]

3.2. BOOK COLLECTIONS OF THE LIBRARIES OF KUL'S RESEARCH DEPARTMENTS

The libraries of KUL's research departments constituted an important element of the University didactic and research base. As

118 L. Deptułowa, 'Pierwsze lata po okupacji 1944–1950', in: *Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski w latach 1944–1952. Wspomnienia i relacje*, ed. J. Ziółek, Lublin 1999, pp. 108–109.

119 B. Bieńkowska, 'Potyczki ze źródłami bibliologicznymi (na przykładzie urzędowej dokumentacji strat bibliotek w Polsce podczas II wojny światowej)', *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 2001, Vol. 45, pp. 9–10.

120 A. Mężyński, 'Wstęp', in: *Biblioteki naukowe...*, op. cit., p. XII.

121 *Straty bibliotek w czasie II wojny światowej w granicach Polski z 1945 roku. Wstępny raport o stanie wiedzy*, academic ed. A. Mężyński, Warszawa 1994, p. 226. The number differs depending on the source.

122 A. Wojtkowski, 'Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski...', op. cit., p. 302; R. Gustaw, W. Nowodworski, op. cit., p. 136.

mentioned above, their operations were violently interrupted in November 1939, and the losses they suffered as a result of the German invasion proved to be far more painful than those experienced by the Central Library. Contrary to the history of the latter, well documented in notes, reports, and recollections, the main source of information on the history of seminar libraries can still be found in the surveys conducted in June and July 1945. They provided precious, though at times very general and incomplete information on the damage suffered.

The first attempts to assess the extent of the destruction were made following the end of the warfare. In the questionnaire titled *Provisional Registering of War Damages at Institutions of Tertiary Education, Research Institutes, and Scientific Societies* information was included that the libraries of research departments lost 5,550 volumes, which constituted 66% of the total number of books they had owned prior to WW II, while the losses were assessed to be worth 35,000 pre-war zloties. Mention was also made of a total loss of 34 periodical titles. These data in reality concerned exclusively the libraries of the Faculty of Humanities, not taking into account the recovery conducted in the former headquarters of the Staatsbibliothek.[123]

As instructed by KUL's Vice-chancellor on 4 June 1945, deans were obliged to collect information on the state of the book collections in the units they supervised.[124] On the basis of surveys submitted in June and July that year it was possible to assess the range of damage and apply for compensation. The filled-in questionnaires contained information on the number of the lost volumes, loss's value (in pre-WWII zloties), as well as information on the preserved catalogues and inventories. However, the majority

123 AU KUL. Short-term registering of war losses in tertiary education schools, research institutions, and scientific societies. Fonds: Kancelaria Rektorska. Dokumenty dotyczące szkód wojennych i Komisji Badań Zbrodni Niemieckich [1945–1946].

124 AU KUL. [*Pismo Rektora KUL z 4 czerwca 1945 r. w sprawie podania strat i szkód wojennych. Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski*]. Fonds: *Kancelaria Rektora KR Biblioteki Zakładowe. Biblioteki Zakładów Naukowych*.

of the institutions applied for the in-kind compensation, namely the refilling of their book collection.[125]

The list prepared in 1945 showed that KUL's research departments' libraries lost 8,256 volumes in total, which accounted for 33.4% of the pre-war assets.[126] In many cases the damage also covered the furnishing: bookcases, tables, or card catalogues.

Owing to the destruction of the catalogues and inventories it was not always possible to precisely assess the losses. In the seminar libraries of the Theological Faculty the losses stood at ca 677 book volumes and 15 periodical titles. The surviving encyclopaedia and periodicals were incomplete, while the catalogues and inventories of the following centres: Biblical, of History of the Church, and of Eastern Theology, were entirely devastated[127] The Library of the Philosophy Seminar suffered the loss of 40% of its assets, these including two bookcases, a table, and a card catalogue.[128] The library of the Faculty of Law and Socio-Economic Sciences experienced substantial losses in specialist literature. Fr Prof. Henryk Insadowski, the pre-war Director of the KUL Library, wrote at the time to KUL's Vice-chancellor: 'From among many works and periodicals only single copies have been preserved, some of the volumes sometimes badly damaged', and their value in use '... for research and academic purposes is none, also insufficient for teaching purposes'.[129]

125 AU KUL. Fonds: *Kancelaria Rektora KR Biblioteki zakładowe – ankiety dotyczące strat wojennych bibliotek poszczególnych wydziałów.*

126 B. Koszałka, 'Biblioteki zakładowe...', op. cit., p. 181; *Straty bibliotek w czasie II wojny światowej w granicach Polski z 1945 roku. Wstępny raport o stanie wiedzy*, part. I, *Analiza*; part II, *Tablice*, academic ed. A. Mężyński, Warszawa 1994, pp. 226–228.

127 AU KUL. Fonds: *Zgłoszenie strat i szkód bibliotecznych* [Theological Faculty]. Fonds: *Kancelaria Rektora KR Biblioteki Zakładowe. Biblioteki Zakładów Naukowych. Wydział Teologiczny 1946–1949.*

128 *Zgłoszenie strat i szkód Biblioteki Seminarium Filozoficznego K.U.L. w Lublinie*. Fonds: *Kancelaria Rektora KR Biblioteki Zakładowe. Biblioteki Zakładów Naukowych Wydziału Filozofii Chrześcijańskiej 1948–1951.*

129 AU KUL. [*Pismo dziekana Wydziału Prawa i Nauk Społeczno-Ekonomicznych kp. prof. H. Insadowskiego do Rektoratu Katolickiego Uniwersytetu w Lublinie*]. Fonds: *Kancelaria Rektora – KR Biblioteki zakładowe. Biblioteki Zakładów Naukowych. Wydział Prawa i Nauk Społeczno-Ekonomicznych 1946–1950.*

As results from the surveys of the libraries of the Faculty of Humanities (Seminars of: History, Polish Literature, Pedagogy, Classics, Philosophy, Psychology, Romance Studies, Linguistics), about 5,550 volumes from the 14,280 items possessed before WW II were destroyed. Additionally, the majority of the catalogues, inventories, and furnishing (e.g., bookcases and catalogue blocks) were lost.[130] The library of the Classics Seminar did not only lose books, but also special collections: papyri, ostraka, and paintings.[131] The library of the History of Art suffered such serious plundering that courses could be conducted only thanks to Prof. Marian Morelowski's private collection.[132] The most precious reference publications from the Library of the History Seminar, such as diplomatic codes and the *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* survived 'thanks to the dedication of one the University staff' who saved them from being burnt down.[133]

Some books were kept by private individuals. From the preserved letter of Fr D. Filipowicz dated 27 March 1946 we can find out that during the occupation the books from the Library of the History Seminar as well as professors' private books were kept in the Chylińskis' apartment at 22 Żelazna Street. Following the end of the war only a part of them were returned.[134] The University made a number of attempts at recovering their assets: ads were published in papers appealing for the books as well as furnishing elements (bookcases, desks, chairs, paintings) to be returned.[135]

130 AU KUL. *Wykaz strat wojennych Wydziału Nauk Humanistycznych Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego*.

131 AU KUL. *Straty Biblioteki Seminarium Filologii Klasycznej*. Fonds: *Kancelaria Rektora KR. Biblioteki zakładowe. Biblioteki Zakładów Naukowych Wydziału Nauk Humanistycznych 1945–1952*.

132 AU KUL. [*Pismo do Ministra Oświaty. Naczelna Dyrekcja Bibliotek w Warszawie, 31 XII 1947*]. Fonds: *Kancelaria Rektora – KR Biblioteki zakładowe. Biblioteki Zakładów Naukowych Wydziału Nauk Humanistycznych 1945–1952*.

133 AU KUL. *Zgłoszenie szkód i strat bibliotecznych* [*Biblioteka Seminarium Historii*]. Fonds: *Kancelaria Rektora KR Biblioteki zakładowe. Biblioteki Zakładów Naukowych Wydziału Nauk Humanistycznych 1945–1952*.

134 AU KUL. [*List kp. D. Filipowicza z 27 marca 1946 r.*]. Fonds: *Kancelaria Rektora KR 1944–1999*.

135 'Ogłoszenia [Prośba Rektora KUL o zwrot urządzeń akademickich]', *Rzeczpospolita. Organ Polskiego Komitetu Wyzwolenia Narodowego* 2, 3, 5 September 1944, yr 1, No. 31, p. 4; No. 32, p. 4; No. 34, p. 4.

The majority of the surviving seminar book collections were temporarily gathered in one room of a given faculty, and made available to the extent it was possible, although lack of catalogues and registers made the process significantly challenging. It was necessary to elaborate them anew, as well as to segregate and complete the collections. However, despite all the suffered losses the libraries of research departments tried hard to resume their didactic and academic functions as soon as possible.[136]

The listed data are merely of a very general character: an ampler recreation of the history of respective seminar libraries will be possible only based on a more thorough study of the post-war surveys and the preserved inventories.

Conclusion

The war history of the book collections of the Catholic University of Lublin was complicated, yet compared to other libraries in occupied Poland relatively benign. The Central Library lost 5,468 volumes accounting for 6% of its assets from before 1939, yet, importantly, the most precious elements of the collection: manuscripts, incunabula, early-printed books, and even Germany-related materials, survived. Much more severe losses were suffered by the libraries of research departments: 8,256 volumes, namely 33.4% of their pre-war overall assets.

The fact that the losses were relatively limited resulted from a courageous and consistent attitude of Emilia Szeliga-Szeligowska and the remaining staff of the Staatsbibliothek Lublin who under the challenging realities of Poland's occupation were able to save many precious items. Thanks to their efforts, as soon as in September 1944, KUL as the first university in Poland could reopen its libraries.

The post-WW II attempts to assess losses were undertaken almost immediately, however, bearing in mind their political con-

136 AU KUL. Fonds: *Kancelaria Rektora KR Biblioteki zakładowe – ankiety dotyczące strat wojennych bibliotek poszczególnych wydziałów*.

text, incomplete documentation, and inhomogeneous criteria, today they require a critical revision. In view of the above what remains an extremely precious source for the purpose are the pre-war inventory books which, as demonstrated by the conducted analyses, can serve as the basis for a more detailed reconstruction of the losses and recreation of the post-war history of KUL's book collections.

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KOLIN PUBLISHERS: THE HISTORY OF 'OUR PUBLISHING HOUSE IN BLOOMSBURY'[1]

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ABSTRACT

This article reconstructs, for the first time, the history of M. I. Kolin Publishers, the leading publishing house of Polish belles-lettres, political writings, and the periodical *Wiadomości Polskie* for the Second Great Polish Emigration in the UK. Situated in London Bloomsbury, yet with publishing networks developed across the UK, Kolin succeeded as exile publishers in producing, navigating, and distributing books in Polish, along with some photobooks and English translations, in extreme circumstances of World War II. Despite the challenging loss of Kolin's publishing archive, previously unexamined Companies Court's documents recently found in the National Archives (UK) and surviving publishing correspondence located in Polish and UK archives have provided an important opportunity to advance the understanding of Kolin's role and activities. This study presents Kolin's founders and directors

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– Ignacy Lindenfeld, Maks Kon (previously mistakenly identified as Maurycy Kohn), Reginald J. Murton, and Aleksander Heiman-Jarecki – along with their contributions to the press, on the basis of new archival sources and the correspondence of Mieczysław Grydzewski, a *de facto* editor-in-chief of *Wiadomości Polskie*. Extensive research in print and digital collections of the British Library, the National Library of Poland, and the resources of the Polish Digital Libraries Federation, has generated new insights into Kolin's publishing outcomes and profile. The present research also contributes to a deeper understanding of Kolin's 1944 bankruptcy to show that it was caused by both political and financial factors. This article demonstrates that Kolin Publishers used varied and resilient strategies of cultural transfer, including a cooperation with nearly twenty UK printing companies, a chain of Polish bookshops across the UK, an affiliation with impactful UK press Faber & Faber, and attempts at transatlantic cooperation, such as the distribution of Kolin books in Canada by Macmillan.

KEYWORDS: Kolin Publishers, Bloomsbury, cultural mediators, exile publishers, Faber & Faber, Macmillan, publishing networks, Polish books in the UK, Polish bookshops abroad, Wiadomości Polskie, World War II

Introduction

During the Second World War, the Nazi policy of systematic destruction of the Polish book had forced many publishers and booksellers to join resistance fighters on the frontline in occupied Poland.[2] And yet, in March 1941, the historian and journalist Mieczysław Grydzewski, an *éminence grise* of Polish interwar literary world as the editor-in-chief of influential *Wiadomości Literackie*, sent

2 See among others, *Cultural Losses of Poland. Index of Polish cultural losses during the German occupation*, 1939–1944, ed. K. Estreicher, London 1944; *The Nazi Kultur in Poland*, London 1945, pp. 76–89, 128–46; B. Bieńkowska et al., *Straty bibliotek w czasie II wojny światowej w granicach Polski z 1945 roku. Wstępny raport o stanie wiedzy*, cz. 1–2, ed. A. Mężyński, Warszawa 1994; J. Kordel, 'The Decimation of Polish Libraries in the Second World War', *Polish Libraries*, 2022, vol. 10, pp. 6–25.

from the UK some surprisingly hopeful news about Polish books in London to his friends and leading modernist poets Jan Lechoń and Julian Tuwim, who then escaped via Portugal to Brazil, and later were to settle in the US. Though wounded and bruised by a recent Blitz bombing that had destroyed his boarding house, Grydzewski rapturously sketched the golden age of Polish émigré reading culture in the UK in this transatlantic epistolary conversation:

> Unexpectedly, there is a large readership. I cannot recall a time when I worked in such a friendly and welcoming atmosphere. Indeed, there are tens of thousands of Poles here, and books are sold in much higher print runs than in Poland. Each new book release sells immediately about 1,000 copies, followed by another thousand.
>
> It was a boon that Lindenfeld had here a well-organized publishing workshop ('Minerva') – there was no need to start from the scratch. [...] Kolin has two own stores: one in London, the other in Scotland (managed by Czarski).[3]

In the same letter to Lechoń, Grydzewski emphasized that the current address of M. I. Kolin Publishers (and Minerva Publishing) at 36 Great Russell Street was an ideal venue for a cultural enterprise: 'Our publishing house is located in Bloomsbury, an intellectual centre of London. There are plenty of publishers, bookshops, and antiquarian stores here'.[4] Undoubtedly, Kolin's activities had added a vital though understudied chapter to the rich and varied history of literary Bloomsbury, renowned for collectives of progressive intellectuals, such as the Bloomsbury Group (with the name famously inspired by that unique location)[5] and the leading UK publishing houses from Faber & Faber to George Allen & Unwin to the Hogarth Press.[6] In the 1930s and 1940s, this London district had

3 M. Grydzewski, *Listy do Tuwima i Lechonia (1940–1943)*, ed. and intro. J. Stradecki Warszawa 1986, pp. 33–34. All translations are by the author, unless otherwise specified.

4 Ibidem, pp. 35–36.

5 D. Ryan, 'The Bloomsbury Friction', in: *A History of the Bloomsbury Group*, ed. D. Ryan, Cambridge 2025, p. 3.

6 See among others, T. Faber, *Faber & Faber: The Untold Story*, London 2021; B. Ryder, 'The George Allen & Unwin Collection, Reading University Library', *Publishing*

offered a haven to Jews, Poles, and other migrants during the mass exodus of people fleeing Nazi, Fascist, and Soviet persecutions – including the founders and workers of the 'publishing house' Kolin and its 'publishing workshop' Minerva.

In 1940, Minerva Publishing functioned as a cornerstone for M. I. Kolin Publishers, which emerged as the leading publishing house of Polish belles-lettres and influential periodical *Wiadomości Polskie, Polityczne i Literackie* (*The Polish News*)[7] for the Second Great Polish Emigration in the UK. Situated in London, yet with their publishing networks developed across the UK, Kolin succeeded as exile publishers in producing and distributing books in Polish despite the Blitz bombings and shortage of paper. Indeed, one cannot imagine Polish émigré culture in the UK in the 1940s without Polish wartime poetry, classics, political writings, and photobooks provided by Kolin. And yet, to date no publication has focused solely on the history of this publishing house. The reason behind this surprising silence is twofold – on the one hand, an apparent lack of reliable factual sources since Kolin's archive is considered lost, and, on the other hand, some discrepancies and gaps in the existing narratives about this publishing house that would be addressed in the following parts of the article.

The aim of this article is to reconstruct the history of M. I. Kolin Publishers on the basis of previously unexamined court documents, recently found in the National Archives, along with the extensive research of surviving publishing correspondence, dispersed among Polish and UK repositories. First, it presents the current state of research on Kolin and then discusses its activities and publishing outcomes to challenge some widely held assumptions and provide new significant insights. The article focuses on cultural mediators whose biographies are closely intertwined with the endeavours of Kolin, specifically on publishers and directors:

History, 2000, no. 47, pp. 67–78; J. H. Willis, *Leonard and Virginia Woolf as Publishers: The Hogarth Press, 1917–41*. Charlottesville 1992, passim.

7 For ease of reading, English equivalents of some émigré periodical titles (if included in the original masthead) are provided in parentheses on the first use.

Ignacy Lindenfeld, Maks Kon, Reginald J. Murton, and Aleksander Heiman-Jarecki. It presents little known contributions of Murton and Heiman-Jarecki to the development of this publishing house and unveils the role of the industrialist and philanthropist Maks Kon – previously either mistakenly identified as Maurycy Kohn or unacknowledged – in the founding of Kolin and re-launching of Grydzewski's impactful weekly as *Wiadomości Polskie* in Paris and London.

Using a transdisciplinary approach, this article combines book history, critical archival studies, and periodical studies to adopt alternative yet frequently complementary perspectives on the activities of M. I. Kolin Publishers as a cultural mediator who enhanced the cultural transfer of Polish books despite linguistic, cultural, and political barriers.[8] By conducting extensive research in print collections of the British Library and the National Library of Poland, as well as employing data mining techniques in digital resources of the British Newspaper Archive, Polona Digital Library, and the Polish Digital Libraries Federation (with a focus on the unique *Wiadomości* collection of the Kujawsko-Pomorska Digital Library), it was possible to survey and analyze Kolin's publishing outcomes, strategies of cultural transfer and publishing profile. This article also offers a panorama of Kolin's wide publishing networks, from the chain of Polish Bookshops across the UK to some attempts at transatlantic cooperation to limited partnership with Faber & Faber and nearly twenty UK printing companies. Finally, it demonstrates that though printers acted officially as the 'agents of destruction' for Kolin Publishers, the company's strained finances and its directors' stance against the UK and Polish governments' policy towards the USSR played the decisive role behind the scenes.

8 See among others: *Intermediate Horizons: Book History and Digital Humanities*, ed. M. Vareschi, H. Wacha, Madison 2022; M. Caswell, *Urgent Archives: Enacting Liberatory Memory Work*, New York 2021; S. Latham, R. Scholes, 'The Rise of Periodical Studies', *PMLA : Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 2006, no. 2, pp. 517–531; *Rethinking Cultural Transfer and Transmission: Reflections and New Perspectives*, ed. P. Broomans, P., S. van Voorst, K. Smits, Groningen 2012.

The Current State of Research

In the early 1940s, some heartwarming stories about robust activities of M. I. Kolin Publishers in London had reached the Warsaw underground movement. In his monograph on the history of the Polish book during the Second World War, Stanisław Pazyra argued that it was the 1942 publication of Arkady Fiedler's bestselling book *Dywizjon 303 (Squadron 303. The story of the Polish Fighter Squadron with the RAF)*[9] that not only transformed the heroic actions of Polish pilots in the Battle of Britian into a legend but also boosted Kolin's popularity in wartime Warsaw.[10] As Pazyra recalled, Kolin's owner was supposedly '"an amiable and jovial Englishman", Mr Colin, believed to be a great friend of Poles, since nobody expected that the company was managed by émigrés from Poland – Cohn and Lilienfeld' [sic].[11] Inherently limited in its scope by political circumstances of the Polish People's Republic, Pazyra's book was severely criticized in expatriate circles for its omissions and errors in the chapters on émigré culture,[12] including the fact that the owners of Kolin were – as Maria Danilewicz-Zielińska emphasized in her review, 'Kohn and Lindenfeld (and not Lilienfeld)'.[13] And yet, Pazyra's book had provoked an important discussion on the state of knowledge about the achievements of exile publish-

9 In the same year 1942, the English edition contributed to the book's considerable success – it was published by the London press Peter Davies, named after its owner who (along with his siblings) inspired J. M. Barrie's play *Peter Pan; or, the Boy Who Wouldn't Grow Up* (1904). For ease of reading, the titles of existent English translations are provided in parentheses on the first use.

10 S. Pazyra, *Z dziejów książki polskiej w czasie drugiej wojny światowej*, Warszawa 1970, pp. 345–346. The National Library of Poland holds several Polish wartime publications of *Dywizjon 303* (including copies marked as reprints of Kolin's 1942 edition) in its special collections – they were published in occupied Poland by clandestine companies Oficyna Polska (1943), Wydawnictwo Ruchu Miecz i Pług (1943), Towarzystwo Wydawnicze Załoga (ca. 1943) and Podziemny Dom Wydawniczy M.K. i S-ka (1944).

11 The surnames of Kolin directors Kon and Lindenfeld were misspelled in Pazyra's book as 'Cohn and Lilienfeld', not necessarily resulting from printing errors. Pazyra could have attempted to avoid censorship, since he correctly identified Lindenfeld as the literary manager of J. Przeworski. Ibidem, pp. 346–47.

12 See among others, Jan Kowalik, 'Dzieje słowa polskiego za granicą', *Kultura*, 1971, no. 280–281, pp. 206–209.

13 M. Danilewicz[-Zielińska], 'Jest czym się niepokoić', *Kultura*, 1971, no. 280–281, p. 211.

ers during the Second World War and its aftermath. Both Pazyra's anecdote about an imaginary Mr Colin and Danilewicz-Zielińska's (partial) correction of the publishers' mistaken identities illustrate the many myths and misconceptions that arose around Kolin and its sister company Minerva, whose paths were closely interwoven until the year 1944.

In the late 1930s, Minerva Publishing, a London branch of J. Przeworski Publishing House, became active as a cultural mediator disseminating Polish literature in English translation among diverse audience(s) in the UK. The company roots could be traced back to J. Przeworski Publishing House, a Warsaw press, which circulated modernist and avant-garde literature and aesthetics, works of progressive intellectuals, and bestsellers by women writers in Central Europe. In 1938, facing rising fascism, the Polish Jewish Przeworski family decided to open a branch of their company in the UK – Minerva Publishing.[14] Following Janina Zabielska's informative 1965 study, academic sources have unanimously highlighted that Minerva was established in London by Ignacy Lindenfeld and 'familiarize[d] English people with Polish culture and literature' until 1943. Minerva's publications ranged from translations of Polish writers into English (Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer, and Stefan Żeromski, among others) to new English titles by émigré authors (Józef H. Retinger and Henryk Gotlib) and Jan Stanisławski's *Dictionary*.[15] More recently, Joanna Rzepa has reported a significant finding about a co-operation between Minerva, Kolin and Faber & Faber – the UK publisher, renowned for its role in promoting modernist literature, who 'became their official distributor and included their books in a special section of their own catalogues'.[16]

14 J. Okopień, *Poczet wydawców książki polskiej*, vol. 5, contrib. J. Czarkowska, Warszawa 2015, pp. 214–220; P. Pająk, 'The Life Behind the Books: Reconstructing the Przeworskis' Biographies', *Autobiografia Literatura Kultura Media*, 2024, no. 22, pp. 85–98.

15 J. Zabielska, 'Instytucje i firmy wydawnicze – oficyny drukarskie', in: *Literatura polska na obczyźnie 1940–1960*, ed. T. Terlecki, Londyn 1965, v. II, pp. 564–565.

16 J. Rzepa, 'Publishing "Paper Bullets": Politics, Propaganda and Polish-English Translation in Wartime London', *Comparative Critical Studies*, 2019, no. 2–3, p. 224.

Current research in UK and Polish archives has revealed that Minerva Publishing was established in August 1938 as a company limited by shares (hence Minerva Publishing Co. Ltd.) with a nominal capital of £3,000.[17] The press, managed by two directors Ignacy Lindenfeld and Reginald J. Murton until the year 1948, had become a successful cultural mediator of Central European modernism(s) and avant-garde in the UK. Minerva entered the UK literary market with a modernist picturebook *Locomotive* (n.d., ca. 1939), in which Tuwim's experimental poetry corresponded with daring visual design created by the duo Lewitt-Him, Jan Lewitt and George Him, who had started their careers in Warsaw but reached their full potential after migrating to the UK in the late 1930s. During the Second World War, Minerva's English translations and photobooks had met with critical acclaim both in UK periodicals and in Polish émigré papers. The prestigious literary magazine – *The Times Literary Supplement* – reviewed several publications from Minerva's portfolio, including Jan Parandowski's *The Olympic Discus,* Zbigniew Grabowski's *After Hitler*, and Ksawery Pruszyński's *Polish Invasion*.[18] Minerva's focus on both literary and visual modes of creation resulted in new dimensions of British Polish Jewish publishing networks, developed not only by publishers but also by writers, illustrators, translators, designers, and editors whose contributions to the press were invaluable. For instance, the translator and journalist John H. P. Marks, not only translated Jean Malaquais's novel *The Men From Java* for Minerva but also was 'Minerva's English literary adviser', introduced to the company by the painter and illustrator Feliks Topolski.[19] As visible in this brief characterization, the cultural significance and impact of Minerva Publishing – that definitely exceeded Grydzewski's term 'publish-

17 *Minerva Publishing Co. Ltd: Dismissed petition. Case number 102 of 1944,* call no. J 13/17752, the National Archives, UK, (hereafter TNA).

18 Based on the author's research in the *Times Literary Supplement* collection of the British Library.

19 J. Stone, 'Introduction', in: Feliks Topolski, *Paris Lost: A Sketchbook of the Thirties*, London 1973, p. 9.

ing workshop' – goes beyond the scope of this article and would be a subject of further publications. Yet for Kolin, Minerva indeed acted as a 'publishing workshop', or rather as a cornerstone that provided exile publishers with an office in the literary Bloomsbury district and some vital connections within British Polish Jewish publishing networks, including the partnership with Faber & Faber, which sold and distributed Kolin books.

Research into the role of M. I. Kolin Publishers in the Polish émigré culture in the UK has a long and complex history. As early as in 1942, Tadeusz Sawicki included Kolin's publishing outcomes in his wartime series of bibliographies and listed Kolin among publishing houses with the largest number of publications 'in Polish or about Poland in English'.[20] Despite an extensive volume of studies that mention the London publishing house, the current state of knowledge about Kolin still can be compactly captured on the basis of aforementioned Zabielska's study which recurs in various publications. To date, it has commonly been assumed that M. I. Kolin was established by Ignacy Lindenfeld and Maurycy Kohn in London in 1940. Its outcomes comprised ca. 100 titles mostly published in Polish, including substantial number of Polish canonical authors (Adam Mickiewicz, Bolesław Prus, Stanisław Wyspiański, Stefan Żeromski), works by contemporary writers who lived in exile (Stanisław Baliński, Maria Pawlikowska-Jasnorzewska, Antoni Słonimski), books on Polish history and textbooks for learning English, as well as few publications in English. The publishing house supposedly ceased to exist in ca. 1943 and in November 1944 was taken over by Orbis.[21]

20 T. Sawicki, 'Wykaz firm wydawniczych', *Rocznik Bibliograficzny Druków w Języku Polskim oraz w Językach Obcych o Polsce Wydanych poza Terytorium Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, 1942, vol. 1, p. 58.

21 See among others, J. Zabielska, 'Instytucje…', op. cit., p. 565; Z. Lichniak, *Zanim powstanie panorama: (wobec literatury polskiej na emigracji)*, Warszawa 1983, pp. 185–186; R. Zakrzewski, 'Pół wieku polskiej akcji wydawniczej w Wielkiej Brytanii', in: *Materiały do dziejów polskiego uchodźstwa niepodległościowego 1939–1945*, vol. 8, Uzupełnienia do tomów: 1, 2, 5, 6, ed. Z. Błażyński, Londyn 1996, pp. 147–148; J. Święch, *Literatura polska w latach II wojny światowej*, Warszawa 1997, p. 300; J. Rzepa, 'Publishing "Paper Bullets"…', op. cit., p. 224; 'M.I. Kolin', in:

To date, little has been known about M. I. Kolin Publishers beyond this main chronological and publishing framework. Academic literature tends to focus on Kolin's selected authors and editors while there are few publications that analyze Kolin's activities and strategies as a publishing house. Since Kolin published some stellar works of modernist and avant-garde poets in exile, particularly writers associated with the Skamander Group, such contributions have been discussed and interpreted in the scholarship on Kolin's authors – including Maria Pawlikowska-Jasnorzewska and Antoni Słonimski.[22] Another figure that has eclipsed Kolin Publishers is Grydzewski, who initially assumed a modest role of a reader for Kolin books, but then, as Mirosław A. Supruniuk and others have shown, had evolved into an impactful editor and literary adviser to Kolin. Grydzewski developed and co-edited (with Zygmunt Nowakowski) a series of classics 'Książnica Narodowa' (National Bibliotheca), prepared two anthologies of Polish literature and edited other works.[23]

Indeed, M. I. Kolin Publishers had become 'our publishing house ... in Bloomsbury'[24] for Grydzewski and his periodical *Wiadomości Polskie, Polityczne i Literackie*. The delight with which Grydzewski described Kolin's premises (shared with Minerva) on Great Russell

M. Grydzewski, H. Wierzyńska, K. Wierzyński, *Korespondencja Mieczysława Grydzewskiego i Kazimierza i Haliny Wierzyńskich*. Naukowa Edycja Cyfrowa, ed. B. Dorosz, B. Szleszyński, 2022, https://tei.nplp.pl/entities/1679 [Accessed November 21, 2025].

22 See among others, M. Pruska-Carroll, 'Poetry of Maria Pawlikowska-Jasnorzewska: Femininity and Feminism', *The Polish Review*, 1981, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 35–50; D. Lisak-Gębala, 'Polish Wartime Poems as a Part of Radiophonic Propaganda During World War II', in: *Controlling Sounds: Music, Sound Technologies, War and Power in the Era of Fascisms*, ed. C. Koller, S. Just, D. A. Tomas, Leiden 2025, pp. 29–50.

23 See among others, M. A. Supruniuk, 'Pracowita nieobecność. (Prace redakcyjne Mieczysława Grydzewskiego w latach 1944–1947. Próby reaktywowania "Wiadomości")', in: *'Wiadomości' i okolice. Szkice i wspomnienia*, ed. M. A. Supruniuk, Toruń 1995, pp. 39–40; M. A. Supruniuk, 'Mieczysław Grydzewski – uparty czytelnik książek historycznych', *Archiwum Emigracji: Studia, szkice, dokumenty*, 2023, no 31, pp. 20–21; R. Moczkodan, 'Jedna z prac redakcyjnych Mieczysława Grydzewskiego', *Teksty Drugie: Teoria literatury, krytyka, interpretacja*, 2002, no. 76, pp. 81–82, 87–88.

24 M. Grydzewski, *Listy do Tuwima i Lechonia*..., op. cit., p. 35.

Street stemmed from the fact that it also served as an editorial office of his periodical, relaunched as *Wiadomości Polskie* first in Paris, and then in London in July 1940. Its misleadingly simple title, translated in the masthead as *The Polish News*, evoked two Polish papers with socio-cultural and political significance, and identical titles: first, *Wiadomości Polskie* issued in Paris for the Great Emigration in the 19th century and second, the weekly of the Supreme National Committee (SNC) during the First World War. The later was edited by the historian and politician Stanisław Kot, who hold several ministerial posts in the Polish government-in-exile during the Second World War – Grydzewski's émigré weekly was receiving a governmental subsidy in the first years. Since the writer and journalist Zygmunt Nowakowski knew Kot and the Prime Minister Władysław Sikorski from their common work at SNC,[25] he was considered more suitable for a smooth cooperation with the Polish government and became officially the head of editorial staff in *Wiadomości Polskie, Polityczne i Literackie*. The periodical was in fact led by 'the trio Nowakowski-Grydzewski-Borman': Nowakowski acted as its representative and author of editorials, Grydzewski was a *de facto* editor-in chief, and Antoni Borman took on 'financial tasks, along with advertising and distribution'[26] while working on the photographic archives of Poland at the Polish Ministry of Information.[27] And it was Kolin Publishers that financed, published and distributed the periodical from its beginnings until its politically-motivated closure in 1944.

Due to these interwoven relations between Kolin and *Wiadomości Polskie*, Grydzewski might have impacted Kolin's portfolio in various inconspicuous ways: from galvanizing his talented friends

25 R. Habielski, 'Emigracja i polityka: "Wiadomości Polskie" wobec dylematów wychodźstwa 1940-1944', *Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej*, 1986, vol. 25, no. 3, p. 58.

26 M. A. Supruniuk, 'Mieczysław Grydzewski – herbu Zerwikaptur. Najpokorniejszy sługa literatury', in: M. Grydzewski, *Silva Rerum*, ed. and intro. J. B. Wójcik and M. A. Supruniuk, Warszawa, 2014, p. 68, 74.

27 K. Muszkowski, 'Wspomnienie przyjaźni i współpracy. W trzydziestą rocznicę śmierci: Antoni Borman (1897–1968)', *Archiwum Emigracji: Studia, szkice, dokumenty*, 1998, no. 1, p. 214.

into writing for Kolin (his enthusiastic letter to Lechoń serves as an illustration) to steering readers' expectations with his innovative readership surveys in *Wiadomości Polskie*, in which he both instilled a sense of community and gain some insights into émigré readership profiles (a recurring main question of these surveys was: 'Which Polish books we wish to see published at the present moment?' and selected answers were printed in the weekly).[28] The complex relationship between Kolin and Grydzewski makes the editor's correspondence a source of important insights into the history of Kolin and Minerva – and has been used here as a supplementary source in the analysis of the Companies Court's documents, along with surviving letters of Kolin Publishers.

Founders and Directors

The documents produced for a winding-up procedure of M. I. Kolin Publishers held in the Companies Court's collection in the National Archives (UK) provide an account of the company history, its founders and directors. The legal procedure against Kolin Publishers was initiated by a petition filed by Scrutton Engraving in April 1944 due to the debt of £116 – it led to the compulsory liquidation of the publishing house.[29] Paradoxically, the financial disaster that contributed to Kolin's closure had also resulted in an abundance of more than a hundred of different records. Though these documents do not take into account Kolin's cultural merits, due to their solely legal and financial scope, they allow (along with other sources) to reconstruct the history of Kolin Publishers in lieu of its lost publishing archive.

The Scrutton Engraving's petition includes a concise description of Kolin Publishers. The publishing house was established on March 8, 1940, as a company limited by shares, with a nominal capital of £1,000 in shares of £1 each, and the issued capital of £497. The petition also provides 229/231 High Holborn in London as the

28 See among others, 'Które książki...?', *Wiadomości Polskie*, 1940, vol. 1, no. 27, p. 5.

29 *M. I. Kolin (Publishers) Ltd.: Judge's Copy Petition*, Case number 101 of 1944, call no. J 13/17749/101, TNA.

address of Kolin's registered office. As visible in the *Memorandum of Association* (quoted by the creditor), Kolin's purposes exceeded the dominant activities of publishing and book trade: the company was not only supposed 'to carry on business as publishers, booksellers', but also as 'printers, lending library proprietors, bookbinders, newsagents, literary agents, press agents, advertising and publicity agents, general printers', which could have been a form of adaptation to exile circumstances through diversification of potential revenue strategies.[30]

Further essential information about Kolin Publishers' founders and financial situation was provided in the document 'Summary of the statement of affairs', submitted by Lindenfeld to the Companies Court on August 16, 1946. The publishing house was a private company initiated by its two future directors 'Kon and Lindenfeld, who had known each other during the Russo-Polish War in 1918–1920, again met shortly after the outbreak of the last war and agreed together to promote a limited company to publish Polish language books and papers. Each subscribed in cash for 247 shares and it appears that any further finance required was to be provided by Kon'.[31] With a nominal capital of £1,000, Kolin's assets were initially much more meagre than those of Minerva (which commenced its activities with £3,000 in 1938) – these financial resources were insufficient for the company with such robust publishing activities. Consequently, Kon lent money into the publishing house and took a debenture to secure these loans.[32] Apart from the company finances and key executives, the document also lists all London locations of Kolin's registered offices,[33] though accentuate that 'the main place

30 Ibidem.

31 *M. I. Kolin (Publishers) Ltd.*, call no. 13/17681, op. cit., TNA.

32 The court documents show that by September 1941, 'Kon's loan account was in credit for advances to the extent of £3,151' while by May 1944, the total amounts due under the debenture exceed £4,000. Kon was the only creditor of Kolin, who opposed the liquidation of the company and did not provide any specific amount of debt in a form filed by secured creditors dated 1st May 1944. Ibidem.

33 39 Cheapside (since March 1940), then 229/231 High Holborn (since August 1942), and King William Street House at Arthur Street (since June 1944). Ibidem.

of business' was the 'Commonwealth House, [at] 9 New Oxford Street', where the company's administrative office and bookshop were situated.[34] Kolin's beginnings could be then traced back to the formative experience of the Polish-Soviet War and a common fate of war exiles. Despite its legal limits, directors' cooperation was emphasized by the company's name – it was registered under as 'M. I. Kolin Ltd.', in July 1940 extended to 'M. I. Kolin (Publishers) Ltd.', in both versions amalgamating initials and names of its founders and directors, Maks Kon and Ignacy Lindenfeld.

Ignacy Lindenfeld (1901–1969) had made an impressive though uneven and rarely recognized contribution to the Polish publishing industry (Fig. 1). Born in 1901 in Łódź – called ironically the Promised Land (after the novel by the Polish Nobel Laureate,



FIG. 1. Ignacy Lindenfeld.
Archiwum Osobowe Emigracji Polskiej im. B. O. Jeżewskiego, 1970
©Polish Library POSK (UK)

34 Ibidem.

Władysław Reymont) due to its fast growing textile industry, red-brick factories and glaring economic disparities – Lindenfeld chose a different path and completed studies in Leipzig (Germany), then the European capital of print culture, technological advancement and innovative publishing houses such as Tauchnitz, well-known for its affordable pocketbooks, including a series *Collection of British and American Authors.* In 1923, Lindenfeld founded a small press Philobiblon – together with Tuwim and the literary critic Stefan Napierski[35] – and started to publish artistic books. A case in point is *Obłok w spodniach* (*A Cloud in Trousers*), the 1923 poetry volume by the Russian Futurist Vladimir Mayakovsky, translated into Polish by Tuwim – it has meticulously planned typography and a uniquely coloured cover, authored by Jan Tschichold, now best remember for the progressive design of Penguin Books in the 1940s.[36]

Another book produced by Philobiblon was written by the versatile writer and co-founder of Skamander, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz – his collection of poetic fiction *Siedem bogatych miast nieśmiertelnego Kościeja* (1924), with stylized initials opening new sections of the text, might have been the first book published by Lindenfeld.[37] In late 1929, Lindenfeld co-founded Alfa Press,[38] along with the publisher and bookseller Wacław Czarski (who in the interwar years worked on the volumes of Skamander poets for the Publishing Society Ignis) and the playwright and translator Adam Tarn (then known as Herman Załszupin). In challenging economic circumstances of the Great Depression, the company rapidly faced bankruptcy. Most probably, it was the same Alfa Press, which was supposed to publish the entire oeuvre of the writer and translator Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński's in a series *Biblioteka Boya* (Boy's Library),

35 'Do rejestru…', *Obwieszczenia Publiczne: Dodatek do Dziennika Urzędowego Ministerstwa Sprawiedliwości*, 1924, vol. 8, no. 18, p. 8.

36 R. B. Doubleday, *Jan Tschichold. Designer: The Penguin Years*, New Castle and Aldershot 2006, passim.

37 'Śp. Ignacy Lindenfeld', *Wiadomości*, 1969, vol. 24, no. 1228, p. 4.

38 'Do rejestru…', *Obwieszczenia Publiczne: Dodatek do Dziennika Urzędowego Ministerstwa Sprawiedliwości*, 1930, vol. 14, no. 35a, p. 28.

based on subscriptions. After Alfa's failure, Zofia and Tadeusz Żeleńskis undertook the project themselves, supported by Czarski.[39] Some of Alfa's publications, such as Adrienne Thomas's anti-war novel *Die Katrin wird Soldat* (1930, *Katrin Becomes a Soldier*) were included in J. Przeworski's catalogues.

In the early 1930s, Lindenfeld pursue a career in the Polish Literary Agency, where he attempted to obtain the Polish translation rights to works of foreign authors, including Vita Sackville-West and Virginia Woolf.[40] In the second half of the 1930s, Lindenfeld became a literary manager of J. Przeworski press and had undoubtedly contributed to its success – including the establishment of its London branch, Minerva Publishing. In 1940, he became the 'driving force' behind Kolin. In his April 1941 letter to Tuwim, Grydzewski highly praised the industrious director and the results of his work: 'Lindenfeld is doing an excellent job, he publishes decent books and has an ambition to perform outstandingly, which is so hard to find these days. It is even harder because bureaucrats dislike that and invent all sorts of obstacles'.[41] In Grydzewski's published correspondence, Lindenfeld is the principal figure almost synonymous with Kolin Publishers while the other founder Kon resides on the margins.

Consequently, what attracts attention in the court documents is the identity of Kolin's co-founder, director and main investor – previously mistakenly ascribed to Maurycy Kohn – it was the industrialist, banker and philanthropist Maks Kon (1896–1966[42]), from the wealthy and disreputable Polish Jewish industrialist Kon family,

39 B. Winklowa, *Nad Wisłą i nad Sekwaną. Biografia Tadeusza Boya-Żeleńskiego*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 145–149.

40 P. Pająk, 'Absent Presence: Virginia Woolf and British Polish Jewish Publishing Networks', *Modernism/modernity,* 2025, vol. 32, no. 2, p. 317.

41 M. Grydzewski, *Listy do Tuwima i Lechonia…*, op. cit., p. 54.

42 'Kon, Maks. Age: 70', Deaths Registered in October, November, December 1966, GRO Index Ref. no. Chelsea, vol. 5A, p. 631, England & Wales Deaths 1837–2007, General Register Office via Findmypast.co.uk (the National Archives' partner site) [Accessed November 20, 2025].

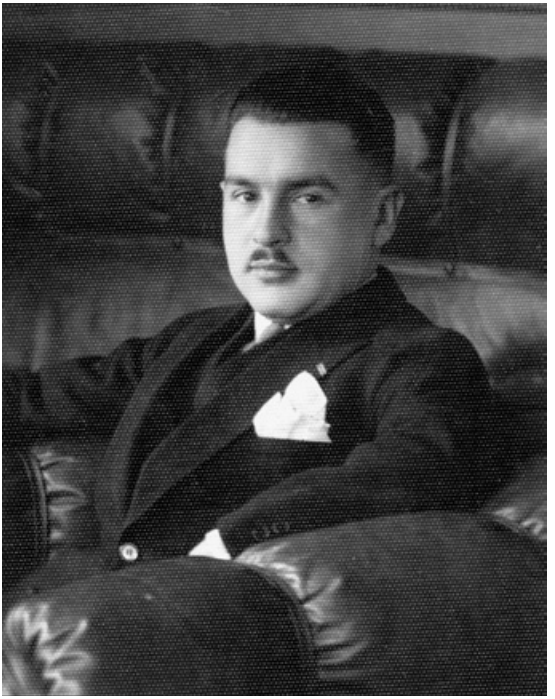


FIG. 2. Maks Kon by J. Szenfeld,
call. no. 3/1/0/8/213, National Digital Archives [Public domain]

who owned Widzew Manufacture in Łódź (Fig. 2).[43] He completed both trade studies in Switzerland and law studies at the Vilnius University, and had also a military training, since he fought in the Polish-Soviet War,[44] and was awarded the Cross of Valour for his actions.[45] While working in the family company, Kon was engaged in various charity and educational organizations, from the Red Cross to Uzdrowisko to 'Nosen Lechem – Dać chleba'.[46] As an

43 The identity of Maks Kon as the founder of Kolin was further confirmed by the comparison of data between Kolin's court documents and Kon's naturalization certificate. *Naturalisation Certificate: Maks Kon*, March 30, 1948, call no. HO 334/207/40905, TNA.

44 'Kon Maks', in: S. Łoza, *Czy wiesz kto to jest?* Warszawa 1938, p. 355.

45 J. Benešić, *Osiem lat w Warszawie: (kronika)*, transl. D. Cirlić-Straszyńska, ed. H. Kirchner, Warszawa 1985, p. 230, 234.

46 'Żydzi! Nie zapominajcie...', *Głos Poranny*, 1938, vol. 10, no. 77, p. 12.

honorary consul of Sweden, he organized local branches of Polish-Swedish and Polish Estonian Societies.[47] Kon also financially supported the series 'Yugoslavian Library' created by the poet and translator Julije Benešić, who left a sympathetic portrait of the industrialist in his memories – as a Gatsby-like charming, generous and melodramatic character.[48] And yet, local sensationalist newspapers repeatedly portrayed Kon amid various scandals.[49] In the late 1930s, he initiated a prolonged legal fight with his father, Oskar Kon, accusing him of mistreatment, defamation, and repeated attempts at unfair exclusion from family business. Though Maks Kon won a significant victory against his father both at the District and Appeal Courts, he did not managed to prevent the Kon patriarch from steering Widzew Manufacture to a fake bankruptcy and bequeathing substantial parts of the company to the Nazis (in exchange for Oskar Kon's safe transfer to Switzerland, and then to South America).[50] Near the outbreak of the Second World War, Kon escaped to the United Kingdom and became a director in the British Overseas Bank, in which the Kons were shareholders.

In exile, Kon supported Grydzewski's *Wiadomości Polskie* both in Paris (since March 1940) and in London (since July 1940). Kon's surviving letter from March 1940 shows that he might have been motivated by some idealistic convictions: 'I hope that our work would have a cultural and moral impact on our compatriots, united with the holy ideal of the motherland's rebirth'.[51] A few years later, in

47 'Kon Maks', in: S. Łoza, *Czy wiesz...*, op. cit., p. 355.

48 J. Benešić, *Osiem lat...*, op. cit., passim, see especially pp. 223, 230–232, 234, 258, 265, 400.

49 P. Waingertner, 'Widzewska dynastia. Wzlot i upadek rodziny Konów', in: *Kronika Miasta Łodzi*, 2009, no. 2, p. 174. Such an image of Maks Kon was later re-used by Bolesław Lesman in *Recepta na miliony. Z dziejów rodu Konów* (published first in 1967) and further exaggerated by the Polish Communist propaganda in the late 1960s.

50 B. Lesman, *Recepta na miliony. Z dziejów rodu Konów*, Łódź 2025, pp. 337–340, 347–348; P. Waingertner, 'Widzewska dynastia...', op. cit., pp. 175–176, 178.

51 M. Kon's letter to an unspecified recipient, March 26, 1940, *Władysław Florczyk Collection,* call. no. 1777/3, POSK (Polski Ośrodek Społeczno-Kulturalny – Polish Social and Cultural Association) Polish Library (hereafter POSK PL)

April 1946, Grydzewski thanked Kon for 'his beautiful gesture that enabled the resurrection of *Wiadomości*', while Kon was 'moved by Grydzewski's recollection'.[52] This unpublished correspondence further confirms Kon's involvement, on behalf of Kolin, in the relaunching of *Wiadomości Polskie*.

Though Grydzewski's letters – echoing Kolin's very name and origin story – acknowledge the roles played by the duo Lindenfeld and Kon in the publishing house, Kolin's directorial board from the beginning exceeded that dual partnership. The court documents list five directors (in the order of their appointment): Leonard Harold Sayer, Reginald John Murton, Maks Kon, Ignacy Lindenfeld, and Aleksander Jarecki (Heiman-Jarecki).[53] It seems that Sayer was nominated only to fulfil the procedure defined in the Articles of Association, since he received no fees and resigned shortly after the Kolin's main directorial triad (Lindenfeld, Kon, Murton) constituted in the autumn of 1940. Unexpectedly, the first actual director of Kolin was Murton, a co-director of Minerva, appointed on June 3, 1940. Kon joined him a month later, on August 2, 1940. No earlier than on October 29, 1940, did Lindenfeld become officially a co-director. In spite of the loss of Kolin's archive, some publishers' letters printed on company paper were found in repositories in Poland and the UK, primarily in the Archives of Polish Emigration NCU Library in Toruń and POSK Polish Library in London. Customarily, the letterhead included the names of Kolin's directors in the following order (presumably reflecting their positions in the company): first Lindenfeld, second Kon (both with parenthetically indicated Polish nationality), and then Murton (without any national identification).[54]

52 M. Grydzewski's letter to M. Kon, April 3, 1946; M. Kon's letter to M. Grydzewski, April 8, 1946, *Kon Maks 1946*, call no. AE AE/AW/CXXXVII/7, the Archives of Polish Emigration, NCUL.

53 In the court documents, Aleksander Heiman-Jarecki appears as 'Jarecki'. *M. I. Kolin (Publishers) Ltd.*, call no. 13/17681, op. cit., TNA.

54 Kolin's letters were found (among others) in *Murton Reginald J. 1943–1952*, call no. AE/AW/CCXVI/4, the Archives of Polish Emigration, NCUL; *Fragment korespondencji Marii Pawlikowskiej-Jasnorzewskiej, 1937–1946*, call no. 874, the Adam Mic-



FIG. 3. Mieczysław Grydzewski and Reginald J. Murton in London in the post-WWII years
Wiadomości, 1970, no. 22 (1261), p. 6.
Kujawsko-Pomorska Digital Library, ©NCU Library

Despite his directorial positions in both Kolin and Minerva, Reginald John Murton (1892–1965) remains a shadowy figure in book history studies (Fig. 3). In the 1930s, he was a production secretary of London Press Exchange, an expert on photography.[55] Most probably, Murton was engaged in Minerva since its very first publication, the picturebook *Locomotive*. An inscription 'To our dear Reginald Murton in friend[ship] (a drawing of a ship) / LEWITT and HIM / London, the 24th February 1938' was found by Brian Alderson in his rare copy of the Polish edition of *Locomotive*,

kiewicz Museum of Literature in Warsaw, and in Władysław Florczyk's collection, call no. 1777/1, POSK PL.

55 'Customs Charge: German Political Refugee and Camera', *Chelmsford Chronicle*, March 22, 1935, p. 9, British Newspaper Archive (hereafter BNA), https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/ [Accessed November 18, 2025].

published by J. Przeworski in 1938.[56] By September 1939, Murton had already considered himself a 'book publisher' as he declared in the 1939 Register – he also provided then a refuge for exiled Ignacy and Margot Lindenfeld, who were staying in Murton's flat at 7 Belsize Crescent.[57]

According to court documents, the last person appointed as Kolin's director was Aleksander Heiman-Jarecki (1886–1966) who served in that capacity from September 18, 1941 till June 1, 1943, when he resigned (Fig. 4). Born in a wealthy Polish Jewish family with philanthropist traditions, Heiman-Jarecki was educated in Łódź and Manchester to become an impactful industrialist, active in various educational and charity organizations.[58] He was a member of Bibliophile Society and a collector of contemporary paintings, including the works by artists of the École de Paris, Roman Kramsztyk and Eugeniusz Zak.[59] In 1934, Heiman-Jarecki became the president of Polish Textile Industry Association, a year later he funded a library in Łódź as a homage to Józef Piłsudski. In the years 1935–1939, he became a politician and sat as the senator for Łódź, affiliated with the Nonpartisan Bloc for Cooperation with the Government, thus supporting increasingly authoritarian Sanation rule.[60]

Heiman-Jarecki's contribution to Kolin is rarely recognized – it seems that only a note, included in the scholarly edition of correspondence between Grydzewski and the Wierzyńskis, informs that

56 Tellingly, in Alderson's article, Murton's name appeared with a question mark, indicating a lack of further information. B. Alderson, 'Valediction: No. 5 Jan and George', *Books for Keeps*, 2022, no. 254, p. 36.

57 'Murton, Reginald J.', 'Lindenfeld, Ignacy' and 'Lindenfeld, Margot', call no. RG101/0247E/006/7, Letter Code: AKED, *1939 Register*, National Registration, General Register Office, TNA via Findmypast.co.uk (the National Archives' partner site) [Accessed November 17, 2025].

58 G. Romanowski, 'Heimanowie-Jareccy: Rodzina łódzkich filantropów', *Kronika Miasta Łodzi*, 2017, no. 79, pp. 113–119.

59 N. Cieślińska-Lobkowicz, 'Śladami nieznanych przedwojennych żydowskich kolekcjonerów i właścicieli dzieł sztuki', *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2021, no. 17, p. 518.

60 M. Rzadkowolska, 'Heiman-Jarecki Aleksander', *Słownik Pracowników Książki Polskiej*, Suplement III, ed. H. Tadeusiewicz et al., Warszawa 2010, pp. 106–107.



FIG. 4. Aleksander Heiman-Jarecki
Album-skorowidz Senatu i Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej oraz Sejmu Śląskiego: Kadencja 1935-1940, Kraków 1936, p. 213, call no. 816.561 A, National Library of Poland (Polona). [Public domain]

he was a co-director of the company.[61] Possibly, Heiman-Jarecki was appointed to replace Kon. In his letter to Julian and Stefania Tuwim, dated September 14, 1941, Grydzewski enumerated Heiman-Jarecki on a long list of Poles living then in Bloomsbury neighbourhood, adding that 'in the case of Kon's departure to America, he would take over the financial supervision of Kolin'.[62] Both Grydzewski and Kon might have wanted to resettle in the US due to a widening political gap between *Wiadomości Polskie*, Kolin, and the Pol-

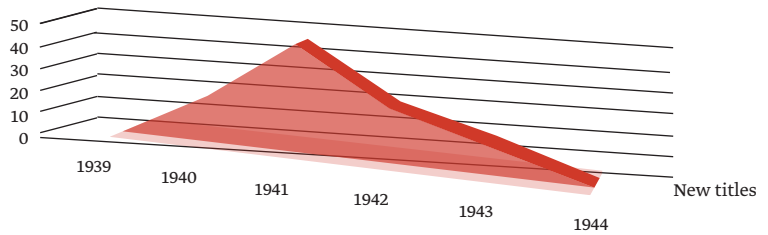
61 'Heiman-Jarecki, Aleksander', in: M. Grydzewski, H. Wierzyńska, K. Wierzyński, *Korespondencja...*, op. cit., https://www.tei.nplp.pl/entities/1717 [Accessed November 21, 2025].

62 M. Grydzewski, *Listy do Tuwima i Lechonia...*, op. cit., p. 62.

ish government-in-exile over the policy towards the Soviet Union (which had invaded Poland, following the Third Reich in September 1939 but later joined Allied Forces). This rift had also financial repercussions: the periodical not only lost the governmental subsidy but also a sizeable portion of allocated paper in September 1941,[63] though according to Kon, Kolin had 'received government grants totalling £1829' for *Wiadomości* until April 30, 1942.[64]

Publishing Profile

The same year 1941, marked by the strained relations between *Wiadomości Polskie* and the Polish government-in-exile, was also undoubtedly the most productive time for the company – yet Kolin's whirlwind growth, along with its UK expansion and rising costs of paper had already led to its future financial problems. If one considers Kolin's brief history (1940–1944) and wartime circumstances, its publishing outcomes were meritorious, with a total number of (at least) ninety-seven book and brochure titles presented in the Table 1. What is striking is a rapid increase in Kolin's titles to forty-four in the year 1941 – as visible in the Figure 5. In 1942, the number of Kolin's titles fell back to the level from 1940 (ca. 20 titles) while in 1943, which turned out to be the final year of Kolin's activity, only twelve new publications appeared.



	1930	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
New titles	0	19	44	22	12	0

FIG. 5. Kolin's publishing outcomes – chronologically

63 R. Habielski, 'Emigracja i polityka...', op. cit., p. 84.

64 *M. I. Kolin (Publishers) Ltd.*, call no. 13/17681, op. cit., TNA.

TABLE 1. KOLIN'S PUBLISHING OUTCOMES – PER YEAR[65]

Lp	Bibliographic data
	1940
1	Bogusławski, Antoni, *Polna kochanka*, London [1940].
2	Curie, Ève, *Maria Curie*, transl. Hanna Szyller, London [1940].
3	Fiedler, Arkady, *Ryby śpiewają w Ukajali*, London [1940].
4	Grabowski, Zbigniew, *Anglia - wyspa nieznana*, London [1940].
5	Lewitt, Jan, George Him, *Informator dla Polaków w Anglii*, London 1940.
6	*Kolędy*, London 1940.
7	*Kolin's Polish-English and English-Polish Pocket Dictionary*, London 1940.
8	MacCallum, Thomas Watson, *Nauka angielskiego. Szybko, łatwo i przyjemnie. English for Poles. An Easy and Quick Method*, ed. S. Wyszyński, intro. Stanisław Szober, transcription Tytus Benni, London [1940].
9	Maurois, André, *Dzieje Anglii*, transl. Wacław Rogowicz, London 1940.
10	Mickiewicz, Adam, *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego*, ed. Stanisław Pigoń, London [1940].
11	Mickiewicz, Adam, *Pan Tadeusz*, London [1940].
12	Nowakowski, Zygmunt, *Przyląd ek Dobrej Nadziei*, London [1940].
13	*Poland's Martyrdom. The German Invasion in Photographs and Facts*, intro. Philip John Noël-Baker, design Jan Lewitt, George Him, London 1940.
14	*Polski śpiewnik narodowy z melodiami*, ed. Waleryan Adamski, London [1940].
15	Słonimski, Antoni, *Alarm*, London [1940].
16	*1000 słów po angielsku: Najłatwiejszy samouczek języka angielskiego w 34-ch lekcjach*, ed. Ernst Wallenberg, Max Goryński, London 1940.
17	Wyspiański, Stanisław, *Wesele: Dramat w 3 aktach*, London [1940].
18	Wyspiański, Stanisław, *Warszawianka: Pieśń z roku 1831*, London [1940].
19	Żeromski, Stefan, *Wierna rzeka*, London [1940].

65 The bibliography lists the first editions of Kolin's titles (books and pamphlets/brochures) in alphabetical order per year, based on annual/monthly publication dates included in print copies, as well as on Kolin's advertisements and press reviews for not dated publications (particularly frequent in 1940, when fourteen out of twenty Kolin's books were printed without publication dates). This bibliographical research does not incorporate reprints and new editions, since such data could falsify the results at this stage of research into Kolin's endeavours. While popularity of some Kolin's titles is widely known (Słonimski's *Alarm* enjoyed a vogue, resulting in at least six Kolin editions in the years 1940–1941, along with a 1943 edition, translated into Czech by Frantisek Langer, illustrated by Feliks Topolski, and published by Kruh přátel československé knihy v Anglii), the information about other re-issued books is scarce; Kolin Publishers did not include the information about print runs. The bibliography is not exhaustive since it excludes *Wiadomości Polskie*, calendars, and some brochures/pamphlets which were printed without the indication of publishers yet were attributed to M. I. Kolin in Sawicki's bibliographies.

	1941
20	Baliński, Stanisław, *Wielka podróż*, London 1941.
21	Bielski, Lucjan (pseud.) [Knoll, Roman], *Głos z kraju czyli uwagi Polaka o ustroju przyszłej Europy*, fwd. Dominik Węgierski (pseud.) [Estreicher, Karol], London 1941.
22	*Bitwa nad Wyspami Brytyjskimi: Sprawozdanie Ministerstwa Lotnictwa z historycznych dni od 8 sierpnia – 30 września 1940 r.*, London [1941].
23	*Dziennik oficera sztabu*, transl. Włodzimierz Ludwig, London 1941.
24	Laskowski, Otton, *Jan III Sobieski*, London [1941].
25	Leitgeber, Bolesław, *Londyn. Oblicze i maska*, London [1941].
26	Lenartowicz, Teofil, *Bitwa racławicka*. London 1941.
27	Lewitt, Jan, George Him, *Polish Panorama*, intro. Hugh Walpole, London 1941.
28	Liddell Hart, Basil Henry, *Obrona dynamiczna*, transl. Włodzimierz Ludwig, London 1941.
29	Mackiewicz, Stanisław (Cat), *Historia Polski od 11 listopada 1918 r. do 17 września 1939 r.*, London [1941].
30	Mackiewicz, Stanisław, *Październik 1941: Fakty i dokumenty*, contrib. Stanisław Baliński ('O Ziemi Nowogródzkiej'), London 1941.
31	Mackiewicz, Stanisław, *Listopad 1941: Fakty i dokumenty*, London [1941].
32	Mackiewicz, Stanisław, *Grudzień 1941: Fakty i dokumenty*, London [1941].
33	*Manifest do ludów świata (luty 1941)*, London: M. I. Kolin, [1941].
34	Martin, Hugh, *Winston Churchill: studium geniuszu*, transl. Zbigniew Grabowski, London 1941.
35	Matuszewski, Ignacy, *What Poland Wants*, transl. Ronald Viner, London 1941.
36	Mickiewicz, Adam, *Grażyna: Powieść litewska*, London 1941.
37	Mikorska, Maria, *Spring Held No Hope. The Facts of the German Occupation of Poland*, London 1941.
38	Norwid-Neugebauer, Mieczysław, *Kampania wrześniowa 1939 w Polsce*, London 1941.
39	Nowakowski, Zygmunt, *Rubikon*, London [1941].
40	*Obrona Warszawy, Wrzesień 1939*, London [1941].
41	Pawlikowska[-Jasnorzewska], Maria, *Róża i lasy płonące*, London [1941].
42	Piłsudski, Józef, *Rok 1920*, London 1941.
43	Płużański, Stanisław, *Szkolnictwo techniczne Wielkiej Brytanii*, London 1941.
44	*Poland: Twenty-four Photographs of Poland*, London [1940?].
45	Polska Akademia Umiejętności, *Pisownia polska. Przepisy – słowniczek*, London 1941.
46	Poznański, Czesław, *Federacja... Ale jaka?* London 1941.
47	Prus, Bolesław, *Omyłka*, London 1941.
48	Prus, Bolesław, *Placówka*, London [1941].
49	Pruszyński, Ksawery, *Droga wiodła przez Narvik*, London 1941.
50	Pruszyński Ksawery, *Księga ponurych niedopowiedzeń. 1000 mil od prawdy*, London 1941.
51	Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, *Prezydent Roosevelt przemawia*, transl. Krystyna Szerer, London 1941.
52	Sienkiewicz, Henryk, *Ogniem i mieczem: powieść*, vols. 1–4, London [1941].
53	Sienkiewicz, Henryk, *Potop: powieść*, vols. 1–6, London [1941].
54	Sienkiewicz, Henryk, *Ta trzecia*, London 1941.

55	Sikorski, Władysław, *Nad Wisłą i Wkrą: Studium z polsko-rosyjskiej wojny 1920 roku*, London 1941.
56	*Memories of Poland. A Collection of its Best-loved Melodies with English and the Original Polish Text*, ed. and compiled Zigismond [Zygmunt] Stojowski, transl. Olga Paul, London [1941].
57	Szerer Mieczysław, *Naród w parlamencie. Prawo i obyczaje polityczne Anglii*, London 1941.
58	*Constitution of the Republic of Poland* (Official Journal of Laws, No. 30, 24th April 1935). *Ustawa Konstytucyjna z dnia 23 kwietnia 1935 r.* (Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Nr. 30, z dn. 24 kwietnia 1935 r.), London 1941.
59	Vansittart Robert, *Czarny rejestr. Niemcy dawniej a dziś*, transl. Ryszard Brynicki, London 1941
60	*Wiersze o Warszawie*, [ed. Mieczysław Grydzewski], London 1941.
61	Wierzyński, Kazimierz, *Ziemia-Wilczyca*, London 1941.
62	Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny, *Zasadnicze wiadomości z topografii*, Edinburgh 1941.
63	Żeromski, Stefan, *O żołnierzu tułaczu*, London 1941.
	1942
64	Baliński, Stanisław, *Rzecz sumienia*, London 1942.
65	Benni, Tytus, *Ortofonia angielska: podręcznik wzorowej wymowy oraz słownik fonetyczny*, London 1942.
66	Czermański, Zdzisław et al., *Kraj lat dziecinnych*, [ed. Mieczysław Grydzewski, Ksawery Pruszyński], London 1942.
67	Fiedler, Arkady, *Dywizjon 303*, illus. Artur Horowicz, London 1942.
68	Fiedler, Arkady, *Kanada pachnąca żywicą*, London 1942.
69	Gazeł, Stefan Franciszek, *Z morza i portów*, London 1942.
70	Górecki, Roman, *Z moich wspomnień o Józefie Piłsudskim: (w siódmą rocznicę zgonu)*, London 1942.
71	Górka, Olgierd, *Outline of Polish History: Past and Present*, London 1942.
72	Lechoń, Jan, *Lutnia po Bekwarku*, London 1942.
73	Lechoń, Jan, *O literaturze polskiej*, London [1942].
74	Łagniewski, Lucjan (pseud.) [Langrod, Witold Łucjan], *Wrzesień w Polsce*, London 1942.
75	Mackiewicz, Stanisław (Cat), *O jedenastej – powiada aktor – sztuka jest skończona: Polityka Józefa Becka*, London 1942.
76	Mackiewicz, Stanisław (Cat), *Styczeń 1942: fakty i dokumenty*, London [1942].
77	Mackiewicz, Stanisław (Cat), *Cała prawda*, London [1942].
78	Mackiewicz, Stanisław (Cat), *Lwów i Wilno*, London [1942].
79	Norwid-Neugebauer, Mieczysław, *The Defence of Poland (September 1939)*, transl. Peter Jordan (pseud.) [Aleksander Tadeusz Lutosławski], London 1942.
80	Półkozic, H., *Polak a przyszła Polska*, London 1942.
81	Słonimski, Antoni (poems), Topolski, Feliks (illus.), *Popiół i wiatr*, London 1942.
82	Sokolow, Florian, *Kawalkada angielska: Sylwetki i szkice*, London 1942.
83	Strzetelski, Stanisław, *Goering poluje na rysie*, London 1942.
84	Bohusz-Szyszko, Zygmunt, *Wrześniowym szlakiem*, London 1942.
85	Tennenbaum, Henryk, *Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia w gospodarstwie światowym*, London 1942.
	1943
86	Baliński, Stanisław, *Tamten brzeg nocy*, London [1943].

87 Broniewski, Władysław, *Bagnet na broń: Poezje 1939-1943*, London 1943.

88 Grabowski, Zbigniew, *Europe Expects England*, London 1943.

89 Hemar, Marian, *Adolf Wielki: pamflet i dygresje*, London 1943.

90 Hemar, Marian, *Marchewka: pamiętnik satyryczny*, London 1943.

91 Mickiewicz, Adam, *Konrad Wallenrod*, London 1943.

92 *Polish Troops in Norway: A Photographic Record of the Campaign at Narvik*, photographs collected R. M. Neuman, design Jan Lewitt, George Him, London 1943.

93 Piłsudski, Józef, *Pisma wybrane*, London 1943.

94 Pragier, Adam, *H. G. Wells o świecie i o Polsce*, intro. Camille Huysmans, London 1943.

95 *Proroctwa i przepowiednie dotyczące wojny obecnej*, London 1943.

96 Wojciechowski, Konstanty, *Dzieje literatury polskiej*, ed. Juliusz Balicki, intro. Ignacy Chrzanowski, London 1943.

97 *Żołnierz polski w Norwegii: Reportaż fotograficzny z bojów pod Narvikiem*, phot. collection R. M. Neuman, layout Jan Lewitt, George Him, London 1943.

Culturally, one of Kolin's most impactful publications has remained the periodical *Wiadomości Polskie, Polityczne i Literackie* printed from 1940 to early 1944 – with a telling subtitle 'Political and Literary', emphasizing its Janus-face profile. Correspondingly, an analysis of Kolin's publications in terms of genres (Fig. 6) has revealed that literature (31%) and politics (31%) evenly dominated Kolin's publishing portfolio. Modern literary works (20%), created during the long modernist period (1890s–1940s) prevailed over classics (11%) written by canonical writers such as Adam Mickiewicz, Bolesław Prus, or Henryk Sienkiewicz – chiefly due to thirteen volumes of contemporary poetry by (among others) Jan Lechoń, Maria Pawlikowska-Jasnorzewska, Antoni Słonimski, and Kazimierz Wierzyński. Political publications, ranging from in-depth analyses of the Second World War and global relations to military reports on warfare and strategies to essayistic and satirical pamphlets, comprise more than 30% of all published books and booklets. Most probably, Kolin publishers angled their portfolio towards a large community of Polish soldiers and governmental clerks based then in the UK.

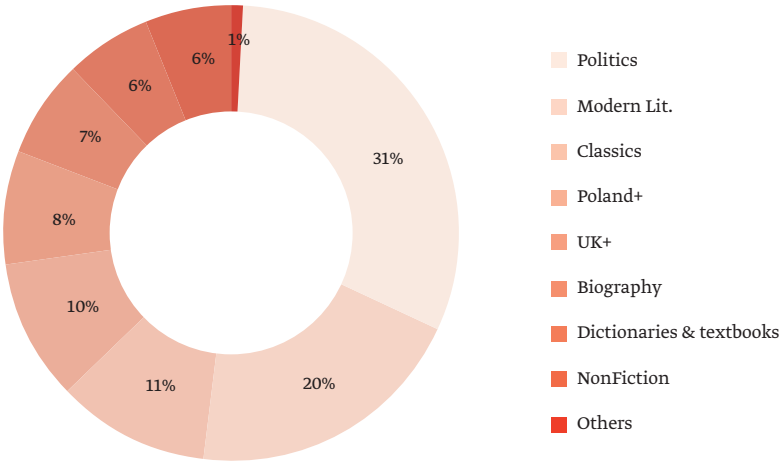


FIG. 6. Kolin's publishing outcomes - by genre

Among Kolin's books, publications that focused on familiarizing readers with both Polish and UK history and culture were well-represented (10% and 8% respectively). Kolin also produced biographies of Maria Skłodowska-Curie, the King John III Sobieski, and Winston Churchill, along with several recent wartime testimonies. Interestingly, the auto/biographical experience was emphasized in paratextual elements of some political and military publications, as in the descriptive title of *Dziennik oficera sztabu: oficera łącznikowego wywiadu lotniczego, przydzielonego do północnej ekspozytury sztabu naczelnego dowództwa Brytyjskich Sił Powietrznych we Francji w 1940 roku*. (*The Diary of a Staff Officer, Air Intelligence Liaison Officer, at Advanced Headquarters North B.A.F.F.*). Kolin boosted its finances by publishing dictionaries and textbooks,[66] including *Kolin's Polish-English and English-Polish Pocket Dictionary*, authored by F. B. Czarnomski.[67]

66 M. Grydzewski's letter to K. Wierzyński, September 29, 1940, in: M. Grydzewski, H. Wierzyńska, K. Wierzyński, *Korespondencja...*, op. cit., https://tei.nplp.pl/documents/279 [Accessed November 22, 2025].

67 M. Podhajecka, *A History of Polish-English / English-Polish Bilingual Lexicography (1788–1947)*, Opole 2016, pp. 254, 574.

Some of Kolin's English publications were lavishly illustrated, expensive, and affordable for a few – possibly based on propaganda funds for the Polish government-in-exile. Several Kolin's publications included unique selections of Polish interwar photographs – a case in point was Lewitt-Him's *Polish Panorama* – perhaps Kolin Publishers gained access to the archive of more than 30,000 photographs of Poland, due to Borman's work at the Polish Ministry of Information.[68] For *Polish Panorama*, the press accompanied the visual appeal of pre-war images of Polish landmarks and landscapes with a paratextual strategy of cultural transfer. This book was introduced by the bestselling writer and chairman of the Book Society, Hugh Walpole, who was devasted by the joined Nazi and Soviet invasion of Poland in 1939,[69] and praised the book in the highest terms:

> This book speaks to the whole world; it is a symbol of all the things for which the free world is fighting – God, love of man for man, domesticity, work on the soil of one's land, love of the Arts, freedom of speech and thought, comradeship of nations.
>
> It is a book for everybody – a book of friendship.[70]

Indeed, also in materials terms, *Polish Panorama* was among the most accessible of Kolin's photobooks with the cover price of 8 shillings and 6 pence. Contrastingly, among the most costly Kolin's publications was the photobook *Polish Troops in Norway: A Photographic Record of the Campaign at Narvik*, which was sold for 25 shillings[71] – it was published by Kolin for the Polish Ministry of Information in 1943, showing that despite some considerable tension over *Wiadomości Polskie*, the cooperation between the publishers and the Polish government still existed.

68 K. Muszkowski, 'Wspomnienie przyjaźni…', op. cit., p. 214.

69 For a multifaced discussion of Walpole's pivotal role in book culture, support for emerging writers and publishers, and his response to September 1939 in Poland see Nicola Wilson, *Recommended! The Influencers Who Changed How We Read*, Newbury 2025, passim, especially pp. 5–6, 11–14, 124–125.

70 H. Walpole, 'Introduction', in: J. Lewitt, G. Him, *Polish Panorama*, London 1941, p. 6.

71 'Księgarnie Polskie…', *Wiadomości Polskie*, 1943, vol. 4, no. 50, p. 2.

If one takes into consideration Kolin's authors, a gender bias becomes striking. Among Kolin's publishing outcomes listed in Table 1, only three out of ninety-seven publications had women as main authors: the writer Ève Curie's biography of her brilliant mother, the Nobel Prize winner Maria Skłodowska-Curie to the journalist Maria Mikorska's non-fiction book about German occupation to the poet Maria Pawlikowska-Jasnorzewska's volume *Róża i lasy płonące* (her subsequent volume *Bagienne niezapominajki* was lost by Kolin Publishers when the company was forced into liquidation).[72] Additionally, a few works of women writers appeared in Kolin's collective volumes and brochures – for instance, Maria Konopnicka's poem closed the anthology *Wiersze o Warszawie* while three memoirs, written respectively by Kazimiera Iłłakowiczówna, Maria Kuncewiczowa, and Irena Tuwim, were included in the volume *Kraj lat dziecinnych*. While among Kolin's ten (acknowledged) translators were seven men and three women, the profession was less lucrative than writing and Kolin did not develop a strong translation profile.

In contrast with Minerva, which published only in English, majority of Kolin's publications were printed in Polish – ten English titles constituted up to 10% of Kolin's publications, along with several bilingual textbooks and an English-Polish dictionary. Consequently, the sales and distribution channels of Faber & Faber might have been less profitable for Kolin's distinctly Polish profile than they were for Minerva's English publications (both written in English and translated from Polish). While Minerva's English publications undoubtedly benefited from the partnership with Faber & Faber, who help these books reach a wider audience than that of Polish migrants with an advanced command of English, Kolin publishers established alterative channels of sales and distribution for their predominantly Polish books (Fig. 7) and reach Polish exiles dispersed across the UK, including large groups of Polish army forces scattered (among others) along the UK coasts in preparation for a predicted Nazi invasion.

72 T. Januszewski, 'Nota edytorska', in: M. Pawlikowska-Jasnorzewska, *Danaidy. Utwory ostatnie*, ed. T. Januszewski, Warszawa 2003, p. 67.



FIG. 7. Kolin books in the National Library.
Photographs - Polona, no. 4 (*Polish Panorama*) by the author

Polish Bookshops in England and Scotland

The Kolin Publishers used a potentially effective strategy – they developed their own network of company bookshops. Each store was named simply 'Księgarnia Polska' (a Polish Bookshop) and presumably displayed a large M. I. Kolin (Publishers) Ltd.'s sign – as visible in a some photographs of Kolin bookshops. Initially, Kolin's chain offered simply 'Polish books and periodicals, along with English publications about Poland,'[73] predominantly Kolin and Minerva books along with *Wiadomości Polskie*. Within just a year –

73 'Dnia 8 listopada...', *Wiadomości Polskie*, 1940, vol. 1, no. 35, p. 1.

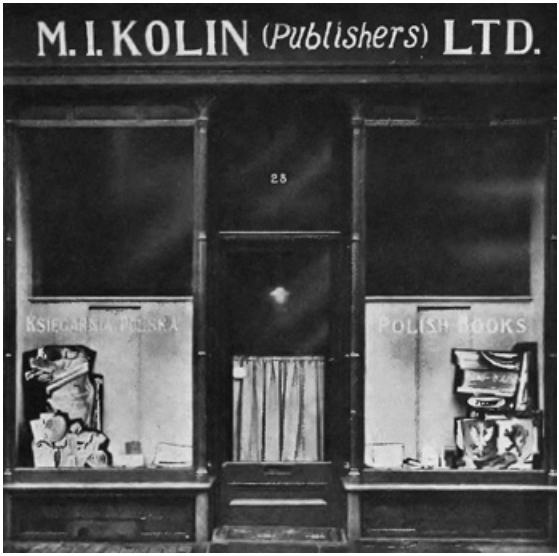


FIG. 8. Kolin bookshop in Perth. 'Księgarnia Polska w Szkocji', *Wiadomości Polskie*, 1940, no. 37, p. 5. Kujawsko-Pomorska Digital Library. [Public domain]

from November 1940 until November 1941 – Kolin had had opened four bookshops in the UK, situated in London, Perth and Dundee (in Scotland), and Blackpool (in North West England).

Not surprisingly, the first Kolin bookshop was located in London. Its premises (along with an administrative office) were opened at 20 Bloomsbury Street on November 8, 1940 while the editorial office of Kolin (shared with Minerva and *Wiadomości Polskie*) remained at 36 Great Russell Street. Only a week later, on November 15, another Kolin bookshop was opened at 28 King Edward Street in Perth, where Polish forces were to defend the eastern coastline. A photograph printed in *Wiadomości Polskie* depicted the general officer and historian Marian Kukiel, showing *Locomotive* to a group of UK soldiers. Another photograph showed Kolin bookshop windows advertising 'Księgarnia Polska' (Eng. Polish Bookshop) and 'Polish Books' (Fig. 8).[74]

74 'Dn. 15 listopada...', 'Księgarnia Polska w Szkocji', *Wiadomości Polskie*, 1940, no. 37, pp. 2, 5.

Apart from directors and editors, the information about Kolin's other employees is scarce – in September 1940, Grydzewski mentioned Anna Maria Szerer and Melania Gołaszewska, the latter became a bibliographer and a member of the Iranian Studies Society.[75] And yet, in March 1941, Grydzewski enumerated the employees of Kolin's Scottish store – who might have been present at the bookshop opening – in his letter to Lechoń. The bookshop manager was the publisher Wacław Czarski, who used to be Lindenfeld's partner in Alfa Press. There were also three or four female workers: 'both daughters of [Mieczysław] Szerer', an impactful lawyer and Kolin's author: aforementioned Anna Maria and Krystyna Monika Szerer,[76] along with 'Mrs [Helena] Michałowa Łubieńska, and Mrs [Maria] Bielska (née Baworowska)'.[77] He added that 'Mrs Gołaszewska, the daughter of the lawyer [Tadeusz] Tomaszewski, a current chairman of the Supreme Audit Office,' worked in the London bookshop.[78] While Grydzewski's reports allow to partially reconstructs Kolin's employee directory, it seems that Kolin's company hierarchy reflects the same gender bias visible in its publishing profile: women were employed in precarious jobs as bookshop attendants and translators.

Wartime and exile conditions not only reinforced gendered stereotypes, but also provided constant physical threat – in London, Kolin's directors and workers were affected by the Blitz. In his letter to Julian and Stefania Tuwim, dated September 14, 1941,

75 M. Grydzewski's letter to K. Wierzyński, September 29, 1940, in: M. Grydzewski, H. Wierzyńska, K. Wierzyński, *Korespondencja*..., op. cit., https://tei.nplp.pl/documents/279 [Accessed November 22, 2025]; S. Yarmahdavi, H. Saeidinia, 'Polish Women Immigrants in Iran since World War II: Social and Cultural Activities in the Host Land', *Konteksty Kultury*, 2025, vol. 22, no. 1, p. 88.

76 In the interwar years, Krystyna Szerer was the translator of Aldous Huxley's works (among others) for the Publishing Society Rój – in exile, she translated the key speeches of the President Roosevelt published by Kolin in 1941. Janusz Stradecki argued that only Anna Maria Szerer worked then in Kolin bookshop while Krystyna Monika Szerer joined the RAF. M. Grydzewski, *Listy do Tuwima i Lechonia*..., op. cit., p. 44n.26.

77 Ibidem, pp. 34, 44n.27–28.

78 Ibidem, pp. 34, 44n.29.

Grydzewski chronicled: 'our editorial office and store were injured in spring'[79] – Kolin's premises were bombed by the Nazis. And yet, in May 1941 – parallel to the end of the Blitz – the Kolin's London bookshop was moved to new address at 9 New Oxford Street[80]: the impressive Commonwealth House, designed in 1939 by the architect Henry Philip Cart De LaFontaine with a circular tower and Art Deco motifs, 'its smart modernism [was] expressed by mechanical horizontal bands of windows'.[81] The bookshop was transformed into a Polonica emporium, which apart from books sold 'Polish gramophone records, [...] postcards and festive greetings cards, Polish magazines and newspapers, buttons and eagle badges in various size, brooches' – these products were available in all four Kolin bookshops by December 1941.[82] On July 28, 1941, the editorial office of Kolin (along with Minerva and *Wiadomości Polskie*) moved to 229/231 High Holborn, the street that approximately constitutes a southern boundary of the Bloomsbury district. Despite all difficulties, two new Kolin bookshops were also opened in 1941 – first in July, at 24a Cowgate in Dundee (Scotland),[83] where Polish soldiers stationed, and then in November, at 40 Lytham Road in Blackpool,[84] on the Irish Sea coast and near a base of the Polish Air Force, including the famous No. 303 Squadron RAF that inspired Fiedler's bestseller.

Kolin bookshops became not only community centres for Polish exiles but also might have been 'ambassadors of Polish books and "cause"' and 'the centres of culture and information', which according to Andrzej Kłossowski was a frequent pattern frequent among Polish bookshops abroad.[85] A convincing illustration of

79 Ibidem, p. 60.

80 'Księgarnia polska...', *Wiadomości Polskie*, 1941, vol. 2, no. 18, p. 3.

81 B. Cherry, N. Pevsner, *London*, vol. 4 *North*, New Haven and London 2002, p. 306.

82 'Księgarnie polskie...', *Wiadomości Polskie*, 1941, vol. 2, no. 49, p. 1.

83 'M. I. Kolin...', *Wiadomości Polskie*, 1941, vol. 2, no. 27, p. 5.

84 'M. I. Kolin...', Wiadomości *Polskie*, 1941, vol. 2, no. 45, p. 1.

85 A. Kłossowski, 'Księgarnie Polskie na obczyźnie po II Wojnie Światowej 1945–1985', *Studia Polonijne*, 1986, no. 10, p. 150.

such roles played by Kolin bookstores in émigré culture is a note that appeared in August 1941 in the main periodical of Polish exiles in Hungary during the Second World War, *Wieści Polskie*, subsided by the Polish government-in-exile[86] – an anonymous author spared no praise to Kolin Publishers:

> Numerous readers are thirsty for the Polish printed word. Therefore, one reads attentively all announcements of Kolin bookshop, which conducts a publishing activity that is excellent in all respects [...]. Thus, we will always remember Kolin's bookshop windows – even if the store occasionally changes its premises – as a proof that we managed to nurture our cultural values in the darkest times.[87]

Of course, not all readers 'venerated' Kolin bookshops or characteristic advertisements in thick black frames – for instance, the playwright Wiktor Budzyński mocked them as 'Kolin's book obituaries'.[88]

Notwithstanding Kolin Publishers' aesthetics, these promotional pages reveal that Kolin's ambitious activities in 1941 included not only a development of bookshops chain, but also some attempts at the development of transatlantic publishing networks. In August, Kolin Publishers (and Minerva Publishing) announced in *Wiadomości Polskie* that 'they have entrusted the sales of their publications across Canada' to the branch of Macmillan Company, located in Toronto. More importantly, in October, Grydzewski informed the poet Kazimierz Wierzyński, that 'Kolin company has already had a branch in New York'[89] while an advertisement placed at the front page of *Wiadomości Polskie* notified readers that a new

86 K. Woźniakowski, 'Budapeszteńskie "Wieści Polskie" (1939–1944): Główny periodyk polskiego wojennego uchodźstwa na Węgrzech' (part 1), *Rocznik Historii Prasy Polskiej*, 2014, vol. XVII, no. 33, pp. 48–49.

87 'Kolin', *Wieści Polskie: Półtygodnik uchodźctwa polskiego*, 1941, vol. 3, no. 85, p. 4.

88 W. Budzyński (text), J. Faczyński (illustrations), 'Szopka Bez-Blackoutowa', *Polska Walcząca: Żołnierz Polski na Obczyźnie*, 1941, vol. 3, no. 51/52, p. 12.

89 M. Grydzewski's letter to K. Wierzyński, October 9, 1940, in: M. Grydzewski, H. Wierzyńska, K. Wierzyński, *Korespondencja...*, op. cit., https://tei.nplp.pl/documents/318 [Accessed November 12, 2025].

branch of Kolin was opened at 58th Street in Manhattan.[90] This announcement was repeated in mid-November,[91] but it seems that no further information about the US branch of Kolin Publishers was released.

At the beginning of 1942, all four Kolin bookshops were operating, since Tadeusz Sawicki's *Bibliographical Yearbook* was closed with Kolin's advertisement of its chain stores in London, Perth, Dundee, and in Blackpool.[92] By May 1942, however, the publishers informed that Kolin's 'bookshops in Perth and Dundee were transferred to Edinburgh', to a store situated at 31a Castle Street.[93] Next, in September 1942, Kolin bookstore in Blackpool disappeared from publishers' advertising. Following that date, only two of Kolin bookshops were operating, both located in the metropolises in London and Edinburgh (the latter managed by Czarski) – they appeared in Kolin's advertisement in *Wiadomości Polskie* until its last issue, in February 1944.[94] The last located mention of Kolin bookshops was included in Caldra House's promotional note printed in the weekly *Polska Walcząca* (*Fighting Poland*) in July 1944.[95]

Not surprisingly, both the closure of some bookstores and the decrease of Kolin's publications in 1942 and further in 1943 reflected the company's worsening financial situation. Kolin's sales increased from £17,566 by 30th April 1941 to a fixed amount of ca. £ 26,000 annually until 30th April 1944. However, only the first period of Kolin's activities (March 1940 – April 1941) resulted in a miniature surplus of £7 while three subsequent years brough rising deficiency: £6,024 (by April 1942); £7,790 (by April 1943); and £8,144 (by

90 'M. I. Kolin...', *Wiadomości Polskie*, 1941, no. 43, p. 1.

91 'M. I. Kolin...', *Wiadomości Polskie*, 1941, no. 46, p. 2.

92 T. Sawicki, 'Wykaz firm wydawniczych', in: *Rocznik Bibliograficzny Druków w Języku Polskim oraz w Językach Obcych o Polsce Wydanych poza Terytorium Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, 1942, vol. 1, back cover.

93 'M. I. Kolin...', *Wiadomości Polskie*, 1941, no. 18, p. 5.

94 'Nakładem Minerva Publishing...', 'Ukazało się nowe wydanie...', *Wiadomości Polskie*, 1944, vol. 4, no. 7, p. 6. See also Tadeusz Sawicki, 'Wykaz...', op.cit., p. 120.

95 'Mój Sekretarz. My English Secretary', *Polska Walcząca: Żołnierz Polski na Obczyźnie*, 1944, no. 26, p. 8.

April 1944) – the company's liabilities highly exceeded its total assets.[96] In his 1942 letters to the Wierzyńskis, Grydzewski expressed his doubts about Kolin publishers' strategy: 'They have great gusto and ambitions, but still strive to bring that to fruition: they kept a tiny volume of Leszek for three quarters and eventually, I needed to take that on my shoulders'[97] – indeed, Jan (Leszek) Lechoń's book *Lutnia po Bekwarku* was published in the same year. In May, the editor further distanced himself from the publishing house while discussing Wierzyński's new volume of poetry: 'I reckon that Kolin will publish *Róża wiatrów*, and yet, notwithstanding their generosity, they are unpredictable and just improbably unreliable'.[98] It seems that Grydzewski identified at least some inadequacies of Kolin's directors, since this collection of Wierzyński's poems had never been published by the company. Leaving aside some texts with clearly anti-Semitic overtones that focus on (Polish) Jewish identities/origins of people behind Kolin and *Wiadomości*, some troubling remarks suggesting that Kolin's (and Minerva's)[99] authors had been left unpaid for months – or did not receive any compensation – appeared in several satirical works published in émigré newspapers. For instance, in a socio-political satire 'Szopka Bez-Blackoutowa', brimmed with transtextual allusions to Wyspiański's iconic drama *Wesele*, Zygmunt the Brave – a figure based on Nowakowski (officially, the editor-in-chief of *Wiadomości*) – not only announces 'my poor Kolin / has to scrape the bottom of the barrel' after the loss of government subsidy, but also wears

96 *M. I. Kolin (Publishers) Ltd.*, call no. 13/17681, op. cit., TNA.

97 M. Grydzewski's letter to H. Wierzyńska, K. Wierzyński, April 27, 1942, in: M. Grydzewski, H. Wierzyńska, K. Wierzyński, *Korespondencja...*, op. cit., https://tei.nplp.pl/documents/322 [Accessed November 22, 2025].

98 M. Grydzewski's letter to H. Wierzyńska, K. Wierzyński, May 11, 1942, in: M. Grydzewski, H. Wierzyńska, K. Wierzyński, *Korespondencja...*, op. cit., https://tei.nplp.pl/documents/323 [Accessed November 22, 2025].

99 In Grydzewski's correspondence with Nowakowski and the Slavist William John Rose recurs an alarming case of the translator Kate Żuk-Skarszewska, who did not receive payment from Minerva Publishing: 'Lindenfeld did not pay her a penny for translation'. Z. Nowakowski, 'Zbigniew Nowakowski', in: *Z listów do Mieczysława Grydzewskiego 1946–1966*, ed. R. Habielski, Warszawa 1990, p. 16.

'a mourning toga' in which he 'wraps his pocket' when another character representing one of Kolin and *Wiadomości* author (Zbigniew Grabowski) asks him about his due fees – the editor evasively announces that even the (late) Romantic Adam Mickiewicz (regarded as Poland's national poet) waives royalties from Kolin.[100]

In October 1942, Grydzewski seemed deeply concerned that not only Kolin was in 'a terrible financial position' but also that there was little hope for improvement.[101] Indeed by 1943, Kolin's had lost its financial liquidity – some tensions were reflected in publishing correspondence. For instance, Murton complained in his letter to Grydzewski, dated July 8, 1943: 'Today I have written eight letters about sending cheques "tomorrow". It is so difficult for me to think of new excuses!'.[102] In the same letter, the director mentioned another Kolin's female employee – 'Mrs. Morris will be leaving us soon to go and work for the Belgian Embassy', and telling added '[i]n one way I am glad for her as it will mean she will get more money, but in another way I am sorry for I like her being here'.[103] The final collapse of Kolin was brough by a combination of economic and political factors, the latter connected with its flagship periodical *Wiadomości Polskie*.

Political Pressure and Bankruptcy

Both Grydzewski and Kolin's publishers had received first-hand accounts of Soviets' atrocities not only from the survivors from Soviet prisons and camps,[104] but also from their friends and families. By a strange coincidence of fate, in the same Lubyanka's prison,

100 W. Budzyński (text), J. Faczyński (illustrations), 'Szopka...', op. cit., pp. 12–13.

101 M. Grydzewski's letter to K. Wierzyński, October 19, 1942, in: M. Grydzewski, H. Wierzyńska, K. Wierzyński, *Korespondencja...*, op. cit., https://tei.nplp.pl/documents/325, [Accessed November 22, 2025].

102 R. J. Murton's letter to M. Grydzewski, July 8, 1943, *Murton Reginald J. 1943–1952*, call no. AE/AW/CCXVI/4, the Archives of Polish Emigration, NCUL.

103 Ibidem.

104 S. Zahorska, 'O "Wiadomościach Polskich"', in: *Bieg czasu, bieg atramentu: o czasopismach Mieczysława Grydzewskiego i o nim samym. Wspomnienia*, ed. and intro. R. Habielski, Warszawa 2022, p. 195.

NKVD detained the poet Władysław Broniewski, a former secretary of Grydzewski's interwar weekly, and the rabbi and historian Moses Schorr, Maks Kon's father-in-law on his marriage with Felicja (Tsipora) Schorr. While the Soviets freed Broniewski after 13 months, they sent Schorr to a concentration camp in Khorazm Region, Uzbekistan, where the rabbi died in July 1941.[105] In a letter to Tuwim, Grydzewski sent a partly hidden message that informed the poet about Schorr's death: 'About Kon, it was not fascists, who murdered his father-in-law, an honourable man, prof. Moses Schorr'.[106] Grydzewski obscured with emphatic negation the identity of perpetrators to avoid the 'interest' of British postal censorship that previously made him explain to police officers (responsible for intercepting espionage communication) why he insisted 'Send more flowers' in a cable to Tuwim,[107] who was working then on his poetic masterpiece *Kwiaty Polskie* (1949) – excerpts from this work were first published in *Wiadomości Polskie* and *Nowa Polska*.

As the politician and economist Adam Pragier recalled, after the governmental subsidy for *Wiadomości Polskie* was withdrawn, other repercussions followed. *Wiadomości Polskie* was subsequently 'banned from soldiers' centres – and military forces were even prohibited from reading the periodical'.[108] Furthermore, Rafał Habielski has shown that the Polish government's repressive measures might have also affected Kolin. Though Kukiel once proudly presented Polish books at the opening of Kolin bookshop, he became increasingly wary of anti-Soviet *Wiadomości Polskie* and at the same time impactful in the Polish government, as he became the Minis-

105 M. Beizer, I. Bartal, 'The Case of Moses Schorr Rabbi, Scholar, and Social Activist' in: *1968: Forty Years After*, ed. L. W. Głuchowski, A. Polonsky, Oxford and Portland 2009, p. 427, 429, 437, 438; J. Goldberg, 'Mojżesz Schorr – historyk polskich Żydów', in: *Śladami Polin. Studia z dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, vol. I, red. J. Tomaszewski, Warszawa 2002, p. 93.

106 The note in the edition of Grydzewski's letter mistakenly identifies Kon as the paediatrician and Tuwim's friend Józef Kon, (not married to any of Schorr's daughters). M. Grydzewski, *Listy do Tuwima i Lechonia*..., op. cit., pp. 73, 74n6.

107 [M. Grydzewski], 'Silva rerum', *Wiadomości*, 1948, vol. 3, no. 44/45, p. 3.

108 A. Pragier, 'Kilka wspomnień o Grydzewskim', in: *Bieg czasu*..., op. cit., pp. 322–23; R. Habielski, 'Emigracja i polityka...', op. cit., p. 84.

ter of War in 1942. The general officer recommended to withdraw both Kolin's paper allocation and governmental subsides for other publications unless the publishers transformed *Wiadomości Polskie* from 'political and oppositional' to 'literary and social' weekly.[109] Yet another governmental figure hostile to the periodical was the Minister of Information Kot – according to Świderska, the editors of *Wiadomości* believed that he contributed to the downfall of their periodical.[110] Generally, governmental threats and repressions against *Wiadomości Polskie* and Kolin must have had a negative impact on Kolin bookshops located in a close vicinity of large Polish army bases in Perth, Dundee, and Blackpool, resulting in their aforementioned closure. And yet, *Wiadomości Polskie* and Kolin remained increasingly critical of the Soviet Union, along with Polish and UK policy of appeasement of USSR over its demands for Polish lands.

In June 1942, one of Kolin books – Mieczysław Norwid-Neugebauer's work *The Defence of Poland* – was heavily criticized by sensational *Sunday Pictorial* (that paved the way to modern tabloid newspapers). The newspaper condemned 'a stupid book' on its frontpage, arguing that 'it puts forward arguments that at the present time make its publication stupid beyond belief' – the only 'argument' provided was a brief quotation from Norwid-Neugebauer, who warned against a looming threat of 'Bolshevik' totalitarian system: '[b]ehind the Nazi totalism there lurks the menace of Soviet Russia, the vulture of the present war'. An anonymous journalist was astonished that Kolin Publishers refused to remove such 'offensive passages' from the book, which supposedly 'waste[d] Britain's short supplies of paper'[111] – interestingly, evoking a measure that was indeed later used by the UK Ministry of Information against Kolin and *Wiadomości Polskie*.

109 R. Habielski, *Niezłomni, nieprzejednani: Emigracyjne 'Wiadomości' i ich krąg 1940–1981*, Warszawa 1991, pp. 43–45.

110 H. Świderska, 'Censorship and the Polish Opposition Press in London, 1940–1944', *Solanus: International Journal for Russian and East European Bibliographic, Library, and Publishing Studies*, 1993, vol. 7, p. 13.

111 'A Stupid Book', *Sunday Pictorial*, 1941, no. 1423, p. 1. BNA, https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk, [Accessed November 17, 2025].

The fate of Kolin and *Wiadomości Polskie* was doomed, as Świderska demonstrated, since the question of Polish press was raised in a series of secret telegrams between Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin in 1942. Stalin demanded that the Polish newspapers should be restrained – in April 1943, Churchill concurred, reassuring Stalin that 'The Cabinet here is determined to have proper discipline in the Polish Press in Great Britain'.[112] The Foreign Office was then carefully monitoring Polish periodicals and prepared a series of Polish Press Reports – subsequently, *Wiadomości Polskie* was identified as anti-Soviet. To avoid scandal and mass protests of the Polish community, the UK Ministry of Information used *The Control of Paper* (No. 48) Order of 1 March 1943 to supress *Wiadomości* by confiscating the paper allocated to Kolin. In February 1944, the Ministry of Information 'instructed the printers Williams, Lea & Co. of the East End to retain the paper they had in stock for *Wiadomości* and banned further printing, and both the Ministry of Supply and Kolin were told of these measures', which – as the Ministry of Supply rightly emphasized in the following correspondence – were illegal and could have been challenged legally by the publishers.[113]

Two months later, in April 1944, another printing company, Scrutton Engraving initiated the legal action against Kolin Publishers that eventually led to the company's bankruptcy – Williams, Lea & Co. became then one of the main creditors of Kolin Publishers. Both printers belonged to a wider networks of (at least) eighteen printing companies, with whom Kolin cooperated – majority of Kolin's publications were printed by the Riverside Press based in Edinburgh (23 titles) and Cornwall Press in London (also 23 titles), along with aforementioned Williams, Lea & Co. (13 titles) and Percy Lund Humphries & Company, with offices in London and Bradford (10 titles).[114]

112 Prime Minister [Winston Churchill] to Premier [Joseph] Stalin, Foreign Office telegram to Moscow no. 452, April 28, 1943, call no. FO 954/19B/500, TNA.

113 H. Świderska, 'Censorship…', op. cit., p. 15.

114 Other Kolin books were manufactured by Bradford & Dickens, Charles Knight & Company, Drukarnia Polska, E. W. Buli & Co., F. Mildner and Sons, Geo. Barber

Scrutton Engraving filed a petition for compulsory winding-up of Kolin to the judge Gavin Turnbull Simonds[115] of the Companies Court, due to the publishers' debt 'for the price of work done and materials supplied and goods sold and delivered' from November 1943 to February 1944. In May 1944, the petitioner's accountants were allowed to examine Kolin's financial records, then a series of meetings with Kolin's creditors was convened.[116] The investigation revealed Kolin's grave financial situation and, despite the fact that the press owed Scrutton Engraving only £116, the judge Lionel Leonard Cohen[117] issued an order for compulsory liquidation of the publishing house in July 1944.[118]

In the Companies Court's documents, the official receiver F. M. Collins (incidentally, almost a namesake of the mythical owner of Kolin) listed the following reasons for Kolin's bankruptcy: 'the failure of the company is attributable to insufficient working capital and omission on the part of the active director, Ignacy Lindenfeld, to control within reasonable limits the overhead expanses of the business'.[119] Both the limited capital of Kolin and some publishers' inadequacies suggest that not all charges against Kolin's

and Son, Kimble and Bradford, Letchworth Printers, Munro Press, Aberdeen and Perth, Oliver and Boyd., the Sun Engraving Company, Superior Printers, V. B. Kerrison & Company – and, apparently also Scrutton Engravings, which filed the petition against Kolin. Based on the author's research in the British Library and the National Library of Poland.

115 Gavin Turnbull Simonds, UK judge and politician, lord chancellor, who served as a Judge of the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice in the years 1937–1944. G. R. Rubin, 'Simonds, Gavin Turnbull, Viscount Simonds (1881–1971)', in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* 2011 https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-31687 [Accessed November 15, 2025].

116 *M. I. Kolin (Publishers) Ltd.: Judge's Copy Petition...*, call no. J 13/17749/101, op. cit., TNA.

117 Lionel Leonard Cohen, UK judge and barrister, who served as a Judge of the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice in the years 1943–1946. R. Wilberforce, 'Cohen, Lionel Leonard, Baron Cohen (1888–1973)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-30950 [Accessed November 16, 2025].

118 *M. I. Kolin (Publishers) Ltd.*, call no. 13/17681, TNA.

119 Ibidem.

were made on political grounds. And yet one cannot stop wonder whether the petition for winding-up procedure might not have been dismissed, if the court was working without political pressure, undoubtedly brought by Churchill's promise to Stalin. Not surprisingly, both Lindenfeld and Kon attributed the collapse of Kolin to the politically-motivated closure of *Wiadomości Polskie* – the court documents include only their summarized indirect statements: 'In February, 1944, according to Kon, further publication of the *Polish Weekly News* was stopped and this resulted in monthly revenues of £ 250 being lost to the company' (p. 3) and 'Lindenfeld attributes the failure and insolvency to the stoppage of publication of the *Polish Weekly News*[120] which resulted in a considerable loss of revenue' (p. 4). The revenue from the sales of *Wiadomości Polskie* might have been a considerable part of Kolin's budget since the periodical's print run had increased from 5,000 to 7,000 copies during the war. Possibly, *Wiadomości Polskie* also brought some other profits, since the weekly printed advertising of other publishing houses (including the prestigious Oxford University Press), hotels (e.g. Hamilton House), restaurants (such as Mirabelle, Bagatelle, and Gospoda Polska), and numerous small companies.

More importantly, when Kolin's directors refused to sell the periodical to the Polish authorities in the summer of 1943, Polish government-in exile turned from Kolin's financial patron into its main creditor. By May 1944, when sixty-two creditors lined-up for the winding-up procedure, Kolin owed its highest debts to the Polish Ministry of Finance (£2242), Williams, Lea & Co (£2049), and – quite unexpectedly, Minerva Publishing (£1810) – the last case might have been an attempt at what Grydzewski's described as 'getting any money out of Kolin', though it demands further investigation.[121] The only creditor who opposed the liquidation of

120 The court documents translate the title *Wiadomości Polskie* as 'The Polish Weekly News', ignoring the English equivalent *The Polish News* provided in the newspaper masthead.

121 M. Grydzewski's letter to K. Wierzyński, April 5, 1944, in: M. Grydzewski, H. Wierzyńska, K. Wierzyński, *Korespondencja*..., op. cit., https://tei.nplp.pl/documents/331 [Accessed November 22, 2025].

the company was Kon, who earlier tried to revive the company finances with loans, resulting in debenture and hence became its creditor. By December 1947, Kolin must have paid some of its debts, since only twenty unsecured creditors were then enumerated in court documents – tellingly, both Polish Ministry of Finance (though with an amount decreased to £851) and Williams, Lea & Co (with a slight increase due to interest rates), along with several Polish organizations (the World League of Poles Abroad) and periodicals remained on the creditors' list.

In his essayistic recollection of the politically motivated closure of *Wiadomości Polskie*, written in 1961 and titled 'Rozum narodowy a rozsądek polityczny' (National wisdom versus political common sense), Grydzewski, bluntly stated: 'the British government sank *Wiadomości*, and along with *Wiadomości*, Kolin sank'. [122] As the editor well knew by then, the downfall of *Wiadomości Polskie* was only temporary – first, the periodical recurred in a series of pamphlets and then, remerged in its final long-lived 'incarnation' (to use Grydzewski's term) as the weekly *Wiadomości*, published in the years 1946–1981.[123] In this venue, Grydzewski had developed his *Silva rerum* cycle, including the quoted essay, in which he fondly remembered the 'owners of Kolin company, who published *Wiadomości*, the bookseller Ignacy Lindenfeld and the industrialist Maks Kon'[124] for their firm opposition against any changes to the editorial staff and the modification of the periodical's profile into a 'purely literary' weekly.[125] Curiously, Grydzewski erased other

122 M. Grydzewski, 'Rozum narodowy a rozsądek polityczny', in: M. Grydzewski's *Silva Rerum*, ed. and intro. M. A. Supruniuk and J. B. Wójcik, Warszawa 2014, p. 596.

123 H. Świderska, 'Censorship…', op. cit., p. 16.

124 In *Wiadomości*, Kon's name was accompanied by a following note: 'We want to emphasize that £500, donated by Maks Kon, allowed to resurrect *Wiadomości* in Paris in March 1940. Only after that did the Polish government in exile bother to grant a modest subsidy, which devalued following the transfer of *Wiadomości* to London and then was withdrawn after *Wiadomości* had protested against the Sikorski-Mayski agreement in July 1941.' [M. Grydzewski], 'Silva rerum: Rozum narodowy a rozsądek polityczny', *Wiadomości Polskie*, vol. 16, no. 31, p. 6.

125 M. Grydzewski, 'Rozum…', op. cit., p. 596.

Kolin directors from his brief acknowledgment – though in the memorial issue of *Wiadomości*, published after the editor-in-chief's death, the periodical printed the photograph of Grydzewski with Murton, described as an 'English friend of the Editor' (Fig. 3).[126] Grydzewski closed his text with a paraphrase from Jean Anouilh's play *L'Hurluberlu*, in which a '"mad" general' claimed that 'the most important thing in a man's life is to be able to look straight into your own eyes while shaving in the morning'[127] – thus pointing to the values of personal authenticity and integrity.

Nine years later and shortly before his death in 1969, Lindenfeld sent a long confessional letter to Grydzewski, in which (among others), he alluded to the editor's 1961 *silva* and the message from Anouilh's play:

> After the 'fall' of Kolin, I did not maintain any relations with Poles – about that I am pleased. The only people I cared about were you, dear Sir, and Z. Nowakowski—I fraternized with Retinger because he was a great companion – he could be funny, etc. –
>
> n. b. [nota bene], I did not accept £5,000 from him, and that was his greatest resentment towards me. I do not regret it, and while shaving, I can always look in the mirror with a clear conscience.
>
> I wonder why I am writing such a peculiar letter to you, dear Sir. You do not need to respond, dear Sir. (Emphasis in original)[128]

Lindenfeld recalled here the politician and writer Józef H. Retinger, along with his offer for Kolin publishers, made in 1943 on behalf of the Polish government-in-exile, who wanted to turn the popular periodical into a government medium.[129] If the amount of £5,000 is correct, it proves that Kolin's bankruptcy could have been avoided if only the UK and Polish authorities had respected individual and political freedoms of Polish émigré press and publishers.

126 'Mieczysław Grydzewski i Reginald Murton', *Wiadomości*, 1970, no. 22 (1261), p. 6.

127 M. Grydzewski, 'Rozum...', op. cit., p. 596.

128 I. Lindenfeld's letter to M. Grydzewski, February 21, 1969, p. 2 verso, p. 3 recto, call. no. AE/AW/CLXXIV/3 *Lindenfeld Ignacy 1957–1969*, the Archives of Polish Emigration, NCUL.

129 R. Habielski, *Niezłomni, nieprzejednani...*, op. cit., p. 53.

Though Kolin ceased to exist as publisher in 1944, its lengthy bankruptcy procedure lasted until August 1947. In December 1944, a series of announcements published in *Polska Walcząca* and *Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza* (*The Polish Daily and Soldier's Daily*) informed that the 'Polish company Sphinx Publishing [...] obtained the assets of M. I. Kolin (Publishers)' and advertised 'Polish Bookshops' in Edinburgh and London.[130] No sooner than in February 1945, the latter daily printed first advertisements of '[t]he bookselling and publishing company Orbis (London)', whose owners – 'Orbis' Polish Travel Office and Witold Filski – informed about 'a great variety of books in Polish and in English' available in Polish Bookshops in London and Edinburgh, indicating that they formerly belonged to M. I. Kolin. Kolin Publishers was taken over by Orbis (London), developed then by Józef Olechnowicz, Witold Filski and others. In 1945, Orbis published some reprints of Kolin classics, lowering their production costs by cooperation with the same printing companies (the Riverside Press and Percy Lund Humphries & Company) that produced the first editions for Kolin – Teofil Lenartowicz's *Bitwa racławicka*, Adam Mickiewicz's *Grażyna* and *Pan Tadeusz*, along with Henryk Sienkiewicz's *Potop*. The new owner activated and developed the network of Kolin bookshops, since Kłossowski enumerated among Orbis venues the following: the London store – 'the largest Polish bookshop in the UK from its beginnings', chain stores in Edinburgh and Dundee, several bookstalls and some mobile 'bookbuses', reaching Polish exiles across the British Isles.[131] Owing to Orbis, both Kolin books and bookshops received a 'second chance' in Polish exile culture in the UK.

Conclusions

This article offers the first reconstruction of the history M. I. Kolin Publishers, an exile Polish publishing house that played a major cultural role in the early years of the Second Great Polish Emigra-

130 'Polska spółka...', *Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza*, vol. 1, no. 307, p. 4.

131 A. Kłossowski, 'Księgarnie Polskie...', op. cit., p. 153.

tion. Based on extensive and diverse archival sources, it combines research in the Companies Court's documents held in the National Archives (UK) with a thorough analysis of publishing and editorial correspondence, dispersed among Polish and UK repositories. Such an approach has led to new significant findings about Kolin, its founders and directors: Lindenfeld's leading role in Kolin's activities, Kon's patronage for Kolin and *Wiadomości Polskie*, Murton's and Heiman-Jarecki's contributions to Kolin. On its margins, the article engages in biographical research, again using previously unexamined archival and press materials to provide more balanced 'portraits' of Kolin's founders than previous accounts, presumably silenced or misshaped by the censorship of the Polish People's Republic – thus, it could be a starting point for their in-depth biographies. Such biographical studies may take into consideration (among others) Polish Jewish identities of many cultural mediators that created Kolin Publishers and Kolin books – they require intersectional approaches that convey on the one hand, acknowledgment of diverse oppressions they faced (from Nazism and Stalinism to anti-Semitism of some fellow exiles in 'Polish London'), and on the other hand, awareness that notwithstanding all these forms of violence, Kolin Publishers emphasized 'Polish' character of their endeavours in the UK by publishing predominantly in Polish, introducing directors as Poles in the company correspondence, publishing the periodical *Wiadomości Polskie* (*The Polish News*), and finally, adopting the very name 'Księgarnie Polskie' (Polish Bookshops) for their chain of bookstores across the UK.

The article includes the first survey of Kolin's publishing outcomes and profile, based predominantly on data provided in the digital resources of the British Library (catalogues and British Newspaper Archive), the National Library of Poland (catalogues and Polona Digital Library), and the Polish Digital Libraries Federation – further enhanced by focused research in print collections. This tentative bibliography of Kolin's publications could serve as a basis for new research on how Kolin's publications were received not only in Polish émigré newspapers but also – particularly, in

the case of Kolin's photobooks and English translations – in the UK press.

Previous nuanced studies of the politically-motivated closure of *Wiadomości Polskie* were used here to contextualize and critically analyze the Companies Court's files on Kolin's bankruptcy to show that it was caused by both political and financial factors – contrary not only to the UK court that had submitted to political pressure and turned a blind eye to the governmental abuse of power towards exile publishers, but also in opposition to some academic publications on émigré culture that highlighted a purely political fall of Kolin, inevitably brought by the Polish government's repressions and the closure of *Wiadomości Polskie* by the UK government. More importantly, the research demonstrates that Kolin Publishers used diverse and resilient strategies of cultural transfer to survive at the demanding UK literary marketplace in extreme wartime circumstances: from the cooperation with local printing companies to the strategic partnership with Faber & Faber to the development of a bookshop chain across the UK to the publishers' attempts at establishing transatlantic connections with Canada and the US. Kolin Publishers' legacy outlived the company's bankruptcy as its books and bookshops were navigated by Orbis (London).

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USAGE OF PRIMO RESEARCH ASSISTANT IN LIBRARIES IN POLAND

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ABSTRACT

A dynamic development of AI-powered solutions has an impact on the transformation of information services in libraries. One of the tools that coincides with the trend is Primo Research Assistant. The paper presents the extent of the tool's implementation in Poland and analyses its actual usage in three selected academic libraries. The research was of a quantitative character, basing on the analysis of the number and the extent of the tool implementation, while in the case of three selected institutions, also on the analysis of the usage rate, such as session numbers and the numbers of interactions per session. Moreover, time shifts were taken into account, which allowed to identify trends related to the tool's adaptation. The research results demonstrate that the number of libraries implementing Primo Research Assistant remains relatively low. Simultaneously, the use of the tool in academic libraries is of a superficial nature, showing on average 1.4 actions per session. What dominate are brief single interactions, this suggesting that the tool is predominantly applied as a swift source of information, and not as a support for a more thorough research.

KEYWORDS: Artificial intelligence, libraries in Poland, Primo Research Assistant, usage analysis, empirical data

Introduction

A dynamic development of AI-powered technologies implies a redefinition of the role of the traditional information services provided by academic libraries. What gains a particular importance in this context is the implementation of such tools as Primo Research Assistant. However, their very availability in the library's offer does not determine the actual scale of its usage by library users. It, thus, seems justifiable to confront the scale of the usage of such solutions with the volume of their actual usage, which allows a more critical evaluation of the usefulness of the AI-based tools in supporting information and research activity.

Research Goal and Methods

The paper's essential goal is twofold. Firstly, it is meant to show the extent of the implementation of Primo Research Assistant in libraries in Poland. Secondly, it aims to analyse the actual usage of the discussed tool in the selected academic libraries, particularly taking into account the extent of its implementation and the usage modes.

A quantitative approach was applied, this based on the analysis of the data documenting the tool's usage. The source of the empirical material was found in the data provided by the National Library of Poland.[1] It was used to verify the www pages of the chosen libraries in view of Primo Research Assistant's usage. Three academic libraries which implemented the Assistant: the Jagiellonian Library, Main Library of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, and the University of Warsaw Library, were requested to provide statistical data related to the Assistant's usage.

The above libraries were selected, since they constitute a varied set of case studies. Two of them operate within the grandest and best-recognizable academic centres in Poland, while the third one

1 Biblioteka Narodowa, 'Współkatalogowanie', https://bn.org.pl/dla-bibliotekarzy/ogolnokrajowa-siec-biblioteczna/wspolkatalogowanie [Accessed 20 May 2026].

was chosen as an example of a lower-scale organizational unit. Thanks to this it was possible to compare the usage of the discussed tool within varied institutional environments, which also secured a higher comparative value of the obtained results.

The analysis focused first of all on the number of sessions and actions per session, as well as on the dynamics of these rates over time. Not only did this allow to define the intensity of the tool's usage, but also to identify the tendencies related to its adaptation in the investigated libraries. Additionally, varied user activities in respective research periods were analysed, this enabling the evaluation of the tool's usage stability following its implementation. The obtained results allowed to formulate conclusions related to the level of the tool's adaptation and its potential usefulness in the academic environment.

Literature's Overview

Primo Research Assistant is a search tool based on generative AI, integrated with the discovery Primo VE system manufactured by Clarivate/Ex Libris. The tool's beta version was made available in September 2024.[2] Generative AI, forming the basis for Primo Research Assistant, is the GPT-4.1 mini model from OpenAI.[3] Interestingly, the Assistant is one of the available functions of the Primo VE system. According to the tool's manufacturer: 'Primo Research Assistant uses a Retrieval Augmented Generation (RAG) architecture to combine the language capabilities of the LLM (Large Language Model) with the knowledge from material indexed in the Central Discovery Index (CDI)'.[4] Importantly, the '2026 Primo VE Roadmap Highlights' document shows the possibility of implementing the option of the integration of the local metadata re-

2 Ch. King, 'Primo Research Assistant: User Testing and Feedback. The Open University' in: *Open Research Online*, 2025, https://oro.open.ac.uk/103099/1/Primo%20Research%20Assistant%20Report.pdf [Accessed 20. May 2026].

3 Ex Libris, 'Getting Started with Primo Research Assistant', https://knowledge.exlibrisgroup.com/Primo/Product_Documentation/020Primo_VE/Primo_VE_(English)/015_Getting_Started_with_Primo_Research_Assistant [Accessed 20 May 2026].

4 Ibid.

cords as data sources for the tool. It was also indicated that this functionality would serve the MARC21, UNIMARC, Dublin Core, or XML standards, taking into account subject headings, classifications, full-text local contents, and external records.[5]

The Assistant is a multilingual tool which, when asked by users in languages other than English, will provide the summing up of the results in their respective language, while searching materials both in the local language and English.[6] Serving as the basis for the operation of Primo Research Assistant, Ex Libris Central Discovery Index is a unified global index of scientific and academic resources, containing over 5 billion records of materials of varied kind from thousands of publishers, aggregators, and repositories.[7]

The to-date publications on Primo Research Assistant are still scarce, focusing more on the librarians' perspective, the tool's efficiency, or its teaching potential.[8] As observed by Heather L. Cribbs, Ellen Jarosz, and Stephen Kutay, the analyses dealing with the end-user experience are less frequent. [9] Meanwhile, it is the latter that provide the most direct data on the actual usefulness, limitations, and reception of the solution in the academic praxis.

Overall, the tool has been positively perceived by librarians and other users. In the literature we can find such opinions that 'Primo Research Assistant was received largely positively by respondents, which has increased confidence in making this available to all users'[10] or that this solution is regarded as 'a game-changer

5 Ex Libris, '2026 Primo VE Roadmap Highlights', https://files.mtstatic.com/site_11811/197870/0?Expires=1779269363&Signature=ufBIlP9i-F8RQxOE9-Dy34acg1jdGf5lF2X~FDsgXRxsvF9hh0pVhBjP71z60CvukhIsZ3P1jU-Gp-WUQbEEzy8w73~F7bpWye5zfTP3Rx4zDFssZT1LgXflerYJXBJr0gATIvHsUm7D-qwaKnorn4JFjTPNTv3-XpanDJlaOwvdIw_&Key-Pair-Id=APKAJ5Y6AV4GI7A555NA [Accessed 20 May 2026].

6 Ex Libris, 'Getting Started...'.

7 T. Elton, 'CDI (Central Discovery Index) Guide: CDI: The Basics', https://flvc.libguides.com/cdi [Accessed 20 May 2026].

8 H. L. Cribbs, E. Jarosz, S. Kutay, 'Student Experiences with AI-Enhanced Library Discovery: Evaluating the Primo Research Assistant through Reflective Journaling', https://scholarworks.calstate.edu/downloads/dv1404114 [Accessed 20 May 2026].

9 Ibid.

10 Ch. King, 'Primo Research...'.

for academic research'.[11] Although some judgements expressing uncertainty as for the tool's use have also been pronounced. Can Li & Hesper Wilson explain that: 'Even with Clarivate/Ex Libris' documentation, how it works is still not well understood. For academic libraries, when offering a product to their users, explainability and clarity in specific cases are paramount, but that is not what the currently available resources can give them confidence about. Further documentation and training resources might help bridge this gap, and along with an improved UI, PRA [Primo Research Assistant] can possibly gain recognition for its value and cross the chasm'.[12] In the report prepared for the International Labour Organization concerning the implementation of the IT strategy there is mention of a pilot programme in the first half of 2025. It demonstrates that the discussed tool was not as yet mature to be implemented. The document also states that its improved version was to be reassessed in 2025–27.[13] Other investigation showed that in the case of the use of the Assistant by students there may occur essential limitations in the interaction. Essi Prykäri and Riikka Sinisalo declare that 'there were some concerns that the students do not familiarize themselves with the sources given and just use the summary provided, which might give them a skewed view on the topic. The summary provided might also encourage students to plagiarize, which mirrors the findings from the literature'.[14]

11 K. Van Deventer, 'Primo Research Assistant: A game-changer for academic research', https://blogs.sun.ac.za/libraryresearchnews/2025/04/29/primo-research-assistant-beta-a-game-changer-for-academic-research/ [Accessed 20 May 2026].

12 C. Li, H. Wilson, 'Primo Research Assistant: Potential for Enhancing Resource Discovery (A Six-Month Review)', *Internet Reference Services Quarterly*, 2025 No 29(2), p. 210.

13 International Labour Organization, 'Final report on the implementation of the Information Technology Strategy 2022-25', https://www.ilo.org/sites/default/files/2026-02/GB356-PFA-INF-2-%5BINFOTEC-260115-001%5D-EN.pdf [Accessed 20 May 2026].

14 E.Prykäri, R. Sinisalo, 'Faculty Views on Generative AI Tools - Case: Primo Research Assistant' in: L. M. Evertson, P. M. Niemitalo, *Enhancing Student Motivation through Reflective Self-Assessment. Abstract from The Ninth European Conference on Information Literacy (ECIL) September 22nd-25th 2025*, Bamberg, Germany, pp. 101 https://research.abo.fi/ws/portalfiles/portal/70529221/ECIL2025_Book-of-Abstracts-final_v2.pdf#page=122 [Accessed 20 May 2026].

The principles underlying the operation of Primo Research Assistant, its functionalities, and its potential applications in conducting information retrieval queries are discussed in detail in a separate study.[15] One of the findings presented in that study is that formulating the same query in different natural languages may result in different search outcomes.[16] Although Primo Research Assistant supports multiple natural languages, the language in which a query is formulated may influence the scope and composition of the retrieved results.

The above demonstrate that Primo Research Assistant is still being evaluated as for its functionality and capacity of a wider implementation. On the one hand, the tool arouses interest as an element enhancing search for information, on the other, it continues to raise questions for the operation understandability, interaction quality, and practical value in the academic environment. As a consequence, its further evaluation should not only consider the technical parameters, but also the user experience and the institutional context in which it is applied.

Empirical Data Analysis

Primo Research Assistant has been implemented in Poland since 2024, mainly as part of projects coordinated by the National Library since 2017. Importantly, Assistant holds potential for a wider application in various types of libraries in Poland, i.e., public, research, and academic. The integration of library catalogues was also supported as part of the National Reading Development Programme 2.0 (2021–2025), and in 2026, efforts to develop library cooperation and modern IT tools are being continued, with the National Library of Poland remaining the core of these activities.[17]

15 G. Gmiterek, S.D. Kotuła, 'Primo Research Assistant jako narzędzie wspierające użytkowników polskich bibliotek' in: M. Wójcik, AI w bibliotekach. Stan obecny, perspektywy, wyzwania, Kraków 2026, pp. 163-179 https://ruj.uj.edu.pl/entities/publication/32357e29-0d49-42e0-a774-e4969cc021ef [Accessed 9 September 2026].

16 Ibid. pp. 175–176.

17 Biblioteka Narodowa, 'Od rekordu do rekordu. Podsumowanie konferencji dotyczącej funkcjonowania i rozwoju Połączonych Katalogów' https://www.bn.org.pl/

The present study focuses on libraries participating in activities carried out in cooperation with the National Library of Poland. Based on the list of participating libraries published by the National Library of Poland and on a verification of the websites of the respective institutions[18], Primo Research Assistant was found to have been implemented in 19 of the 126 academic, research, special, and public libraries included in the analysed group (Table 1).

TABLE 1. LIBRARIES PARTICIPATING IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF POLAND'S COOPERATION NETWORK WITH ACCESS TO PRIMO RESEARCH ASSISTANT (AS OF MAY 2026)

No.	Name	Type
1.	AGH University Main Library	academic
2.	Main Library of the University of Physical Education in Krakow	academic
3.	Library of the Medical University of Gdansk	academic
4.	Library of John Paul II Catholic University in Lublin	academic
5.	Library of the University of Gdansk	academic
6.	Jagiellonian Library	academic
7.	Library of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw	academic
8.	Library of Maria Curie-Skłodowska in Lublin	academic
9.	Nicolaus Copernicus University Library (Torun)	academic
10.	Opole University Library	academic
11.	University Library UWM (Olsztyn)	academic
12.	University of Warsaw Library	academic
13.	Wroclaw University Library	academic
14.	Library of Warsaw University of Technology	academic
15	Raczyński Library	research
16.	Central Agricultural Library. Branch of the National Institute of Rural Culture and Heritage in Puławy	research
17.	Tadeusz Mikulski Lower-Silesian Public Library in Wrocław	public
18.	H. Łopaciński Voivodeship Public Library in Lublin	public
19.	W. Gombrowicz Voivodeship Public Library in Kielce	public

aktualnosci/5854-od-rekordu-do-rekordu-podsumowanie-konferencji-dotyczacej-funkcjonowania-i-rozwoju-polaczonych-katalogow.html [Accessed 20 May 2026].

18 Biblioteka Narodowa, 'Współkatalogowanie'. Next to the enumerated libraries the Project was also participated by their branches.

The achieved result shows that the tool's use remains at a relatively early stage. Among the institutions which have implemented Primo Research Assistant the dominating number is constituted by academic libraries (14 implementations). There are also two research and three public libraries which have implemented the tool. When analysing the implementation structure one can see that the greatest interest in the tool is shown by the libraries which operate within the environment of tertiary education and research, where the need for support in information search and exploration of digitized resources is particularly big. Furthermore, such a list demonstrates that a presence of AI technologies in libraries is not universal, while their implementation for the moment applies to a relatively small number of centres, the latter characterized by a high organizational and information potential. What has also been observed is a large majority of libraries which despite technological implementation capacities have not decided to implement the solution. Thus, the data demonstrate that the very capacity for technological implementation does not translate automatically into the actual adoption. This confirms the presence of additional factors having an impact on the institution's decision making process.

Data Related to the Usage of Primo Research Assistant in Selected Academic Libraries

In the light of the afore-presented scale of the adoption of Primo Research Assistant in Polish libraries, further analysis requires a confrontation of the implementation level with the empirical data on the actual usage of the tool. Since the presence of the tool in a library's offer does not in fact guarantee its active user application. Therefore, the present part of the paper focuses on the statistical data connected with the interactions with Primo Research Assistant in three chosen academic libraries, taking into account the key rates, namely the number of sessions and actions undertaken as their part. The libraries chosen are those of varied-size universities. This being important, since in the case of larger universities there is a higher potential for a more frequent use of the Assistant (a larger

number of students and employees, thus library users). In the case of a medium-size university (Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin) the scale of potential usage of the tool may be smaller, this allowing to objectively compare its usage with that in the libraries of large academic centres. Not only does such a comparison allow to grasp the very implementation level, but also the actual interest in the tool among users in view of the size of the university community. Our goal was thus to investigate whether Primo Research Assistant's implementation level translates into its actual application by users and whether the activity scale varies depending on the size of the university and the potential of respective academic libraries.

JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY (BJ)

Over the analysed period, spanning from November 2024 to October 2025, the total number of 57,743 sessions and 80,466 actions performed by the users applying Primo Research Assistant were recorded. Such a high number of interactions demonstrates that the tool was widely implemented, and had entered the praxis of the use of the library resources to a much higher degree than in the other investigated centres. However, it has to be emphasized that the very number of sessions suggests high user interest, while the number of actions allows to better grasp the actual character of the tool's use, thus the degree of engagement in the search process.

Data analysis on a monthly basis shows that the numbers of sessions and actions display a similar course, showing a strong correlation between the rates. In the early months of the research the investigated activity stayed at a relatively high level, generally falling within 5,800 to 7,300 sessions and between ca 7,900 and 10,500 actions monthly. The highest number was achieved in March 2025 when the number of sessions reached 7,343 while that of actions approached 10,500.

The above data can be interpreted as reflecting the period of a particular intensity of the tool's use, likely related to the growth of teaching and research activities in the middle of the academic year. In subsequent months, a systematic decrease was visible,

this possibly indicating the seasonal character of the tool's use and its higher usefulness in the periods of higher intensity of studying and research. At the same time, in the last analysed month, namely October 2025, the activity increased, this likely suggesting that the interest in the tool was resumed, coinciding with the launch of the new academic cycle.

CHART 1. NUMBER OF SESSIONS ON A MONTHLY BASIS (BJ)

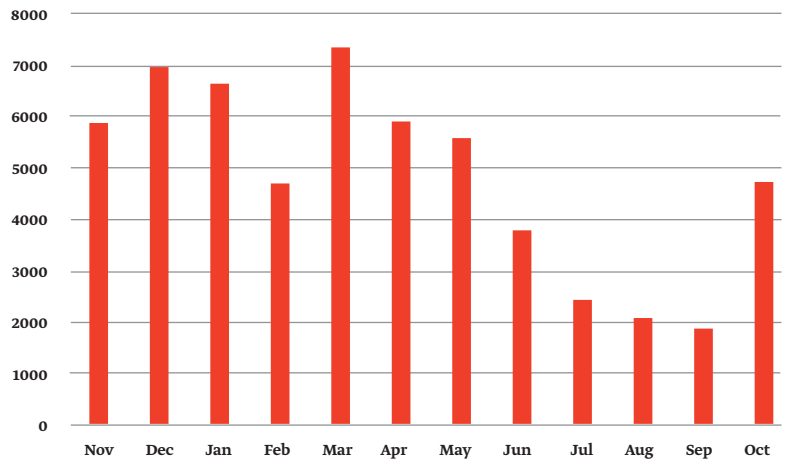
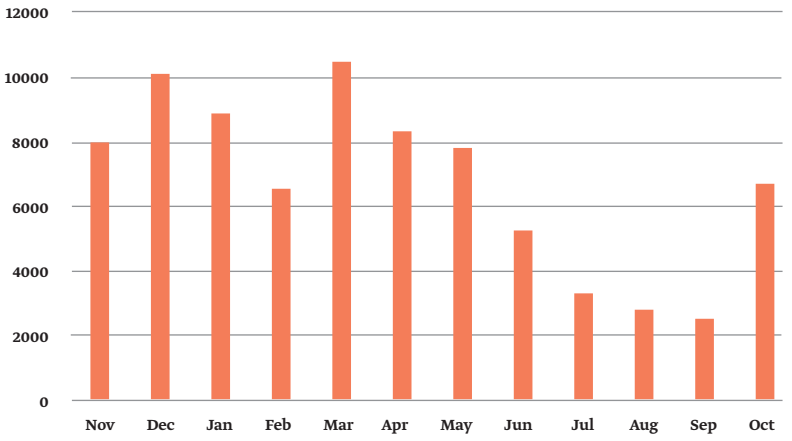


CHART 2. NUMBER OF ACTIONS ON A MONTHLY BASIS (BJ)



What we consider essential is the rate of actions per session, which over the whole period stood at an average of 1.39. This showing that an average session covered hardly anything more than a single action, thus the dominating mode of the tool's use were short single interactions. Such a result shows that Primo Research Assistant served predominantly in the function of a quick access to information, not a tool assisting a more complex multi-stage resource exploration process. The stability of this rate over time suggests, in turn, that despite the fluctuation in movement the users did not essentially change their manner of working with the system. In other words, the increase or fall in the number of sessions did not truly lead to an essential deepening of the interaction, this possibly indicating a fixed, quite superficial model of the Assistant's use.

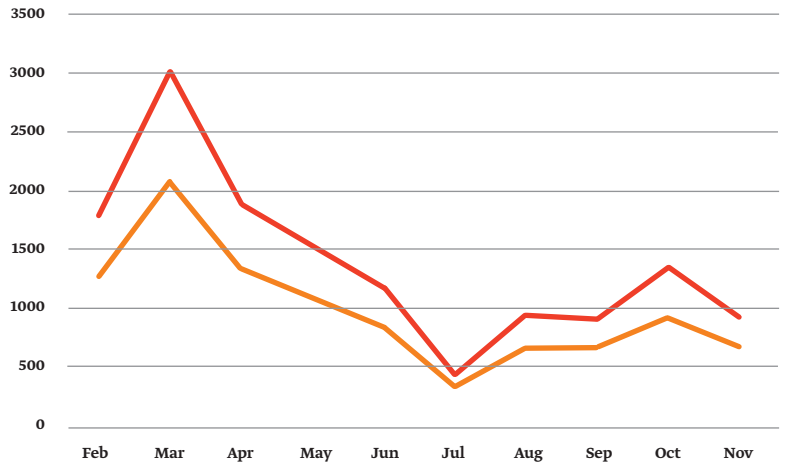
The data from the Jagiellonian Library show that despite an early implementation of the Assistant its use remains relatively limited. On the one hand, they demonstrate that Primo Research Assistant has been noticed and approved of by users, while on the other, they show that the tool's potential has not been maximally utilized. This may result from both sufficiency of a single answer generated by the tool and from the fact that users treat it as an auxiliary solution serving to quickly obtain information, and do not apply it for a longer research. In this sense the results coincide with the broader observation that the very presence of the tool in the library's offer does not automatically imply user activity depth.

MAIN LIBRARY OF THE MARIA CURIE-SKŁODOWSKA UNIVERSITY (BG UMCS)

The research material, spanning the period from 12 February 2025 to 19 November 2025, recorded the total of 9,884 sessions and 13,998 actions, this yielding an average of 1.42 actions per session. Such a rate roughly equals that observed in the other libraries, this pointing to a similar limited character of user interaction with the tool. At the same time, the overall scale being significantly smaller

in comparison to the Jagiellonian Library (ca 7-fold lower session number) may be interpreted as an effect of a smaller student population and a more local quality of the University, these factors likely contributing to a limited usage of Primo Research Assistant's potential.

CHART 3. NUMBER OF SESSIONS (ORANGE) AND ACTIONS (RED) ON A MONTHLY BASIS (BG UMCS)



The analysis of the session number on a monthly basis displays a lack of a permanent increase trend. Following the initial growth and the peak in the second month there occurred a systematic decline of activity up to the lowest value in the sixth month. In subsequent months, a partial rebound in activity was observed together with the levelling off at 650–900 sessions monthly. Such a chart course suggests that the tool did not consolidate its core user base, while its popularity quickly expired following the phase of initial interest. In this case, too, the tool's use was the lowest during the holiday period, and grew again as of October.

The analysis of the action number within single sessions also displays the dominance of minimal values. What dominate are single-action sessions, while a definite majority of interactions does not include more than 2 to 3 actions. The median of actions

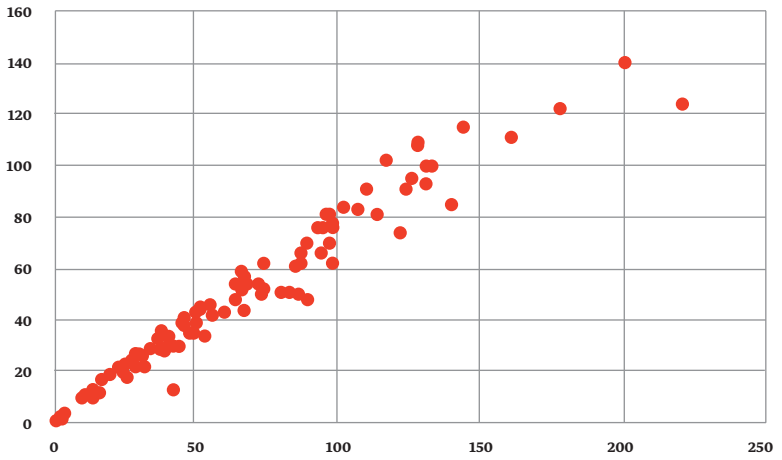
per session stands exactly at 1, which unequivocally confirms that the typical tool's use was brief and single: the users asked single questions, terminating the session having received the answer. A parallel presence of few sessions boasting an unusually high number of actions (reaching several dozen) leads to a skewed data distribution, inflating the average value, and masking the dominant minimal engagement pattern.

Interestingly, the varied user activity: when the majority are light users, while a group conducts intensive multi-stage interactions, can be typical of the early stages of new technology adoption. In the context of BG UMCS, the data demonstrate that Primo Research Assistant performed first of all the role of a quick information source, and not of a comprehensive research assistant. The lack of more complex interactions may result from the adequacy of single answers to simple information needs of the students, as well as from a limited promotion or teaching which did not encourage a more advanced usage. As a result, despite the tool having been implemented its application remains limited, which may constitute a challenge to a further development of AI-based library services.

UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW LIBRARY (BUW)

Over the analysed period, definitely shorter than in the case of the other libraries, namely from 2 July 2025 to 20 October 2025, the total of 5,251 sessions and 6,958 interactions were recorded, this translating into the average rate of 1.33–1.35 actions per session. It stands at the lowest from among the three investigated libraries, although its stability over time, regardless of the daily intensity fluctuations, testifies to a recurring usage pattern. Importantly, the tool was launched at BUW only in July 2025. However, a relatively high rate of actions per session points to a more effective usage model, despite a lower scale.

CHART 4. NUMBER OF SESSIONS (ON THE LEFT) AND NUMBER OF ACTIONS (AT THE BOTTOM) ON RESPECTIVE DAYS (BUW)



The analysis of the daily data shows a distinct temporal dynamic: in the initial phase (July 2025) a dynamic increase in session number was observed, which was followed by a quick period of decrease due to a holiday period. As of September 2025 the activity started to intensify again, reaching the levels higher than the earlier rate, which demonstrates a cyclical character of the tool's use related to the academic calendar. In the majority of cases the users limited themselves to a single action per session, less rarely undertaking subsequent interactions, although sporadic rate increases to 1.6-1.8 suggest the likelihood of the Assistant's more intensive use.

The stability of the number of sessions and actions ratio, with the domination of minimal interactions, points to a superficial model of Primo Research Assistant's usage: the tool is treated as a quick point of access to an answer, and not a platform for an in-depth resource exploration. This repetitive model, regardless of the fluctuation in movement, is common for all the libraries, emphasizing the universal character of the AI adoption within an academic environment: the initial enthusiasm gives way to the stabilization at the level of single queries. The lack of evolution towards multi-

stage sessions can point to the sufficiency of single results for the majority of information needs or to a limited user awareness of the tool's full potential. In our view, this may result from the insufficient intuitiveness of the interface which does not encourage the continuation of the user interaction.

Conclusions

A low level of Primo Research Assistant's implementation may demonstrate a cautious approach of libraries to the implementation of generative AI tools. In academic and research libraries what matters most is the relevance of the obtained answers, hence a potential factor limiting the speed of the tool's adoption may result from doubts related to the obtained results.

The Assistant's very implementation does not require any additional outlay, development of the infrastructure, or a complicated technological integration. Thus, a low implementation scale does not result from technological or economic barriers. It can be assumed that the key role in this respect is played by the institutional prudence regarding generative AI technology as such. Other possible reasons may include lack of user needs, lack of interest, or staff's limited awareness of the tool's potential. Another cause can be found in the insufficient knowledge of the tool's availability. Furthermore, objections may be raised due to the automatic generation of the answers to the users, particularly in an academic activity or in research, where next to the credibility and transparency of search processes the control over result presentation is of particular importance.

The predominance of academic libraries among the institutions implementing the discussed tool may result from a stronger pressure on the development of digital services supporting teaching and research. Besides, they also boast greater readiness to experiment with modern tools. The implementation scope also suggests a more conservative approach of public and special libraries to automation of information services.

Generative AI technologies in libraries are still in the early adoption phase, even in situations where the implementation is tech-

nically simple, not generating any additional cost. This implying that implementation decisions are at present mostly affected by strategic, organizational, and cultural factors, including e.g., libraries' cautious approach to generative AI technologies, lack of elaborated implementation strategies, and scepticism towards automation of information services.

The data from the analysed academic libraries display a clear differentiation as for the scale of user activity, strongly correlated with the size of the academic community and the time of the tool's operation. The leading results are displayed by the Jagiellonian Library with 57,743 sessions and 80,466 actions over a full year (November 2024 – October 2025), this reflecting an effective tool's adoption. The Main Library of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University recorded 9,884 sessions and 13, 998 actions (February–November 2025), while the University of Warsaw Library showed the smallest activity: 5,251 sessions and 6,958 actions, however, over a much shorter period of time, spanning merely from July to October 2025; the latter fact has to be borne in mind in order to allow a more balanced comparison among the three institutions. Nonetheless, what remains the factor they have in common is a low action per session rate (ca 1.4), demonstrating a superficial quality of the tool's use in all the three cases.

The achieved results show an underutilization of Primo Research Assistant's potential, since a large number of sessions is contrasted by the interaction superficiality, this revealing divergence between the adoption scale and its quality. The disproportion may occur for various reasons: sufficiency of single answers to the majority of users' simple information needs, limitations of the user interface (such as a lack of suggestions for the next steps or weak encouragement to continue the session), or insufficient promotion.

The comparison of the three academic libraries shows that the very implementation scale, even in the case of such a major academic centre as the Jagiellonian University and its library, does not guarantee a deeper adoption. What can be seen as a meaning-

ful case is that of BUW where despite the shortest observation period (July – October 2025) a stable recurring usage pattern was obtained, albeit at the minimal interaction level. These results show that the novelty effect promptly wears out, giving way to routine single questions, lacking a natural evolution towards complex search procedures.

Therefore, the key direction for further actions should consist in integrated educational initiatives: promotion campaigns enhancing the awareness of the Assistant's full potential, workshops for students and researchers demonstrating a multi-step search, and possibly also user experience optimization through user interface improvement, e.g., by adding visual discovery pathways. Such an approach shall undoubtedly allow to transform Primo Research Assistant from a 'quick search engine' into an actual research assistant, more accurately meeting the needs of the academic environment.

The authors wish to express their sincere gratitude to the Jagiellonian Library, the Main Library of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, and the University of Warsaw Library for providing access to statistical data on the use of Primo Research Assistant. Their willingness to share detailed usage statistics has been invaluable for the analysis presented in this article.

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LARGE LANGUAGE MODELS AS A TOOL FOR INDEXING BOOKS: A COMPARATIVE EXPERIMENT IN VIEW OF THE NORM PN-ISO 999: *INFORMATION AND DOCUMENTATION – GUIDELINES ON CONTENT, ORGANIZATION, AND PRESENTATION OF INDEXES*

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ABSTRACT

The article discusses the challenge of applying Large Language Models (LLMs) to indexing scholarly books, a complex task in the organisation of knowledge that goes beyond simple term extraction. The purpose of the study is a quality appraisal of indexes generated by three selected models: ChatGPT 5.3, Gemini 3.1 Pro, and Claude in comparison to an expert index, taking into account the guidelines of the norm PN-ISO 999: *Information and documentation – Guidelines on Content, Organisation, and Presentation of Indexes*.

A fragment of a scholarly monograph was analysed; the research procedure was conducted in two variants: *zero-shot* and *chain-of-thought prompting*. The appraisal used four parameters: completeness, precision, locator accuracy, and syndetic consistency. The results indicate significant limitations in models based exclusively on token prediction, namely ChatGPT 5.3 and Gemini 3.1 Pro, which generate indices with low conceptual coverage and weak relational structure. They tend to index passing mentions and skip undisclosed concepts. Using the chain-of-thought technique strengthens certain structural aspects but leads to lower levels of completeness. The model Claude Opus 4.6 *Extended thinking* shows different effects: it achieves high completeness and a developed syndetic structure, but at the cost of excessive detail and limited selectivity. The study confirms that contemporary LLMs may assist the indexing process but do not replace expert competencies. The human-in-the-loop model, combining the efficiency of automatic extraction with the substantive control provided by an indexer, remains the most promising direction in indexing.

KEYWORDS: index, indexing, indexer, artificial intelligence, PN-ISO 999: *Information and documentation – Guidelines on Content, Organization, and Presentation of Indexes*, ChatGPT 5.3, Gemini 3.1 Pro, Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking

1. Introduction

The history of indexes is connected to the culture of writing and its development as well as to the institution of scholarship, including the academic and monastic communities. Their creation resulted from the accumulation of knowledge recorded in various types of documents, at a time when rapid identification of passages in texts such as the Bible, writings of the Church Fathers, or philosophical treatises became necessary.[1] It then appeared essential to create tools that facilitate the search for required information, i.e., indexes.

1 Z. Stasiewska, *Indeksy do książek*, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawa 1964, pp. 5–6.

Manuscript books began to include registers in the form of lists of quires and, later, lists of chapter headings, designed to allow faster access to the content. Over time, various listings of entries, marginal glosses, and the first indexes were added, indicating where specific themes were located in the content. The development of printing techniques, initiated in the 15th century, significantly contributed to a wide proliferation of indexes in the following centuries. Print facilitated the production of more copies of identical texts with consistent structure and pagination, which in turn favoured the design of more consistent and precise search tools. In the modern era, indexes gradually became a standard element of scholarly publications, especially encyclopedic, historical, or legal works, and their importance grew in parallel with the development of scholarship.[2]

Indexes in books are currently one of the most important tools for organizing knowledge and sharing content, mainly in scholarly and popular science publications. They also appear in handbooks, manuals across all areas of knowledge,[3] tourism guides, and travel reports. They are essential in bibliographies, and the relevant methodology even recommends supporting users with at least two indexes. They are also included in information publications, such as encyclopaedias, dictionaries, lexicons, etc. They can also appear in periodicals, library catalogues and data-bases.[4]

Indexes allow readers to quickly find information in the text by providing the location of specific names (e.g., people or geographic

2 D. Duncan, *Index, A History of the: A Bookish Adventure from Medieval Manuscripts to the Digital Age*, W. W. Norton & Company, New York 2023.

3 Compiling indices in literary texts is being considered. Cf. A discussion of the subject in: J. Pacek, 'Indeksowanie w XXI wieku. Ewolucja i współczesne funkcje pojęcia', *Zagadnienia Informacji Naukowej* 2006, no. 2, pp. 37–38, and in particular, Danuta Danek's book where she suggested compiling indices of novels: D. Danek, *Dzieło literackie jako książka. O tytułach i spisach rzeczy w powieści*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1980, p. 163.

4 L. Marszałek, *Edytorstwo publikacji naukowych*, op. cit., pp. 275–276; *Współwydanie książki. Jak wydać książkę razem z wydawnictwem*, ed. M. Szmajda, Sorus, Poznań 2024, p. 88; Z. Żmigrodzki, 'Przygotowanie spisu bibliograficznego', in: *Bibliografia. Metodyka i organizacja*, ed. Z. Żmigrodzki, Wydawnictwo SBP, Warszawa 2000, p. 134.

places) and terms representing specific concepts. As the volume of publications increases in parallel with the growing specialization of knowledge, indexes serve as a sui generis content guide, facilitating selective and thematic use.

In 1916, Jan Stanisław Bystroń said: "Without a doubt, searching in books is very time-consuming, especially when there are as many of them as now."[5] Almost a century later, Barbara Osuchowska shared this opinion when she wrote that indexes serve to "easily and rapidly identify and find the required information in a book, without necessarily reading it or laboriously browsing through it."[6] For that reason, indexes are considered part of the auxiliary end matter in a publication,[7] or back matter in a book completing the main text; their principal function is to direct readers to places of their particular interest.[8] For user convenience, indexes are placed at the end of documents.[9]

However, indexes not only provide occurrences of the listed entries, but also facilitate their selection, ranking, and connections in a structure reflecting the logic of the book's content. Compiling an index is an interpretative process consisting of identification of relevant concepts and determination of their connections, e.g., in the form of main entries and subentries or references of the "see" and "see also" type, which allow the index to serve as a semantic map of the text and assist the user in navigating its structure.

Indexes are compiled for printed as well as electronic books, although in the latter, other ways of data search are possible, like,

5 Quoted after the 3rd edition: J.S. Bystroń, *Człowiek i książka*, ed. 3, Wydawnictwo SBP, Warszawa 2003, p. 22.

6 B. Osuchowska, *Poradnik autora, tłumacza i redaktora*, Akademicka Oficyna „Exit", Warszawa 2011, p. 187.

7 ZS [Z. Saloni], 'Indeks', in: *Encyklopedia językoznawstwa ogólnego*, ed. 2, ed. K. Polański, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków © 1999, p. 252.

8 tk, „Indeks', in: *Słownik terminów literackich*, ed. 2, ed. J. Sławiński, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich - Wydawnictwo, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk, Łódź 1988, p. 196.

9 A.T. Troskolański, *O twórczości. Piśmiennictwo naukowo-techniczne*, ed. 2, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1982, p. 406.

for instance, a full-text search based on simple word match, which will be discussed in more detail later in the paper. In contrast to this kind of search, an index takes account of the semantic context and the conceptual structure of the text. Accordingly, it is "irreplaceable as a data guide for users of scholarly publications"[10] – regardless of the source's editorial form. Indexes should be viewed as information retrieval systems,[11] consisting of a suitably composed set of data, related and organized, frequently provided with a built-in tool that makes searches possible.

When the index, as an autonomous system of knowledge organization, is no longer considered a physical addition to the book in the form of entries and usually page numbers, it begins to be viewed as an instrument that structures the content and reveals the book's semantic organization. This interpretation belongs to a broader research approach developed within studies of knowledge organization systems (Knowledge Organization Systems – KOS), which include classifications, thesauruses, ontologies, or keyword systems, among others.

In this context, the index could be considered a particular type of KOS, because it creates an organized representation of concepts occurring in the text and their relationships.[12] From the perspective of knowledge organization theory, indexes may be treated as instruments of content representation, which act as intermediaries between documents and users of information. Their task is to model a linear text as a systematic set of concepts that allow a selective and thematic use of the publication. In this sense,

10 L. Marszałek, *Edytorstwo publikacji naukowych*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1986, p. 288.

11 W. Babik, 'Języki informacyjno-wyszukiwawcze stosowane w indeksach oraz ich rola w organizacji i udostępnianiu informacji', in: *Wymiana informacji i rozwój profesjonalnych usług informacyjnych w edukacji, nauce i kulturze na rzecz społeczeństwa opartego na wiedzy*, eds. D. Pietruch-Reizes, W. Babik, Polskie Towarzystwo Informacji Naukowej, Katowice 2008, p. 37.

12 G.M. Hodge, *Systems of Knowledge Organization for Digital Libraries: Beyond Traditional Authority Files*, Council on Library and Information Resources, Washington 2000; H. Hedden, *The Accidental Taxonomist*, 3 ed., Information Today, Medford 2022.

the index becomes not only a technical element of the book but also an intellectual tool that supports knowledge acquisition and orientation within the information structure. Notably, like other knowledge organization systems, the index fulfills a mediational function: it interprets the document's content and presents it in the form of a conceptual structure accessible to users; hence, it is

> in essence [...] a linguistic organization and information search tool (IRL [information retrieval language] used in the index). Indexes also serve as tools for navigating the text and/or its contents in up-to-date IRS [information retrieval systems].[13]

All in all, indexes reveal connections between well-designed index entries and the content of the statement. This facilitates texts' comprehension and their effective usage.[14] They play an explanatory/clarifying role, being produced via document analysis; they also have an analytical function, as well as its opposite, a synthetic one, because they are the synthesis of the entire text. The organizing function is undoubtedly among their crucial characteristics, as indexes allow correct systemization of the publication material followed by its usage.[15]

1. 1. THE SUPERIORITY OF A SYNDETIC INDEX OVER A FULL-TEXT SEARCH

Currently, in the digital communities, full-text search is commonly used. However, this mechanism operates most of all based on frequency analysis, ignoring hidden conceptual relations. The search relies on mechanical matching of character strings on the lexical level and statistical estimation.[16] This approach often generates information noise and hinders algorithm performance, as the

13 W. Babik, 'Języki informacyjno-wyszukiwawcze...', op. cit., p. 43.

14 M. Tokarski, *Indeksy i ich tworzenie (skrypt dla studentów bibliotekoznawstwa oraz informacji naukowo-technicznej*, Uniwersytet Śląski, Katowice 1983, p. 133.

15 M. Tokarski, *Indeksy i ich tworzenie...*, op. cit., p. 134.

16 C.D. Manning, P. Raghavan, H. Schütze, *Introduction to information retrieval*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008.

distinction between crucial substantive analysis and mere passing mention becomes harder. In the classical theory of editing, the passing mention is considered the basic criterion of entry selection.[17] In addition, a search based exclusively on word frequency is rarely able to identify concepts hidden in the text. In this context, the superiority of an index,[18] called for the purpose of this paper, syndetic, becomes clear. It functions as an intentionally designed tool for knowledge organization and navigation. The term *syndetic* (from ancient Greek *syndetikos* – cohesive) designates a structure beyond an ordinary, linear register of words. It is a system, within which selected concepts are intentionally connected via a net of semantic relationships, revealed through entries and subentries (ranking relations) and normalized full and partial references representing accordingly relations of equivalence (synonymy) and association.[19]

The decisive superiority of the syndetic index over full-text algorithms is due to the fact that the process of its creation has an analytical character, and not exclusively mechanical. A professional indexer[20] conducts an interpretative semantic analysis of text, which requires a cognitive effort to define phenomena and find hidden relations between individual concepts.[21] A syndetic structure results in links between entries created by a thick network of full and supplemental references and, in addition, explicitly indicates connections between selected terms and contents, which

17 N.C. Mulvany, *Indexing Books*, 2 ed., The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London 2005.

18 For the needs of this paper, we define index as an orderly set of terms representing the contents of the document which indicate where specific issues occur and which mirrors their conceptual structure. It is a tool for analysis and representation, and even interpretation of the contents, and not only a mechanical list of words occurring in the text. See Ibidem; H.H. Wellisch, *Indexing from A to Z*, H. W. Wilson, New York 1995; D.M. Stauber, *Facing the Text: Content and Structure in Book Indexing*, Cedar Row Press, Eugene 2004.

19 F.W. Lancaster, *Indexing and abstracting in theory and practice*, 3 ed., Facet Pub., London 2003.

20 This term 'Indexer' is ambiguous, because it can refer to the person compiling an index or to a computer program used to create indexes. Here, it means the person, a specialist who compiles indexes.

21 J. Pacek, 'Indeksowanie w XXI wieku...', op. cit., pp. 32–49.

in turn allows grouping of scattered information and eliminates the risk of repeating synonymic records under many different entries.[22] These operations make the index relatively autonomous, offering users an orderly map of logical connections that a full-text search alone cannot capture.

1. 2. FORMULATION OF A RESEARCH PROBLEM

Rapid development of Large Language Models (LLMs) has marked a new stage in the evolution of automatic natural language processing systems (Neuro-Linguistic Programming, NLP). Tools based on generative artificial intelligence (AI) show unprecedented efficiency in automatic data extraction, including advanced named entity recognition, as well as rapid semantic categorization of large volumes of text. This progress has fueled technological discourse about the possibility of fully automating analysis and knowledge organization processes, often bypassing fundamental architectural limitations of these models, including their probabilistic rather than cognitive nature.[23]

In the organization of knowledge studies, we must differentiate between a mechanical, even very advanced, extraction of concepts and the intellectual process of constructing a correct conceptual representation. While LLMs can handle frequency analysis, their ability to generate coherent, purposeful, and hallucination-free networks of syndetic relationships remains an area requiring in-depth verification. This is why we have to ask a basic empirical question: is generative artificial intelligence currently able to independently generate indexes of a quality and usefulness comparable to what qualified indexers can do? Although this issue has been discussed in the most recent professional studies, and their results indicate the necessity of efficiency assessment of artificial

22 PN-ISO 999: *Informacja i dokumentacja – Wytyczne dotyczące zawartości, struktury i prezentacji indeksów*.

23 E.M. Bender, T. Gebru, A. McMillan-Major, S. Shmitchell, 'On the Dangers of Stochastic Parrots: Can Language Models Be Too Big?', in: *Proceedings of the 2021 ACM Conference on Fairness, Accountability, and Transparency*, Association for Computing Machinery, New York 2021, pp. 610–623.

intelligence used in complex, multi-stage tasks performed by indexers.[24] Doubts exist as to the statistical models' ability to correctly recognize hidden concepts, usage of coherent terminology within indexes, including equalization of synonyms and creation of non-trivial associative links which determine the value of an index.[25] As until now no studies were conducted on sources in Polish, finding an answer to this question became urgent, because possibilities offered by LLMs evolve in an unusually dynamic manner. This research challenge requires a comparative analysis of the results obtained in the process of applying two different methods of index creation: traditional indexing performed by experts and fully automatized entry generation by artificial intelligence. For the purpose of this paper, we formulated an initial hypothesis that while contemporary language models constitute a useful tool for term extraction, architectural limitations result in a lower quality than what is expected from professional indexing, which imposes the use of the *human-in-the-loop* (HITL) approach, i.e., an AI model that requires substantive control by an indexer.

2. Differences between Human Cognition and LLM Text Processing

Indexes are compiled as a result of a process, which cannot be considered purely mechanical, as was indicated above: "A well prepared index is not only a 'dry' alphabetical list; its creation requires from the author a significant intellectual effort, naming certain contents, phenomena, as well as ability to find out relationships between concepts, and often, also to state such relationships."[26] This process is called indexing.

In the norm PN-ISO 999: *Information and documentation – Guidelines on Content, Organisation, and Presentation of Indexes*, we find detailed

24 T. Izzard, 'Generative artificial intelligence (AI) and its performance at indexing tasks', *The Indexer* 2024, 42(4), pp. 383–400.

25 E. Bartmess, M.R. Combs, 'LLM-generated book indexes: Can they replace professionally created indexes?', *The Indexer* 2025, 43(4), pp. 327–348.

26 J. Pacek, 'Indeksowanie w XXI wieku…', op. cit., p. 38.

descriptions of the successive stages in the indexer's work. The proper performance of tasks includes:

a) identifying and localizing data significant within the material being indexed;
b) distinguishing between data related to an issue and a passing mention about a theme;
c) excluding short mentions of an issue if they do not include anything of significance for potential users;
d) analysing concepts discussed in the document with the objective of creating strings of entries;
e) ensuring a proper choice of terms used in the index from the point of view of users' needs, i.e., allowing them to rapidly:
   1) determine whether information about a given issue is present or absent in an unknown text;
   2) find information about a remembered position in a known or partially known text;
   3) identify the right documents in a collection.
d) indicating relations between concepts;
e) grouping together information related to an issue scattered because of the document's or the set of documents layout;
f) combining entries and determiners into positions [...];
g) directing users via cross-references from terms not selected as index entries to terms selected as entries; j) collating positions in a systematic and useful order.[27]

Indexer's creativity, efficiency, and analytic abilities determine whether the index will be useful and correspond to the real needs of the publication's readers. Before the indexers begin their task, they determine what type of index is required for a specific document and what is its purpose. They also decide about the language of the index – if the publication includes texts in various languages, the index must be translated. Next, based on an analysis of the document, they extract one- or multi-word index entries, i.e.,

27 PN-ISO 999: *Informacja i dokumentacja – Wytyczne dotyczące zawartości, struktury i prezentacji indeksów*, pp. 7–8.

identify and localize information relevant for the users and leave out irrelevant data. Entries are extracted from the main text, but occasionally from other elements of the contents, except the title page, table of contents, dedication, summaries, and abstracts. The indexer must also perform tasks such as changing the grammatical form of certain entries, standardizing and, at times, completing index entries. For instance, guidelines recommend using transliteration or transcription and names in their original or Polish version. In indexes, it is particularly important to avoid synonymous notations, and at the same time to link entries connected by a net of references – complementary (to related information) and cross-references (to relevant information).[28]

After completing these activities, the indexer constructs index entries in alphabetical, nested alphabetical, substantive (logical), or other arrangements, then adds numerical indicators, such as page numbers, paragraphs, chapters, and bibliographical positions, that allow them to be located in publications. At the editing stage, index entries are often printed in a smaller font than the main text and in a multi-column layout, which saves space in printed volumes. The basic difference between human cognition and text processing by LLMs comes down to different paradigms of data analysis. While a professional indexer performs an interpretative, context-aware semantic assessment of the document, transformer-based models use probabilistic mechanisms to predict successive tokens and word vector spaces. In automated systems, such as those using Retrieval-Augmented Generation (RAG), data search is most often based on computing the distance between vectors in multidimensional space, using measures such as cosine similarity. [29]

This approach, while effective from the computing point of view, reduces natural language to statistical structures. In consequence,

28 PN-ISO 999: *Informacja i dokumentacja – Wytyczne dotyczące zawartości, struktury i prezentacji indeksów*, p. 7.

29 X. Dong, W. Zhu, H. Wang, X. Chen, P. Qiu, R. Yin, Y. Su, Y. Wang, *Talk Before You Retrieve: Agent-Led Discussions for Better RAG in Medical QA*, https://arxiv.org/pdf/2504.21252 [Accessed March 16, 2026].

classical algorithms perform very well in extracting lexical units based on frequency analysis (co-occurrence), but as a rule they have significant limitations in identifying hidden relations. In a typical process of creation of an autonomous knowledge organization system, the indexer deliberately ignores statistical noise, focusing on building structured links (hierarchical, synonymic, associative), that often are not a direct consequence of the text continuity, but rather from a broader knowledge of the discipline and from predicting the user's needs.[30]

In addition, applying standard language models based exclusively on token prediction to independent generation of complex syndetic networks is impeded by architectural barriers. Research on using LLMs in ontology-building processes indicates that while algorithms can generate large lists of potential entries, they rely on identifying statistical correlations rather than a thorough understanding of the analyzed domain.[31] It often leads to the phenomenon of hallucination, i.e., generating seemingly correct links from the syntactic perspective, but erroneous from the point of view of a rigorous and precise controlled vocabulary. These restrictions, compounded by context window limits, make language models unable to independently maintain the structural coherence of indexes, requiring intervention by an indexer who controls and corrects what digital tools produce.

The limited capacity of a context window and the probabilistic nature of models become particularly problematic when processing large documents, such as scholarly monographs. In such situations, LLM algorithms tend to generalize, a tendency called probabilistic inertia. This phenomenon marginalizes or overrides author-specific terminology in favor of higher-frequency concepts in the model's general training corpus. In addition, efficiency assessments of LLMs

30 B. Hjørland, 'Semantics and Knowledge Organization', *Annual Review of Information Science and Technology* 2007, vol. 41, iss. 1, pp. 367–405.

31 B. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, G. Pawłowski, 'Testing ChatGPT on terminology generation, definitions: translation, and ontology creation in German, English and Polish', *Research in Language* 2025, 23(1), pp. 320–340.

on long texts reveal a significant decrease in attention mechanisms in the middle of the analyzed document. This deficit, known in the scholarly literature as the lost-in-the-middle effect, results in serious informational omissions and uneven coverage of the indexed material.[32] The literature has identified these shortcomings as a barrier to fully automated approaches to creating exhaustive and precise book indexes. However, this situation is changing due to the most recent evolution of AI architecture towards agentic workflows, which try to compensate the inherent weaknesses of probabilistic models through implementation of internal adaptive thinking and the ability to use external computing tools.

3. Research Methodology

In contemporary scholarship – even considering only Polish publications – issues related to defining indexes, their types, and functions, are being researched in such disciplines as literary studies,[33] linguistics,[34] editing,[35] bibliology,[36] library science,[37] information

32 N.F. Liu, K. Lin, J. Hewitt, A. Paranjape, M. Bevilacqua, F. Petroni, P. Liang, 'Lost in the middle: How language models use long contexts', *Transactions of the Association for Computational Linguistics* 2024, no. 12, pp. 157–173.

33 tk, 'Indeks', in: *Słownik terminów literackich*, ed. 2, ed. J. Sławiński, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk, Łódź 1988, p. 196; M. Krassowski, *Leksykon terminów literackich*, ed. 2, Twój Styl, Warszawa 1996, p. 95; M. Król, G. Krupiński, H. Sułek, *Nowy słownik terminów literackich*, Krakowskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Kraków 2009, p. 109.

34 ZS [Z. Saloni], 'Indeks', in: *Encyklopedia językoznawstwa ogólnego*, ed. 2, ed. K. Polański, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków © 1999, p. 252.

35 *Zasady typowego opracowania edytorskiego*, ed. L. Marszałek, Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1962, p. 76; 'Indeks', in: *Słownik wydawcy*, ed. Barbara Kalisz, Wydawnictwo Naukowo-Techniczne, Warszawa 1997, p. 77; B. Osuchowska, *Poradnik autora, tłumacza i redaktora*, Akademicka Oficyna „Exit", Warszawa 2011, p. 187.

36 'Indeks', in: *Encyklopedia wiedzy o książce*, ed. A. Birkenmajer, B. Kocowski, J. Trzynadlowski, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków 1971, pp. 991–992.

37 O.U. [O. Ungurian], 'Indeks', in: *Encyklopedia współczesnego bibliotekarstwa polskiego*, ed. K. Głombiowski, B. Świderski, H. Więckowska, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk 1976, pp. 134–135; 'Indeks', in: *Podręczny słownik bibliotekarza*, ed. G. Czapnik, Z. Gruszka, H. Tadeusiewicz, Wydawnictwo Stowarzyszenia Bibliotekarzy Polskich, Warszawa 2011, p. 117.

science,[38] and within an already established tradition, as can be seen in the main information guides of these disciplines. There are also studies, which present and assess use of various LLM tools in generating indexes for books and other scholarly materials compared to indexes compiled by indexers. For instance, research conducted by Elizabeth Bartmess and Michele R. Combs in 2025 and 2026,[39] Tanya Izzard in 2025[40] as well as Bruno Cardoso Greco, Paula Regina Dal'Evedove and Albino Januário Nhacuongue – from the same period.[41] Because until now, no verification of LLM efficiency on Polish language sources was ever performed, it became the goal of the present study to compare the quality of indexes generated by three popular LLMs – ChatGPT, Gemini and Claude, to an expert-compiled index of a scholarly text. The research material is a fragment of a multi-author scholarly monograph *Bibliotekarstwo*, edited by Anna Tokarska (Warsaw 2013), provided with an expert-compiled index. *Moduł IV. Organizowanie dostępu do informacji*, 73 pages long and containing over 29 000 words was selected for analysis. This volume fits the context window of contemporary LLMs, which allows to limit mistakes resulting from memory overload and, at the same time, to reveal the models' real architectural limitations. The multi-author character of the selected text is an additional factor which increases the degree of difficulty.

38 'Indeks', in: *Słownik terminologiczny informacji naukowej*, ed. M. Dembowska, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk 1979, p. 51; 'Indeks', in: *Słownik encyklopedyczny informacji, języków i systemów informacyjno-wyszukiwawczych*, ed. B. Bojar, Wydawnictwo SBP, Warszawa 2002, p. 83.

39 E. Bartmess, M.R. Combs, 'LLM-generated book indexes: Can they replace professionally created indexes?', *The Indexer* 2025, 43(4), pp. 327–348; E. Bartmess, M.R. Combs, 'Can the current generation of large language models (LLMs) produce an adequate book index?', *The Indexer* 2026, 44(1), pp. 35–48, https://doi.10.3828/index.2026.4 [Accessed June 08, 2026].

40 T. Izzard, 'Book indexing and generative AI', *Catalogue & Index* 2025, iss. 211, pp. 3–8, https://journals.cilip.org.uk/catalogue-and-index/article/view/746/680 [Accessed June 08, 2026].

41 Greco Bruno Cardoso, Dal'Evedove Paula Regina, Nhacuongue Albino Januário, 'O potencial dos LLM (Large Language Models) na indexação automática', *ISKO Brasil* 2025, 8, https://isko.org.br/ojs/index.php/iskobrasil/article/view/97 [Accessed June 08, 2026].

Work with this sort of material requires standardization of terms representing the same concepts used by different authors.[42] Reference standard (*ground truth*) is provided by a sub-index, generated from the original index of the book and composed exclusively from those entries and sub-entries that were created by the indexer and refer to the analysed fragment of the publication.

Paid models: ChatGPT 5.3, Gemini 3.1 Pro, and Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking were used in the research. Each of the systems was tested twice. In the first approach, *zero-shot*, models were ordered to generate a full index based on a single prompt and material in the form of the norm PN-ISO 999: *Information and documentation – Guidelines on Content, Organization, and Presentation of Indexes*, without providing examples of a correctly constructed index, i.e., without demonstrating the expected output structure:

Zero-shot

Assume the role of a professional indexer of scholarly books. Your task is to compile a full index for the attached material (a tekst.pdf file). Base your semantic analysis and the construction of entries, references, and locators exclusively on the principles provided in the norm PN-ISO 999 (norma.pdf file). Present the completed index as an alphabetical, structured list of index entries along with corresponding locators.

The second test was conducted according to the structured approach, *chain-of-thought prompting*, which divides the index generation process in successive stages: extraction of terms, their semantic grouping, structuring references and attribution of the final locators.

Prompt *chain-of-thought prompting*

Assume the role of a professional indexer of scholarly books. Your task is to compile a full index for the attached material (a tekst.pdf file). Base your semantic analysis and the construction of entries, references, and locators exclusively on the principles provided in the norm PN-ISO 999 (norma.pdf file).

42 E. Bartmess, M.R. Combs, 'LLM-generated book indexes...', pp. 327–348.

Perform the algorithmic task, step by step, presenting the results of each of the stages below, and at the end, generate the final result:

Stage 1. Extraction and selection of potential terms. Analyze the text and select concepts eligible for indexing strictly relying on criteria for entry selection described in the attached norm PN-ISO 999. Write out a working list of selected concepts.

Stage 2. Normalization and semantic reconciliation. Analyse the list from Stage 1. Apply directives from the norm PN-ISO 999 to link synonyms and terminological variants. Select the preferred forms of the main entries and briefly justify the most important decisions.

Stage 3. Building a syndetic structure. Determine relations between normalized concepts. Construct a hierarchy including entries and sub-entries and design a network of references (of the type: see and of the type: see also), rigorously observing structuring principles defined in the norm PN-ISO 999. Present a working draft of this structure.

Stage 4. Attribution of locators. Attribute page numbers to each element in the structure, making sure that criteria for indicator attribution fully conform to the attached norm PN-ISO 999.

Final result: after implementing the four analytical stages discussed above, at the end of your answer, present the final completed index in the form of a structured, alphabetical list of index entries along with locators and references.

Both research variants maintained the same task content and an identical input material, including the analyzed text fragment and the norm PN-ISO 999: *Information and documentation – Guidelines on Content, Organization, and Presentation of Indexes*. The difference between the variants consisted exclusively in the instructions: in the *zero-shot* approach, the task was formulated as a single command, but in chain-of-thought prompting, the indexing process was broken into stages.

The two-variant procedure serves a diagnostic purpose. The *zero-shot* approach allows to estimate to what degree the models are independently able to reconstruct the indexing procedurę based on the general instruction and source material. On the other hand, the approach based on the sequence of tasks or *chain-of-thought*

prompting, allows to verify whether the breakdown of the indexing process into operations improves the quality of the generated index. A comparison of the two variants' results will then reveal whether the limitations observed in automated indexing are due to competence (connected to representation of knowledge by the model) or procedure (result from the way of formulating tasks).

The generated indexes were then evaluated according to only four key parameters used in studies of data search systems:

1. completeness (*recall*) – the degree of inclusion of concepts figuring in the expert-compiled index;
2. precision – the percentage of entries displaying a real navigational value allowing to estimate the models' tendency to index passing mentions;
3. locator accuracy – verification of correct attribution of page numbers to index entries and identification of locator hallucination cases;
4. syndetic consistency – evaluation of the correct index construction, including ranking relations (entries and sub-entries) and references.

Applying these four parameters leads to a multi-aspect evaluation of indexes generated by language models, including an adequate representation of contents, as well as correctness of construction and precision of localization.

4. The Results of the Experiment

4.1. *ZERO-SHOT* APPROACH

An assessment of LLMs selected for study (at this stage, we will present results obtained using two of the three tools, namely, ChatGPT 5.3 and Gemini 3.1 Pro, the last one – Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking – requires a separate description, which is provided later in the paper) in the *zero-shot* variant confirms structural limitations of the architecture based exclusively on token prediction. Comparative analysis of the generated entries and the benchmark adopted for the needs of the study reveals the basic difference between a cog-

nitive understanding of the text and its statistical processing. Table 1 shows a summary comparison of the four elements of assessment.

TABLE 1. QUANTITATIVE DATA BREAKDOWN FOR ZERO-SHOT INDEXES IN COMPARISON WITH EXPERT-COMPILED INDEX

Indicator	Expert-compiled index	ChatGPT 5.3	Gemini 3.1 Pro
1. Completeness			
Number of the main entries	77	62	55
Expert benchmark coverage	—	9 (11,7%)	23 (29,9%)
2. Precision			
Entries absent in expert benchmark	—	53	32
3. Locator accuracy			
Page range hallucination	—	occur	sporadically
4. Syndetic consistency			
References in total	42	3	5
Including "see also"	42	0	0
Including "see" (references)	—	3	5
Sub-entries	yes (expanded)	sporadic	isolated

Source: provided by the authors.

Completeness

Expert benchmark coverage is very low in both models. ChatGPT 5.3 identified correctly only 9 of 77 expert-compiled entries (11,7%), and Gemini 3.1 Pro – 23 of 77 (29,9%). Gaps in concepts requiring abstract thinking are particularly evident. The term "e-exclusion" and "information literacy" were precisely identified by the expert (p. 428–429). ChatGPT 5.3 omitted both issues, confirming its inability to identify concepts expressed implicitly in the text. On the other hand, Gemini 3.1 Pro captured them under different labels ("digital exclusion" and "informational education"), showing some capacity for semantic abstraction but also raising doubts about terminological standardization. The lack of a developed search engine taxonomy in both machine-generated indexes is most significant. Expert-compiled index includes 9 entries related to different search engine types (global, local, national, semantic, universal, specialized, WWW pages, scholarly, Internet), which create a coherent concept tree. None of the models extracted these terms, which suggests that the models are unable to distinguish the taxonomy implicitly present in the text.

Precision

While a professional indexer is able to distinguish a key concept from a term used only for historical or anecdotal background, AI models index them as terms of equal weight. The phenomenon of excessive extraction of passing mentions occurs in both models but in a different way. ChatGPT 5.3 includes hardware and historical terminology in the index. Such entries, as "Hollerith, Herman", "Moore's law", "Blu-ray Disc", "CD", "IBM", "gopher" or "WAIS", played in the text of the monograph only an auxiliary function. Gemini 3.1 Pro on the other hand, generates social and mobile space noise because entries, such as: "Facebook", "Wikipedia", "smartphones", "tablets" or "QR codes", also do not merit separate index entries in the context of the analyzed monograph. Indexer, intent on providing the index with navigational value, was right to leave out these passing mentions.

It should also be said, that the distinct nature of the historical hardware noise generated by ChatGPT 5.3, compared to the media-mobile noise found in Gemini 3.1 Pro, may reflect differences in training data composition or preferences due to both models' architecture, known in the literature as inductive biases.[43] At the same time, Gemini 3.1 Pro better recognized specific library systems (ALEPH, LIBRA, MAK, MATEUSZ, MOL, PATRON, PROLIB, SOWA), which constitute a relevant component of expert-compiled indexes, resulting in a smaller number of missed entries (32 of 55) in comparison with ChatGPT 5.3 (53 of 62).

Locator accuracy

Lack of understanding of the structure causes page range hallucination, connected to contribution of large, several-page-long ranges to very narrow concepts. For instance, ChatGPT 5.3 attrib

43 LLM's inductive bias lies in a systematic tendency to represent, process or generate data in a specific manner, resulting from its architecture, learning mechanisms and computing construction, not directly from the contents of training data. C.M. Rytting, D. Wingate, *Leveraging the Inductive Bias of Large Language Models for Abstract Textual Reasoning*, 2021, https://arxiv.org/abs/2110.02370 [Accessed June 08, 2026].

utes to processors (CPU) and to memory RAM the 407–412 page range, while these data are located precisely on specific pages. Gemini 3.1 Pro shows a smaller tendency to this type of phenomenon, although it also makes occasional mistakes.

Syndetic consistency

The greatest shortcoming of both models is the almost non-existent syndetic apparatus. The expert-compiled index includes 42 references, all of the kind "see also", responsible for a dense network of semantic relations between concepts (e.g., "Aggregator → see also Internet search engine"; "ALEPH → see also Integrated library system"). Meanwhile, ChatGPT 5.3 generated 3 references, and Gemini 3.1 Pro – 5, all exclusively of the "see" type (simple equivalence references, e.g., "e-books *see* electronic books"), and none of the models generated a "see also" reference revealing a semantic relationship between related concepts. This is a qualitative, not only quantitative difference, because references "see also", discussed in the norm PN-ISO 999: *Information and documentation – Guidelines on Content, Organization, and Presentation of Indexes*, attest to an index' navigational usefulness and to the understanding of the field's semantic structure. Flattening the hierarchical structure is an equally important problem. While an indexer constructs a logical concept tree (e.g., main entry "Internet search engine" with subentries: document assessment, typology; or "Subject headings vocabulary" with subentries: KABA, MeSH), ChatGPT 5.3 generated a flattened structure with separate independent entries for "CPU" and "RAM", instead of placing them logically below the superior entry. Gemini 3.1 Pro also designs index entries without grouping them below the main entry, even though it managed better ranking for "library systems."

Recapitulation

Research results explicitly demonstrate that LLMs, in their zero-shot approach, cannot meet the requirements presented in the norm PN-ISO 999: *Information and documentation – Guidelines on Content, Organization, and Presentation of Indexes*. They generate expanded but dysfunctional lists of terms that lack semantic depth

and hierarchical organization of knowledge. However, Gemini 3.1 Pro shows higher indicators than ChatGPT 5.3 in all four measures of assessment: higher coverage of expert benchmark (29,9% compared to 11,7%), a smaller number of missed entries (32 compared to 53), a less pronounced tendency to locator hallucinations, as well as a higher number of references (5 compared to 3). Nevertheless, even the better model covers less than one-third of expert-compiled entries and does not generate a single "see also" reference, which confirms the need for more advanced indexing methods described later in the paper.

4.2. *CHAIN-OF-THOUGHT PROMPTING* APPROACH

Applying the *chain-of-thought prompting* technique, which forces the model to perform multi-stage reasoning before generating an answer, produces a different effect from the *zero-shot* variant. Comparative analysis reveals a paradoxical dynamic: both models generate significantly fewer entries, but of a higher structural quality. A summary tally of this research procedure is provided in Table 2.

TABLE 2. QUANTITATIVE DATA BREAKDOWN FOR CHAIN-OF-THOUGHT PROMPTING INDEXES IN COMPARISON WITH EXPERT-COMPILED INDEX

Indicator	Expert-compiled index	ChatGPT 5.3	Gemini 3.1 Pro
1. Completeness			
Number of the main entries	77	28 (in *zero-shot: 62*)	21 (in *zero-shot: 55*)
Expert benchmark coverage	—	5 (6,5%) (in *zero-shot: 9; 11,7%*)	11 (14,3%) (in *zero-shot: 23; 29,9%*)
2. Precision			
Entries absent in expert benchmark	—	23/28 (in *zero-shot: 53/62*)	10/21 (in *zero-shot: 32/55*)
3. Locator accuracy			
Page range hallucinations	—	smaller (occur in *zero-shot*)	sporadically (in *zero-shot: sporadically*)
4. Syndetic consistency			
References "see"	—	0 (*in zero-shot: 3*)	5 (in *zero-shot: 5*)
References "see also"	42	0 (*in zero-shot: 0*)	2 (*in zero-shot: 0*)
Sub-entries	expanded	14 (*in zero-shot: sporadic*)	2 (*in zero-shot: isolated*)

Source: compiled by the authors.

Completeness

The most evident effect of applying *chain-of-thought prompting* technique is the reduction of the number of generated entries. In ChatGPT 5.3, 62 entries were produced in *zero-shot* approach, and 28 in the second application, i.e., 34 index entries less. An identical phenomenon occurred in Gemini 3.1 Pro – a decrease from 55 to 21 entries. This reduction, however, is not a quality selection – next to the elimination of informational noise, the models also eliminated a part of entries correctly identified in the earlier variant. Expert benchmark coverage fell from 11,7% to 6,5% for ChatGPT 5.3 (from 9 to 5 entries) and from 29,9% to 14,3% for Gemini 3.1 Pro (from 23 to 11 entries).

It is worth emphasizing that Gemini 3.1 Pro, using the *chain-of-thought prompting* approach, lost half of the entries that were correctly identified earlier, including "NUKAT", "PATRON", "Google", and "new media". On the other hand, from the ChatGPT 5.3 index, entries such as "databases", "electronic libraries", and "data search" disappeared. Taxonomy of data search engines – 9 types in the expert-generated index – was still invisible.

Precision

While the *chain-of-thought prompting* technique did not improve expert benchmark coverage, it reduced information noise. The number of entries missed in the expert-generated index decreased from 53 to 23 for ChatGPT 5.3 and from 32 to 10 for Gemini 3.1 Pro. ChatGPT 5.3 in the *chain-of-thought prompting* mode also eliminated most of the earlier hardware-historical noise (among others, disappeared "Blu-ray Disc", "Hollerith", "Moore's law", "IBM", "WAIS"), although it introduced new entries ("Pinakes", "DNS", "FTP", "telnet"). Gemini 3.1 Pro, on the other hand, eliminated media-mobile noise ("Facebook", "smartphones", "tablets", "Wikipedia"), leaving only 10 entries from the benchmark.

Noise reduction confirms that sequential reasoning allows the models to select a certain level of passing mentions. It is not, however a targeted selection, because models eliminate erroneous as well as correct entries, which suggests a general narrowing of at-

tention rather than a real evaluation of index concepts' navigational values.

Locator accuracy

In locator accuracy, the *chain-of-thought prompting* mode shows a slight improvement. ChatGPT 5.3 still generates expanded page ranges, although on a smaller scale than in the *zero-shot* mode. Gemini 3.1 Pro, on the other hand, maintains a level similar to the earlier variant, with minor page range hallucinations. This phenomenon was not eliminated using the multi-stage reasoning technique.

Syndetic consistency

It is precisely in the dimension of syndetic consistency that the technique of *chain-of-thought prompting* brings the most interesting and diverse effects. Both models demonstrate the possibility of shaping index structure, but each does it in a different manner. ChatGPT 5.3 went from very flattened structure to developed hierarchical trees with sub-entries. In the *chain-of-thought prompting* mode, it generated 14 sub-entries grouped under the main entries, such as: "computer" (building, CPU, RAM, mass memory), "libraries" (automation, computerization, information systems), "information retrieval systems" (indexing information, coding information), "library catalogue" (central, OPAC). It is a qualitative change compared to the *zero-shot* mode, where the same concepts figured as different and independent entries. At the same time, the discussed tool did not generate in the *chain-of-thought prompting* mode references "see" and "see also" (in the *zero-shot* mode, there were 3 references "see").

Gemini 3.1 Pro adopted a different strategy. Instead of creating hierarchical trees (it generated only 2 sub-entries: "electronic documents → with local access / with remote access"), it focused on constructing a syndetic apparatus. For the first time in the entire experiment, references of the "see also" type appeared: "library catalogues → see also OPAC" and "library systems → see also integrated library systems." There are only 2 such references, in contrast to 42 in the expert-generated index, but their very presence shows the

ability to understand semantic relations between related concepts, an ability absent in the remaining variants.

It is important to underline the difference between the two models' strategies. ChatGPT 5.3 in the *chain-of-thought prompting* mode prefers internal ranking (relation entry – sub-entry), and Gemini 3.1 Pro prefers an external network (references between entries). Both strategies are components of a full syndetic apparatus required by the norm PN-ISO 999: *Information and documentation – Guidelines on Content, Organization, and Presentation of Indexes*, but neither model connects them in a coherent whole.

Recapitulation

The *chain-of-thought prompting* technique produces a paradoxical effect in both models: it enforces deeper processing, which results in the appearance of structural elements (sub-entries in ChatGPT 5.3, references "see also" in Gemini 3.1 Pro), but at the same time limits the scope of analysis. Models process more thoroughly but generate fewer index entries. Expert benchmark coverage decreases to, respectively, 6,5% and 14,3%, i.e., values that make such indexes unhelpful from the user's point of view. These results confirm that the *zero-shot* and *chain-of-thought prompting* approaches do not meet the requirements of the norm PN-ISO 999: *Information and documentation – Guidelines on Content, Organization, and Presentation of Indexes*, which provides the reason for applying the agency architectures described later in the paper.

4.3. CHANGE OF PERSPECTIVE

The indexes generated by Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking (Anthropic) represent a qualitative departure from the results presented thus far; for that reason, they should be described separately. However, before presenting quantitative data, we should note a phenomenon visible exclusively in the model's reasoning trace. Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking in the mode *zero-shot*, without any methodological instruction, adopted a quasi-agency strategy: it independently read and interpreted the norm PN-ISO 999: *Information and documentation – Guidelines on Content, Organization, and*

Presentation of Indexes, then analyzed the source text page after page, planned the index structure, and only then began its compilation. None of the remaining models behaved this way; ChatGPT 5.3 and Gemini 3.1 Pro generated indexes without an introductory phase. This difference is reflected in the quantitative results. A full tally of all LLM variants in the context of the four evaluation criteria is presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3. QUANTITATIVE DATA BREAKDOWN FOR ALL VARIANTS IN COMPARISON WITH EXPERT-COMPILED INDEX

Indicator	Expert-compiled index	ChatGPT 5.3 *zero-shot*	Gemini 3.1 Pro *zero-shot*	Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking *zero-shot*	Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking *chain-of-thought prompting*
1. Completeness					
Main entries	77	62	55	194	173
Sub-entries	expanded	sporadic	isolated	117	87
2. Precision					
Entries absent in the expert benchmark index	—	53/62	32/55	see Tab. 4	see Tab. 4
3. Locator accuracy					
Page range hallucination	—	occur	sporadically	—	—
4. Syndetic consistency					
References "see"	—	3	5	5	11
References "see also"	42	0	0	16	20
5. Methodological elements					
Two-column layout	no	no	no	yes	yes

Source: compiled by the authors.

Completeness

Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking in the *zero-shot* mode generated 194 main entries and 117 sub-entries, in the *chain-of-thought prompting* mode – 173 main entries and 87 sub-entries. For comparison: the expert-compiled index includes 77 main entries, ChatGPT 5.3 generated 62, and Gemini 3.1 Pro – 55. Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking not only covers a decisive majority of expert-generated entries, but also creates elaborate hierarchical trees with subentries not found in the remaining models in the *zero-shot* mode.

Significantly, Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking, as the only program in zero-shot mode, identified the full taxonomy of search engines (global, local, national, semantic, universal, specialized, scholarly, WWW pages), which did not occur in ChatGPT 5.3 or Gemini 3.1 Pro in either variant.

Syndetic consistency

Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking generated 16 "see also" references in zero-shot mode and 20 in chain-of-thought prompting mode, corresponding to 38% and 48% of the syndetic apparatus of the expert benchmark (42 references), respectively. For comparison, ChatGPT 5.3 and Gemini 3.1 Pro in the *zero-shot* mode did not generate a single "see also" reference, and Gemini 3.1 Pro in the chain-of-thought prompting mode generated only 2. The difference between Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking and the other models appears not only quantitative but, most of all, qualitative – as it seems to grasp the fact that an index requires a network of semantic relations between concepts.

Methodological elements

The presence of elements going beyond a list of index entries constitutes a different phenomenon. Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking in both research variants added an introductory note explaining conventions used in the index (page range, priority rules, abbreviations of references) and applied a double-column layout with indents for determiners - according to the recommendations of the norm PN-ISO 999: *Information and documentation – Guidelines on Content, Organization, and Presentation of Indexes* relative to the typographic layout of printed indexes. The other models did not generate any of these elements.

Expert assessment

Experts further evaluated the index generated by Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking in the zero-shot variant using color-coding (green for entries common with the expert benchmark; blue for entries added by a tool recognized as justified; red for entries present in the expert benchmark but omitted by the model). The authors formulated 35 comments categorized in Table 4.

TABLE 4. CLASSIFICATION OF EXPERT COMMENTS TO CLAUDE OPUS 4.6 EXTENDED THINKING (ZERO-SHOT) INDEX

Comment category	Quantity	Examples
Excessively detailed and indexing of passing mentions	18	"are not discussed, only mentioned"; "leave out all names of social media, because they are given only as examples in the chapter"; "a too detailed entry, as computer software is available"
Selection and formulation of entries	8	"in the original: FBC" [not "Federacja Bibliotek Cyfrowych"]; „a better entry: convergent book"; "this entry does not reflect the users' real informational needs"
Lack of formal consistency	3	"shows inconsistency in the usage of singular and plural forms in the index entries"; "in some entries, acronyms are provided, in some other entries, acronyms are expanded"
Duplicates and repetitions	3	"double entry, a reference is sufficient"; "repeated entry"
Omissions (missing entries)	3	"no entry for Biblioteka Aleksandryjska 406"; "no entry for karty przezierne 406"

Source: compiled by the authors.

Most of the comments describe the excessive detail generated by the tools (18 of 35 comments). Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking indexes terms, which play only an illustrative role in the text of the monograph – the authors point out that the names of social media services (Facebook, Flickr, YouTube) "are quoted only as examples of certain library services." Some Internet tools (gopher, BBS) "are only mentioned in context" and are not discussed. This is the kind of phenomenon identified in ChatGPT 5.3 and Gemini 3.1 Pro, with the difference that in Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking it appears next to correct entries rather than replacing them.

The second-largest category (8 comments) concerns the choice and formulation of entries. The authors point out cases in which Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking used a full name instead of an acronym ("in the original: FBC", not "Federacja Bibliotek Cyfrowych [Federation of Digital Libraries]") or proposed an entry less precise than possible ("a better entry: convergent book"). These comments show that the model understands the topic but lacks expert intuition about terminological conventions accepted in the academic community. Lack of formal consistency (3 comments) occurs in mistaken use of plural and singular in the entries, as well as in inconsistent treatment of acronyms. Some entries consist of an acronym only, others of a full name, and others of the full name with the acronym in brackets. Doublets (3 comments)

are cases where the same concept occurs twice in different forms. Both types of mistakes indicate a lack of consistency control that indexers naturally perform using working memory across the entire index.

The authors of the papers consider the missing index entries particularly interesting (3 comments). While having generated 194 main entries, Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking omitted, among others, "Biblioteka Aleksandryjska [Library of Alexandria]" (p. 406) and "transparent cards" (p. 406). The authors note a paradox: the model introduced "Kallimach z Cyreny [Callimachus of Cyrene]" ("a too detailed entry"), but omitted "Biblioteka Aleksandryjska," the main and more recognizable concept.

A Case of Recognized Superiority of the Model

In one case, the authors recognized that a solution proposed by Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking was better. The comment applies to the structure of the catalogue entries. While the expert-compiled index ranked "Katalog" as the main entry and the individual catalogue types as sub-entries, the model treated each catalogue type (scholarly, WWW pages, central) as a main entry. The authors stated that: "after reviewing the chapter, Claude's approach seems more suitable – establishing a typology of catalogues was not the goal of the study, it was rather to determine which tools should be used to search for information." This case shows that a model can reflect the source text's intent more accurately than an expert approach based on established conventions.

Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking: *zero-shot versus chain-of-thought*

In contrast with ChatGPT 5.3 and Gemini 3.1 Pro, where the *chain-of-thought prompting* technique caused a significant decrease of the number of entries (34 fewer entries in both models), in Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking the decrease is minor: 11% fewer main entries (from 194 to 173) and almost 26% fewer sub-entries (from 117 to 87). At the same time, the quality of the syndetic apparatus improved: the number of "see also" references increased from 16 to 20, and "see" references from 5 to 11. The *chain-of-thought prompting*

technique functions as theoretically intended: it improves understanding without excessively limiting the scope of analysis.

Recapitulation

The results from Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking confirm the shift in perspective associated with automated indexing. While ChatGPT 5.3 and Gemini 3.1 Pro do not fully reflect the meaning – they do not understand sufficiently to be able to identify key concepts – Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking displays an opposite problem: an excessive level of detail. The model understands the text, recognizes the conceptual structure, builds a syndetic apparatus, and applies the norm PN-ISO 999: Information and documentation – Guidelines on Content, Organization, and Presentation of Indexes, but still cannot fully distinguish a central concept from passing mentions. Expert analysis indicates that over half of the comments concern this particular mistake. However, it is a corrigible mistake because reducing the number of correct entries is easier than creating them from scratch.

5. Research Limitations and Methodological Considerations

An objective interpretation of the results of the presented experiment requires pointing out methodological boundary conditions that could have influenced the final form of the generated indexes. Asymmetry of the cognitive context between man and machine constitutes the basic limitation of research. A professional indexer compiling the index had access to the entire monograph (over 700 pages). This allowed the indexer to construct a global model of the book's contents, identify its main content, and recognize the connections between chapters. The language models operated exclusively on an isolated, 73-page-long fragment of the book (pp. 405–477).

While this procedure favoured, to a certain degree, the human approach, it was a technological necessity. Loading the models with the full text of the book would, in most of the tested systems, have exceeded the text window limit or intensified the phenom-

enon of significant loss of attention in the central part of the long publication. Consequently, a reliable evaluation of the reasoning mechanism and the application of the norm PN-ISO 999: *Information and documentation – Guidelines on Content, Organization, and Presentation of Indexes* would have become more difficult.

The difference in the infrastructure available to the various models is a significant factor that needs to be noted. ChatGPT 5.3 and Gemini 3.1 Pro were tested only in conversational mode, in which the model generated answers directly in the chat window. Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking, on the other hand, operated in an environment facilitating the use of computer tools – it was able to read files, create documents in DOCX, and format output data according to editorial rules, as confirmed by the presence of a two-column layout, impossible to generate in conversational mode. This, however, does not change the quality evaluation of the concept extraction itself and the building of the syndetic apparatus, which are independent of the output format.

Another issue is that language models are non-deterministic by nature, and the same prompt may produce different results on subsequent start-ups. The study discussed in this paper is based on a single run for each variant (model × prompting technique). In a rigorous approach, we would have to perform multiple runs and record measures of the central tendency and variability. However, we consciously accepted this restriction because of the high computational cost of a full evaluation (six experimental variants, each requiring a manual expert estimate) and because of the study's exploratory nature and purpose: evaluating qualitative benchmarks, not estimating statistical parameters.

We dispensed with fine-tuning LLM parameters, such as temperature or frequency penalties, which allow steering the balance between the algorithm's predictability and creativity. The study was also constrained by the subject of evaluation: not isolated language models *sensu stricto*, but their practical implementations accessed through conversational interfaces. This means the results could have been influenced not only by the model's architecture,

but also by application layers added by the service provider, such as system instructions, file organization and processing mechanisms, or result-formatting strategies. In consequence, the study does not compare solely "pure" LLM models, but rather the integrated environments of their practical use. However, this limitation does not weaken the cognitive value of the experiment, because the study aimed to capture the effectiveness of the tools under conditions of actual use by a researcher, editor, or librarian, rather than in a laboratory setting where a model is isolated from its operational layer. The indicated limitations do not undermine the validity of formulated conclusions. The differences observed between the models are so distinct that they would be difficult to explain using only stochastic fluctuations or asymmetry in the test conditions. However, they provide a reason to plan further, more controlled studies, as discussed in the final part of the paper.

6. Discussion and Conclusions

The conducted experiment allows us to formulate a thesis that there is no single form of "AI indexing", and the quality of the results depends fundamentally on the model's architecture and the employed prompt technique. The results produce a three-level maturity hierarchy.

Token-based models in *zero-shot* mode (ChatGPT 5.3, Gemini 3.1 Pro) are at the first level. Indexes generated by these models are characterized by a semantic deficit: low expert benchmark coverage (11,7% and 29,9%), a lack of "see also" references, a flat, non-hierarchical structure, and excessive indexing of passing mentions. These models treat the text as an unstructured sequence of tokens and extract frequently occurring lexical units without understanding their role in the book's structure.

Multi-stage reasoning (chain-of-thought prompting) occupies the second level; it triggers a paradoxical dynamic: shaping the indexes' structural elements at the expense of coverage. ChatGPT 5.3, in the *chain-of-thought prompting* stage, generated 14 sub-entries (compared to sporadic generation in zero-shot mode), but bench-

mark coverage fell to 6,5%. Gemini 3.1 Pro, in the *chain-of-thought prompting* mode, produced 2 "see also" references, but the coverage fell from 29,9% to 14,3%. The *chain-of-thought prompting* technique leads to deeper processing but, at the same time, narrows the scope of attention of the analyzed models – they think better but about fewer concepts.

The agency architecture (Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking), placed at the third level, shifts the problem paradigm. Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking, in the *zero-shot* (here, spontaneously) and *chain-of-thought prompting* mode, adopted a multi-stage strategy: consulted the norm PN-ISO 999: *Information and documentation – Guidelines on Content, Organization, and Presentation of Indexes*, sequentially analysed the text, planned the structure, and only then proceeded to generate the index. As a result, it produced 194 main entries, 117 sub-entries, and 16 "see also" cross-references. Here, a semantic deficit gives way to excessive detail – a qualitatively different issue, much easier to correct.

The research results directly impact how the role of the indexer is perceived. The norm PN-ISO 999: *Information and documentation – Guidelines on Content, Organization, and Presentation of Indexes* assumes that indexes are created by human intellectual analysis – selection, ranking, and construction of semantic relations. The experiment confirms that none of the tested models meets these requirements on its own. Even Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking, the best of the tested tools, generates an index that requires expert intervention: elimination of excessive details, better selection and formulation of entries, and repair of formal inconsistencies.

At the same time, the results suggest that the expert's role is transforming. In the traditional model, an indexer creates indexes from scratch, serving as an analyst, an architect, and an executor. In the model supported by AI, its role shifts towards an editor and reviewer, evaluating the accuracy of entries generated by the machine, reducing their excessive number, correcting formal inconsistencies, and adding what was missing. It is a human-in-the-loop (HITL) model in which the machine provides raw mate-

rial with high conceptual coverage, and the human indexer adds expert precision. Significantly, in one case described earlier, the machine's solution was recognized as superior to the human expert's, suggesting that this relationship is not one-way.

This is a relevant conclusion from the study's perspective. Manual indexing of a monograph is a days- or weeks-long process. Index generation by Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking takes minutes, and its expert revision takes hours. If further research confirms this, the proportion of the indexer's workload would change fundamentally.

The experiment also provides observations relevant to a wider discussion on the nature of language processing by LLMs. The observed three-tier differentiation of results suggests that the ability to build knowledge structures (and not only to generate text) is an emergent feature and appears only in more complex system configurations which include advanced reasoning mechanisms. The analysis of errors and mistakes made by LLM tools is particularly interesting. ChatGPT 5.3 and Gemini 3.1 Pro do not distinguish implicitly expressed concepts or *build semantic relationships* between them. Claude Opus 4.6 Extended thinking distinguished the same concepts and built relationships, but is unable to distinguish passing mentions from the central concept fully. This is a limitation of higher-level judgment, as it assumes understanding of text as an initial condition. The gap between these two kinds of deficit is greater than could be expected based on numerical indicators alone.

The exploratory nature of the study described in the paper opens up possibilities for further research.

1° It is appropriate to experiment on the entire monograph using models with expanded context windows, as it would eliminate the asymmetry of the cognitive context. 2° Multiple runs (e.g., 5–10 for each variant) would allow us to estimate the variability of the results and to answer the question of how stable the observed differences are. 3° A promising direction would be testing agency systems that have a defined workflow by using different stages to

analyze norms, concept extraction, hierarchy building, consistency verification, and formatting instead of relying on the model's spontaneous strategy. 4° *Fine-tuning* performed on a corpus of expert indexes could allow the models to assimilate terminological conventions and selectivity norms, as their absence is the main source of expert comments in the discussed study. Finally, it would be worthwhile to extend the analysis to other forms of knowledge organization (e.g., thesauri, taxonomies, ontologies), to verify whether the observed maturity hierarchy is universal or specific to indexing. Automated generation of indexes according to the norm PN-ISO 999: *Information and documentation – Guidelines on Content, Organization, and Presentation of Indexes* remains a task without a solution, but the research conducted for this paper shows that the distance between a machine and a human being becomes smaller and its nature evolves. The problem is not that AI fails to understand the text, but that it understands too much without being able to select what is relevant expertly. This shortcoming can be corrected, and the pace of architectural changes in Large Language Models suggests that the next generation of models may significantly reduce it. For the time being, the most effective strategy remains a human-machine collaboration – specifically, an AI-generated index that an expert has edited.

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REVIEWS AND REVIEW ARTICLES

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THE MYTH OF A LOST LIBRARY. REFLECTIONS ON VANESSA DE SENARCLENS' *LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE RETROUVÉE. UNE ENQUÊTE*, GENEVA: ZOÉ, 2025

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In August 2025, the Geneva-based publishing house ZOÉ published *La bibliothèque retrouvée. Une enquête* (*The Library Rediscovered. An Investigation*). Its author, Vanessa de Senarclens, is a specialist in French literature of the Enlightenment and teaches as a Privatdozentin at the Humboldt University of Berlin. For more than a decade, she has also published on the history of the book collection of the Bismarck-Osten family, once kept at the castle in Płoty on the River Rega (Plathe an der Rega). It is this collection that is the "rediscovered library" of the title.

Senarclens will be known to Polish readers from her essay "Wywiezione, przechowane, zapomniane", published in 2021 in the monthly *Znak*.[1] This text also concerns the Bismarck-Osten family library, whose history the author seeks to place in the broader context of the fate of German cultural heritage in the Polish lands after the Second World War. In it, she expresses the view that while the problem of the losses suffered by public libraries was

1 V. de Senarclens, *Wywiezione, przechowane, zapomniane*, "Znak", 791 (April 2021), pp. 97–103. The text was originally published in German as *Verlegt, verwahrt und vergessen. Die Bücher aus den ehemaligen deutschen Bibliotheken in Polen*, "Merkur", 74 (2020), 857, pp. 77–84.

present to some extent in post-war discourse, the question of private book collections "was first passed over in silence, then forgotten and repressed" (p. 98). On both sides of the Oder, the focus did indeed fall on lost collections held in state and university libraries, although by no means exclusively.[2] It is also worth recalling here that studies of the history of the library in Płoty and its founder were already being published in the 1960s.[3]

In the article, the author advances the thesis that private libraries, created by families rooted for generations in the territories incorporated into Poland after the Second World War, were condemned there to oblivion and remain to this day eloquent testimony to lost family histories. With regard to their post-war fate, she indicates that, in the places where they were temporarily stored, these book collections were deliberately deprived of their original internal order, after which they were distributed among university libraries throughout the country. There, she points out – albeit

2 It is not true that after 1945 the question of German family libraries in Poland was forgotten; it is enough to point to the numerous publications devoted to the Schaffgotsch family library, of which the following is a selection: S. Bernatt, *Prawie milion książek w bibliotekach Ziemi Jeleniogórskiej*, "Rocznik Jeleniogórski", 8 (1970), pp. 49–79; S. Firszt, *Losy zbiorów, kolekcji i muzealiów jeleniogórskich w latach 1939–1967*, "Rocznik Jeleniogórski", 34 (2002), pp. 125–146; idem, *Nieszczęsne losy zbiorów Schaffgotschów na tle odradzającego się muzealnictwa polskiego po 1945 roku*, "Rocznik Jeleniogórski", 42 (2010), pp. 193–226; idem, *Pierwsza powojenna relacja prasowa o zabezpieczaniu polskich dzieł sztuki na terenie Kotliny Jeleniogórskiej w 1945 r.*, "Rocznik Jeleniogórski", 54 (2022), pp. 185–190; W. Giermaziak, *Exlibrisy i grafika z księgozbioru Biblioteki Majorackiej Schaffgotschów w zbiorach Głównej Biblioteki Lekarskiej w Warszawie*, "Rocznik Jeleniogórski", 49 (2017), pp. 217–232; J. Gołaszewski, *Spuścizna kartograficzna Schaffgotschów w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego we Wrocławiu*, "Rocznik Jeleniogórski", 37 (2005), pp. 127–145; M. Iwanek, *Biblioteka Schaffgotschów*, "Rocznik Jeleniogórski", 24 (1986), pp. 43–57; W. Pawłowicz, *Z księgozbioru Schaffgotschów w Bibliotece Śląskiej*, "Książnica Śląska", 30 (2018), pp. 32–65; J. Ptaszyński, *Zbiory Schaffgotschów*, Jelenia Góra–Cieplice 2009; R. Werszler, *Dolnośląska biblioteka Schaffgotschów. Lokalizacja, księgozbiór, wnętrza, meble*, "Perspectiva. Legnickie Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne", 9 (2010), 2, pp. 232–256; Z. Żmigrodzki, *Biblioteka majoratu Schaffgotschów w Cieplicach (Warmbrunn)*, "Biuletyn Głównej Biblioteki Lekarskiej", 362 (2000), pp. 65–69.

3 Including, among others, K. Graf von Bismarck-Osten, *Friedrich-Wilhelm von der Osten (1721–1786)*, in: *Pommersche Lebensbilder*, vol. 4, ed. W. Menn, Köln 1966, pp. 142–152; idem, *Die Bücherei zu Schloss Plathe*, in: *Plathe in Pommern*, Hamburg 1966, pp. 94–100; F. Graf von Bismarck-Osten, *Die Sammlung zu Schloss Plathe und ihr Begründer Friedrich-Wilhelm von der Osten (1721–1786)*, "Baltische Studien. Neue Folge", 62 (1976), pp. 63–72.

without specifying what exactly she has in mind – "[they] found themselves in an entirely different cultural context" (p. 99). She concludes her reflections by stating that, yes, the books survived, but the work and dedication of those who created them had been in vain: the collections were dispersed, the books catalogued incorrectly or incompletely. Although they were not destroyed, they were, and remain, difficult to access (p. 99).

As proof, she cites one of the volumes formerly held in the library in Płoty, Voltaire's *La philosophie de l'histoire*, found in the collections of the University of Łódź Library. She writes: "For more than seventy years, Voltaire's volume has been in the university library. How often has it been borrowed? The head of the department does not have precise information. [...] In the last two years, I ordered it twice. I was probably the only person to do so" (p. 100). At the same time, she notes that the book has been incorrectly catalogued, as the librarian failed to recognise that behind the pseudonym *Abbé Bazin* stood Voltaire himself, the "patriarch of Ferney". She also complains that the book is made available only in the early printed books reading room, which has limited opening hours (p. 100). One may, of course, ask on what basis the author assumes that she was the only reader of this volume. Even if that were indeed the case, the frequency of use cannot be a measure of the value of a book collection or the work of librarians. Moreover, as an academic teacher and researcher, she should be perfectly well aware that, both in teaching practice and in scholarly work, it is scholarly and critical editions of works that are used, not originals. Characteristically, Senarclens does not consider the question of how often other copies of the same work have been consulted in German libraries in recent years.

The weakness of this charge becomes still clearer in another context. The author, a specialist in Enlightenment literature, knows perfectly well that Voltaire's *La philosophie de l'histoire* was incorporated in 1769, as a preliminary discourse, into a revised edition of the *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations*, which the philosopher continued to revise until the final years of his life.

His views can therefore also be studied in the later, revised version of the better-known *Essai*. The example of the Voltaire volume is meant rather as a rhetorical figure: Senarclens contrasts Płoty, a place where books breathed in the rhythm of successive generations of readers, with Łódź, reduced to the role of a lifeless repository of books – a comparison she develops further in her book. Thus, she argues that Charlotte Henriette von der Osten, née von Liebeherr (1734–1791), wife of Friedrich Wilhelm (1721–1786), who read the book in the eighteenth century, knew perfectly well that the pseudonym *Abbé Bazin* in fact concealed Voltaire: she herself added his name to the title page. The notes she made in the margins testify, in Senarclens' view, to a careful and informed reading. In Płoty, not only did people know who had written the work, they also consulted it often. Yet this argument cuts both ways: one might equally ask whether the library's owner, if he was indeed such a discerning bibliophile, had also acquired a later edition of Voltaire's better-known Essai containing the same text.

The contrast between Płoty and Łódź emerges most clearly in another study by Senarclens, where she evokes the image of the library in Płoty. Here, it is worth quoting a longer passage:

> The saying, attributed to the French poet and novelist Victor Hugo, mocks a certain type of individual from bourgeois circles, proud to possess a library of his own, towards which he has the same attitude as eunuchs have towards their harems. For such people, a library is a kind of trophy: they care for its appearance and guard its collections, but neither know nor love it. The library of the castle in Płoty was never like this. Even a cursory examination of the early printed books held in the University of Łódź Library shows that the opposite was true. From the moment the collection was created in the mid-eighteenth century until 1945, the library served many generations of readers, each of whom left their mark on the books, and this was by no means limited to a stamp attesting to ownership, as with *ex libris* marks. Numerous handwritten notes in the margins demonstrate the readers' intensive engagement with individual works. In many of them, for example, we find notes testifying to

both positive and negative reactions on the part of readers, as well as extensive references of a scholarly and bibliographical nature.[4]

Senarclens implies that, after the Second World War, German collections fell into the hands of Poles who were unprepared to make proper use of them. This framing recalls the entrenched stereotype of cultural inferiority long present in Prussian, Bismarck-era and Nazi propaganda against Poland.[5]

But let us turn to Senarclens' book itself. The work presents, among other things, the fate of the family in the years 1933–45, the story of their flight from the Red Army in the first days of March 1945 and their post-war history in the Federal Republic of Germany. The author examines the wartime and post-war fate of the library in Płoty and recounts the search for the dispersed book collection and the attempt to reconstruct it. She describes her research as "a kind of investigation", based on objects that summon up memories: a card catalogue, a snuffbox, *ex libris* marks and individual volumes rediscovered decades later. These objects serve as vehicles of memory, eliciting one story after another.

Senarclens' book is a combination of memoir and historical-literary essay writing. Its structure is like a mosaic, with individual chapters functioning as autonomous scenes or thematic blocks that can be read almost independently. Within the narrative, the present – the period of the author's research, involving journeys, archival searches and conversations – is interwoven with the past: the eighteenth century, the war years of the 1940s and the post-war decades from the 1950s to the 1990s. Although Senarclens tells the story in the first person, the narrative is polyphonic in character: alongside the voice of the researcher herself, it also contains the testimony of others – family memories, extracts from letters,

4 V. de Senarclens, *Części rozproszonych księgozbiorów XVIII-wiecznych. Biblioteka zamku Plathe i jej użytkownicy*, in: *Nieznane skarby. Germanika XVI-wieczne w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego*, eds. C. Dietl, M. Kubisiak, Łódź 2018, pp. 137–138.

5 See G. Kucharczyk, *Długi kulturkampf. Pruskie i niemieckie wojny kulturowe przeciw Polsce w latach 1795–1918*, Warszawa 2020.

diaries and documents, as well as correspondence with people who came across surviving fragments of the former library.

Senarclens herself, who is Swiss by origin, married into the von Bismarck-Osten family. The absence of any personal experience of expulsion or loss of property allows her, as she sees it, to tell this story with detachment, without the burden of nostalgia and the sense of grievance that accompanied older generations. As she puts it, "through my journeys in time and space, I seek to pick up the thread of an interrupted conversation about books and their readers, going back to the founding of the library in the mid-eighteenth century" (p. 31).

So much, then, for the form of the book and the author's stated intentions. Let us turn to how they are realised in practice. An analysis of longer passages in the book helps us to understand their function in constructing the narrative and, at the same time, to understand the contrast the author presents: family life in Płoty, which unfolded alongside the family library, set against the postwar world and the place the library occupies within it today.

Senarclens reconstructs the experience of the inhabitants of Płoty during the Nazi period, when a climate of fear and suspicion was said to extend into every sphere of life: "[E]veryone feels watched and distrusts everyone else. It is no longer possible to speak openly, for fear of being denounced. Bogus science is brought in to support a crazed ideology. To demonstrate the superiority of the Aryan race, children are made to line up in schools so that their skulls and jaws can be measured" (p. 176). The new ideology also entered the sphere of history and culture. In 1939, the book *Ostpommern: eine deutsche Landschaft* was published, presenting the region as exclusively German, a fortress against the "Slavic threat" (pp. 175–176, 183). The small Jewish community of the town fell victim to terror. The historical society of which Karl Graf von Bismarck-Osten (1874–1952), owner of the estate in Płoty, was a member quickly adapted to the new rules: in 1933, the treasurer of the society, who was of Jewish origin, was removed, and in 1935 an "Aryan paragraph" was introduced, formally excluding Jews from membership (p. 184).

The author goes on to say – although she neither develops nor explains this thread – that the library in Płoty also found itself in the authorities' sights. In 1938, the administration in Szczecin challenged the family's right to possess it. As it was put: "[H]ow can you believe that these books, manuscripts, coins and paintings from the past belong to you? They belong to the Führer, to the new Germany" (p. 191). A few months later, on 6 July 1938, a law abolishing family entails was announced. As a consequence, from January 1939 the library was placed under state protection "for the good of the German nation". Karl found himself, as the author writes, in a situation from which there was no way out. As a lawyer and a man attached to the principles of order, he felt a deep revulsion at the regime's arbitrary actions, but could not openly oppose them. His son Ferdinand later recalled: "My father was far too much a man of law and order not to have felt revulsion at the Nazis' arbitrary actions" (p. 184). Despite pressure from the authorities, Karl did not remove "inconvenient" authors such as Heine, Mendelssohn or Mann from the library (p. 183). The author does not ask whether Karl was in fact monitored in this respect or whether his decision required any heroism. Instead, she claims, without presenting evidence, that this gesture of resistance was significant. Its heroic dimension is reinforced by the recollections, cited by Senarclens, of her mother-in-law, who disliked the Nazis and professed courage, yet is said to have admitted: "You do not know what fear is under such a regime" (p. 187).

Although the town long remained on the margins of military operations, in the second half of the war it acquired strategic importance. From as early as 1943, inhabitants of the Ruhr who had lost their homes in the bombing were sent there to "recover their health" after the trauma of the air raids. Crates containing collections from Berlin's *Preußische Staatsbibliothek* were also sent to nearby estates in an attempt to save them from destruction. The castle in Płoty was occupied by the army, whose presence left its mark on daily life. "The soldiers' leather boots thunder through the stone corridors on the ground floor. The kitchens are requisitioned,

together with the stores of potatoes, eggs and fruit and vegetables preserved over the summer. All the rooms are occupied by Wehrmacht officers" (p. 34).

The author builds a sense of drama by presenting Karl as a man aware of the approaching catastrophe, yet at the same time paralysed by the fear that any attempt at evacuation would be regarded as sabotage and treason. In these circumstances, saving the legacy became practically impossible (p. 38).

The most dramatic moment in the narrative is 3 March 1945. Soviet tanks were approaching Płoty and flames rising above the surrounding villages could already be seen on the horizon. The town and the castle were in a state of great chaos. Karl, knowing that his world was collapsing, tried to save what he regarded as most precious: the library. He recalled that on the afternoon of 2 March he received word that "a freight wagon would be made available for loading the collection" (p. 39). Alongside the crates of books, there was room in it for seventeen people, mainly women and children. On the morning of 3 March, in the freezing winter half-light, the hastily assembled group reached the station. There was indescribable crowding on the platform: "In Płoty there is utter chaos. Refugees and military convoys everywhere. An air raid has just taken place. The dead and wounded are lying strewn along the roadside" (p. 44). As they departed, Karl understood that most of the library, which they had not managed to pack, would remain behind. "Never mind the books [...] – the Russians will find them anyway" (p. 44).

"When night fell, the train finally set off. The temperature fell to 0°C. No one slept. When little Christoph asked, 'When are we going home?', everyone's eyes filled with tears" (p. 45). The flight saved seventeen people and part of the library, but it also meant the definitive end of the world the family had known for generations. As Karl would later write in a letter: "Nothing could be saved except bare life" (pp. 38–39).

One is struck by the absence of a comparative perspective. The author does not place the family's experiences in a broader histori-

cal context: she entirely omits the realities of the Second World War – not only in German-occupied Poland, where violence, plunder and mass destruction were part of everyday life, but also in the Third Reich itself. She does not ask about the fate of the civilian population, nor does she consider the situation of forced labourers in Płoty, whose presence she does not mention at all.

After the war, the family found itself in western Germany. At first, life unfolded in makeshift conditions, in overcrowded flats, often with distant relatives. Ferdinand, released from a Soviet prisoner-of-war camp only in October 1948, returned to his loved ones after three years of absence. Here the author does not even ask about the reasons for his imprisonment in the Soviet Union. Instead, she stresses that, once in Germany, he lived with his family in cramped temporary accommodation before, in the mid-1950s, they managed to build a small house in Bad Godesberg. Although the author mentions that the town lay on the outskirts of Bonn, she does not add that it was a prestigious residential district known for its villas. There, in the *modest drawing room* [emphasis mine – JK], the remnants of the old world found their place: paintings, tapestries, portraits of ancestors and the library's card catalogue. It is worth noting that the family managed to preserve a considerable part of its former collection. Although elements of the old aristocratic culture were preserved in this setting, silence about the past became a means of survival. Ferdinand and his wife Margarethe rarely mentioned Płoty (p. 18). This observation should be set alongside the author's remarks concerning Ferdinand's active involvement in the life of Pomeranian expellee associations, discussed further below.

In this world, the card-catalogue cabinet became something more than a piece of furniture. For Ferdinand, the catalogue symbolised the life's work of his father, Karl. But for the next generation, the cabinet felt like a burden, a reminder of the fate of refugees: "For Ferdinand's sons, who had not known the library, this catalogue cabinet had something morbid about it. It was like the map of a sunken country" (p. 22).

The author turns to the post-war fate of the Recovered Territories, noting that Soviet brutality was experienced not only by Germans, but also by Poles (p. 202). She invokes the story of Olga Tokarczuk's grandmother, who came to Silesia, where she was allocated a house left behind in haste by a German family. The interior was full of mementoes of its former inhabitants: photograph albums hidden in writing desks, porcelain decorated with unfamiliar patterns and everyday objects bearing the traces of an entirely different culture. The author states that this was a space inhabited by "German ghosts" (p. 202).

But let us return to the book collection. Senarclens mentions that her father-in-law, after his retirement, attempted to reconstruct the fate of the library left behind in Płoty in 1945. She adds that various versions of events existed: some spoke of the book collection being burned together with the castle, others claimed that although the building had survived, the books had ended up in Warsaw, Lublin or Toruń. Ultimately, there is a breakthrough in the search thanks to Ferdinand's contacts in the Pomeranian expellee associations. Here we find a contradiction: Ferdinand's activity in these associations indicates that the memory of Płoty had by no means been entirely repressed; it was through them that Ferdinand met Bärbel Deeg, secretary to a professor of German studies at the University of Giessen. Through her, he in turn established contact with a doctoral student from the University of Łódź who was in Germany on an exchange. And it was from this doctoral student that he learned that the collection whose traces he had sought for so long was in fact in Łódź. Senarclens stresses that for Ferdinand this was an extremely heartening piece of news. At last he had gained certainty that the books had not only survived the turmoil of war, but could also be found (pp. 213–214).

The author notes that if as many as 13,000 volumes survived in the University of Łódź Library, they must have been properly secured. She observes: "I can therefore say that since 1945 the books have been preserved physically intact [...]. They were not used to light fireplaces. They were not torn up, used for rolling cigarettes,

insulating walls, filling holes in roads or draining ponds. They still exist, scattered over thousands of kilometres between Siberia, Moscow, Łódź, Greifswald and elsewhere. How is that possible?" (p. 203). Does she realise that the forms of destruction she lists echo the means and methods by which, during the Second World War, the Germans dealt with Polish book collections? One need only recall the fate of the Kalisz libraries, tens of thousands of whose volumes were thrown into one of the canals and then covered with mud, rubble and excrement.[6]

The author states that since the book collection survived, someone must have made an effort to save it: "[T]he other question that preoccupies me is this: when everything is collapsing, when hunger, cold and fear prevail, what becomes of books? Who takes an interest in them? On the margins of these apocalyptic events, during which hordes of barbarians raped women and ravaged the land, there were people within the Red Army or the Polish militias who took responsibility for the collection and protected it. It is they who interest me" (p. 203). Recourse to the relevant literature would have enabled her to find answers to the questions that preoccupy her concerning the process by which cultural collections were secured in the Recovered Territories. Abandoned and deserted collections, including the library in Płoty, were placed under protection in Poland. Books were taken to collective repositories, from which they were then sent to scholarly institutions that had lost their own holdings during the war, had been evacuated from the eastern territories lost by Poland or were established only after the war. This was a fundamentally different approach from the practices of the German occupation authorities, which in the war years created similar repositories chiefly in order to facilitate the mass destruction of Polish book collections: during the Second World War, 6.5 million books from libraries in the Wartheland

6 See J. Kordel, *Kalisz als Grab der Bücher. Zur systematischen Zerstörung von Bibliotheken im Wartheland im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, "b.i.t.online. Bibliothek. Information. Technologie", 29 (2026), 2, pp. 166–173.

were gathered in Poznań, of which five million were destroyed.[7] Moreover, it is impossible not to note that Senarclens reduces the saving of book collections undertaken after the Second World War by the Polish state to a story about individual gestures by good militiamen or Red Army soldiers. She fails to see that in a country that was itself struggling to rise from the ruins, and whose capital lay in rubble, a conscious and organised effort was made to save books left behind by German owners. It should be remembered that more than 670,000 volumes passed through the Repository of Secured Book Collections in Szczecin; the library in Płoty therefore represented only a small part of them, around two per cent.[8]

A Polish acquaintance of the author, with whom she shares by email her reflections on good militiamen and Red Army soldiers, writes with some bitterness that this is a sign of the naivety of the Western European bourgeoisie, incapable of understanding the real hardships of life. "When people are dying of hunger and cold, no one has any interest in books," he replies, criticising her idealism and suggesting that the hope she attributes to the anonymous "guardians of the book collection" is in fact an illusion: "People were dying like flies, and we were supposed to concern ourselves with books, the attributes of a privileged class and a pastime for idlers?" (pp. 203–204).

It is characteristic of Senarclens' writing that she places critical remarks about Poland and Poles in the mouths of her interlocutors, while herself appearing in the role of objective reporter. The remark about honest Red Army soldiers and militiamen serves as a prelude to a bitter reflection on how, in the realities of the

7 See J. Baumgart, *Biblioteki wielkopolskie w okresie okupacji niemieckiej (1939–1945)*, in: idem, *Bibliotekarstwo, biblioteki i bibliotekarze. Wybór prac*, Warszawa 1983, pp. 113–169.

8 A. Fabiańska, *Akcja zabezpieczania księgozbiorów i bibliotek w latach 1944–1955*, "Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi", 17 (2023), 4, pp. 771–789; P. Garlicki, *Teki Marii Quirini jako źródło do dziejów poniemieckich księgozbiorów na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, in: *Księgozbiory rozproszone. Losy księgozbiorów historycznych po II wojnie światowej*, ed. A. Siuciak, Malbork 2015, pp. 83–94; R. Nowicki, *Rezultaty działalności Zbiornicy Księgozbiorów Zabezpieczonych w Szczecinie w latach 1947–1950*, "Roczniki Biblioteczne", 51 (2007), pp. 169–188.

Polish People's Republic, cultural property left behind by the German population was treated. She notes that the fate of former collections was often especially dramatic: they were divided among different libraries, thereby being deprived of their integrity and historical value. She does not indicate specific examples – and at the same time appears to forget that the book collection from Płoty was transferred to Łódź almost in its entirety.

The author recounts conversations with a colleague of hers, a professor from Szczecin, whom she says is a medievalist and the author of articles on the library in Płoty published in scholarly journals.[9] "I asked him," she recalls, "what cultural policy had been followed in the allocation of these archival holdings. In the late 1950s, the Poles had, after all, rebuilt the Pomeranian Dukes' Castle in Szczecin, so why had they not laid claim to these collections?" The professor's answer only confirmed the reputation of the new Polish lands as a kind of "Wild West". He explained that people came there mainly to plunder or to take refuge from political persecution. Then, as the author notes, he replied sharply: "Don't talk to me about cultural policy – there was none!" The professor went on: "Everyone came to help themselves" – the Soviets, but also the Poles, who regarded these former German lands with nothing but suspicion. The transfer of the library from Płoty to Łódź formed part of the programme of de-Germanisation: the Recovered Territories were to be Polonised, and for that purpose, the professor stressed, an eighteenth-century German library was not needed (pp. 215–216).

Looting, however, was committed not only by Soviets and Poles. As the author herself admits, some volumes were appropriated by retreating Wehrmacht soldiers. In the 1970s, one sixteenth-century copy was even sent back by post: "The sender was a soldier in the

9 This is presumably Edward Rymar, and the scholarly journal to which she refers is "Bibliotekarz Zachodniopomorski": E. Rymar, *Biblioteka Ostenów w Płotach (1)*, "Bibliotekarz Zachodniopomorski", 45 (2004), 3–4, pp. 36–44; idem, *Biblioteka Ostenów Bismarcków w Płotach*, część 2: *Tajemnice rozproszenia*, "Bibliotekarz Zachodniopomorski", 46 (2005), 4, pp. 41–53; idem, *Biblioteka Ostenów – Bismarcków w Płotach*, część 3: *Stare i nowe tropy rozproszenia zbiorów*, "Bibliotekarz Zachodniopomorski", 50 (2009), 3–4, pp. 32–35.

retreating German army who, in March 1945, had helped himself to a book from the library of the abandoned castle" (p. 114).

Although the greater part of the collection went to Łódź, this did not save it from what the author calls another act of devastation. In the Łódź library, the book collection was ruthlessly divided up. The books "were first stored in an old factory and then, after the library had been built, arranged on the shelves according to size." The author adds: "Moreover, the librarians did not take account of provenance when dividing up the collections, nor of centuries or subjects." She fails to note, however, that this kind of planning of storage space is standard practice in libraries. Without further comment, she goes on to write: "Some reports state that students from Poznań may have been employed to carry out this work during their holidays." She does not consider whether these were student placements or some other form of work. The author mentions that the books were subsequently catalogued "by librarians who spoke Russian and Polish, but rarely the German, French or English of the volumes concerned. As a result, many errors appeared, especially in the case of anonymous eighteenth-century titles" (pp. 214–215). This is, of course, an allusion to the copy of *La philosophie de l'histoire* already discussed, on whose title page Charlotte Henriette added Voltaire's name. Once again, the author draws a loaded contrast: in Płoty, where family tradition and familiarity with the collections were taken for granted, such an inscription would have been recognised without difficulty, whereas in Łódź, in an alien context and without any rootedness in this history, it remained incomprehensible. Senarclens' cavalier approach here is all the more striking given that she does not indicate the extent of the alleged errors. It is worth adding that the cataloguing was probably carried out by librarians educated before the war, who did not necessarily know Russian but for the most part did have a command of Western languages.

The author's observations concerning her dealings with Polish cultural institutions and her assessment of their activities also call for comment. She informs readers of the difficulties encountered

by researchers working in Poland. At the same time, she stresses that, from the perspective of these institutions, even in the 1990s the question of the former owner's "intentions" was supposedly of fundamental importance if any fruitful cooperation was to begin (p. 214).

Senarclens recalls her experience while staying in Warsaw: "Already in 2019, I had been looking for information concerning the first months after the Germans left Płoty. Who had taken charge of the books? Were there any lists, inventories or documents relating to the collection? I even came to Warsaw to pursue this matter, but was not granted permission to conduct research." She does not say so directly, but from this one may infer that the decision was taken by the director of the National Library of Poland. The author adds: "I was asked to formulate my questions in writing and to submit an official request for permission to the director, which I did, making no secret of my family connection with the former owners. That cannot have helped." The author does not conceal her disappointment, stressing that the letter she received was partly incomprehensible to her because of the language barrier. "In his reply, the director described the library of my husband's family as 'an abandoned collection' which the Poles had, after all, had to deal with. According to him, my husband's family had, in short, bolted like rabbits, leaving everything behind and forgetting their responsibilities" (*Pour lui, ma belle-famille avait, en somme, détalé comme des lapins et tout laissé en plan, oublieuse de ses responsabilités*). "He sent me a list of documents in Polish, including, among other things, a report by a certain Dr Henryk Gordziałkowski concerning the typhus epidemic in the town. I took this response, unrelated to the subject of the books, as a way of sending me packing" (p. 204). It is worth noting that Senarclens does not provide a photocopy of the letter she claims to have received from the director of the National Library of Poland.

It should be stressed that the concept of *abandoned* or *deserted property* – the French "une collection abandonnée", which the author places in quotation marks, may be translated in both ways – is

a legal term.[10] At the same time, it reflects the factual situation of the property left behind in Płoty.

Describing Polish–German cooperation on the preparation of a catalogue of German-language early printed books held in Łódź, the author writes: "It is true that, for the Poles, all this is a delicate matter. Seeing German scholars arrive with their German funding to draw up lists of old German books, in the German manner, is bound to cause a certain irritation. That is understandable. Heinrich, one of the participants in the project, explains this mistrust to me, but also complains about it. He lives in Łódź, his wife is Polish, he speaks the language, he loves the country. He would like to be able to move on to something else" (pp. 75–76). Here, the author provides no evidence for her claims. She does not explain why the matter is regarded as "delicate", who resents whom, or how this resentment manifests itself. Nor does she specify what the "something else" might be that Heinrich would like to move on to. Moreover, her framing here echoes arguments from the time of the Second World War: according to the German librarians who exercised supervision over Polish collections, their subordinates supposedly lacked the appropriate cataloguing skills, which in their view justified the need to introduce German models.[11]

Although the greater part of the book collection from Płoty was successfully secured, its post-war fate is viewed by the author with deep distaste. Describing the stack area of the University of Łódź Library, she states: "A repository, like a tomb, cut off from any new production of knowledge. The books arrived after the war and bear its traces. They point back to a vanished context from which they have been torn. Piotr [the stack attendant] shows me an octavo volume in leather, its cover pierced by a bullet hole. The silence

10 Ustawa z dnia 6 maja 1945 r. o majątkach opuszczonych i porzuconych [Act of 6 May 1945 on abandoned and deserted property], "Dziennik Ustaw" 1945, no. 17, item 97.

11 See J. Kordel, *An Ethos of a German Librarian? German Librarians in the General Government in the Light of Contemporary Memories from the Second World War*, "Polish Libraries", 11 (2023), p. 96.

of the room evokes the fearful voices of the past. The books seem trapped in an in-between state, waiting, on the threshold. They belong to German culture, where in catalogues they are listed as absent, lost, unaccounted for, yet in Poland they have not yet truly found their place. They are stuck 'in limbo', as the English say, that is, according to the Collins dictionary, 'in an imagined place for people or things that are lost, forgotten or unwanted'" (p. 77). The question arises of what, then, one should call a true tomb of books and manuscripts – such as the destroyed building of the Krasiński Library, where in the autumn of 1944 the German authorities burned hundreds of thousands of manuscripts, incunabula, early printed books, maps, atlases, prints, catalogues and card indexes?[12]

Writing about the copy of *Extrait du Dictionnaire historique et critique* from Płoty held in Łódź, she notes: "Today, however, it is in very poor condition: its cover is coming away, it is covered with mould stains and has been perforated by paper-eating insects" (p. 81). The strong suggestion is that the book's present condition is the result of poor storage conditions in its tomb in Łódź.

The author's complaints, however, are not limited to the physical condition of the collections. She describes the conditions governing the use of the reading room with equal severity: "Access to the eighteenth-century books that interest me turns out to be rather complicated. The reading room is open every other day in the morning (Mondays and Wednesdays) or afternoon (Tuesdays and Thursdays), for just four hours. Provenance is not indicated in the catalogue, so one essentially orders them blind. If everything goes as planned, a pile of books will be waiting for me on site and the librarian on duty that day will speak English" (p. 76). In fact, it would be hard to find a library whose catalogue of early printed books included provenance information for all volumes. Moreover, the author's comments on the language skills of the Łódź librari-

12 See idem, *Der Büchermord. Die Zerstörung der Bibliotheken in der polnischen Hauptstadt während und nach der Niederschlagung des Aufstands (August 1944 bis Januar 1945)*, in: *Bücher und ihre Wege. Bibliomigration zwischen Deutschland und Polen seit 1939*, ed. V. de Senarclens, Paderborn 2024, pp. 21–44.

ans, like her remarks concerning the response from the director of the National Library of Poland, reveal an almost colonial attitude: she assumes, in effect, that one should not be expected to communicate in Polish in Poland. There is no reflection on her own lack of knowledge of the country's official language.

It is worth noting here that Senarclens cannot quite decide whether she would like the book collection from Płoty to be used or to remain untouched. Presenting Charlotte Henriette's bibliophilic passions, already well known from her earlier texts, she describes the seventeen-volume edition of Voltaire's works from 1756 preserved in Łódź. It was in these very volumes that her protagonist dried flowers: "What is one to do, three centuries later, with these flowers found in a library in central Poland? They are so fragile and their colour has faded. I immediately close the volume, hoping – not without reason – that no one will come poking their nose into this volume for another three centuries" (p. 103). It is the phrase "not without reason" that gives the remark its sting: in Poland no one reads Voltaire, as though the nation had not yet grown mature enough to do so.

Writing of the fact that the archive of the university library preserved, among other things, the notebooks used by her relative Elisabeth to learn English, the author observes that we owe this to "a sympathetic, and at the same time so typically Polish, piety towards documents of the past, which prevented the archivists from throwing this worthless relic into the bin" (p. 162). This sounds rather like the familiar Enlightenment motif of the "good barbarian", who, with simple-hearted zeal, preserves what, in the eyes of the civilised, is an insignificant trifle unworthy of attention.

One also notes, by way of illustration, the carelessness with which the author handles words, and her lack of responsibility for their implications. In characterising Western Pomerania (historically known as Hinterpommern, or Farther Pomerania), the author draws entirely unwarranted conclusions from the name itself, stating that "the very name further intensifies the impression of remoteness, peripherality and oblivion attached to this strip of

land on the Baltic coast" (p. 13). Writing about Łódź, by contrast, she notes that the city, which in the nineteenth century was known as the "Manchester of the East", owed its development to "the Polish, German and Jewish minorities" (p. 75). Are we then to assume that, because Łódź belonged politically to the Russian Empire, Russians constituted the majority?

In the final pages of the book, as if by *deus ex machina*, a seemingly quite different view of the collection's fate appears: "Most of the books from [Karl's] collection are in Łódź, in good hands [...]. At the end of June 2022, I took Matthias [the author's husband, Karl's grandson] there. It was a great moment for him, for the whole family, but also, I think, for our two countries, for the Polish librarians who opened their doors [...]. The librarian was keen to show Karl's grandson the great repository room for old volumes, which is closed to the public. She had made a very thoughtful gesture, which moved us enormously: in the middle of the room she had prominently displayed the photograph of Karl in his library in Płoty in 1944. He was there, among the books" (p. 218).

The author counters these positive images with the bitter reflection that "these German books are a treasure to them, but in reality few readers take an interest in them" (p. 218). With a certain dramatic intensity, she stresses that the dispersed collections have lost not only their thematic coherence, but also the emotional bond and historical context that gave them meaning. In other words, although they are treated as a priceless treasure, in fact they remain forgotten. She also suggests that their fate would have been different had they remained in the place from which they were taken.

Senarclens sets out to present a story of memory, loss and the recovery of heritage; what she has written is a book dominated by family sentimentalism. In attempting to reconstruct the fate of the library, she instead reconstructs the myth of a lost world, in which the Germans, the von Bismarck-Osten family, appear as victims of history, noble guardians of culture whose heritage was destroyed. The author fails to see that, after the Second World War,

Poland, a country devastated and plundered, made an enormous effort to save what had survived of former German collections. This distorts the picture of reality and leads to an inflated reckoning of grievances. The effect is heightened by recourse to stereotypes well known from Prussian propaganda campaigns from the time of Frederick II, Chancellor Bismarck and the Third Reich. The author's statements may be read as implying the cultural superiority of German elites. The book as a whole takes on a patronising tone, at times bearing the marks of a colonial perspective.

Furthermore, the book is marred by unjustified and damaging generalisations. The author accuses Poles of a lack of respect for cultural property and of chaos in the management of the heritage entrusted to them; she formulates accusations concerning the way the collections were processed, obstruction of access to archives and libraries, and mistreatment of researchers. Particularly telling is the way in which she uses the statements of her Polish interlocutors: through them, she creates the appearance of distance, while she herself appears in the role of an objective observer. She puts critical words into the mouths of Poles, thereby seeking to avoid responsibility for the judgements expressed.

The family perspective, though legitimate, in its present form obscures the proper sense of proportion. It is regrettable, then, that a story about a lost library, which was intended as an expression of memory, has become, even if not entirely consciously, a projection of anti-Polish prejudice.

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REVIEW OF THE BOOK: *VERBOTEN, BESCHLAGNAHMT, GERAUBT. NS-BIBLIOTHEKSPOLITIK UND -PRAXIS IN EUROPA. BANNED, CONFISCATED, LOOTED. NAZI LIBRARY POLICY AND PRACTICE IN EUROPE.* HERAUSGEGEBEN VON/EDITED BY CLAUDE D. CONTER & JEAN-MARIE REDING, HARRASSOWITZ-VERLAG, WIESBADEN 2024 (=BIBLIOTHEK UND WISSENSCHAFT 56/2023-24)

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INTRODUCTION

The discussed publication, available also in the open-access format,[1] was published in late 2024 in the prestigious librarianship series 'Library and Science' ('Bibliothek und Wissenschaft') released by the Harrassowitz Publishing House as an outcome of a conference mounted by the National Library of Luxembourg on 27–29 October 2022. It departed from the observation that the Nazi library policy, in which libraries and books were the key tool of the propaganda of the ideology of National Socialism, caused deep changes in the structure, role, and resources of libraries, both in

1 Https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/titel_7604.ahtml (accessed: 17 May 2025).

the Third Reich itself and in all the annexed and occupied territories, though to an extremely varied degree.[2] As much as what could be observed were the same ways of a destructive interference in the existing libraries and their operation and collections: from restructuring, dismissing employees, through book confiscation and relocation, up to destroying the collections, their precise implementation and size took on various forms and proportions in different parts of Europe. It was these issues that were the topic of the papers delivered at the Conference and those later compiled into the discussed volume. Its editors: Claude Dario Conter and Jean-Marie Reding (both associates of the National Library of Luxembourg and contributors to the Conference organization) intended to at least partially fill in the existing void in the research into the Nazi library policy and its effects in Europe. Since although the issue is relatively well researched and described, what is missing, as the Editors argue in the introduction to the book, are more thorough analyses and studies focusing on the annexed and occupied territories. This diagnosis seems very accurate: many authors emphasize in their papers that they consider their work merely a point of departure for further research, defining the potential areas for study.

It would be stating the impossible if someone claimed that one conference or one volume could exhaustively study and discuss such an extensive issue as the Nazi policy library in various European countries. However, it must be emphasized that the discussed publication constitutes a promising step in this direction, since all the papers it encompasses are based on extensive archival and library studies, often resorting to source materials previously unused in the research into the Nazi library policy. Those taken into account are of the most varied character: from official documents to personal texts, additionally including newspapers and weeklies from the time of WW II, the latter gradually more readily

2 Call for Papers available at: https://bnl.public.lu/fr/a-la-une/actualites/articles-actualites/2021/cfp-ns-bibliothekspolitik.html (accessed: 12 May 2025).

available thanks to the advancing digitizing, this also emphasized by the publication's Editors. Many of these materials can be found in the form of reproductions within respective papers, which undoubtedly works to the readers' great benefit. I sincerely believe that the extensive source basis constitutes the greatest value of this publication. Its other advantage is the comparative perspective it provides: this is the one Conter and Reding assumed, and it is the one which allows to better understand what the Nazi library policy was in different European countries. According to the Editors, in order to better understand intricate processes what we need less are general theses and more detailed studies of the same or similar issues and questions.

PUBLICATION'S STRUCTURE

The main issues being the departure point for the papers collected in the volume *Forbidden, Confiscated, and Looted. Nazi Library Policy and Praxis in Europe* (*Verboten, beschlagnahmt und geraubt. NS-Bibliothekspolitik und -praxis in Europa*) have been discussed by the Editors in detail already in the Introduction, which helps orientate readers quickly and effectively. It is of basic importance that very few studies dedicated to the Nazi library policy and its definite effects in the annexed or occupied countries by the Third Reich have been written outside Germany. Since the discussed volume is to constitute the first major attempt to fill in this gap, we will find in it articles concerning 12 countries, some of them, like the Third Reich, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands, being dedicated two or even three papers. However, Conter and Reding emphasize that they had been unable to find papers dedicated to Albania, Denmark, Yugoslavia, Lithuania, and Norway, while the papers from Russia and Belarus submitted for the Conference were withdrawn due to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. What seems most disappointing from the Polish perspective is the lack of articles dedicated to Lithuania, Russia, and Belarus, since it was with these countries that Polish library collections were historically most bonded with; moreover, during the Soviet occupation

of eastern Poland there were some collection relocations towards Russia, which has not been well identified as a topic. Furthermore, not all the papers delivered at the Conference were later included in the publication, e.g., Jürgen Warmbrunn's one on the Prague 'Slovanská knihovna' as a victim of the Nazi library policy; the one by Dimitrios Varvaritis on the confiscation of Jewish libraries in Greece; and that by Markus Stumpf on Austrian libraries under the Nazis.[3] I believe these could have been mentioned in the Introduction with the explanation why the speakers did not submit their papers for publication, since it would have shown that the Conference's perspective had been even wider than it is presented in the discussed volume.

The volume opens with the papers dedicated to the situation in the Third Reich; they are followed by those tackling respective countries in the alphabetical order, this resulting most likely from a certain pragmatism. In my opinion, the approach adopted could have either been: regional-political (taking into account the political status of a given region), thematic (public libraries, private collections, etc.), or even by putting together papers on those countries in which the Nazi library policy showed a similar approach, since this would have allowed to better present certain issues that they had in common.

As for the language in which the papers are published about a half (8) are in English with the rough remaining half (7) in German. They all deal with the Nazi library policy implemented in a diverse manner: differently in Germany and differently in each of the annexed or occupied countries. What can thus be observed are different solutions and practices, sometimes adapted from German models and in other cases worked out anew. The Editors explain that this results from the legal status of a given territory: whether it was incorporated into the Reich, administered by

3 Michael Knoche, ‚Nationalsozialistische Bibliothekspolitik in Europa. Eine Tagung an der Bibliothèque nationale du Luxembourg', *o-bib. Das offene Bibliotheksjournal* no. 10 (2023), available at: https://www.o-bib.de/bib/article/view/5984 (accessed: 13 May 2025).

the military or civilians, or operated as the Reich's protectorate or commissariat ('Reichsprotektorat' or 'Reichskommissariat'). Additionally, the status and importance of the German language and culture in a given country were of certain significance, and so was the place the population of a given region occupied in the Nazi racial ideology's hierarchy. It was particularly in Poland that a systematic and large-scale purposeful devastation of books or lack of the protection of cultural institutions during bombardments that resulted after all from the Nazi ideologized cultural policy, which assumed no access of Poles to cultural goods nor the existence of higher-profile Polish culture. According to Conter and Reding, what can also be observed is the typical of the Nazi administration competence competition among various dignitaries or units, which also had an impact on the ununiform policy with respect to books and libraries. However, regardless of all the differences, the Nazi library policy was revealed all over Europe with similarly devastating results, sometimes maybe only to a more acute or less severe effect.

ARTICLES AND TACKLED ISSUES

When briefly characterizing respective texts from the volume let me draw readers' attention to certain aspects constituting an essential element in the overall picture of the Nazi library policy. It must be emphasized that all the articles have been extremely meticulously studied and documented, presenting their topic exhaustively. Almost half of them concern the implementation of the Nazi library policy in a given country, with their authors showing the major changes introduced there and the effects they produced in libraries, actually giving an overall picture, though also focusing on several detailed issues.

The first of the papers from this group deals with the overall situation of libraries in Belgium in 1940–1944. Michel Fincœur tackles many aspects in it, from the destruction of libraries and book collections, e.g., during military attacks, through purposeful and systematic confiscations: following appropriate lists, up to looting

and plundering of collections, both institutional and private. The name that appears in this context is Alfred Rosenberg whose 'Reichsleiter Rosenberg Taskforce' ('Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg') acted throughout almost whole Europe. We also learn that, following the German model, a chain of German libraries (so-called folk libraries: 'Volksbüchereien') to Germanize the population and to supplant the French influence was founded; furthermore, we read about the resistance of Belgian librarians' associations and the librarians themselves. The Brussel's Royal Library, whose collection as a national library was excluded from revision, found itself in a peculiar situation: following the closure of other large libraries, e.g., university ones, the number of its readers increased. However, despite all the interventions, as the Author sums up, the continuity of Belgian libraries was not interrupted, particularly as the Belgian librarians, in a part collaborating with National Socialism, though partly also opposing it, had a say in all the introduced changes.

In Estonia, too, as presented by Piret Lotman, the effects of the Nazi library policy were generally benign, as distinct from the years 1940 and 1941 when the country was occupied by the Soviets; this resulting from the fact that Germans regarded Estonians as a nation close to German culture. Rosenberg himself, namely the leading ideologist of National Socialism, born in Tallin (Reval in German) did not rank Estonians among the 'Untermenschen' like Slavs and Jews. The German invaders, actually welcomed with joy by a great number of Estonians, tried to be liked by the local population, therefore Estonians could freely enjoy Estonian literature, differently than under the Soviet occupation when attempts were made to eradicate the Estonian identity, while as of 1942 it was permitted to reopen public libraries. In a Tallin German bookshop there were books and magazines available from France, Switzerland, or Italy. Nonetheless, also in the case of Estonia there were some destructive procedures, such as collection revisions in search of so-called undesirable books, which, however, were not destroyed, but sent to the dissolved National Library of Estonia;

this continued to operate as part of the Central Archives administered by the Estonian self-government. The relocation of some dozen thousand of precious books and manuscripts towards Germany took place in 1943 and 1944, together with the approaching of the front, however, in the article there is no information on how many books exactly were relocated and how many returned to Tallin or Tartu.

A slightly broader time perspective can be found in the paper by Eva Semeratzaki and Giorgos Glossiotis on libraries and the Nazi library policy in Greece, since what was taken into account here were the years preceding the Nazi occupation from 1936, namely the times of the dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas. He introduced a system of a severe censorship and propaganda, thus implementing certain solutions which were later simply resorted to, e.g. in the reorganization of the libraries' structure, involving removal of the so-called undesirable books by the authorities from the collections, which, however, were not destroyed. Nonetheless, during the occupation: first Italian and then German, Greek libraries suffered the greatest damage, beginning with those resulting from warfare, through other destruction and looting, which is described on the example of some case studies. The damage to Greek libraries was enormous: the paper quotes the figure of losses at 3.9 million euros in their 1946 value. On the other hand, there are no precise lists of the damaged or relocated collections; additionally, the piece of information missing is whether the Germans relocated books and other precious printed matter to Germany.

One of the goals of the Nazi cultural policy in occupied Luxembourg was, similarly as in Belgium, its Germanization and the eradication of the French influence, for which reason much emphasis was put on creating folk libraries, which is described by Jean-Marie Reding, one of the volume's Editors, in his article on Luxembourg libraries in 1940–1944. Although the Nazis created 101 of such libraries, they also closed down 50 existing public ones. In Luxembourg, too, many books were removed from the collections, however, librarians frequently managed to simply hide them, of-

ten in e.g., monasteries and some academic libraries, this helping to preserve the publications. The next great advantage of Reding's paper is taking into account the operations and influences of various agents of the Nazi library policy, thus demonstrating their typical competence jostling.

It is Lisy Kuitert who writes about Dutch public libraries and extremely popular commercial ones, so-called libraries for reading ('Leesbibliotheek'). Similarly as in Luxembourg, Germany installed civil administration in occupied Netherlands joined by many of the local supporters of National Socialism, and which attributed high ideological value to books. That is why attempts were made to take control over libraries, a difficult task with respect to the commercial ones, actually unsuccessful until the end of the war, as the appropriate law was adopted only in 1944. Meanwhile, it was quite common in the Netherlands, e.g., among members of the Central Association of Public Libraries, to show loyalty to the new administration demonstrated in the e.g., preventive withdrawal from the circulation of all the books which could arouse doubts in the invaders' authorities. On the other hand, the Author emphasizes that those running or owning a library could have had severe problems if the authorities had found questionable books in their collection. She describes a case when a reader left some critical reading notes in a borrowed book which the police found, consequently forcing the library owners to reveal names of all the library borrowers.

A reliable and comprehensive overview of the situation of libraries in Poland: both in the territories incorporated into the Reich and those in the General Government, is presented by Jacek Kordel, who justly places the Nazi library policy within the context of cultural policy, since this allows to better understand its excessively devastating dimension and destruction volume. I believe that there is no need to recall and quote respective examples discussed by the Author, yet the fact that Kordel's paper was published in German undoubtedly extends its international reach and the awareness of the fate suffered by Polish libraries and book col-

lections during WW II. The intention to deprive Poland of its cultural goods can be also seen in systematic looting and relocation of collections, in the course of which in Poland, too, competence jostling and games of the German administration could be observed. As for the very library policy and its implementation, Kordel shows its effects on several examples: from a strong Germanization of the University Library in Poznan through the formation of the Central Library Authority ('Hauptverwaltung der Bibliotheken') in the General Government, up to the restructuring of libraries and creation of four state libraries, including an enormous relocation of collections, whose aftereffects were disastrous for Warsaw, as is generally known. In several places of his text Kordel points to the need of further research with the use of to-date little-known sources and materials for the purpose, with this claim staying perfectly in harmony with the intention of the whole book.

The last article from this group comes from Viktoria Soloshenko and concerns Ukraine. It serves as an important complement to the remaining papers, since it draws attention to the questions of restitution, which on the example of Ukraine shows the overall character of this issue throughout whole East-Central Europe. What we mean here are, first of all, new borders in this part of the continent following 1945 and the fact that it was often the change of the borders that caused some cultural goods to remain outside the frontiers of a given country. The restitution itself in the post-WW II period could have proven questionable, as, for example, some returned Ukrainian artefacts given back to the Soviet Union ended up not in Kyiv, but Moscow, where they have remained to this very day. The Author also speaks of paintings and books relocated by the Germans from Lviv to e.g., Silesia, this, in turn, being an important and complex issue from the Polish perspective. Basing herself on such examples, Soloshenko formulates some reflections of a methodological character, analysing the possibility of creating a contemporary system of identification and restitution of cultural goods, today often owned illegally. According to the Author, the issue of restitution should be approached as an interna-

tional one, therefore she proposes a more extensive cooperation in this respect following the model of e.g., already existing bilateral commissions, like the Polish-Ukrainian one.

The next group of papers is dedicated to definite library issues or respective libraries. The restitution question is tackled by Martine Poulain speaking of German looting of French private, mainly Jewish libraries, whose owners suffered most severely the effects of the German occupation, as distinct from public libraries, which were not Germanized in France, contrary to many remaining countries. In her paper the Author presents an extremely interesting database she contributes to creating of the books looted from French private collections, encompassing over a million books, manuscripts, and other printed matter from 2,260 individuals and 410 institutions returned after the war to their rightful owners. The Author reflects how tedious and challenging the identification and restitution of the books looted during WW II have been, owing to, among others, the lack of respective and full archival documentation, and she describes the attempts made in France immediately following WW II. Martine Poulain admits, however, that up to this day in e.g., collections of French public libraries books looted during the war can still be found.

In her article Poulain speaks of the aforementioned Rosenberg's Taskforce which confiscated a great number of books and dispatched them to Germany, from France also to the Institute of Research into the Jewish Question ('Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage') in Frankfurt. Rosenberg and his Taskforce as well as their operations in Latvian libraries in 1941–1944 are the topic of Jana Dreimane's article. She argues that Rosenberg's Staff had broad competences in Latvia, where it operated in two units: firstly, it was to verify collections in view of undesirable literature, whose definition it could freely formulate; secondly, it identified books useful for Nazi research concerning enemies, understood as e.g., Jewish or Bolshevik literature. These books were to reach the library of the Nazi university, so-called High School ('Hohe Schule') or the aforementioned Frankfurt University. For the purpose, 159

crates with books were transported from Riga. Many books were also supposed to remain in the country, since Rosenberg was planning to create so-called Library of the East ('Ostbücherei'). Similarly as in Estonia, in the summer of 1944, together with the approaching of the front, the evacuation of the most precious objects from Latvian libraries to Germany began.

The next paper authored by the second Editor of the publication Claude Conter deals with the National Library of Luxembourg, which during the Nazi occupation was transformed into the Land Library ('Landesbibliothek') for the Mosel Land ('Moselgau'), this implying thorough changes in its operation. In this case as well personal and competence jostling could be observed; these games were often accompanied by inter-human animosities and the desire to achieve one's individual goals. A telling example could be, for instance, the fact that the lists of books to be removed from the confiscated library holdings owing to personal conflicts were not revealed to the individuals who were supposed to identify the books and withdraw them. Apart from the local jostling there was competition from Berlin. Numerous confiscations in the dissolved Luxembourg libraries which were to enrich the Land Library were thus conducted chaotically, with the Nazi authorities sometimes losing control over them, this decisively hampering the books' post-war restitution.

The paper by Klaus Kempf and Susanne Wanninger is dedicated to the State Library of Bavaria and its collecting praxis in 1933–1945. As this was a German institution, its situation completely differed from those libraries discussed in the previously tackled papers, since the Munich library wanted, first of all, the books confiscated in other European countries, including the Polish ones, to enrich its own holdings. The Authors demonstrate how important personal contacts with the highest-profile agents were within the Nazi library policy, since those offered the possibility for action. The State Library of Bavaria did not take as much advantage of the books confiscated in the occupied territories as Vienna's National Library of Austria or the Prussian State Library in Berlin did, de-

spite its Director Rudolf Buttmann actively trying to: e.g., already in November 1939, he requested books from occupied Poland. The Authors account for this situation with the fact that despite Buttmann being a devout Nazi (his NSDAP membership card bore no. 4), he was not ruthless enough in action, as many others were being promoted within the system, that is why he did not hold an important position within the library connection network in the 1930s.

The last of the papers dedicated to a single library is authored by Gérard Houllard and discusses the Library of the Chamber of Workers and Employees in Styria ('Bibliothek der Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte Steiermark') for whose holdings the results of the Nazi library policy were as painful as for the large libraries described above. This provides an interesting and instructive case study perfectly in line with all the other papers and their goal. Being a union library it was closed down in 1938 and transferred under the administration of the German Labour Front ('Deutsche Arbeitsfront'). The latter's inspector came specially from Berlin and selected about 8,000 books, which were transferred to the Berlin research institute of the Labour Front ('Arbeitswissenschaftliches Institut'). So far two books have been recovered for Styria, as it has turned out that the majority of those seized publications were transferred by the institute to other libraries, e.g., in exchange, this demonstrating once again how complicated the problem was. The Author also mentions the reopening of the library in autumn 1938, when it formed part of the above-mentioned network of folk libraries, already popular throughout the whole Reich as a propaganda instrument; he also mentions the Library's Director Franz Schönbacher who saved many forbidden books from destruction by hiding them and lending illegally. This case thus serves as another example of librarians' resistance to the regulations of the Nazi library policy, known from many other countries.

The fate of librarians in the Nazi-administered territories is tackled in many papers, yet only in one it constitutes a separate topic: I mean here Mark Decker's article about the Jewish librarians

from Dutch public libraries dismissed during the occupation. In the Netherlands, already in autumn 1940, librarians were obliged to declare whether they were of Jewish descent, and those who were, were first suspended, and as of spring 1941, dismissed. Regrettably, in this respect too the Dutch Union of Public Libraries we have spoken about proved to be overzealous, since it supported the elimination of the Jewish employees, fearing negative consequences for the libraries themselves. The Author describes the fate of some of the fired librarians, the majority of whom were murdered in Auschwitz. This particular paper is an important complement to the whole context of the Nazi library policy seen from the microhistorical perspective, since, as observed by the Author, it is always people who pay the price for the effects of a given policy, this time dramatically with their own life.

The last two papers are dedicated to a peculiar librarian's praxis, namely cataloguing, and they refer to the German Library ('Deutsche Bücherei') in Leipzig, which at the time boasted the status of Germany's National Library. The first of them written by Michael Knoche describes how the German Library tried to capture so-called undesirable writing of Luxembourg in the German language during the Nazi times. One of the statutory tasks of the German Library was to amass works written in German and published outside Germany: this was precisely the purpose of Albert Paust's trip to Luxembourg in 1937. He attempted, to little avail, to persuade publishers from there to voluntarily send German books to Leipzig. His second trip took place in 1941. By that time the German Library had already been receiving legal deposits from the occupied duchy, however, Paust was interested, first of all, in acquiring books and printed matter released by the underground and thus fulfilling the concept of so-called undesirable writing. The Author attaches to his paper a list of bookshops or offices Paust visited on the trip, together with the list of all bookshops operating in Luxembourg during the Nazi occupation, admitting, however, that it is hard to estimate the publishing output in the country during that time, as this would require a more thorough research.

A close topic is that tackled by Jörg Räuber's paper on Czech books and magazines in the German Library. It concerns the collection of 14,500 books in Czech from 1939–1945, which ended up there despite not complying with the library's amassing profile. This had to do with the efforts of a relatively new Leipzig library wanting to assume an important position as a national library among the traditional German libraries; such a procedure was facilitated by the favourable conditions created by the Nazi library policy as well as the introduction of new structures and regulations. The Leipzig library insisted on extending the right of legal deposit to all the Third Reich's occupied and annexed territories. It argued that in compliance with its collecting mission it should amass all the publications released within the boundaries of the Third Reich. In relation to the above-mentioned collection of Czech books, the Author points to another aspect, namely whether they should be subject to restitution. If, as he argues, dividing Czechoslovakia by the Third Reich in the 1930s violated the international law, then hence resulting legal regulations can also be questioned. The issue still remains open, yet, in my view, it demonstrates once again that the problems related to the restitution of cultural goods, including books, and compensation for material and moral harm, are complex.

Both papers dedicated to the German Library pose the question whether it also attempted to overtake, e.g., Polish books? We mean here the first printed materials in German from before 1939 published in Poland, but also the books published during the occupation in the Polish annexed territories and in the General Government. This issue seems not to have been studied to-date, just like many others that the papers in the discussed volume point to, in a way delineating new research prospects.

What I consider the greatest advantage of the present publication is that it consistently makes one look at the Nazi library policy from a comparative perspective. Although the policy was not homogenous throughout whole Europe, and the applied solutions differed dramatically, it remained rooted in the same ideo-

logical basis, this meaning that its devastating effects are shown repeatedly in the articles contained within the book while affecting different countries. Almost all of them speak of plundering and destroying libraries, as well as of collection relocation, often resulting from the fact that the libraries were given a new organizational structure (e.g., Poland, Estonia, Styria, or Luxembourg). Sometimes, the solutions introduced were modelled on those from Germany, e.g., so-called folk or German libraries, forming an important Germanizing tool (e.g., Luxembourg, Belgium, Poland, Estonia) or the regulations related to legal deposit meant to be delivered to Germany (e.g., Luxembourg, Czechy, or Estonia). An interesting aspect is the use of libraries: in some countries they were open to the local population (e.g. in Belgium, where a high number of users was recorded, and also in Estonia), while in others it was not; furthermore, we often read about some forms of the librarians' resistance to the regulations in place conducted through e.g., sharing the forbidden literature from under the counter or hiding the books designated to be destroyed (e.g., Belgium, Poland, Luxembourg, Styria). Many of the articles also describe activities of the Rosenberg Taskforce who systematically plundered all the countries occupied by the Nazis of cultural goods. Another topic, common for many texts, are bans on literature and lists of so-called undesirable books issued as a consequence (e.g., Belgium, Poland, Estonia, the Netherlands, or Latvia), and although these always included Jewish or Communist writers, or those who were critical of National Socialism, there were some differences among the lists, which could constitute an interesting topic of a comparative analysis. Interestingly, not in all the countries the confiscated literature was destroyed straight away (e.g. Estonia or Luxembourg). Furthermore, what can be found characteristic of the Nazi administration in general, and also in the area of libraries, were the unclear competence scopes and competition among different agents, who sought additional benefits for themselves (e.g., Luxembourg, Poland, or Ukraine). Many papers emphasize how important the human aspect was, since it was particular individuals who imple-

mented the Nazi library policy proportionally to their abilities and ambitions. This, however, also implied personal purges in many libraries (e.g., Belgium, the Netherlands, or Styria). Finally, the papers also often speak of a complicated and complex matter that the restitution of the relocated books and book collections is and of the solutions applied in this respect following WW II (e.g., Poland, Ukraine, France, or Styria).

To sum up: not only does the discussed publication present the Nazi library policy in an exceptionally wide perspective as implemented in the very Third Reich and in all the occupied and annexed territories, but it also shows what further research could look like and which direction it would be interesting to follow. First of all, for this purpose it would be necessary to use varied archival sources in different languages, as has been consistently done by the authors of the respective papers, these materials allowing to formulate new conclusions being more and more easily available thanks to digitization. Obviously, one publication is unable to exhaustively describe and study such a complex and multifaceted issue as the Nazi library policy and all its effects, including the questions of restitution following 1945. The respective articles, however, create a relatively coherent and to a degree complete image of the problem. In my view, speaking particularly from the perspective of Poland, whose libraries suffered incomparable devastation from the Nazi library policy, the discussed publication may encourage tackling some of the topics which have not as yet been at all or have been partially studied and described.

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REVIEW OF THE BOOK: *BIBLIOGRAPHIC CLASSIFICATION. FROM MIMETIC REPRESENTATION TO ISOMORPHIC DOCUMENTALITY*

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ABSTRACT

This review examines Joacim Hansson's 2025 monograph *"Bibliographic Classification. From Mimetic Representation to Isomorphic Documentality"*. The monograph challenges readers with a dual argument: classifying systems as "documents" under a specific, derived definition, and exploring their documentary agency to "represent social and cultural norms, values and processes." The reviewer notes the book's scholarly achievement in presenting a fresh perspective, supported by substantial historical context, making it valuable for seasoned scholars and junior researchers.

The reviewer discusses the central challenge of accepting the classification **system** (a dynamic, constantly evolving entity) as a "document" rather than limiting the definition to a specific classification **scheme** (a fixed version, like a legal act). Hansson defines a document as "an inscribed reification of social acts with an informative potential of institutional value." The review explores this tension by drawing parallels with the dynamic nature of legal systems and comparative jurisprudence, concluding that while the methodology for framing systems as documents may not be strictly necessary to analyse their social agency, the book's final arguments are accepted in good faith. The review ultimately praises

the monograph's clear writing and ability to sustain suspense regarding its core argument until the "Concluding remarks," where the author's reasoning is convincingly revealed.

[Please note that this abstract was created by the Gemini AI tool and edited by the author. The review itself was written without the use of AI tools.]

KEYWORDS: classification scheme, classification system, comparative research, document, methodology

Introduction

In this review, I discuss the 2025 monograph *Bibliographic Classification. From Mimetic Representation to Isomorphic Documentality* (MIT Press) by Joacim Hansson, Professor of Library and Information Science at Linnaeus University in Växjö, Sweden. The monograph applies a highly disciplined theoretical approach to the concept of "agency" in bibliographic classification systems – specifically "documentary agency", which, after a methodological examination, the author examined from the perspective of what he calls "isomorphic documentality". Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the monograph is its analysis of classification systems as entities having an intrinsic documentary value. The approach taken requires a series of assumptions that I discuss later in this review. This is not all, however: the book presents the reader with a double challenge, on the one hand framing classification systems as "documents" (this term is given a specific definition) and on the other examining the riddle of the documentary agency of these subjects to "(re)present social and cultural norms, values and processes" (the basic question, p. 2). The balancing act required to follow the author's argument makes the monograph a fascinating study. In addition, it contains a great deal of historical background: the reader is invited to follow the long history of classification systems both as ways to organize bibliographies and as independent, abstract models. The scope of that discussion is limited to a general introduction and three case studies, but what is presented, especially in the parts related to the history of Sweden, shows mean-

ingful understanding – the best foundation for sharing knowledge. The book will be valuable not only for scholars working on classification systems but also for more junior researchers seeking to improve their knowledge and application of the relevant methodology and philosophy. The monograph also contains a few notable moments of familiarity for Polish readers, in particular the discussion of the Universal Decimal Classification model created by Paul Otlet for Esperanto, the international auxiliary language invented by L.L. Zamenhof, born in the city of Białystok in today's Poland (pp. 61–86).

The monograph is fairly short, at around 160 pages excluding notes, which should allow most readers to digest its entire contents in a relatively short time. It is to be greatly welcomed that the book is currently available as an open-access PDF. Furthermore, it contains a table of contents which should work on most e-book readers and allows the user to highlight and annotate text – particularly useful in the case of academic literature.

System or scheme

Up to the final pages of the "Concluding remarks", I was unsure whether I would finish the monograph convinced by its main argument or not. It had nothing to do with my personal conviction – I had none to start with – but rather with a sense of cogency or "holding true". The book is very clearly written, so my lack of certainty did not stem from the presentation of arguments but rather from the arguments themselves. The author intentionally leads the reader into a realm where both the viewpoint – (re)presenting social and cultural norms, values and processes – and that which is viewed – classification systems as documents – are portrayed as fresh and new. To me, this fact alone makes the book a scholarly achievement.

That said, up until the final pages, I had the impression that I was being led into that new realm by a somewhat disembodied guide. The chapters explaining the scope and methodology of

the analysis – "Classification Systems as (Social) Documents" and "Questioning Representation: A Brief Note on Methodology" – are written in a way which brings the informative faculty to the fore but pushes into the background the reasons for the many choices the author makes along the way. If it were not for the "Concluding remarks," where the author convincingly outlines his arguments, there would be a risk of leaving the reader with the threads of the argument somewhat unfinished. Of course, some fields of study do not require extended explicit argumentative reasoning to make it apparent that a thesis is valid. However, the stance taken in this monograph was that it would "revisit one of the major influences [...] that pronounced a hermeneutic, socially meaningful alternative to established cognition-oriented research practices within the discipline [of information science – *E.F.*]" (p. 56). Since hermeneutics refer, at their heart, to the art of interpretation, more guidance in the endeavour of interpretation (or reinterpretation) would have been most welcome at every stage.

That said, I had no issue with (re)presenting social and cultural norms, values and processes. Hansson explains in the book very clearly that its main purpose is to push away from the mimetic representation approach towards what he refers to as "isomorphic documentality", as stated in the title. In Chapter 3, "Questioning Representation: A Brief Note on Methodology", the author explains the complexities of isomorphism, which may refer to the object as well as to a process – of development, tension or "contextual relations and change impetuses in institutional settings" (p. 53). This "idea of transposition [...] is open to objection as it is always hazardous to bring a concept from one discursive context to another". Therefore, the author decides to revisit, as stated earlier, the "hermeneutic, socially meaningful alternative to established cognition-oriented research practices" (p. 56).

The explanation for that shift broadly reminds me of the tension between static and dynamic interpretation found in legal studies of continental Europe, including Poland. Static interpretation is expected to accurately represent the original intent, while

dynamic interpretation enters into a justified, albeit mainly hypothetical discourse as to what is needed and expected from that system "now" for it to work as intended. Dynamic interpretation offers flexibility and openness: such discourse is not only allowed in the interpretation and immediate application of laws, if sufficiently justified, but should and indeed sometimes does also lead to a rephrasing of laws or lasting amendments to their application. Laws are often enacted to adapt to social challenges, as defined in a given period, providing not only more or less effective solutions but also producing somewhat obscure summaries of the policies formulated by the lawmaker. In this sense, they may have documentative, evidentiary uses: they represent their times. The interaction which I understand here as "dynamic" is framed by Hansson with respect to classification systems as a dialectic process of "prefiguration, configuration and refiguration" (pp. 57–59).

By thinking about classification systems as similar to laws, I found myself capable of imagining this dynamic, socially, culturally or even economically relevant process with classification schemes at its centre. The question, put simply as "what does society need?" with respect to classification schemes is, for me, comparable to the same question with regard to laws. Thus, in the rest of this review, I will follow the "avenue to create an understanding of the complex way in which documents find social and cultural significance that goes beyond their immediate use" (p. 59) by mentally comparing them to legal systems and their accompanying documents – systems with which I have a certain familiarity. My use of the term "classification schemes" here, as distinct from "classification systems", generally follows the works and ideas of Dr Shiyali Ramamrita Ranganathan, primarily as expressed in his "Prolegomena to Library Classification."

What is a system, one may ask, and why are classification systems described as systems? When a librarian thinks of a classification system, what springs to mind is one or several classification schemes that the library applies, be it Universal Decimal Classification, Dewey Decimal Classification, Library of Congress Classifi-

cation or some other scheme. The library may use the scheme in an adapted, localized version; there may be people at the institution responsible for introducing changes into the local classification scheme, and these may occur frequently – even a few times a day; there will be a body of examples from previous uses of the scheme which facilitate certain cataloguing choices in the future; there may be customary uses of certain symbols, as documented over many years of bibliographic choices; there may be written general instructions, rule books and commentaries pertaining to certain classes or genres, and some of them may be published and readily available in print or online; there may be schemes published every few years in print, gathering together the results of years of meticulous preparation and shared reflections by teams of people, both those working at the institution maintaining the scheme and others loosely affiliated or even entirely unaffiliated with it; the results of external questions, guidance requests, seminars and training sessions may be involved; academic publications, symbols suggested by publishers or even perhaps resolutions of classification-related disputes may come into play; there may be a new trend in publishing, a new important topic, and the scheme has to accommodate it – there is really no way around that fact. There is a lot to a system and it remains in a constant state of flux, of motion. Not only that; the system is, to an extent, resilient. If a faulty symbol is introduced against the inherent logic of the system, it may raise voices of opposition – and the offending symbol may be removed or corrected as a result. This is made possible by the fact that a system is more than the sum of its parts. A classification system is not only a concatenation or juxtaposition of classification symbols. All of this went through my mind while reading the monograph and I include it here *in extenso* to explain the main challenge I faced in accepting its core argument.

This leads me to another part of the monograph which I found challenging, namely the framing of classification systems as "documents". We read on pages 10–11:

> "In addressing bibliographic classification, I will not so much focus on the classificatory process as such. Nor is it the librarians or scholars making use of a specific classification scheme for the benefit of information retrieval that is at the center of interest. Instead, what interest me are the systems themselves, seen and defined as documents both in the sense of individual documents (*The* classification system) and as parts of a larger documentary collectives (i.e., classification systems based on decimal divisions) wherein the individual documents share certain syntactical and semantical elements, principles of synthesis, and other properties that relate them to each other and shape them into a certain category." [italics original]

In the introductory remarks to Chapter 2, "Classification Systems as (Social) Documents", Hansson presents a twofold methodological purpose: "(1) to establish a working definition of a document designed to work as a basis for a developed understanding of classification systems as documents; and (2) to develop this understanding of classification systems as *social* documents, where the concept *documentality* is at the center of interest" [italics original] (p. 21). This view is explained by reference to a "cultural warrant" which "highlights the system as an autonomous entity, with syntactic solutions and semantic layers understood as wider than its (intended) use" (p. 17). For Hansson, this means that the classification system "emerges as a document with inherent social significance and value" (p. 17).

Based on an inspiring explication of the ideas and two definitions from a document by Maurizio Ferraris, Hansson constructs a single definition stating that "a document is an inscribed reification of social acts with an informative potential of institutional value" (p. 33). Again, this definition seems acceptable to me. Hansson himself admits that, in this definition, there is an "emphasis on materiality and fixity" – as there certainly should be – and a "document may be subjected to contextual changes, but if so, there will be versions of editions of the document that may be related to its specific historicity and social complexity" (p. 33). This explanation, however, deals neither with the problem of change

nor with the environment surrounding the central document, or it deals with them only superficially. Imagine a legal act, in force and applicable. Now imagine it being amended: it is clearly a document being amended. It was fixed before the amendment and it will become fixed again after the amendment. Now imagine that there are hundreds and thousands of such legal acts, interacting with each other, all subject to occasional amendments at different points in time. Imagine that there are authorities, courts of law, ordinary citizens applying the laws, producing all kinds of documents – judgements, new laws, private contracts, and also interpretations, commentaries and scholarly publications. These documents inform and influence each other, collectively creating a tradition, a history, a society. Only then one can perhaps call them a "legal system".

For me, if a classification system works in a constant flow of application within an institutional environment, what I would call a "document" is the classification scheme, its version on a specific date – not the entire "system". Such a dated scheme would have important evidentiary value; that is not controversial. Keeping the comparison to legal systems in mind, I do not see how extending the definition of a "document" to an entire classification system, even if narrowly understood, is a requirement for further analysis if one can reduce the subject matter to a "classification scheme", thereby completely avoiding the methodological hurdle.

Incidentally, the subject of the three case studies presented in the monograph are, I would argue, classification schemes – naturally so, as classification schemes are much easier to evidence, reference and discuss in writing than, for example, their application, even if this is well documented. This is a known issue in legal studies: the method of choice is often to analyse the text of a legal act on its own merit, limiting the discussion to certain linguistic and logical aspects rather than analysing its application, effectiveness and so on. However, separately, there also exists a large body of serious academic literature on comparative law and, in particular, comparisons between entire legal systems. To quote from one such study:

> "In very short, law as jurisprudence stands for the proposition that law is more than just the sum of its facts – the texts, the institutions, the sanctions, etc. [...] created and implemented by the State. [...] Law is also, and crucially, the ideas that underline, animate, and tie these facts together: the view of due process that roots the court system, the understanding of promise-keeping that informs our law of contracts, the conception of crime that seeps through our criminal law. [...] Law as jurisprudence is neither "law in books," nor "law in action" [...] It is "law in minds" [...] – "a deliberative enterprise ... [taking place] within 'the logical space of reasons'," [...] a "style of thought," [...] "a web of beliefs, ideals, choices, desires, interests, justifications, principles, techniques, reasons, and assumptions" [...] – which accordingly can be apprehended only from within, [...] from the standpoint of legal actors"."
>
> Catherine Valcke, "Comparative Law as Comparative Jurisprudence – The Comparability of Legal Systems", 52 *Am. J. Comp. L.* 713 (Summer 2004), pp. 716–717.

The issue of the comparability of legal systems is by no means new (see, for example, Maximilian Schmitthoff, "The science of comparative law" in *The Cambridge Law Journal* 7.1 (1939), pp. 94–110). Likewise, Catherine Valcke, after the inspiring introduction quoted above, goes on to show that "law as jurisprudence, unlike naturalism and positivism, entails a conception of the legal system as comparable, and that comparative law as comparative jurisprudence – comparative law *per se* – hence appears possible" (*ibid.*, p. 720 and similarly on pp. 739–740). One promising methodology when comparing legal systems, as presented by Valcke, is the hermeneutic approach (*ibid.*, p. 740). The prerequisite for systems to be comparable is their simultaneous unity (they are both legal systems – like different kinds of fruit but not, say, apples and airplanes) and their plurality (they are distinct legal systems – for example, French versus English – like apples versus oranges) (*ibid.* pp. 720, 739).

From Valcke's perspective, it is not only permissible to analyse entire systems: it is permissible to compare them running in parallel with each other. This approach does not limit the researcher to the process of creating new documents in a given social con-

text but can be extended to working systems which would be regarded as comparable with their counterparts (that is to say, other systems of that particular kind) applied elsewhere. For example, a comparison may be drawn between classification systems applied in twentieth-century Sweden and in selected libraries operating in the United States of America at that time. Thus, in research in comparative law, entire systems are deemed comparable. This makes it difficult for me to take the leap from a classification scheme (clearly a document) to a classification system treated as a document, purely because I see no reason for regarding systems as documents as a prerequisite for analysing how they "represent social and cultural norms, values and processes".

I am, of course, aware that the methodology of comparative law may not easily translate into the field of information science; such an interdisciplinary approach would be very interesting but is by no means expected in rigorous research into one specific field. I therefore save my reservations and accept the final arguments of the monograph in good faith, presenting them here to show disparities between various fields that may, perhaps, inspire future research and fruitful discussion.

Minor remarks: page 94 is missing an "is" at the beginning of a paragraph; "becomes" on page 72, "prjets" on page 79 and "Littéraure" would appear to be mistakes.

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CDNL MEETING AT THE IFLA WORLD LIBRARY AND INFORMATION CONGRESS

In August 2026 the annual IFLA World Library and Information Congress was held in Busan, South Korea, bringing together more than 3,000 librarians from around the world. As part of the Congress, the annual meeting of the Conference of Directors of National Libraries (CDNL) took place on 11 August. It was chaired by Dr. Tomasz Makowski, Director General of the National Library of Poland, who was elected Chair of CDNL in 2025. The meeting was hosted by the National Library of Korea and attended by directors of national libraries from more than 40 countries.

The main theme was the role of national libraries in the age of artificial intelligence, with discussions focusing on the reliability and authenticity of information, new ways of accessing knowledge and the responsibility of national libraries in a changing information environment.

The meeting was preceded by two keynote presentations. Professor Sung-Hyon Myaeng of KAIST spoke on "Libraries in the Age of AI: A New Intersection of Humanity and Technology", highlighting the opportunities and limitations of AI and identifying new roles for libraries as "guardians of trust", "grassroots educators" and providers of reliable data for AI systems. He also stressed the continuing importance of libraries as spaces for human interaction. The second keynote, "Twins and Minions: Libraries in the World of Agentic AI", was delivered by Professor Marek Kowalkiewicz of Queensland University of Technology. He focused on AI systems capable of independently carrying out tasks and pursuing defined goals, raising questions about human control and responsibility. For libraries, he stressed the need to focus on users' needs and the changing role of library services. The presentations provided an introduction to the discussion of the draft Busan Declaration, presented by Professor Young-Joon Nam, Director of the

National Library of Korea. Participants expressed different views on the document and on the timing of its adoption. It was agreed to allow a period for comments and establish a working group to prepare a revised draft.

Representatives of IFLA, President Leslie Weir and Secretary General Sharon Memis, discussed current activities of the Federation and areas for closer cooperation with CDNL. Presentations by the National Library of Australia, the National Library of Türkiye and the British Library provided an opportunity to exchange experience on common challenges. The organisation of CDNL's work and preparations for the Busan meeting were coordinated by CDNL Secretary Julia Konopka-Żołnierczuk, Deputy Director of the National Library of Poland and member of the IFLA Governing Board. Since Tomasz Makowski became Chair in 2025, the CDNL Secretariat has been based at the National Library of Poland in Warsaw.



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