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ARTICLES

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PAINTING TREATISE *ARS DE OMNIBUS COLORIBUS FROM MANUSCRIPT* BJ RKP. 778 III THE JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY. A CRITICAL REVIEW OF RECIPES AS SEEN AGAINST OTHER TECHNOLOGICAL SOURCES

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ABSTRACT

Ars de omnibus coloribus treatise from the manuscript 778 III of the Jagellonian Library from ca. 1425 is a unique source discussing Polish miniature painting technology. The author or the inspirator of this original treaty was Jan of Dobra, a doctor and a professor of the Jagiellonian University and the owner of the original manuscript. The article is a broad, multi-aspect deal on this interesting piece of writing. It contains 65 recipes dealing mainly with pigments and painting dyes, various goldening techniques used then in book ornamentation. Recipes contained in the treaty are supported by commentaries detailing technological issues. These comments also pointed out potential analogies to other texts of similar character. Multi-disciplined comparative studies made it possible to

point out archetypes or sources of inspiration for many recipes and, as a consequence to determine sources of artistic influences on the treaty author. It was also possible to determine that the text is not only a creative compilation of muti-sourced recipes, but it contains original recipes of no substitute in any known technological texts.

KEYWORDS: painting treatise, recipe collections, art-technology, illumination, colours, pigments, dyes

Introduction

In 1977, Maria Kowalczyk published a text of a short technological treatise from manuscript bearing Call No. BJ 778 III kept at the Jagiellonian Library, and calling it *Ars de omnibus coloribus* (Kowalczyk 1977, pp. 165–174). She actually titled the text based on the explicit in which the author wrote down 'Et sic est finis huius artis videlicet de omnibus coloribus'. The source text published almost half a century ago, and unique in the Polish sources as for its topic, had been relatively rarely recorded in linguistic literature (Klapper, Kołodziej, p. 56; *Opis źródeł*, p. 29), mentioned only in studies on art history (Gadomski, pp. 95–97; Adamczuk, p. 84; Ptak-Farmas vel Król, p. 115), and briefly quoted as a source (*Bibliografia źródeł*, p. 126; Baza danych ARTECHNE: https://artechne.hum.uu.nl/bibliography?page=14&s=type&o=asc (3 September 2023); Devriese, p. 286). However, there are no publications which analyse the treatise from any point of view. And although the text discussed in the present paper has superficially been present in the academic circulation and awareness as an important source on miniature painting of Lesser Poland, lack of its more detailed study and thorough analysis results in it continuing to be a work without saturation potential in various research fields.

The present study is to assess the originality and position of the treatise within the context of other texts of the same kind. Such an analysis can, on the one hand, reply the question related to the migration of similar sources within the cultural environment of late mediaeval Europe, yet, on the other, it can identify the direction of artistic influences revealed in technological texts, and the artistic or decorative oeuvre basing on them.

When studying the *Ars de omnibus coloribus*, respective recipes were analysed technologically in the context of other treatises, while at the same time an attempt was made to find identical or coinciding recipes in other texts. Moreover, the linguistic aspect was taken into consideration, since the terminology applied in the treatise was also analysed. At the same time, the focus was mainly on the texts written down in Latin, searching for analogies in the linguistic and terminological layers. In such an approach, texts in other languages: German, Italian, and French, were but an auxiliary and comparative material facilitating the explanation of some issues and transmission of technological procedures. Thanks to this methodology it was possible to identify the direction of cultural influences and the evaluation of the genuine character of the text.

It should be emphasized that the analysis of some of the recipes would not have been fully possible or sufficiently deepened without the practical experience the author has in illumination techniques, which made the reconstruction of some recipes possible. This provided an opportunity to more thoroughly evaluate some procedures, particularly those related to the application of dyes when making paints. It also allowed to more precisely specify numerous and very similar recipes, for instance those based on the use of brazilwood or verdigris.

The treatise is contained on leaves 174v–177r of the codex encompassing a collection of 66 texts, mainly of medical content, created in ca. 1425, and originally belonging to the book collection of John of Dobra, a doctor and professor of the Jagiellonian University (*Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum*, pp. 36–55). As can be suspected, that set of medical texts was created successively, depending on the availability of subsequent sources for copying. That is why treatises of varied volume, copied by one professional scribe alternate with texts copied in a less meticulous handwriting, however, generally maintaining the same two-column layout with rubrication. As confirmed by Maria Kowalczyk on the grounds of the comparison of the handwriting from Codex BJ 1962 (column 284v), the marginalia as well as some manuscript parts may have been written by John of Dobra himself (Kowalczyk 1977, p. 165; also: *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorumi,* p. 52). A professional scribe decorated the texts he copied with initials painted in red, green, and blue, meticulously rubricating them, and framing explicits in red. The text of the discussed treatise begins with the second column on leaf 174v, directly following Al-Rhazis's text *Almansoris librii* translated by Gerard of Cremona, and written with slightly smaller letters, albeit undoubtedly by the same hand as the work that precedes it. In the inner margin, levelling with the beginning of the treatise *Ars de omnibus coloribus* only the words 'Specialis tractatus' were written in red to mark the beginning of the text. Being a non-medical text, it may have been regarded by the scribe as less important, and respective recipes were only separated with a red line marking paragraphs, without any additional ornaments. An identical editorial format was applied to the text placed on leaves 298r–303v, and written down as titled *Experimenta et medicinalia…*in the catalogue of the Jagiellonian Library manuscripts. The scribe, whose hand can also be recognized in the treatise *Ars de omnibus coloribus,* revealed his Polish descent at the end of the text *Onomasticon…* by Gelasius of St Sophia where below the explicit on leaf 292v he wrote down: 'Myli mistrzu day finales'.

The treatise that is the subject of the present study contains recipes mainly for preparing paints for book painting and gilding methods for manuscript decoration. The set includes numerous recipes for preparing red: two to prepare minium, five to prepare vermilion, one connected with organic red, and as many as eight to prepare brazilwood. Furthermore, the treatise contains recipes to obtain six copper greens and one organic green, as well as five hues of azure and two organic blue colos. Among the four yellow hues, mosaic gold (No 21), orpiment with some organic dye (No

58), saffron (No 9), and the fourth obtained from an unidentified mineral component (No 6) are presented. Additionally, the treatise comprises recipes to prepare purple, grey, and brown, a recipe to obtain white inscription against black background, a recipe to make varnish, and a formula to prepare a glair for miniature painting. A category apart is formed by texts containing recipes to prepare soap, window membranes, and a cosmetic from lily roots respectively.

Apart from the records related to the preparation of paints, a substantial number of recipes concern gilding techniques and gilt imitations. This group of recipes contains as many as seven recipes for gold imitations, ten to make gesso and gilding with gold leaf, three recipes how to write in gold, and recipes for gilding other objects, including glass (Nos. 39, 40), pigeon feathers (No. 23), fruit or almonds (No. 41).

There exist dozens of brief theological treatises and short painting recipes coming from various areas in Europe, and compiled at different times. In principle, every mediaeval writing centre, including scriptoria or administrative and intellectual centres, may have been equipped with this set of adequate help facilitating work and organizing essential knowledge. In many a case they were extensive technological treatises copied for the purpose and popular within a given community, or sometimes less popular and known smaller works in several copies such as the *Liber colorum secundum magistrum Bernardum…* or *De clarea* talking about preparing binder from egg white (Travaglio 2008; Baroni 2016b). As can be expected, however, most often the most appropriate knowledge was amassed and written down gradually, taking on the form of compilations and thematic recipe collections, often copied by many different scribes. Such compendia frequently ended up among other minor treatises, generally of medical, practical, and alchemical content. The topic related to writing and painting skills stretched across various disciplines, since it covered both methodology and materials applied in the area of medicine, cosmetology, and alchemy. Creating artificial pigments, the use of plants of dyeing qualities, or achieving colour effects thanks to the chemical properties of ingredients seemed close and related to the above disciplines.

The genuine Latin text of *Ars de omnibus coloribus* treatise was compared in the study with the Polish translation made by Fr Bartosz Leszkiewicz, with a minor contribution of the author of the present study. Respective recipes of the treatise were given extensive commentaries containing a thorough analysis of the text as seen from the technological angle demonstrating possible analogies and connections with other artistic treatises. These sometimes extensive and detailed explanations to a degree make up for the lack of more extensive studies of mediaeval painting techniques and technologies in Polish scholarly literature.

Specialis tractatus

Nota de coloribus et temperaturis fere omnium colorum, quomodo debent temperari	A note on colours and preparation of almost all colours and how to prepare them
1. Et primo de minio. Minium tere in lapide sicco. Et cum contritum fuerit, tunc pone in cornu et mitte liquefacere cum aqua per noctem. Crastina vero die fac clarum et intinge spuma in clarum. Ita diu exprime spumam donec recedat tantum [?] in cornu minium. Et moveas bene donec dissolvetur etc. Sequitur.	First about minium. Grind minium dry on the grinding slab. When ground, place it in a horn and leave it so that it can soak in water for the night. The following day prepare egg white and dip the residue in it. Subsequently, press it hard until all the minium drips into a horn. And stir earnestly until well dissolved, etc. See below for more.

Lead tetroxide (Pb_3O_4), minium, a red pigment, has been known since the ancient times. It is a traditionally important pigment in book painting, and the word ‘miniature’ stems from it. The pigment was dry ground or ground with a binder: egg white. Minium tends to darken as influenced by sulphur compounds from the atmosphere, that is why many of the recipes provide means for

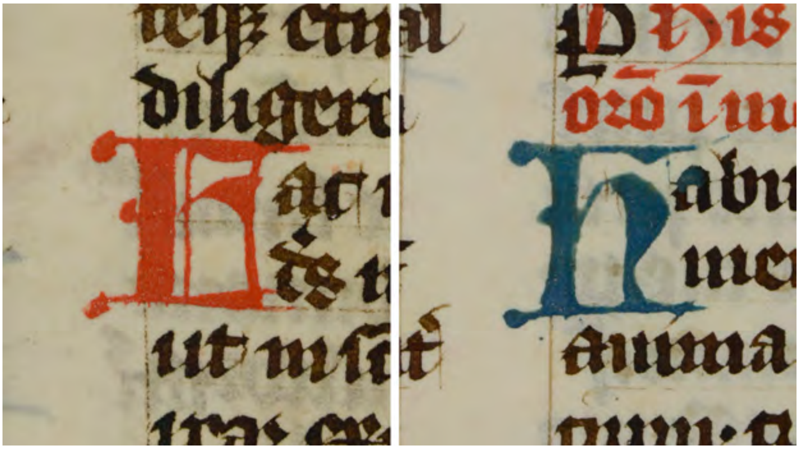

FIG. 1. A red „F" initial, on the left, made with a mixture of cinnabar and minium and a blue initial „h", on the right, made with azurite – *Pontificale Plocense II*, II half of XIV century. Biblioteka Seminaryjna w Płocku, Plock Seminarian Library, MsEPI 7a. Photo by Jacek Tomaszewski

cleansing it. In the *Liber de coloribus illuminatorum sive pictorum* from the first half of the 13th century, similarly as in the present recipe, ground pigment was soaked in clean water or more frequently in a mixture of water with vinegar or wine (*Minium molendum est cum aqua sicut vermiculum. et eiecta aqua de cornu: siccabis. et ita ponenda est glarea oui. et sic illinatur ex eo. Hoc minium cum nullo colore miscetur nisi cum albo et uermiculo* (Thompson 1926, p. 282). Also in a manuscript form 1464-1473 kept at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (Call No. Clm 20174, f. 203v) we find the recommendation to rinse the pigment: *Si autem Minium wlgariter menig vetus aut turpis coloris fuerit. ita lauari debet. Sume aquam et vinum ita. ut quinta vel sexta pars sit vinum. et mitte in cornu cum minio. et commoue. et permitte quiescere. Cum autem sedatum fuerit. eice aquam et vinum. et infunde claram quantum opus fuerit etc*. According to the manuscript *De diversis coloribus* by Johannes Alcherius (Merrifield I, p. 295) minium was rinsed with a mixture of water and wine (3 :1), following which it was dried, and the paint was made with an addition of egg white. The discussed recipe does not include the stage of drying the pigment following the rinsing in water.

2. Cinobrium temperatur primo sic. Recipe cynobrium et contere bene in lapide. Et cum contritum fuerit, tunc pone in cornu de minio tantum sicut de cinobrio et sic misce invicem et funde aquam desuper et remitte liquefieri. Et die crastina depone aquam et funde clarum desuper ita, quod nulla spuma sit ibi. Si modicum videtur [videns], tunc modicum rade de creta intra. Et si vis, ut splendebit, tunc pone de vitello modicum intra. Verumtamen quanto plus posueris, tanto plus splendebit. Et tunc moveas simul predicta cum vitello etc.

The first way to prepare cinnabar is the following: take cinnabar and grind it thoroughly on the slab. When ground, place as much minium as cinnabar in a horn, and mix them together adding water on the top. Then put it all aside to dissolve. The following day pour out the water, adding egg white and avoiding any foam. If you find the obtained volume insufficient grate some chalk inside. And if you wanted it to shine, add some yolk inside; obviously, the more yolk you add, the more shiny it will be, and subsequently, mix with it all the enumerated ingredients, etc.

It is the first of four recipes for cinnabar for painting. Two recipes instruct to mix cinnabar with minium (Nos, 2, 16). Vermilion for rubrication was most frequently prepared by mixing cinnabar with minium in different proportions. Several recipes with the use of both pigments are given also by the *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, Nos. 63–64, p. 88). Johannes Alcherius in his brief treatise *Experimeta de coloribus* contained in the compilation by Jean le Bègue from 1431 (Merrifield I, No. 177, pp. 140–142) gives recipes for preparing red for illumination, and explains why in order to obtain the best possible effect these two pigments have to be mixed. Minium by nature is too light for initial painting, that is why it was mixed with darker more luminous cinnabar. The usual proportion for fresh pigments was two parts of cinnabar with one part of minium. The colour of both cinnabar and minium altered with time: minium faded, while cinnabar darkened, therefore the pigment proportions changed. The older the cinnabar, the less of it was added to the rubric (Merrifield I, No. 311, p. 297).

Two recipes from the treatise recommended mixing the pigments in equal proportions. Pouring water over the ground pigments and leaving this for the night was most likely to secure purifying the two pigments from degradation products (Petrus de S. Audemaro: *Quomodo lavatur minium* – Marrifield I, p. 143, No. 178). Once the pigment was cleansed, the water was poured out, while a binder in the form of beaten up whites, left to stand, and cleaned of foam, was added. Adding some chalk to the purified pigments slightly lightened up the paint, also increasing its volume, however, at the expense of its quality. Adding the yolk to the paint did not only increase the luminesce of the paint layer, but also its elasticity. Many recipes recommended to add cerumen to boost the paint's sheen (Thompson, Hamilton, pp. 17–18).

3. Lazurium sic temperatur. Accipe lazurium et contere in lapide bene et liquefacere in forti aceto vel vino. Et in crastina die remove prefatum acetum vel vinum et funde gummi arabicum desuper. Et scribe etc.	Azure is prepared in the following manner. Take azure, grind it thoroughly on the slab and dissolve in potent vinegar or wine. On the following day pour out the above vinegar or wine, following which pour some gum arabic on top. And write, etc.

It is one of the four recipes to prepare a blue pigment defined as 'lazurium'. The recipe does not specify what pigment is involved. In the *Tabula de vocabulis et equivocis colorum* contained in the manuscript by Jean le Bègue (Merrifield I, p. 29) we find a general definition of the colour, not the pigment: *Azurium vel lazurium est color; aliter celestis vel celestinus, aliter blauccus, aliter persus, et aliter ethereus dicitur*. All the natural mineral pigments as well as the artificially yielded ones can be defined as 'lasur'. In technological sources it is relatively rare for the names of blue pigments to be differentiated. Except for the lapis lazuli (lazurite, natural ultramarine) defined as *azurro ultramarinum* or *lazurium transmarinum,* or azurite given the name depending on the place of its origin: *azzurro della magna*, *azzuro d'allemagna*, or *lazurium vel de anglia*, *vel yspania* (Thompson 1935b, p. 461), it was only through the description of the cleansing and grinding process that it can be deduced what plant dye or natural pigment we deal with (Bartl *et al.*, p. 708). The most frequently applied pigment in mediaeval book painting was azurite, alkaline copper carbonate ($Cu_3(CO_3)_2(OH)_2$), a mineral accompanying copper ore deposits in various places, also Germany and Poland. The Latin name of *lazurium* comes from the Arab *lāzward* or Persian *lā*šward meaning blue colour.

As a natural mineral, azurite can boast a different chemical composition and various impurities essentially affecting its colour. Depending on the variety and quality, to a larger or lesser degree it usually requires the unwanted impurities to be removed. The most effective means was rinsing in lye, recommended in numerous treatises, e.g., in the *Liber colorum secundum magistrum Bernardum…* (Travaglio 2008, p. 132), *Segredi per colori* (Marrifield II, pp. 365–367), or the collection of technological recipes from the Tegernsee Abbey from 1464–1473 (Munich, BSB, Clm 20174).

Meanwhile, recipes rarely mention the use of vinegar to cleanse azurite. Such a procedure is contained in the *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, No. 160b, p. 136) where azurite was first soaked in vinegar for eight days, and subsequently cleansed with lye, to be finally cleansed again with vinegar. A slightly different process was contained in the recipe presented in the *Segredi per colori* where the pigment was first cleansed with lye, only to be later rinsed in potent vinegar, possibly to neutralize the products remaining after the alkaline effect.

In the Cracow recipe, possibly green copper compounds were created in the reaction with vinegar; they were later washed away together with small azurite particles. What remained were larger dark-blue grains of the pigment. However, the different-sized pigment grains could not be effectively separated with vinegar alone; this was possible only when using lye (Bartl *et al.*, p. 550). In the discussed recipe the pigment was to be used for making writing liquid mixed with the solution of gum arabic.

4. Grispon sic temperatur. Accipe grispon et contere in lapide cum aceto vel vino. Et sic mittas cum illa mixtura in cornu quod est et contere feces. Et siccum exprime de ipsis. Et funde hyspanum et modicum de melle favo et tunc moveas. Etc.

Verdigris is prepared in the following manner. Take verdigris, grind it on the slab with vinegar or wine. Pour that mixture into a horn. After that grind the sediment. And press out of it what is dry. Pour in Spanish green and some honey, following which stir it, etc.

This is one of the six recipes concerning the preparation of copper green, of which each differs in additives and the preparation procedure. In this case the pigment is ground with added vinegar or wine on the grinding slab. In the course of the process the pigment gradually dissolved in the organic acid, while the remains after filtering were poured into a horn. In this way, so-called 'neutral verdigris' was obtained which of various forms of copper acetate with the general formula of copper (II) acetate $Cu(CH_3COO)_2{\cdot}Cu(OH)_2$, transformed into monohydrate $Cu(CH_3COO)_2{\cdot}H_2O$. The liquid obtained in such a way was added some honey as a binder.

From ancient times throughout the whole Middle Ages all the artificial copper greens, regardless of their means of production, were in Latin texts called *verdigris*, *viride hispanicum*: 'Spanish green', or *viride grecum*: 'Greek green'. Within the German-speaking circles variants of the vernacular name: *grienspon*, *grinspon*, *spongrin*, or *spongrien* were used (Bartl *et al.*, pp. 544–545; *The Pigment Compendium*, pp. 177, 385–386, 390).

It is symptomatic that in this and in the other recipes the pigment's German name: *grispon* was consistently applied by the author. However, in such an abbreviated word form the name was not recorded in any known technological source from the region of the impact of German terminology. At the same time, in the further part of the recipe a different name of the pigment: *hyspanum* appears. Once again, such a version of the name is not present in other known treatises, though its variant: *viride hyspanicum* can be found (Thompson 1936, p. 392; Baroni 2016a, p. 281; Munich, BSB, Clm. 20174, f. 183r).

5. Briselium sic temperatur. Recipe concham et pone briselium intra et funde clarum et modicum aluminem. Cum autem vis scribere, pone ad peniculum. Et ponens exprime [exprimens] ad cornum suum colorem; tunc scribe, quod vis etc.	Brazil is prepared in the following way. Take a bowl, put brazilwood inside, add glaire and some alum. When you want to write, pour it into a sponge. Having poured it there, press the pigment into your horn. Subsequently, write what you want, etc.

The treatise contains nine recipes to prepare a red dye from brazilwood. The recipes in question can be found at two places: in the initial part (Nos. 5, 7, 8) and the final one (Nos. 56, 63, 64, 65). Additionally, the obtaining of the dye is described in No. 38, and also in recipe No. 26 which speaks of preparing brown.

Despite the appearances, the name has nothing in common with the New World, but it is derived from the Old-French *brese* or Portuguese *brasa* meaning 'glowing coals' or 'embers', yet originally also flaming red (Franca, p. 291; Bartl *et al.*, p. 689). In the Middle Ages, the wood used represented the *Caesalpinia sappan* species (called red brazilwood by Krzysztof Kluk in the 19th century (Kluk, vol. I, p. 92). This dyeing material reached Europe through the Arab world, possibly in the 12th century. It was mentioned in the accounting books of Genoa in 1140 as *braxile* or *Brasile,* later in 1192, in Lodi, northern Italy, and in the early 13th century, at markets of Flanders (Ploss, p. 55). Initially widely used for dyeing textiles, it was soon applied in other domains, including panel painting and illumination. In later periods also related species coming from Southern and Central America were used in the process, such as *Paubrasilia echinata* (Pernambuco wood), *Caesalpinia violacea,* or *Haematoxylum brasiletto*. The wood of all those species contains the red neoflavonoid dye: brazilein which changes colour depending on the ways of preparing it and the additives. In acidic environment it turns yellowish-brown, and in alkaline environment it becomes a differently shaded red (*The Pigment Compendium*, p. 60).

In different Latin treatises the name of brazil differed slightly depending on the place in which the text was created and in what tradition it was copied. In West European treatises we find different transcriptions. There is mention of *brasilium*, *bresilium*, *brisillium* (Heraclius, III, 34 and 35 – Merrifield I, p. 235), *brisilium* (Alcherius – Merrifield I, p. 271), *de brasil* (Hunt, p. 206), *braxilium* vel *Brexilium* (Jean Le Bèque – Merrifield I, p. 21), *lignum brasili*, *brasile* (*De arte illuninandi*– Lecoy de la Marche, pp. 17–20; Petrus de S. Audemar – Merrifield I, p. 145).

In Italy we come across the following transcriptions: *braxille*, *brasille* (Travaglio 2008, pp. 126–128), or *verzino* (Merrifield I, p. 21); in the German-speaking circles the following variants are found: *presilg*, *presilig*, *ligni prisiligen*, in Latin: *prisileto*, *prisilium*, *presilium*. Similarly, in Bohemia the tradition applies rather to the German version, which can be seen in the application of the form *prisilium* by Pavel Žídek in the *Liber viginti artium,* called the Twardowski Book (Kraków, BJ, rkps. 257, f. 187vb). The later Czech names: *pryzule*, *prysila* confirm this linguistic tendency (Businská, p. 194).

In the treatise *Ars de coloribus* the version of the name of the dyeing material: *briselium*, *lignum briselli*, not found anywhere else, was used. The shift of vowels in the word core is present only in the manuscript of John of Dobra, and it seems to be a feature characteristic of Polish writing also in the later period. In the Polonized version the word *bryzelia* was actually used until the 19th century. Next to *bryzylia* and *bryzeliya,* this was the form applied by Marcin Siennik in his translation of *The Secrets…* by Alessio Piemontese or by the anonymous author of the *Sekret Wystawiony*….(pp. 114, 115). In the late 17th century, also Jakub Haur recalled the name *bryzelia* (Haur, p. 368), adding the variants: *brazylia* (p. 377) and *skorka z drzewa brazy* and *bráza* (p. 362). The name in this version could also be found in the 18th century (*Contant d'Orville*, p. 342). In 19th century dictionaries the names *bryzelia* or *bryzylia* appeared simultaneously with the form *brazil* (Linde, pp. 167, 178; Bantkie, pp. 36, 38; Trotz, column 684; Mrongowiusz, p. 31).

Out of the nine recipes to prepare brazil, four refer to the cold extraction of the dye with some egg white as a binder and alum. In the discussed laconic recipe the dye is prepared for writing, particles of wood are mixed with glaire and alum and deposited for colouring. In the next stage, as can be read from the context, the coloured graire is filtered through sponge to a horn. The word used here is *peniculum.* It can mean a 'brush' or a 'sponge', however, in technological texts it is most commonly used in the first meaning (Wattenbach, p. 222). The sources more commonly apply *spongia* for sponge. In the context of the discussed recipe the use of sponge is understandable, and it was used for filtering the dye, separating it from the solid parts of the wood, and beating of the albumen structure (liquefaction). In treatises the latter function of sponge appears relatively frequently, and in recipes many phrases related to preparing a binding can be found, e.g.: *claro ovi spongia liquidato* (Alcherius – Marrifield I, p. 273) or *accipe claram ovi bene fractam cum spongia* (Travaglio 2008, p. 131). The addition of alum caused the colour change towards dark red. At the same time alum was essential for the preservation of the colour. This is pointed to by the author of the treatise *Liber de coloribus illuminatorum sive pictorum* (Thompson 1926, p. 284) who emphasizes, possibly on grounds of his own experience, that without added alum the dye fades with time, leaving merely a colourless albumen binder on the leaf surface. However, cold extraction of the dye from brazilwood is not greatly effective, as a result yielding a relatively light and transparent colour. Such a method of obtaining the paint from brazilwood was popular and given in numerous treatises (see *Experimenta de coloribus*, Merrifield I, No. 102, pp. 92–93), however, no source for the discussed recipe can be identified, nor can it be directly connected in the linguistic layer with any other known recipe.

6. Glaucum, quod venditur, in isto sunt quidam lapides, istos contere optime cum aceto forti et cum bene contritum fuerit, tunc permitte molle fieri per noctem. Et crastina die remove acetum et funde gummi arabicum et moveas.	Tawny/yellow colour, which can be bought, contains some stones: grind them, preferably with potent vinegar, and once they are thoroughly ground, leave them for the night to soften. The following day remove the vinegar, pour in gum arabic, and mix it all.

The Latin word *glaucus* is not a precise and unequivocal definition of a colour. Some dictionaries suggest light grey, greenish, greenish-blue, sea green, whitened green, sky colour, or that of a pale-blue fish. The very differentiation of the colour definitions found in dictionaries points to how an ambiguous colour definition we are dealing with. If we were to assume that the colour model was originally that of a small bluish fish pointed to by Pliny (Calonghi, column 1165), this differentiation can cover quite a wide colour range. In his *Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX* Isidore of Seville (Isidore of Seville, XII, vi, 28) described the fish called: *Glaucus a colore dictus, quod albus sit; Graeci enim album γλαυκος dicunt. Hic aestate raro apparet, nisi tantum in nubilo*. Authors of old artistic and technological treatises faced the challenge of the colour's definition (Thompson 1932, pp. 16–17; Thompson, Hamilton, p. 6, 25; Caffaro, pp. 27–28; Baroni 2016b, p. 298).

Those dictionary definitions of *glaucus* colour do not fully harmonize with some mediaeval definitions and recipes. In the *Tabula de vocabulis et equivocis colorum* contained in the manuscript of Jean le Bègue (Merrifield I, p. 29) the colour in question ranks among whites: *Glaucus est color albus, ut cerusa, que aliter dicitur album plumbum, aliter blacha, et aliter album Hispanie*. While remaining within the Cracow circles, in a collection of medical works from 1460 (Kraków, BJ, Rkp. 786 III, f. 158v) definitions of colours were contained, including: *Color flavus qui glaucus dicitur*. This explicitly identifies *glaucus* with yellow, however, it does not definitely decide upon its nature, though some recipes from that period unambiguously point to yellow hue. Among them mention can be made of the recipes from the collection of recipes from around 1400 (Munich, BSB, Cgm 824, f. 13r) in which the following record can be found: *ad glaucum colorem recipe rosam et crocum cum albugine oui mixtum 2. 3. guttas de vitello et postea mitte in cornu tuum cum albugine et habebis*, unequivocally pointing to that colour. In the Middle Ages, colour definitions were generally not very precise, not differentiating shades and values. However, the majority of recipes to make paint of that colour show that the aspiration was to obtain a light colour, showing shades of muted yellow, in green-ochre tonality which can sometimes be defined as tawny colour. While talking about the Cracow collection of recipes the final doubts as for the colour direction in the *glaucus* definition are finally dispelled with recipe No. 58 in which the name defined a mixture of orpiment and saffron.

In the discussed recipe there are no premises suggesting the shade of the stone pointed to by its author. It must have been a mineral used for producing pigments and paints, possibly also from the ochre group. The additive of a binder in the form of gum arabic did not have any impact on the paint's shade.

7. Briselium sic temperatur. Recipe cimentum inextinctum, ponendo ad unam testam vel ad aliquid. Et funde super hoc aquam mundam et misce aquam cum cimento in eadem testa sic, quod aqua turbidatur. Post [per] hoc mittas stare per unam horam quousque clarificabitur et iterum move simul quociens volueris. Deinde aquam clarificatam de cimento sume et cola eam per panniculum tociens quod amplius ibi nulla videbilur inmundicia cimenti. Et appone modicum clarum in aquam, sic quod fundas hoc mixtum, scilicet aquam cum claro super briselium, secundum quod tenue vel spissum haberi debeat. Et tunc in unam ollam novam ponas. Et ponatur iterum super ignem vivum, non cum lignis, ne fumus ingrediatur buliante, quod non suffletur intus [~~etc. Sequitur~~], et postquam cito bulitum fuerit, appone modicum aluminis ad quantitatem unius grani de piso.

Brazil is prepared in the following way. Take quicklime and put it in a pan or another dish. Pour clean water over it, and mix it with the lime in the pan so that the water is stirred. Put it aside for an hour to clarify. Then stir it in a similar way, as much as you wish. Following that pour out the lime solution. Strain it through a piece of cloth as many times as necessary to remove any lime sediment. Add some glair to the water so that you pour the mixture, meaning water with glaire, over the brazilwood depending on whether you want the hue to be weak or intense. Then put everything into a new dish. Put it on fire, but not on firewood, so that the smoke does not get into the extract, and does not contaminate it from inside. When it boils, add some alum: a lump of a size of a pea.

The recipe concerns obtaining a dye through hot extraction in limewater with some alum added. High pH of limewater and added alum yield blood-red lake. The recipe emphasizes the need to precisely cleanse the limewater of calcium particles, since, if left, they could lighten the paint, which would not be a desired effect. However, adding the white of an egg prior to the boiling of the liquid with the wood shavings is not technologically justified. After the solution is heated, the diluted glaire undergoes denaturation, no longer serving as a potential binder. Furthermore, the recipe emphasizes that no smoke should get into the liquid in the process of heating, since soot could contaminate and darken the paint. What strikes in the recipe is the application of the word *cimentum inextinctum* [*cementum*] to define quicklime used in order to, as can be judged from the procedure, obtain lime water. The notion more frequently used to define it was usually more specific: *cementum vivum* or *calx viva* (Bartl *et al.*, p. 702).

An analogical procedure of preparing the dye can be found in the Bologna manuscript (Merrifield II, pp. 436–439). In this case, however, white of an egg was not added before boiling the dye. A binder was used: gum arabic was added at the end of the process. A similar procedure is contained in the manuscript from the Tegernsee Abbey from 1464–1473 (Munich, BSB, Clm 20174, f. 176v). In this case, following a similar procedure, a binder in the form of animal glue (*bitumine*) was added prior to boiling the dye.

The recipes based on adding an alkaline element in the form of lime or lime water or chalk constitute a separate group. In the treatise *De arte iliuminandi* (Lecoy de la Marche, p. 17) an anonymous author distinguishes two types of paint obtained with the use of brazil. The first is liquid, transparent paint used for shading and darkening: *De colore brasili liquido et sine corpore ad faciendum umbraturam,* and a covering one (*rosecta corporea*) used for painting main parts of initials and covering parts of decorations and miniatures. As all the recipes speaking of colouring brazilwood shavings cold in white of egg rank as the first category, the second group contains recipes in which alkalis with added alum are used. Added chalk (Munich, BSB, Call No. Cgm 822, source: https://artechne.hum.uu.nl/node/86184), gypsum, or ceruse (Alcherius, *De coloribus diversis* – Merrifield I, p. 298) do not form true lake, but a covering gouache.

8. Briselium sic temperabis. Recipe lignum briselli et pone in clarum et mitte stare per triduum donec putrescat. Tunc recipe et tere bene in lapide. Et [~~superpone~~] cum contritum bene fuerit, cola per panniculum et habebis pulcrum colorem etc.

Brazil can be prepared in the following way. Obtain brazilwood, put it into albumen and leave aside for three days until it rots slightly. Then take it out and grind thoroughly on the slab. When ground, strain it through a piece of cloth, and you will obtain a beautiful dye. Etc.

This is the second after No. 5 recipe speaking about the brazil dye obtained through cold extraction in glare. In this case the longer colouring time and later grinding of wood shavings in a mortar was to lead to a maximum dye extraction. Another difference consists in the lack of added alum, this leading to obtaining a darker claret colour. The dye obtained in such a way was cleansed of wood remnants by being strained through a piece of cloth. It was of importance for the colour purity to remove solids from the dye, therefore it was recommendable to use a silk or linen cloth, namely a tightly-woven fabric: *per cendale vel in panno lini subtilissimo bene texto* (Franca, p. 290). The albumen putrefaction process occurring after several days liquidated the binder, at the same time weakening its adhesive strength. A partly spoiled albumen was used in gilding, in panel painting and painting on parchment leaves (Alcherius – Merrifield I, p. 283). In his recipe to prepare a dye from brazilwood, Theophilus also recommends extraction of the dye in glair until the beginning of the putrefaction process, which he calls ‘maturing’ (*coeperit maturescere ponitur*) (*Theophil*, p. 412). An almost identical recipe can be found in the Czech manuscript from the Library of the Prague Metropolitan Chapter (KPMK, Call No. M. VIII, f. 56r), where but minor discrepancies in the recipe's wording can be found. In the latter, however, the name *lignum presilii*, characteristic of German-speaking circles, is used.

9. Crocus autem sic temperatur. Pone in concham sive in testam. Et pone in fornacem, ut siccabitur. Cum autem siccum bene fuerit, tunc conterre cum aceto et mitte cum aceto stare usque per noctem. Et crastina infunde de tenui cervisia modicum. Et tunc moveas. Si autem penna vis scribere cum eo, tunc pone in pannum et exprime in cornu. Et sic scribe, quid vis.	Saffron is prepared in the following way. Place saffron in a bowl or a cauldron. And place it in a stove to dry. When it is sufficiently dry, grind it with vinegar and put away for the night. The following day pour in some weak beer, and mix it. If you want to write with this using a pen, put the mixture in a cloth and squeeze it into a horn. Like this write what you want.

The name *crocus* refers to cultivable saffron (*Crocus sativus L.)* whose main dyeing substance is crocetin (*The Pigment Compendium*, p. 337). Saffron was an extremely important organic dye, not only used in mediaeval miniature painting, but also in a number of crafts, first and foremost in dyeing. It was used as a separate dye in book illumination, but even more frequently as refinement for other colours. In the Middle Ages, crocus was cultivated in southern Europe: in Spain and Italy, where the best species was imported from Sicily (Merrifield I, p. CLXV). The plant was also cultivated in France, and even England, Switzerland, and Germany. In the Cracow collection of recipes it is used as an additive to orpiment (No. 58), to vermilion (No. 59), to verdigris (Nos. 10, 37), to gesso under gold (Nos. 25, 57), to soap (No. 45), and as a dye for dove feathers (No. 23). For painting purposes saffron could be prepared in various ways. According to Alcherius in the *De coloribus diversis...* (Merrifield I , No. 337, p 312) the dye could be extracted with the use of pure water, glair on its own, or white wine. This list can also include vinegar applied in the discussed recipe. In technological-artistic recipes it was most commonly recommended to use glair without any additional substances, and such are the recipes found in the *De Clarea* (Baroni 2016b, p. 306), *De arte illuminandi* in the recipe 'De corco' (Thompson 1933, p. 19, Lecoy de la Marche, p. 33), or in the Bologna manuscript (Merrifield II, No. 234, p 504). Wine was recommended as frequently as glaire, e.g.: *Liber de Coloribus Illuminatorum siue Pictorum* (Thompson 1926, p. 284) or *Illuminierbuch künstlich alle Farben zumachen vnd bereiten*... by Valentin Bolz (p. 29). Extraction in vinegar is found in the 16th-century manuscript from Padua: *Recette per far ogni sorte di colori* (Merrifield II, No. 128, p. 707), where saffron put in a cloth was soaked in vinegar, and later strained, with a binder: glaire or gum arabic added to the extract.

Compared to other records, mentioned above, the discussed recipe ranks among unique ones, in a way being a testimony to the environment in which it was created. The first activity described is drying saffron placed in a dish in a warm place. Saffron was imported to Poland mainly as a dried spice (Małowist, pp. 126, 130), therefore mentioning that it should be dried did not apply. Assuming, however, that the recipe was conceived in our latitude we should analyse whether saffron (*Crocus sativus L.*) was the only plant defined with the Latin name of *crocus*. Three different species are found under this name in our region. The first of them: *crocus vernalis* (*vernus L.*) growing wild in southern Poland can be eliminated at least for the fact that it is not a good source of a yellow dye, this already mentioned by Krzysztof Kluk (Kluk, vol. 1, p. 164) in the description of this plant. According to Stefan Falimirz (cap. 15), which was also repeated by Hieronim Spiczyński (cap. 15), the name 'crocus-saffron' in 16th-century Poland denominated '*crocus ogrodny*', meaning *Crocus sativus L*, but also 'Cartamus-krokosz' (*Carthamus tinctorius L.*), imported to Poland, '*ktory na wschod słończa roscie*'. Szymon Syreński (pp. 1526–1527) called the Safflower '*szafran płony/krokos* (*Cnicus, Cartamus, Crocus hortensis, Crocus Saracenicus*)', used as a cheaper spice instead of saffron or mixed with it. At the same time, he distinguished between saffron and turmeric named ‘*Ostryż Indyjski, żółcieniec Indiański* or szafraniec (*Crocus Indicus, Curcuma, Cyperus Indicus*)’ (Syreński, p. 28). In reality, however, the first two plants could be identified as one and denominated in Polish as saffron, and ‘crocus’ in Latin. The earlier descriptions of plants provided by Stefan Falimirz and Hieronim Spiczyński were created, however, a 100 years later than the manuscript by John of Dobra, and are not necessarily credible in terms of terminology. In the accounts of the court of Vladislaus Jogaila from the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries two names of the spice imported to Poland appeared: *saffranus* and *crocus*, though it remains uncertain whether they referred to one or two plant species (*Rachunki*, pp. 180, 181, 236, 239, also: Hryszko, p. 387).

In the discussed recipe dried *crocus* was ground with vinegar (white wine vinegar most probably) and left for the night in order for the dye to be extracted. Following this, light beer was added, and after straining through a cloth the dye, in this case serving as ink, was ready for use. Beer as a binder does not appear in any recipe speaking about preparing a paint or ink of saffron found in the known treatises or collections of technological formulas. It was used as a weak binder, generally in combination with other binders, including *aloe hepatica*, mainly as an ingredient of gilding gesso. In the latter context it is mentioned in the German collection *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, p. 591) or the collection from 1464–1473 (Munich, BSB, Clm 20174, f. 197v). It was also used in the recipe yielding a dye from brazilwood in the Czech codex from the first half of the 15th century (Praha, NK ČR, Cod. XIV H 16, f. 21v).

Beer as an additive may have been applied in the countries where it was more widely used than wine (Bohemia, Germany, Poland). At the same time, the mention of drying the *crocus* in the recipe may be pointing to the southern border of the beer-drinking culture region where the cultivation of this plant could appear.

10. Si vis habere viridem colorem, recipe viridem pannum vel grispon et tere super lapidem cum aceto. Et appone modicum de creta. Et imponatur eciam de glauco colore et eciam crocum cum tenui potu. Et contere super lapidem et impone in vasculum. Et depinge, quid vis. Probatum est. Etc.

If you want to have green colour, take a piece of green cloth or verdigris and grind it on the slab with vinegar. Add some chalk. You can also add some yellow, as well as saffron with light wine. Grind it all and put into a dish. And paint whatever you want. It has been tested. Etc.

As distinct from recipe No. 4, in the discussed one through adding chalk and saffron the natural light-green colour of verdigris is modified towards more vivid and lighter green. The adding of yellow is essential, since the adding of calcium carbonate could contribute to creating copper-calcium acetate ($CuCa(CH_3COO)_4 \cdot 6H_2O$), which is bluer than green. The genuine element in the discussed recipe is the use of green cloth for the paint's preparation. A similar procedure is not mentioned in any known technological treatise. The cloth suggested is likely that dyed with the use of verdigris, which under the action of vinegar and mechanical grinding dissolved and was released from the cloth fibres. As testified by preserved recipes, in the Middle Ages, verdigris was widely used to dye fabrics, sometimes with some added organic dyes changing the shade of the green (Edmonds, p. 49). The indirect means of obtaining copper acetate may suggest that the recipe was dedicated to individuals dealing with book decorating as amateurs, for whom fabric dyed with verdigris was more readily available than the pigment itself. However, the fabric in question is most likely not incidental cloth dyed green, but a special piece dyed in order to preserve the dye. It is much later that Marcin Siennik wrote in his *Herbarz* [Herbal] (pp. 589-590) about the 'dyeing of leaves' where verdigris dissolved in vinegar with some additives: saffron and rue extract was soaked several times into fabrics for storage.

The shade of verdigris was often modified by adding organic dyes. In this case, the additive is saffron coloured in wine or any yellow mineral pigment (orpiment, ochre). The colour modification with the use of *croco* is recommended by Petrus de S. Audemaro (Merrifield I, p. 123) or in the manuscript from Bohemia and kept at the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Call No. Cgm 824 (f. 12r). Similarly, in the *Liber de coloribus* (Thompson 1926, p. 286) an additive of saffron and white of burnt bones is suggested.

11. Si vis habere viridem colorem, recipe viridem pannum et grispon etc., ut prius dictum est. Ad temperandum viridem colorem recipe potum mensalem et superfunde modicum de cimento et fac stare usque ad putrefaccionem. Et appone ad ignem. Postea cola per pannum et exprime cum vino et impone modicum albuginem. Et post putrefaccionem infunde ad vesicam magnam et tempore estivali superpende ad solem. Et tempore hyemali fac parvum foramen in vesica, ut vapores exeant etc.

If you want to have green colour take green cloth and verdigris, etc,, as described before. To obtain green take a kitchen mug and pour in some lime. Leave it to start rotting. Heat it on fire. Then strain it through a cloth, press out with wine, and add some glaire. After it has gone bad, pour it to a bladder. If it is summer, leave it in the sun. If it is winter, prick a small hole in the bladder for the humidity to be able to escape. Etc.

This recipe is a variation of recipe No. 10, though the procedure of making the paint is not clearly presented. It is not known whether the reference to the beginning of the previous recipe: *ut prius dictum est* refers also to grinding the cloth and pigment with vinegar on the grinding slab, or only to the selection of the right source of copper acetate. Regardless, however, of the initial stage of preparing the colourant, copper acetate was mixed with lime water and left to rest for a longer period. Following this, it was heated, and having been filtered, it was mixed with wine and glaire.

At the final stage of the process the mixture was dried in the sun or in an animal bladder. During the drying process what occurred was crystallisation of blue copper-calcium acetate, the compound also obtained in recipe No. 10. At this point, the adding of egg white substantially boosted the lustre of the paint being prepared with the use of this pigment.

Adding burnt lime (*calx viua*) when preparing verdigris can be found in the recipe included in the above-mentioned manuscript from the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Call No. Cgm 824, f. 12r), in which, however, the process followed a slightly different track.

12. Item si viridem colorem habere volueris, recipe grispon et contere cum modico mellis et post hoc mittas in cornu et succo uve tempera. Et moveas cum stipite et habebis bonum colorem.	Similarly, if you want to have green take verdigris and grind it with a bit of honey, following which place it in a horn, and dilute in grape juice. Mix with a spatula, and you will get a good colour.

In this case the pigment was prepared without vinegar; it was ground with a bit of honey, and then diluted in grape juice. Depending on the type and degree of acidity, grape juice may have had strong qualities of dissolving copper acetate, while the honey acted as a binder. Grape juice is not mentioned in any of the treatises. The procedure only partially resembles that given in recipe No. 4. A similar one can once again be found in the manuscript from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich, BSB, Cgm 824, f. 12r), which is close to the discussed recipe not only in view of the procedure, but also the language, therefore it is worth being quoted at full length: *Si vis habere grunspon tunc tere in lapide cum quinque guttis fauo mellis et post hoc mitte in cornum et tempera et moueas optime*. Interestingly, both texts mention the use of the horn.

13. Nota. Si vis facere de cupro viridem colorem, tunc accipe cuprum et pone in pelvim, deinde infunde forte acetum et bonum et mitte stare per noctem. Mane autem facto accipe et videbis rubedinem. Infunde pelvi [~~pellivis~~] et move illam rubedinem. Hoc facto mitte iterum stare per noctem, si vis clarius habere. Et postea sume et impone in cornu et ponas [cum] gummi arabicum ideo, quod non defluat.

Note: if you want to obtain green of copper, take copper and place it in a basin. Following this pour in good-quality and potent vinegar, and leave it for the night. When you look into it in the morning, you will see some reddenings. Pour it into a basin and scrape off the reddenings. Having done this, leave for the night again if you want to obtain pure colour. Then take it and pour into a horn adding gum arabic so that it is not too thin.

This is the only recipe in the treatise telling us how to obtain copper green. Most generally *verdigris* was produced by exposing copper plates in a closed dish to the effect of acid substances for several weeks. Green and blue-green products of copper corrosion were created, mainly alkaline and neutral copper acetates. Numerous variants of the production enumerate further additives: salt, copper, urine, sour milk, salt ammoniac, alum, etc. (Bartl *et al.*, pp. 544–545).

In the recipe the process of producing green copper acetate is presented in much simplification. It remains unclear whether the metal was supposed to be covered with vinegar or whether the reaction occurred merely in vinegar vapour. However, mentions of the red metal surface suggest that the copper was immersed in vinegar, since otherwise the recipe would speak of scraping off a green corrosion product. The two-day waiting for the reaction of vinegar with metal described here is definitely too short a period for obtaining any copper corrosion effect. Generally, producing some amount of verdigris would last several weeks or months. Moreover, it remains unclear whether finally it was the scraped off green copper acetate in its solid or liquid form, diluted in vinegar, that was mixed with gum arabic. It can be supposed that the recipe's author did not have practical experience in producing copper green.

14. Si vis temperare pulcrum flaveum colorem, recipe flores flaveos et contere in lapide et exprime succum et funde ad cornu plumbeum. Et adde parum gummi arabico etc.	If you want to prepare a beautiful yellow [blue] colour, take yellow [blue] flowers, grind them on the slab, press out the juice, and pour it into a lead horn, Finally, add some gum arabic, etc.

This and subsequent entry might lead to an erroneous interpretation of both recipes on the linguistic level. The term *flaveos* should be derived from the word *flavus,* which means 'yellow'. However, both the numerous recipes known telling how to obtain the dye from *flores flaveos* and the very word *lazurium* (Du Cange, vol. 5, column 49b) from recipe No. 15 suggest blue colour. Numerous recipes from various sources tell us what colour we are dealing with and what flowers were used to obtain it. In the *Liber illuministarum* there is the *Lasurium sic facies* recipe in which *flores flaueos* were used to obtain blue (Bartl *et al.*, No. 1161, p. 348). Meanwhile, in the manuscript of Czech provenance of Call No. Cgm 824 from the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (f. 12 r), older than the Cracow recipe by about 30 years, the flowers used to obtain *de flaueo colore* are *cornblumen*, namely cornflowers (*Centaurea cyanus L.*). Similarly, in the manuscript containing various medical writings of Call No. M. VIII (f. 55v) from the Library of the Prague Metropolitan Chapter mention is made of the 'flores flaveos qui vocant *choren plum* et alio *modrak*'. The recipe from the latter manuscript, although more extensive than the Cracow one, also recommends the additive in the form of gum arabic and collecting the juice in a lead horn.

It is likely that in the relatively wide family of recipes copied many times a mechanical error occurred. As suggested by Mark Clark in the analysis of the recipes in the manuscript from the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries *Secretum philosophorum* (Glasgow, GUL, MS Hunterian 110) the swap of the first letter in the word *blaueos* for *flaueos* was not corrected by the scribes lacking any experience in preparing pigments and dyes (Clarke, p. 51). Instead, the correct lettering: *flores blauos* is contained in the *Liber de Coloribus Illuminatorum siue Pictorum* (Thompson 1926, p. 292) or the treatise by Petrus de S. Audemaro *De coloribus faciendis* (Merrifield I, No. 171, pp. 136-137). Based on the similarity to other recipes it has to be admitted that the discussed recipe describes the way of obtaining a blue dye from cornflowers.

The recipe is quite simple. Petals were ground in a mortar, juice was pressed out, to be poured into a lead horn, following which a binder in the form of gum arabic was added. Cornflower petals contain anthocyanin pigments present in many flowers, e.g., hollyhock (black variety), peony, and in the fruit of elderberry, blueberry, or blackberry. Without any additives, the juice of cornflower petals is navy blue featuring a purple shade. Anthocyanins can change colour in reaction to pH. It was still in the 19th century that Józef Wyżycki wrote that cornflower juice could be used to dye vinegar red, while when added alum it yielded a colour close to ultramarine (Wyżycki II, p. 247).

In none of the mediaeval recipes there is any mention of additives which could cause the change of the solution reaction, leading to colour change (chalk, vinegar, alum). The only additive mentioned is ceruse serving as a pigment carrier (*Secretum philosophorum* – Clarke, p. 51), or earlier put on the base, used as an undercoat for the dye (*Liber de Coloribus Illuminatorum siue Pictorum* – Thompson 1926, p. 292; Petrus de S. Audemaro, *De coloribus faciendis* – Merrifield I, No. 171, pp. 136–137). It is only in the recipe from manuscript M. VIII from Prague that there is mention of a lead horn in which the prepared dye with gum Arabic was added should be placed. There is no rational justification for the use of this metal. It is likely that, similarly as in the error in defining the flower colour, here, too, an imprecise copy of an older model was made.

15. Item aliter tempera flaveum colorem. Accipe lazurium et tere cum flaveum modico mellis in lapide et infunde aquam desuper. Deinde inpone in unum cornum et munda cum aqua. Deinde tempera cum gummi arabico tenui. Et scribe.

Yellow [blue] can also be prepared differently: take azure, grind it in a mortar with a bit of honey, and pour water on top. Then pour it all into a horn, and drain the water. After that delicately mix it with gum arabic. And write.

Similarly as in recipes Nos. 14 and 19, in this one, too, the meaning of the word *blaveum*: blue was changed to *flaveum* [*flavum*]: golden yellow. It is therefore a recipe to prepare blue from azurite. The pigment was thoroughly ground with some honey added, and later water was added to remove impurities and dilute the honey. After the mixture was poured into a horn, the water was drained and gum arabic added. In the course of such a procedure, after the water has been drained, some honey still remained in the pigment, serving as a plasticiser of the painting layer, similarly as in recipe No. 20.

Azurite was ground not only in pure water, yet most frequently with some thickening substance added, such as an adhesive (Munich, BSB, Clm. 20174, ff. 180v–181r), gum arabic (*De arte illuminandi* – Lecoy de la Marche, No. 27, p. 28), egg yolk (Bartl *et al.*, No. 322, p. 216), glaire with lye – Bologna manuscript (Merrifield II, p. 411), goat milk and soap (Petrus de S. Audemaro, Merrifield I, No. 167, p. 135; No. 197, p. 157), or lye on its own – *Liber colorum secundum magistrum Bernardum* (Travaglio 2008, p. 132). Grinding azurite with honey is mentioned only in the *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, No. 184, p. 148).

16. Cinobrium temperabis sic. Tere ipsum in [~~de~~] lapide et tantum multum de minio et sufficit. Et temperabis cum claro ovi et nunquam cum aqua, quia demergitur etc.

Cinnabar can be prepared in the following way: grind it on the slab, add the same amount of minium and that is enough. Stir it with egg white, never with water, since it sinks in it, etc.

It is the second recipe to prepare red recommending the combination of cinnabar with minium in equal proportions. The pigments are ground on the slab and mixed with glaire, without added water. The author of the collection consistently recommends mixing vermillion with minium in a 1:1 ratio.

17. Item accipe cinobrium et tere fortiter cum claro. Postea accipe pomicem et tere cum cinobrio et adde parum de vitello, ita quod plus sit de cinobrio quam de pomice. Et scribe in pargameno et fac siccari. Et cum siccatum fuerit, plana cum anulo. Etc.	Similarly take cinnabar and grind it thoroughly with glaire Subsequently, take pumice and grind it with the cinnabar, adding little yolk so as to have more cinnabar than pumice. Write on parchment and leave it to dry. When dried, smooth it with a ring. Etc.

Pumice as an additive is found in three recipes in this collections: Nos. 34, 55, and the discussed one. They all deal with an inscription resembling gilt. In the discussed recipe cinnabar was thoroughly ground with added glaire. However, it remains unspecified whether after having been ground, the pigment was dried. Subsequently, cinnabar was ground again with some pumice and egg yolk added. When an inscription was made with this paint, after it dried it was smoothed with a ring. In this way the sharp edges of fine-grained pumice would accumulate particles of the metal, while the cinnabar inscription acquired a golden shine. As it seems, the yolk in the paint's composition played the role of a stronger binder and plasticiser thanks to the presence of lipids in the composition. The role similar to that of the pumice was sometimes played by crushed crystal (No. 43).

In the Cracow treatise recipe No. 55 beginning with the phrase: *Si vis scribere anulo, quod apparebit quasi aurum* in its core almost literally repeats the procedure as described here. Both recipes must have come from the same source, and when edited, they were not verified by the compilation's author. An almost identical version of the recipe is also contained in the manuscript from the Library of the Prague Metropolitan Chapter Call No. M. VIII (f. 45v), and it should be quoted here: *Accipe cinobrium et tere fortiter cum claro. Et accipe pumicem et tere simul cum cinobrio. Et appone medium modicum de vitello, ita quod plus sit de cinobrio quam de pumice. Et scribe in pargameno et quod siccatum fuerit cum anulo aureo vel argenteo (perfrica eum?) etapparebiunt auree vel argentee*. The appearance of two identical versions in the Cracow treatise, differing, however, from the recipe from the Prague manuscript, testifies to the character of such records. These recipes circulated among various writing centres in the form of small compilations of a working character or even in the form of single recipes. The author of the treatise *Ars de omnibus coloribus* used two different sources containing recipes Nos. 17 and 55, sources which may have served as reference aids for his writing profession.

18. Item minium tere cum claro et vitreollo et adde parum de blaveis et habebis pulcrum colorem super pargamenum. Probatum est.	You can also grind minium with glaire and vitriol. Following this add some blue, and you will have a beautiful colour for parchments. It has been tested.

This is the second recipe to produce minium. In this case the pigment is ground with some vitriol and blue pigment. As much as we understand that the second ingredient modifies the paint, the adding of vitriol (hydrated iron (II) sulphate or hydrated copper (II) sulphate) remains unclear from the technological perspective. No recipe otherwise is known to recommend this additive to a paint. Manuscript Cgm 824 from the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (*Si vis habere colorem roseacum*..., f. 13r) recommends adding good ink (also vitriol) to vermilion.

19. Item si vis habere griseum colorem, accipe cretam et conteras cum vitello. Postea mitte in cornu cum albugine. Etc.	Similarly, if you want to have grey colour, take chalk and grind it with yolk. Then put it in a horn with glaire. Etc.

In the genuine text this recipe was not separated with a red line as a distinct paragraph. However, it constitutes a section apart, and in this study it has been considered as another recipe. Obtaining grey colour generally was not a problem, therefore recipes describing how to get this colour appear relatively rarely. Generally it was ceruse or chalk mixed with a black pigment, or possibly blue with light brown (see: *Liber Illuministarium* – Bartl *et al.*, No. 392, p. 246). Among the less typical recipes mention can be made of those in which chalk was mixed with ink or egg yolk, as was the case of the recipe from manuscript Cgm 824 from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (f. 8v) *Item gryseum colorem accipe incaustum canne et cretam rosam cum vitello*. In the latter case the main ingredient yielding greyness was black ink.

In the discussed recipe chalk is ground with egg yolk, and subsequently combined with glaire. What results in effect is not grey paint, but white with a yellow shade coming from lutein in the yolk. In the above-mentioned Munich manuscript Call No. Cgm 824 (f. 13r) a much similar recipe can be found, this only speaking of making white paint: *Ad album colorem accipe cretam rosam et tereas in lapide cum vitello et postea mitte in cornum cum albugine oui et habebis*. A recipe with a similar formula was also included in the recipe collection from the Tegernsee Abbey from the first half of the 15th century (Munich, BSB, Cgm 822, f. 7r). Maybe an error occurred in the Cracow recipe, and the word 'album' was replaced with 'griseum'.

20. Item si vis temperare lazurium, accipe artum lazurii, in concham pones et superfunde aquam, purissime lavando lazurium bis vel ter. Cum satis sit clarum tunc accipe gumini arabicum et mitte in cornu et infunde claram aquam. Et fac per tres dies et noctes stare et iterum fac lazurium humidum. Et accipe gummi arabicum et funde super lazurium et moveas. Tunc scribe, quid vis. Nota. Lazurium temperabis cum gummi arabico et stilla mellis et briselio. Et sic bene stat in pargameno. Etc.

Similarly, if you want to prepare azure, take a portion of azure, place it in a shell and pour water over it, rinsing clean twice or three times. When it is adequately clean, take gum arabic, put it in a horn and cover with clean water. Leave it aside for three days and nights, following which immerse azure in water. Take gum arabic, put it into a horn, and pour clean water over it.Then write what you want. Note: you will mix azure with gum arabic, a drop of honey, and brazil. And then it stays solidly on parchment. Etc.

As mentioned above (No. 3), the best results of cleansing azurite were obtained by soaking it in lye. However, in many recipes recommended cleaning involves regular water (see also No. 62). Sometimes it was enough to mix the pigments with water in a horn, just prior to adding a binder, as recommended by the *Compendium artis picturae* (Silvestre, p. 127) or rinsing in the shell or horn several times (Munich, BSB, Cgm 20174, f. 199v–200r).

In the discussed recipe the already ground pigment undergoes cleansing. It is rinsed with water several times, and then mixed with the earlier-prepared solution of gum arabic with added honey and brazil. Being a mineral pigment, azurite may have various impurities affecting the pigment's colour. Careful grinding and rinsing several time with clean water essentially improved the pigment's quality. According to Petrus de S. Audemaro, the pigment should be rinsed several times, gradually removing the impurities, the lighter and yellowish parts which are lighter than pure azurite sinking to the bottom as the first (Merrifield I, No.168, p. 135). This cleansing means is also provided by the treatise *De arte iliuminandi* (Lecoy de la Marche, p. 28). Meticulous cleaning greatly improved the colour's intensity. However, azurite is a relatively coarse-grained pigment, and that is why it requires the use of a binder of high cohesion and adhesion. In the decoration of many mediaeval manuscripts it can be seen clearly that the use of too weak or not sufficiently elastic binder is the reason for crumbling or powdering of the painting layer. In the discussed recipe the author paid special attention to the kind of the binder which is gum arabic, an addition of a plasticiser preventing quick drying of the painting layer and the dye correcting the paint's colour. As he emphasized, such paint attached well to parchment. The additive of honey was widely used and mentioned in numerous recipes as an essential element. Gum arabic as a binder produced a shiny dark-blue painting layer (Bartl *et al.*, p. 551). Adding the brazil dye, depending on the proportions, yielded a colour close to crimson, as observed by the author of the *Compendium artis Picture* 'Preterea cum colorem purpureum facere volumus, lazurium et brisillium antea conmisscemus' (Silvestre, p. 125). According to the recipe of a Friar Michael from the Benedictine Abbey in Melk contained in the *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, No. 321, p. 214), cleansed azurite could be divided into four fractions depending on the granularity category: the first coarse-grained served for initials, similarly as the second one serving also for shading, the third light one, mixed with ceruse was used for marginal decorations, while the fourth served to create purple through mixing with white and pink. According to such a division the azurite in the Cracow recipe belonged to the last category of a well-ground and fine pigment. The remark placed at the end may once again point to its Czech sources. In manuscript M. VIII (f. 56v) from the Library of the Prague Metropolitan Chapter a recipe of the structure resembling the Cracow one was included: *Lazurium sic temperabis cum gummi arabico et cum stilla mellis et cum presilio. Et valet in pargameno*.

21. Item ad faciendum auripigmento accipe stannum et vinum artum [*vivum argentum*] unum tantum sicud aliud. Et bulire lac in uno caldare et postea sume sulphur eciam tam multum et tere invicem in lapide. Et pone in vitrum collum habentem et cooperi cum luto sapiencie et sal pone [~~sa pone~~] armoniacum, et mitte bulire. Et fiat bene. Probatum est.

Similarly, to make orpiment take tin and mercury in proportion one of this to one of the other. Boil them all together in one cauldron, and then take as much sulphur and grind it all in a mortar. Subsequently, place it in a dish with a neck. Close the vessel with a mixture of clay with horse dung. Add sal ammoniac and boil. It will all be fine. It has been tested.

In this case the name 'orpiment' is confusing. The amalgamate obtained through combining tin (*stannum*), mercury (*vivum argentum*: in the genuine text the abbreviations suggest reading it as *vinum artum*), and sulphur (*sulphur*) with sal ammoniac is mosaic gold (*aurum musicum*) or, in other words, purpurin (*purpurino*, *purpurinus*), and was one of the most favourite pigments imitating gold of mediaeval illuminators. The recipe given here is a simplified description of the procedure of creating the pigment. A precise description of making purpurin was given by the anonymous author of the 14th-century treatise *De Arte Illuminandi* (Thompson, Hamilton, pp. 4–5). According to him, initially tin (possibly in the form of filings) and mercury in equal proportions with added vinegar and regular salt should be mixed, following which pure sulphur and sal ammoniac, also in equal proportions, should be added. Mixed thoroughly, the ingredients were placed in a glass dish with a long neck tightly corked up with putty called *lutum sapience* (Norri, p. 615). As the effect of long heating on fire a yellow pigment was created, this extracted after breaking the dish.

The pigment was willingly used for imitation of golden writing (*Si vis schribere cum auro siue cum incausto* – Munich, BSB, Cgm 824, f. 68v). Purpurin was still popular in the 16th century, this testified to by the fact that Valentin Boltz in the *Illuminierbuch* (pp. 14–16) gave as many as five different recipes to make the pigment (*The Pigment Compendium,* p. 274).

22. Nota. Si vis scribere cum albo super nigrum, accipe cerusa et vitella ovi, ita de uno sicut de alio. Et terge (!) in lapide et infunde de aqua modicum. Deinde pone in cornu et scribe, quid vis. Et mitte exsiccare. Deinde pone pulcre fundamentum.	Note: if you want white writing on black, take ceruse and egg yolk, the same amount of the first as of the other. Grind it in a mortar and add some water. Then put it into a horn and write what you want. Subsequently, leave it to dry. After that, put a nice undercoat.

This recipe tells us how to make a white inscription against a black background. The ‘ink’ serving for the purpose is composed of ceruse and egg yolk in equal proportions, ground together with some water added. However, the means of reaching the effect of white writing against the black background was not presented clearly. The recipe speaks of applying the *fundamentum* after executing the inscription. Previously, the latter word used in other recipes meant gilding gesso, however, in this case it has to be understood as a 'base' or 'background', and as results from the context, it is black and put on the leaf. It remains unclear though how the final effect was achieved.

Recipes speaking of obtaining a white or light inscription against a black background appear relatively rarely among technological recipes, and so far only three such sources can be pointed to: two in German and one in Italian. All the three differ, however, from the Cracow recipe in the composition of the writing fluid containing merely egg yolk diluted with water. The oldest record: 'Ein schwartzen prief mit weysser schrifft zu machen' coming from the manuscript *Vier puchlin von allerhand farben vnnd anndern kunnsten* (Berlin, SBB, Germ. Quart. 417, f. 63v) speaks of a secret writing. After putting the layer of black on the leaf the writing could be read only when the paint over it was scraped off with a knife.

The two other recipes come already from the 16th century, and thanks to Marcin Siennik, and in the following century through the intervention of Jakub Haur, they entered the circulation of Polish technological literature. Chronologically the first of the two: 'Ein schwarzen Brieff mit weisser Geschriffte an tag zuthun', to be found in the *Illuminierbuch* by Valentin Boltz (Boltz, p. 65), generally repeating the wording from the manuscript at the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, was quoted by Jakub Haur in his work *Skład albo skarbiec...* (Haur, p. 375): *Na Czarnym iak biało pisać Papierze. Wziąć od Iaia żółtek, wlać nań czystey wody, y vmieszać dobrze, tak gęsto, iako tylko pisać może, potym nowym piorkiem na Papierze, co potrzeba, kreślić, aby tak vschło, wziąwszy miękkiego pedzlika, ktorym zwolna pomazać Papier, wszędzie inkaustem, gdy zechce kto owe przeczytać litery, vskrobać nożem owey iaieczny materyey od Papieru, Inkaust zostanie, a pismo się białe pokaże* (How to write white on black paper. Take egg yolks, add clear water to them, and mix well for it to thicken enough to be used for writing, after that with a new pen write on paper what is needed, and let it dry; then take a soft brush, and slowly spread the ink on paper; whoever wants to read these letters will scrape that egg substance off the paper with a knife, the ink will stay, and white writing will appear*)*.

The last of the recipes: ‘A far lettere bianche in campo nero’ comes from the work *De' Secreti* by Alessio Piemontese (pp. 159–160), and reached the *Herbarz* by Marcin Siennik (Siennik, p. 583): *Jeszcze białego pisania iny obyczay: Weźmi mleka figowego / a wystaw go we sklenicy na słońce społ godziny. A gdy nim pisać chcesz / weźmi ktemu wody / w ktoreieś Gumi Arabskie rospuścił / zmieszawszy wespoł / pisz co chcesz na papierze / a gdy uschnie / poleyże wszystek papier Inkaustem y po piśmie / a zaś ususzywszy / zetrzy chustą albo płatkiem sukiennym / a wnet sie pismo okaże mlekiem figowym pisanie / bo na nie inkaust przylnąć niemogł / a tak na czarney karcie / uźrzysz iasne pismo białe. Rownie też tego dokażesz / pisząc żółtkami iaiowymi / ktore też z wodą musisz ubić / A gdy także papier pomażesz* (And another way for white writing: take fig milk/ and put it in a glass in the sun for half an hour. And when you want to write/ bring some water for it/ in which you have diluted gum arabic/ having mixed it all together/ write what you want on the paper/ and when it dries/ pour ink over the writing/ and when it has dried/ wipe it with a handkerchief, or a cloth piece/ and promptly the writing written with fig milk will emerge/ since it could not stick to the ink/ and so on a black leaf/ you will see white writing. You can achieve the same /writing with chicken yolks/ which you can beat up with water / And when you also smear the paper with ink / and when you also wipe the paper with a handkerchief or a piece of cloth, you will see light writing). Following in the footsteps of Alessio Piemontese, Marcin Siennik also gives two ways of achieving the same effect; and in both cases, too, ink was used to blacken the leaf, while the writing was revealed through wiping off a layer of dried ink from the letters' surface with the use of fabric.

The three quoted recipes show that the one contained in the manuscript of John of Dobra is not complete: it lacks the description of the recommended procedure after black has been spread over the leaf. The discussed wording, however, points to the existence of an earlier Latin version of the recipe, later preserved in other languages.

23. Nota. Si vis deaurare columbam, sume crocum et fel de pisce luteo et tere simul. Deinde sume pennam et madida et macula columbam. Deinde mitte exsiccare et poluas. Etc.

Note: if you want to gild a dove, take saffron and bile of a yellow fish, and grind them together. Subsequently, take a feather, dip it in the mixture, and smear the dove over. After that leave to dry and smooth it. Etc.

The discussed recipe concerns ‘gilding’, however, it differs from other records applicable to artistic domains. The recipe may have been taken from a collection of the type of *Secreti*, extremely popular in a later period, containing various untypical recipes, ‘ruses’ or ‘juggler’s tricks’, as they were called by Alessio Piemontese in his *De Secreti*, followed by Marcin Siennik using the same names.

In the laconic recipe the gold colour was obtained from saffron ground with fish bile. At the last preparation stage the dye was probably filtered through a piece of cloth. As it is generally known bird feathers are waterproof thanks to the lipids from the uropygial gland spread over the body in the course of care treatments. Due to this the use of the water extract of the yellow dye of saffron would be ineffective. Animal bile, including fish bile, overcomes the surface tension of the greased feathers, this allowing to evenly spread the dye. The paint was gently applied with a wetted feather to prevent the structure of the dove’s feathers from damage.

24. Si vis cum auro de penna scribere, sume cuprum et tere cum lapide forti in scutella. Deinde impone in cornu et sume gummi arabicum in aquam permissum. Hoc facto sume medium folium aureum et impone in cornu et misce hoc bene. Etc. Postea mitte stare per horam. Hoc facto moveas iterum et scribas. Postea poluas cum dente exsiccando. Etc.

If you want to write gold from a pen, take copper and pulverize it with a hard rock in a bowl. Following this, put it in a horn and add gum arabic mixed with water. Having done this, take medium-size gold leaf, put it into the horn, and mix it well. Etc. After that put it aside for an hour. Having done this, stir it again and write. After it has dried, smooth it with a tooth. Etc.

It is one of two recipes (the second being No. 44) concerning the preparation of the imitation of golden ink of pulverized copper. Technological treatises provide numerous recipes telling us how to obtain powdered gold and gold imitations from pigments and dyes. Few recipes are based on powders obtained from copper or bronze. One of them is given by Alcherius in the *De coloribus diversis* (Merrifield I, No. 312, p. 299), where he recommends grinding on hard slab with gum arabic, and polishing the inscription written with such ink with a burnisher of hard stone. Similar recipes are contained in two 15th-century manuscripts: from the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Ms. latin 6749b) and from the Cambridge University Library, Call No. Ms II.3.17 (Thompson 1935 b, p. 467), in which ground metal was creamed with egg white with added gum arabic, while the inscription was polished with a dog tooth. As distinct from the above-quoted recipes in this case gold leaf was added to the ink prepared in this way, and the golf leaf was mechanically ground in the horn. This process was meant to refine the ink with an additive of gold, which, however, it was impossible to sufficiently grind. After the inscription was made and it dried, its surface was polished with a tooth in order to obtain an appropriate lustre.

25. Nota ad ponendum aurum super capitalia vel super flores. Tunc accipe cretam et tere in lapide cum claro in prima vice secunda extor[quen]da [?] usque ad tercium clarum. Et recipe crocum et solve in paniculum in eodem claro, quod per diem et noctem iaceat, sed pendere permitte, tunc crocum sume et exprime vires ipsius croci et iterum tempera cum predicto claro, addendo duas vel tres guttas. Et cum imposueris super spacium tale ipsius

Remark how to apply gold to initials and fleuron. Take chalk, grind it on the slab with one egg white, then with another, then with the third until all is ground. Take saffron, and dilute it with the whites in a piece of cloth so that they stay together over a day and night. Then, take the saffron, squeeze the essence of it and dilute it with the whites, adding two or three drops. Put it on parchment surface, so as not to be concerned about it. Then let it

~~capituli~~, ita quod non timeat pro pargameno. Tunc exsiccare permitte. Quo exsiccato subtiliter cum cutello rade, ita quod nec macula videatur. Tunc madidando auri folia simul fundamento apponantur imprimendo auri folia cum lana super fundamentum. Quo facto exsiccare permitte et dente aliquo plana. Gummi arabico (!) et aliquantulum de croco, ut aliqua glaucitas appareat, appone et duas mellis donec habebis. Et est firmum, quia probatum est pluries.

dry. After it has dried scrape it gently off with a little knife so that no stain is seen. Then moistening gold leaf put it simultaneously on the gesso, pressing it onto it with wool. Having done this, put it aside to let it dry, and gently smooth it with a tooth. Add gum arabic with a bit of saffron for some yellow to show. And add two drops of honey to obtain the effect. And it will hold, since it has been tested on many occasions.

This is one of the two recipes (the other being No. 57) telling us how to obtain chalk ground tinted with saffron, applied to a leaf with a brush meant for gilding larger parts of miniatures, fleuron elements, and initials 'to be polished'. Initially, chalk was thoroughly ground, three times being added egg white. When being ground, the glaire partially evaporated, this causing the binder to thicken. The similar principle was applied in grinding cinnabar in recipe No. 59. The dye obtained from saffron placed in a piece of cloth extracted directly in the prepared mixture for 24 hours, which was a common procedure at that time (see: *De Clarea* – Baroni 2016b, p. 308; *De arte illuminandi*, No. 27, (Lecoy de la Marche, p. 33); Petrus de S. Audemaro, *De coloribus faciendis* (Merrifield I, No. 165, pp. 131–133); Alcherius, *De coloribus diversis* (Merrifield I, No. 337, p. 312). Having squeezed the little sack with saffron, some water was added to the ground, and it was applied to a leaf with a brush. At the end of the recipe there is a mention of adding the solution of gum arabic tinted with saffron and two drops of honey to the ground in case it did not look sufficiently yellow. Added to the foundation in a limited volume, honey was to play the role of a plasticiser and facilitate moistening of the ground. An excessive amount of honey in gesso caused the danger the author of the *De arte illuminandi* (Lecoy de la Marche, pp. 20–22) warned against. After it dried, the surface was smoothed with a knife (*cutello*). Although the recipe speaks of moistening the gold leaf before applying it, in practice it was the ground that was moistened or the binder contained in the ground was activated being breathed onto. Following the application the gold was pressed, this time with a piece of wool, and after it dried, it was polished with a tooth to obtain sheen. Two similar recipes, one in Latin and the other in German, are contained in the manuscript by Peder Månssons (f. 74, 'Facere fundamentum' and 'Malgrund machen' – Johannsen, pp. 38–39).

In two subsequent sources: in the collection of medical and technological recipes from ca 1400 of Czech provenance (Munich, BSB, Call No. Cgm 824 (f. 57v) and a Nuremberg manuscript from ca 1390 (Nuremberg, GNM, Call No. 3227a, f. 74v) there are two recipes of a similar wording derived possibly from the similar common source they shared with the Cracow one. In order to show substantial similarities between the records we have to quote the above-mentioned Munich manuscript in extenso: *Ad ponendum aurum super capitalia vel flores assis sic tempera accipe cretam et tere in lapide cum claro et prima vice et 2a vice exstat da et ad 3am clarum crocum et solue crocum ad panniculum in eodem claro et per noctem vel per diem tende et permitte tunc crocum summe extra claro exprimendo vires ipsius croci et iterum tempera cum predicta creta ad tende duas vel 3 guttas mellis et cum impleberis spacium litere capitales ita eminet pergamenum tunc exsiccari permitte quo ex siccato cultello curialiter rade ita quod nulla macula videatur tunc madendo aurifolio simul ex fundamento ponendo aurum et primendo aurifolium cum lana bona super fundamentum quo facto exsiccare permitte et dentes prius ad hoc preparata polire et videbit splendore perfice et pulchre et optime.*

26. Item si vis habere colorem brunaticum, tunc accipe briselium et coque in olla parva	Similarly, if you want to obtain dark brown, take brazil, boil it with water in a small pan.

cum aqua. Deinde appone alumen cum gummi arabico et examina cum penna in pargameno. Deinde exprime per paniculum in unum cornu. Dum siccabitur, tunc infunde gummi arabicum.

Subsequently, add alum and gum arabic, and test it with a pen on parchment. Strain into a horn through a piece of cloth. When it has dried, pour gum arabic into it.

In this recipe the dye was prepared by boiling wood shavings in clean water, following which alum and a binder (gum arabic) were added. The dye was filtered and placed in a horn. When the paint has dried in the horn it could be re-thinned with a solution of gum arabic. In reality, the paint prepared in this way is not brown, but claret-red. Recipe No. 64 mentions that the more alum is added to the paint, the darker it is: 'nigrior'. Possibly in this case it is not brown that the recipe speaks about, but 'dark brown' (PL: *brunatny*). According to Aleksander Brückner, the term 'brunaticum' defined a 'darkish' colour of a fabric already in the 14th century, this modelled on the old-German 'brunāt' (Brückner, s. 42). It may have emerged in Poland from Latin. If correctly, dark brown colour should be transcribed as 'brunus' (Du Cange, Vol. 1, col. 761a). However, the authors of mediaeval technological treatises provided recipes saying how to prepare paints from specific pigments or dyes, while a more detailed definition of the obtained colour was more challenging to them. The author of the *Liber de coloribus illuminatorum sive pictorum*, who was of the opinion that brazilwood was more appropriate for dyeing fabrics than for painting, also stated that *brunum quidam color est mortuus, nec niger nec rubeus* (Thompson 1926, p. 296). There is only one recipe telling us how to prepare brown from brazil: *De Colore Bruneo* contained in the manuscript dated from 1464–1473 from the Tegernsee Abbey, Call No. Clm 20174, (Munich, BSB, f. 202r), however, based on a totally different procedure. The only source containing recipes of the kind, and encompassing the word 'brunaticum' in the context of preparing a dye from brazilwood is the 15th-century Czech-German manuscript (Praha, NK

ČR, Cod. VI. F. 19 Ms. 2045, f. 21v) in which we come across the 'De presilio colore' recipe. In other collections that could have served as the model for the Cracow recipe no such recipe has been found.

27. Fundamentum auri. Accipe cretam et tere in lapide cum aqua. Deinde pone fumitraces ad cretam tritam et tempera cum bitumine tenui.	Foundation for gold: take chalk and grind it with water on the slab. Subsequently add soot to the ground chalk, and mix it with a weak adhesive.

It is one of three recipes how to prepare ground for gold containing soot as an ingredient (Nos. 32, 33), and one of six recipes for grey grounds (Nos. 29, 30, 46). It was made from chalk, thoroughly ground with water, to which soot was added, and it was mixed with a weak adhesive. In this respect the not specifically defined *bitumine* may denote hide glue or, as it is specified in some recipes, that made from sturgeon bladder (*Liber Illuministarium*: Bartl *et al.*, No. 282, p. 194). The term *fundamentum* in the meaning of gilding ground appears exclusively in German sources (Nuremberg, GNM, 3227a, f. 93r; Munich, BSB, Cgm 822, source: https://artechne.hum.uu.nl/node/86169; *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, p. 786)). In French, Italian, and English it is more the terms *assis* (*assisa*) (*De arte illuminandi* – Lecoy de la Marche, p. 20) or *scisa* that are used (Bologna manuscript- Merrifield II, pp. 471–474). The lack of analogical recipes in Italian or French treatises shows that the recipes to obtain *griseum fundamentum* are characteristic of the region covering Germany, Austria, and the countries of Central Europe.

Recipes containing similar ingredients can also be found in the *Liber Illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, No. 195, p. 150, No. 1026, p. 310). In one of the recipes in the manuscript with the collection of recipes from the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Call No. Cgm 824, (f. 57r) from ca 1400 to make chalk ground the additive is *tenuo bitumine*, similarly as in the Cracow, exceptionally succinct recipe.

The tradition of making grounds in cool shades existed in Poland still in the 16th century. Marcin Siennik in his herbal (p. 585) gives a recipe as brief as the discussed one: *To też grundt czarny pod złoto: Weżmi sadz Lampowych / abo inych subtylnych / a rozmaćiwszy z woda / w kthorey sie Gumi rozeszło / na to pisanie złoto kładź.* (This is also blackground for under gold: Take loot from a lamp/ or others/ and having mixed it with water/ with gum dissolved in it/ put gold on this writing).

28. Item fac farnisium. Accipe oleum lini et coque et cum separabis, accipe picem silvestrem et comisce simul. Et fac bulire bene.	Similarly make varnish (lacquer). Take linseed oil and boil it. When you take it off the stove, take forest resin and mix it together. Then boil it thoroughly.

According to Du Cange (vol. 3, p. Col. 441b) *fernisium* is a glutinous fluid composition which was applied on wood to make it glossy and to conserve it. It is thus any varnish, regardless of its composition, which serves to protect and give the finishing touch to wooden surfaces. The German terms : *fornis*, *firniss* come from Latin *vernix,* and were Latinized to *fernisium*, *firnisium* lub *farnisium*. Theophilus gives the recipe to prepare *Gluten Vernition* in which linseed is mixed with *gummi fornis quod Romane glassa dicitur*, namely with sandarac (*Theophil*, pp. 24, 66; also: *Mappae clavicula*, No. 98). Another additive to the oil could be mastic or amber (Bartl *et al.*, No. 101, p. 111, No. 317, p. 213; Johannsen, p. 40). However, the names *firnisium*, *fernisium*, *vernisium* hide various compositions, also serving as lacquers or protective substances applicable to various surfaces and boasting different properties. They were not based on linseed oil only, but could also be made using substances soluble in water. Such *firnis* serving to cover the paint layer on parchment or board could be made with albumen, gum arabic, and honey (Bartl *et al.*, p. 231, No. 345) using sour cherry gum as the base (Bartl *et al.*, p. 231, No. 1224a). Even in the Cracow treatise in recipe No. 39 concerning gilding glass minium was mixed with *farnizium* (*fernizium*), following which gum arabic was added. In this latter case the lacquer had to be based on components soluble in water, or otherwise it

FIG. 2. Black ground visible in goldened areas in the hand-written *Hieronymianum hoc opus per Johannem Andraee urgente devotione compositum*, ca. 1400, BUWr IF 128. Source: https://bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/publication/21193 (2024.11.19)

would not combine with the water solution of gum arabic. Thus it is a recipe to prepare lacquer composed of linseed oil varnish and conifer resin or rosin, namely a classical preparation for centuries used in crafts dealing with wood processing. Recipes using rosin can be found in the manuscript *Secreti diversi* from the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, Call No. IT.III.10, (Merrifield II, Nos, 399, 402, pp. 631–633), in the latter case with mastic resin added.

29. Item si vis cum auro scribere, recipe lignum tilie et comburre bene et postea tere carbones cum arabico et fac arabicum de bitumine cerusarum [merusarum]. Et appone acetum et post hoc laxa et post appone de creta. Et tunc scribere quid vis et postquam siccabitur, tunc appone tabulam auri cum bombice et polluas.

Similarly if you want to write with gold, take linden wood, and burn it thoroughly, and then grind the charcoal produced with gum arabic. Make this gum from sour cherry resin. Then add vinegar, dilute it, and add chalk. Then write what you want. After it dries apply gold with a silk swab, and smooth it out.

This is another recipe telling us how to make grey ground for polished gilding on parchment. In two cases (the discussed recipe and No. 30) charcoal of linden wood was used with added chalk. In the discussed recipe charcoal was ground with a solution of sour cherry gum, following which vinegar and chalk were added. Having applied gesso to a leaf and after it dried, gold was applied (the gum binder may have been activated by breathing onto it), and it was pressed with a piece of silk fabric. The gilding was polished with a burnisher.

This recipe to obtain rarely-used grey ground testifies to the tendency to apply local materials, hence the replacing of gum arabic with the generally available sour cherry gum. The linden tree charcoal (*Tilia platyphyllos* L. or *Tilia cordata* Mill.) is also a genuine ingredient of ground applied quite rarely. It is used in two recipes to make ground in the *Liber illuministarum* from the Tegernsee Abbey (Bartl *et al.*, No. 1059, 1060, pp. 320–323), albeit of a different composition.

The gum (*gummi cerusarum*) obtained mainly from the sour cherry tree (*Prunus cerasus* L.) was often used as a binder for paints (Theophil, No, XXVII, p. 34; *Compendium artis picturae* (Silvestre, p. 132)), as a lacquer ingredient (*Mappae Clavicula*, Nos. 246, 247, p. 54) or as leather lacquer (Bartl *et al.*, p. 588). There are several recipes known to prepare sour cherry gum, sometimes defined as artificial. They come mainly from German sources, e.g., from the Munich manuscript, Call No. Cgm 824, (Munich, BSB, f. 58v), from a Strasbourg manuscript (Berger, No. 50, p. 165), or from the *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, pp. 76–77, No. 41). The author of the discussed recipe added another name next to the 'de bitumine cerusarum' gum: 'merusarum', the latter found only in the *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, p. 430, Nos. 472–474) in recipes for sour cherry preserves.

30. Item si vis bene aurum apponere tunc recipe tilie carbones, quos diligenter	Similarly if you want to apply gold well, take linden tree charcoal, grind it carefully,

contere et appone modicum de creta, ut predicitur, confectum recipe tilie carbones facies sicque scribere, quod igitur color nec multum albus nec niger appareat, sed quasi griseus cognescatur; pluries autem illud facies, gummi laxabis et tunc de penna procedat et mitte modicum de puro liquore mellis sed valde modicum. Sic quod feceris, scribe eodem confectu, qiud vip. Postquam siccabitur, tunc desuper pone aurum sive argentum. Quo posito paulatim desuper bombice vel panniculo sericeo tege, ita quod confectus ille aurum capere possit. Post modicum vero tempus dente porcino polluap. Et quantum magis potes et diucius, tanto magis elucescat.

add some chalk, as described. Make charcoal of it, and write with paint so that the colour is neither too light nor too dark, but looking grey. Each time you do it, dilute it with gum, so that it flows off the pen. Add liquid honey bit by bit, but very little. When you have done it, write what you want with this mixture. After it has dried, apply gold or silver to it. After application dry slowly with the use of a silk swab or a silver cloth so that the gold can adhere to the ground. After some time smooth it with a pig tooth. And the more and longer you smooth it, the brighter it will shine.

In the original text the recipe was not separated with a red line from the previous one, but at its beginning the rubricator placed only a small *capitulum* mark. He may have signalled in this way that he associated the two on the content level, and that they constituted two variants of the procedure. In the discussed recipe, as distinct from the one above it, there is no vinegar, and the type of gum as a binder is not specified. The new component is honey, meant to serve as a plasticiser thanks to its hygroscopic properties, while at the same time activating the binder after the ground dried in order to effectively adhere gold leaf. The mixture was to be used for writing with a pen, so its consistency could be modified for it to appropriately flow off the pen. After metal leaf was adhered and dried, the gilt was polished with a pig tooth. The burnisher made of the tooth of that animal is mentioned only in the Bologna man-

FIG. 3. Gray ground visible on the sides of goldings in the hand-written *Summa de casibus consciencie (Summa Pisana)*, 1377 r., BUWr II F 75, f. 1r. Source: https://bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/publication/21193 (2024.11.19)

uscript (Merrifield II, No. 177, p. 477) where a recipe is provided for making gilt on the ground of grated ceramic vessels using parchment glue as a binder.

31. Item si vis cum auro de penna scribere in modo faciliori, accipe pomum silvestre [dzikie jabłka] et exprime succum eius et divide super duo vel tria folia auri vel argenti thabulati. Et pone succum predictum et mitte stare sic, quousque dissolvetur in succo. Et scribe, quid tibi placuerit. Et deinde polluas etc.

Similarly, when you want to write with gold in an easier way, take a forest apple, and press it for juice, while divide gold and silver leaf into two or three portions. Pour the juice over them and leave them to dissolve. And write whatever you want. And then smooth it. Etc.

Two recipes: the discussed one and No. 47, concern making golden ink for writing purposes. In this case, gold or silver leaf was to be dissolved with apple juice. The name *pomus silvestris* hides the fruit of the forest silver tree (*Malus sylvestris* L.). In German recipes mainly leaves and bark of the forest apple tree were applied when dyeing hides and yarn yellow (bark) and red (leaves) (Bartl *et al.*, p. 681). Bark was also used for dyeing feathers (*Vier puchlin von allerhand farben vnnd anndern kunnsten*, Berlin, SBB, Germ. Quart. 417, f. 73r). Apples providing acid were enumerated in the *Liber Illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, p. 397, No. 1260) and the Munich recipe book, Call No. Cgm 824, (f. 67r–v) in the context of dyeing objects yellow with the additive of saffron (Bartl *et al.*, p. 395). Apple juice is also mentioned in the recipe speaking of removing ink from a leaf: 'Item ad delendas litteras de Carta' in the manuscript from the Tegernsee Abbey from 1464–1473 (Munich, BSB, Clm 20174, f. 254r). However, there are no recipes speaking in such an unequivocal way about using the juice of forest apples to create golden ink as in the two discussed recipes from the *Ars de omnibus coloribus*.

From a chemical point of view such a reaction is infeasible. Both gold and silver are chemically resistant, and do not react with acids, particularly weak organic ones. In such a situation both recipes can be interpreted in two ways:

1. In the first let us consider the wording as full and read it literally. With such an assumption, the recipe does not speak of dissolving these noble metals, but of dissolving the additional components of the metal ores. In mediaeval Poland two kinds of gold leaf were produced: 'feingold' obtained from 23 K metal and that of a lower quality, with a silver layer strengthening the gold, called 'cwiszgold'. However, in practice gold leaf could have a lower content of the noble metal in an alloy with copper. When in contact with acids under oxidizing conditions, copper undergoes digestion. In this case the leaf made of an alloy of gold with copper, placed in acid, can disintegrate thanks to the reaction of the acid with copper, forming a suspension of

gold molecules. Why is, however, the juice of forest apples recommended here as the source of acid, and not ordinary vinegar used in many other recipes? The reasons possibly being the colour side effect of the reaction of copper with acid. Copper malate $C_4H_6CuO_5$ is a much lighter salt than the green-blue copper acetate $Cu(CH3COO)_2$ which would have a substantial impact on the colouring of the golden ink. The binder of the molecules in this ink can be found in the pectines and sugars contained in the juice.

However, we find an analogical recipe to obtain gold ink 'Ad scribendum aurum cum callamo' in the Bologna manuscript (Merrifield II, No. 158, p. 467), where actually the copper from the alloy with gold is digested resorting to a different reaction: with the use of cinnabar water, saltpetre, and common salt. Although the applied ingredients cause a different reaction, the reached effect could be just the same.

2. In the second interpretation of the recipe it should be assumed that the description passed over the grinding of the gold stage, although the statement 'quousque dissolvetur in succo' questions this interpretation. There are, however, known records in which in a similar procedure gold leaf is ground in order to obtain powder. One of them is a recipe contained in the manuscript from the first half of the 15th century from the Tegernsee Abbey (Munich, BSB, Cgm 822, ff. 7–8 b): *Ad aurum. Si vis temperare aurum accipe aurum percussum et pone in acetum et mitte ibi stare per vnum diem et noctem et tere in lapide et accipe gummi arabicum et funde aqua de gummi super aurum et tunc scribe et cum siccatum fuerit purga cum dente Lupino* (source: https://artechne.hum.uu.nl/node/86167), where gold leaf was placed in vinegar for 24 hours, following which it was ground on the slab, and after the gum was added, it was used as ink. Recipes of similar formulas are also contained in two other manuscripts: a codex of Czech provenance, Call No. Cgm 824, (Munich, BSB, f. 57r) and the Bavarian manuscript from ca 1390 (Nuremberg, GNM, Call No 3227a, f. 93r). It is likely that pro-

longed soaking of high-quality gold leaf in vinegar was aimed at removing additional metals, however, not causing disintegration into small particles, that is why additional gold grinding was necessary.

32. Item fundamentum ad ponendum aurum vel argentum. ~~Et paratur sic~~. Capiatur creta et teratur [~~sic~~] in lapide. Deinde infundatur bitumen pargameni tenue in aqua permissum. Deinde imponantur fumitraces et teratur hoc totum bene. Deinde ponatur czucrum candi. Et postea depone de lapide et impone in cornu. Et calescit aqua calida in olla. Et sic scribe, quid vis, et polluas bene.	Similarly ground for applying gold or silver is prepared. ~~And you prepare it like this.~~ Take chalk and grind it on the slab. Then pour weak parchment glue dissolved in water into it. Following that add soot, and grind everything thoroughly. After that add candied sugar. Then take all from the slab, place it in a horn, and heat with hot water in a pan. Then write whatever you want, smoothing well.

This is the second of the three recipes to make grey ground for gold or silver (Nos. 27, 33) with some soot added. In treatises and recipe collections the majority of recipes concern making white ground or in warm colours with the use of plaster, chalk, or ceruse with the additive of Armenian bole, saffron, aloe, or fine-grained pigments: ochre, cinnabar, minium, or carmine. Preferable materials were fine-structured, not containing impurities, such as e.g., quartz, as the majority of earth pigments do. Such unwanted particles could contribute to creating flaws and scratches on the gilt surface during the polishing. Amorphous soot is one of homogenous materials. However, the ground colour affects the shade of the thin metal layer. That is why when gilding with gold, the general preference was for warm-coloured grounds emphasizing its shade, while white, black, and grey ones seemed ideal for gilding with silver (Bartl *et al.*, p. 509).

In the discussed recipe, a thin solution of parchment glue and soot was added to well-ground chalk, and all the components were ground once again. Candied sugar was added to the gesso, and it was put into a horn. Owing to the contained parchment glue the ground had to be heated during writing or painting. After it dried, and prior to applying gold, the ground was smoothed. A similar composition of ground can be found in the recipe for the 'Fundamentum Gotuicense' contained in the *Liber Illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, No. 282, p. 194), which came from the Benedictine Abbey in Göttweig in Lower Austria. In it the binder used was *bitumen de vesica esocum wlgariter mundleim*, namely glue from sturgeon bladder; meanwhile, in another recipe found in the *Liber Illuministarum* to make grey ground (Bartl *et al.*, No. 195, p. 150) parchment glue was used, just like in the Cracow recipe. Although different binders were applied, such as gum arabic, *serapinum* gum, or white of egg, it was only when glutin glues were used (parchment, isinglass, fish) it required being heated to keep it fluid. Therefore, the discussed recipe contains the remark about heating the ground with hot water in a pan. In order to omit an additional activity, sometimes bad glaire or partly spoiled glue were used, since at this stage they had lost the gelating property at room temperature. In one of the recipes from the *Liber Illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, No. 1026, p. 310) *bitumine putrefacto* was applied: putrid glue whose adhesion with increased fluidity was, nevertheless, sufficient for gilding.

33. Alia informacio ad fundamentum. Et temperatur taliter: capiatur creta combusta et teratur in lapide. Deinde imponatur ad fumitraces et temperatur cum claro mundo. Et scribe, quid voluerip. Et appone aureum vel argentum folium desuper, quod debet poni super lapidem planum vel lignum. Et pollue dente bono. Et quanto est diucior, tanto est lucidior. Probatur est ect.

Another recipe for foundation. This is how you make it: take burnt chalk and grind it on the slab. Then add soot and mix it with pure white of egg. And write whatever you want. Apply gold or silver leaf to it. Make it on even stone or wood. Afterwards, smooth it carefully with a tooth. The longer you do it, the more it will shine. It has been tested. Etc.

This is the third recipe to make grey ground for gold or silver (next to Nos. 27, 32) with added soot, serving for writing. However, as distinct from the two above ones, in this case ground burnt chalk was used, thus quicklime, which were mixed with soot and glaire. In the two previous recipes the binder was animal glue. After applying gold the decoration was polished with a tooth on a hard smooth stone or wooden foundation. The latter detail: to polish gild on a hard foundation, as much as it looks obvious, had not been previously emphasized in other recipes from the Cracow collection. The need to put a smooth plank under the leaf in the course of this action is mentioned in various sources based on tested practical knowledge, e.g., *De arte illuminandi* (Lecoy de la Marche, No. 15, p. 24), as well as by Cennino Cennini in his Treatise (*In che modo dèi miniare e mettere d ' oro in carta – Cennini* CLVII, p. 109).

The *creta combusta*, namely quicklime (CaO), mentioned in the recipe, creating slaked lime with water (in this case the egg white) is mentioned only twice in the context of gilding ground in the recipes contained in the *Liber Illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, No. 33, p. 72, No. 200, p. 296). In that case, however, the recipes speak of warm-coloured ground with added ochre or saffron, or Armenian bole.

34. Ad scribendas litteras aureas, argenteas vel cupreas recipe pomicem et tere bene / et fortiter in lapide cum aqua. Et postea mitte exsiccare. Et iterum tere bene et admisce gummi et scribe. Et mitte exsiccari. Et tunc quocumque metallo tergas sive auro, sive argento, talis erit semper scriptura.	In order to write golden, silver, or copper letters, take pumice, grind it thoroughly and hard with water on the slab. Leave it to dry. Grind it again thoroughly, add gum, and write. Leave it to dry. And then whatever metal you rub it with, gold or silver, the inscription will be of that same colour.

In the collection it is the second of four recipes describing the method of obtaining an inscription or an initial on a metal surface (Nos. 17, 43, 55) thanks to the use of light abrasive material allowing to apply a metallic layer on the inscription surface through rubbing the dried layer of 'ink' with a metal object. The recipe is close to No. 43, however, it differs in the material used. Instead of pulverized crystal, the material used here is ground pumice (like in recipes Nos. 17 and 55), while the binder applied is the solution of gum arabic, and not glaire as in the remaining recipes. A similar formula can be found in the 14th-century French *Tractatus qualiter quilibet artificialis color fieri possit* (Thompson 1935b, p. 467), where, however, egg white is used instead of gum.

35. Si vis scribere flores aureos vel argenteos, tunc recipe cerusa et bleues bleuueiip. Et tere in lapide cum gummi arabico permissum in aqua munda. Deinde imponatur czucrum candi et armoniacum et tere hoc totum simul parvum tempup. Et pone in unam testam et scribe, quid vip. Et appone argentum vel aurum cum bombice, emittendo flatum super fundamentum. Et nota. Ubicumque czucrum candi imponitur, ibi superdens (!) flatum emittere de ore, quia tunc fundamentum mollificatur. Etc.

If you want to write gold or silver flowers, take ceruse and blue flowers [?]. And grind them on the slab with gum arabic mixed in pure water. Then add candied sugar and sal ammoniac and grind it all briefly. Put it in a vessel and paint what you want. Then apply silver or gold with a silk swab, breathing onto the ground. Note that wherever candied sugar is applied, there you have to breathe onto the ground to soften it.

This recipe tells us how to make blue-coloured ground under gold or silver leaf. Prepared from ceruse, possibly with added juice of cornflower, ground on the slab with gum arabic, candied sugar, and sal ammoniac, it was meant to be applied with a brush. The strangely defined ingredient: *bleues bleuueiis,* whose transcription may have been a scribe's error, is most likely a pigment extract of cornflowers. These flowers are defined as *flores blauos* (see: recipe No. 14, *Mappae Clavicula* p. 187; Petrus de P. Audemaro, Merrifield I, No. 171, pp. 136–137), in the French version as 'bleues' (Alcherius – *De diversis coloribus,* Merrifield I, No. 314, p. 299), or as *Bleu bleuet*, which may point to the French source of the discussed recipe. Cornflower juice is most often either mixed with ceruse or applied to a surface covered with ceruse (see: recipe No. 14). The juice without additives is navy-blue, while adding white lightens this hue. The addition of candied sugar and sal ammoniac secures hygroscopicity of the ground for gilding. The salmiac of slightly acidic reaction was able to change the colour of the cornflowers towards shades of purple. *Sal armoniacum* appears in many recipes for gilding grounds, e.g., in two manuscripts from the Bavarian Tegernsee Abbey: in the *Liber Illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, No. 9, p. 60, No. 279, p. 192), and in the recipe collection from the Tegernsee Abbey from the first half of the 15th century (Munich, BSB, Call No. Cgm 822, source: https://artechne.hum.uu.nl/node/86186), both from the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, and in the manuscript *Ain gar schones unnd vast nutzliches handbuechlin von allerlaye farbenn De Coloribus. Von den Farbenn- Von den Farben aus der federn zu schreyben* from the mid-16th century (Heidelberg, UB, Cod. Pal. Germ. 489, f. 21v–22r). Sal ammoniac is also mentioned in recipes as an additive to gold leaf binder (Jean de Bègue, *Experimenta de coloribus* (Merrifield I, No. 18, p. 55; No. 24, p. 59); *Il Liber colorum secundum magistrum Bernardum …* (Travaglio 2008, p. 124); *De arte illuminadi* (Lecoy de la Marche, No. 31, p. 37).

At the end of the recipe the way of applying gold or silver leaf is pointed to. Thanks to hygroscopicity of the ingredients the binder could be easily activated: gum arabic through breathing onto it, thanks to which gold applied with the use of silk fabric was sticked to the primed surface. In recipes sugar was often replaced with honey. After it dried, the gilt layer could be polished, which the recipe author does not mention, yet which is mentioned in analogical records.

36. Si vis cum auro scribere, accipe iecur agni et totidem de sale et impone ad vitrum. Et pone in humidum locum. Et mitte stare tamdiu, donec erit aqua. Deinde accipe clarum et aurum et misce simul. Et scribe, quidcumque vip. Et apparebit totum aurum [item].	If you want to write with gold, take lamb liver, add salt to it, put into a glass vessel, and put it aside in a humid place. Leave it until it releases water. Then take glair and gold, and mix them together. And write whatever you want, and it will all look like gold.

The use of lamb liver secretion when preparing gold ink is a genuine solution as seen against other mediaeval recipes from the majority of the known treatises and manuscripts containing collections of recipes of the type. To-date only two similar recipes have been found; although differing in detail from the discussed one, they undoubtedly come from a similar group of recipes. One of them is found in the above-quoted manuscript of Czech provenance kept at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, Call No. Cgm 824, (f. 57r). It needs to be quoted at full length so as to demonstrate the likeness between the two records: *Si vis alter scribere aurum de penna accipe iecur Hircÿ et tantum de sale et tere simul et fac ad vitrum quod habet artum collum et pone ad locum donec in aqua conuertur et cola per pannum cum aur[o] et misce cum claro et scribe*. The second, slightly different from the first one, is found in the Bavarian manuscript from around 1390 (Nuremberg, GNM, Call No. 3227a, f. 93r).

Both the discussed recipe and the German ones describe the same procedure with a similar language, though they essentially differ in the source for the animal liver. In here it is 'lamb', while the German manuscripts speak of 'deer'. Although the animal species differ, both rank among ruminants. The secretion obtained in this way is mainly bile, whose extraction was boosted with salt. The liver was put aside in a glass vessel at a humid place to prevent the fluid from evaporating. Bile obtained in such a way was mixed with ground gold, and glair was added as a binder.

'Gold inks' prepared with powdered gold or its imitation were very often based on bile as an additive. In many recipes contained in the *Mappae Clavicula* for making writing ink in gold an additive of bile of different animal species was included. The bile used included that of mixed kid and beef (*Mappae Clavicula*, No. 6, p. 14), pig and fox (No. 8, p. 15), vulture (11, 12, p. 15), turtle (No. 43, 46, p. 35), and fish (Nos. 68, p. 37). This variety may have resulted from peculiar properties of bile of respective animals, and from the alchemical and medical knowledge and experience. Most frequently, however, it was beef bile with gum arabic as a binder that were used for producing gold inks: Heraclius, VII, *De aurea scriptura* (Merrifield I, p. 191); Alcherius, *De diversis coloribus* (Merrifield I, p. 310, No. 336); *Mappae Clavicula,* (No. 249, p. 54), yet equally often fish bile (Heraclius, XV, *De colore auripigmento simili* (Merrifield I, I, p.199); the Strasbourg manuscript (Berger, p. 157); *Tractatus Qualiter Quilibet Artificialis Color Fieri Possit* from the 14th century (Thompson 1935b, p. 466). The discussed recipe is the only one known mentioning lamb bile.

37. Item si vis grispon temperare, accipe et terre cum aceto in lapide tamdiu, donec fiat mollis et mitte stare bonam horam. Et tere crocum et infunde ad grispon sine aqua. Tunc temperutum clarum et infunde. Etc.	Similarly, if you want to prepare verdigris, take verdigris and grind it with vinegar on the slab until it all becomes soft. Put it aside for an hour. Grind saffron, and add it to the verdigris with no water. Beat egg white and pour it in. Etc.

Similarly as in recipes Nos. 4 and 10, and possibly 11, the pigment was ground with some vinegar added. The recipe mentions putting the mixture aside for an hour: supposedly sufficient time for the verdigris to dissolve in the vinegar. Following this, ground saffron was added with white of egg as a binder. We find a similar recipe again in the Munich manuscript, Call No. 824, (Munich, BSB, f. 12r). Recipes Nos. 10. 11, 12, and the discussed one reveal affiliation to the recipes contained in the mentioned manuscript.

38. Si vis briselium temperare, accipe lignum briselii et scinde ad hastulas et coquas in aceto bono vel vino, tamdiu donec videbis ruffum colorem. Tunc mitte infrigidari et tempera cum trito alumine.	If you want to prepare brazil, take brazilwood, cut it into long pieces, and boil in good vinegar or wine until you see red. Then put it aside to cool, and mix with ground alum.

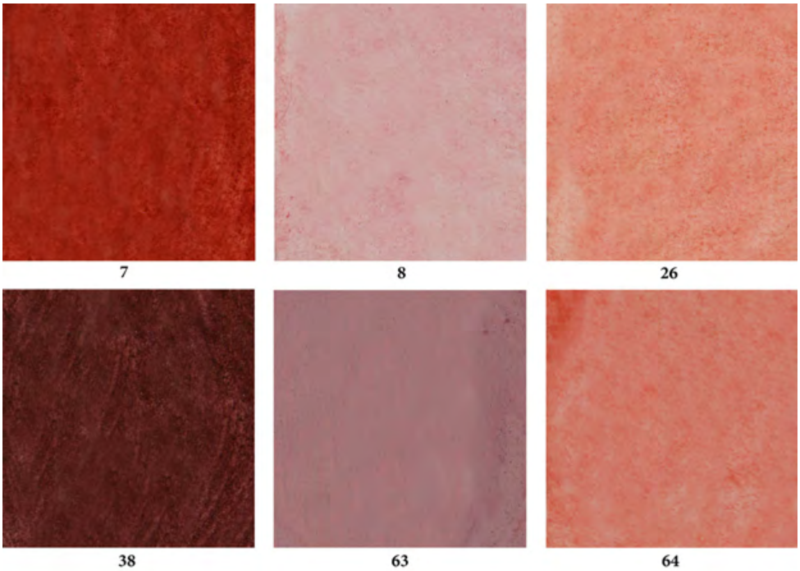

FIG. 4. Reconstruction of recipes 7, 8, 26, 38, 63, 64 making use of brazil.
Photo by Jacek Tomaszewski.

This is the only recipe in the whole collection to prepare a dye from brazil with the use of acid substances. In the remaining recipes the dye was obtained in solutions of neutral or alkalic reaction. In this one, wood shavings were boiled in vinegar or wine, and after the liquid cooled down, alum was added. At the same time, the author does not specify if it was supposed to be red or white wine, although the phrasing 'tamdiu donec videbis ruffum colorem' suggests light-colour liquid. In this way a transparent claret-brown dye was obtained. The use of vinegar or wine was relatively rarely mentioned in the recipes. We find them in the Bologna manuscript (Merrifield II, No. 133, pp. 450–453) where alum and gum arabic were added to the dye being boiled; in the treatise contained in the manuscript by Johann Boloniensis (Copenhagen, KB.DK, Call No. Gl.Kgl.S.1656, f. 170r; Thorndike 1959, p. 17), where apart from wine there is also mention of urine; or in the *Liber Illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, p. 146).

39. Si vis aurum ponere super vitrum, recipe minium et terge bene. Et postquam tritum fuerit, tunc infunde farnizium [fernizium] vel loco farnisii [fernesy] firmum acetum. Et fac stare poi noctem. Et cras surgens, effunde et relaxa cum gummi arabico et scribe in vitro. Cum siccabitur, exsuffla et appone aurum vel argentum mediante bombice.

If you want to put gold on glass take minium and grind it thoroughly. Once ground, add lacquer or potent vinegar instead. Then leave it for the night. On the following morning, having got up, strain it and mix with gum arabic, and write on glass. Once it has dried, breathe onto it, and apply gold or silver with a silk swab.

Two further recipes deal with gilding glass and glass vessels, which has to be ranked among methods of cold painting on glass. Both recipes, however, cause difficulties with the interpretation of some ingredients used in gilding. In this case glass was gilded with ground made of minium mixed with gum arabic. Gold was adhered to an almost dried ground and pressed with a silk swab. Although the stage of gilding as such is clear, and does not arouse any doubts, the above-mentioned *farnizium* term is not unambiguous. The word appears on three occasions in the treatise. For the first time it is in recipe No. 28 concerning the preparation of *farnisium* using linseed oil and colophony as its base. In recipe No. 40 we also have to do with *oleo lini farnisii*. In the discussed recipe the binder for the layer of gold is a solution of gum arabic, while ground minium is initially mixed precisely with *farnizium* or strong vinegar. As was noted while speaking about recipe No. 28, the name *firnisium*, *fernisium* can denominate various compositions also created on the basis of substances dissolved in water. Such a lacquer could have had egg white, gum arabic, sour cherry gum, or glutin glue as its basis. In this case the *farnizium* had to be based on water-soluble ingredients, or otherwise it could not have been replaced with vinegar or it would have been impossible to later combine it with a water solution of gum arabic. However, the recipe's author did not leave us any suggestions as for the actual nature of this component, while infrequent analogical recipes do not facilitate a full explanation of this issue.

The methods of painting and dyeing glass were to a greater degree described by Theophilus and Heraclius. The latter described gilding of glass vases (*De coloribus et artibus romanorum* (Merrifield I, No. 5, pp. 187–189), where gum was used as a binder, however, a permanent binding of gold with glass occurred only after the vessel had been fired at a very high temperature. Two further gilding recipes on glass with water-soluble binders were provided by the *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, No. 199, p. 152) and a brief treatise *De Fenestris*, contained in the manuscript *Thesaurus pauperum* kept at the Bodleian Library, Call No. mp. Canonici Misc. 128, (Travaglio 2012, p. 608). In the first case gold was put on the solution of gum arabic with sugar, while in the second on euphorbia sap or figs.

The discussed recipe differs, however, from the above-mentioned records first of all through the use of red ground below the layer of gold.

40. Item aliter sic. Si vis aurum ponere super vitrum, accipe minium et tere in lapide cum oleo lini farnisii. Deinde impone cum [~~de tantareo~~] detaurino motam [motan] et tere simul. Sed quanto magis conteras, eo melius valet. Et sic scribe pulcre super vitrum. Deinde mitte exsiccari in sole per unum diem, ubi est calor magnup. Si non, tunc per duos dies, sic quod nullus pulver desuper cadet. Deinde appone aurum vel argentum cum forpice vel bombice. Et mitte iterum exsiccari [~~per~~] in sole per septimanam vel per duas, non compulsive, quia non valet circa ignem, nec in stupa, sed solum	The same differently. If you want to apply gold to glass, take minium and grind it on the slab with boiled linseed oil. Then add detaurino motam [?] and grind together. The stronger you grind, the better it will be. And so write beautifully on glass. Then leave it to dry in the sun; at a hot place for a day, at a different one for two days, so that it does not catch dust. Following this apply gold or silver with tweezers or a silk swab. And once again put it aside for a week or two to dry in the sun, not too strong, so leaving it by the fire in a chamber will not be effective, only at a sunny spot. And make sure you get the right

in sole. Et nota quod instancie sunt iste, quod oleum lini quanto est antiquius, tanto meliup. Et quanto magis tenue poteris apponere super, tanto magis valet. Precipue hoc maxime debes precustodire, quod non apponas spisse. Et si detaurinum non potes habere, tunc labora solum cum oleo antiquo. Et eodem modo similiter posses apponere super ciphum ligneum vel amphoram.

ingredients, since linseed oil gets better the older it grows. And the finer the application, the more durable it will be. This is something you have to be particularly careful about, so as not to apply it thickly. However, if you cannot have detaurinum [?], work only with old oil. This is exactly the way you can apply gold to a mug or jug.

In this case glass was gilded on *farnisium* on the basis of linseed oil with some added minium, serving as oil drying agents, and a complementing ingredient of not unequivocal character. The ingredients were ground, following which such-prepared varnish was applied to glass. The varnish based on linseed oil as the main ingredient, had to be exposed to the operation of sunrays, in the effect of which it partially polymerized, turning more viscous. Gold or silver was adhered after two days to a thin membrane of sticky varnish called *odlip* on the glass surface, and was pressed with a silk swab. Following this the vessel was exposed to sunshine again, this time for 1-2 weeks. The author of the recipe emphasizes at the same time that leaving the vessel to dry by the fire or in a *stupa* would not be equally effective.

What is noteworthy in the text is the name of the room: *stupa.* The name comes from the Old-German *stuba* denominating a separate building serving as a bath house (Du Cange, vol. 7, col. 618a.). In a broader meaning of mediaeval Latin in Poland it meant a chamber, room, as well as a bath house (SŁŚwP, vol. VIII fasc. 10, col. 1481). In such a space often used in old Poland there was a stove serving to heat water and create steam. There was usually quite high temperature there, but also high humidity. The recipe's author, familiar with the properties of linseed oil, was aware of the fact that in the course of polymerization of linseed oil it was not the heat, but light and air that played the role, while high humidity in a bath house or in a similar room could slow down the process.

The discussed recipe for gilding on glass also hides an unclear definition of the ingredients. In this case gold was to be applied to the undercoat with minium ground with linseed oil varnish defined as *farnisium*, exactly as above. The ground mixture was later added the substance identified by Maria Kowalczyk as *detaurino motam [motan]* and difficult to interpret. The recipe's author had a problem with its name, since initially he wrote it down as *detantareo*, to later cross it out. It is one of the two crossings outs in the whole treatise, which as a rule was written down with no errors. The word *detaurino* can be associated with *fel taurinum*, namely beef bile, or with *taurino pinguedine*: beef hide glue (Heraclius – Merrifield I, p. 191; *Liber de coloribus illuminatorum ...* – Thompson 1926, p. 304). The two substances connected with the word *taurus* appear in technological-painting treatises. However, both beef bile and glutin glue have no application in combination with linseed oil, since water solutions of those substances do not combine with fats. Beef bile might only emulsify oil, which in practice does not improve the properties of the *oleo lini farnisii*. Also, the author's remark purposefully formulated in the final part of the recipe speaking of the varnish components is important: *Et si detaurinum non potes habere*, this suggesting that the unidentified ingredient was not readily available, as distinct from a regular glue or beef bile.

The analysis of other recipes to make 'firnizium' shows that the main additives to linseed oil were resins: sandarac or mastic (Cennini), colophony (*pix Greca*), and amber in German recipes. In the recipe found in the Bologna manuscript (Merrifield II, No. 207, pp. 489–491), in which similarly as here minium appeared, also incense was added. Turpentine could be another ingredient of oil varnishes. Mentioned as *trementina*, *terebentine,* or *terebintum,* it was added to gold lacquers (*Mappae Clavicula*, Nos. 246, 247, pp. 53–54) or varnishes (*Liber illuministarum* – Bartl *et al.*, No. 447, p. 270, No. 519, p. 436). The entry 'Oleum terebentine' was also included in the *Mundinus. Simphaum medicinarum herborum* contained in the further part of manuscript BJ 778 (f. 262v).

In the final remarks of the recipe (in the manuscript separated from the first part with a paragraph marker) the author emphasizes that it is better to take old linseed oil, already substantially polymerized, therefore thicker. At the same time he stresses that the layer applied to glass should not be too thick. If turpentine was added to the varnish, it would make the application easier, since diluting linseed oil would allow to apply a thinner layer of varnish for gilding.

41. Si vis aurum super nucem vel pomum vel muscatum vel ad aliud consimile ponere, recipe gummi arabicum et pone in cornu et infunde vinum vel aquam et fac stare per noctem. Et cras, mediante penna, macula totam nucem. Et sicca. Et cum siccatum fuerit bene, tunc anhelitum supermitte et pone aurum vel argentum mediante bombice. Etc.	If you want to apply gold to a nut, apple, nutmeg or something similar, take Arabic gum, place it in a horn, pour wine or water over it, and leave it for the night. The following day smear it over the whole nut with a feather. Let it dry. And once it is well dry, then, breathing onto it, apply gold or silver using a cotton swab, etc.

This recipe addresses the gilding or silvering of various objects for decorative purposes during e.g., occasional ceremonies. It can be associated with No. 23 speaking of gilding live doves, which may have possibly constituted a decorative and ideological element in ceremony settings. Leaving aside the symbolic motif resulting from the ancient tradition of gilded fruit and 'golden apples', it can be supposed that the methods of gilding such objects are also derived from distant sources, in the Middle Ages transferred more in the works of alchemical content. We find them, among others, in Michael Scot's manuscript of the *Tractatus Alkimie* from the first half of the 13th century (Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College, Mp. 181, f. 30), where it was recommended for nutmegs, rings, apples, or seals to be gilded with the use of almond gum dissolved in egg white (Singer, pp. 13–14). It is from the same source that the recipe contained in the treatise *Qualiter Quilibet Artificia-*

lis Color... (Thompson 1935, p. 467) is derived. Similar texts can be found in the collection of medical-alchemical writings from the fourth quarter of the 15th century in the recipe *Ad aurandum poma vel nucem muscatum vel quidquid aliud volueris hoc modo poteris* (Innsbruck, ULBT, Cod. 422, f. 62v) or in the collection of medical recipes from ca 1400 of Czech provenance (Munich, BSB, Cgm 824, f. 70r). The last recipe also recommends the use of gum arabic as a binder for gold: *Wilt öppil oder nüsse vbergolden so nim gummÿ arabicum vnd czulazz in heÿssem wasser vnd westreich ÿ nüsse oder öppil da mit vnd leg geslagen golt dar auf etc*. In the discussed recipe the gum was dissolved in cold water or wine, with no sugar added, as was the case in the quoted recipe. Sugar boosted the hygroscopicity of the binder, which facilitated the pasting of gold leaf. Breathing onto it moistened the binder to a degree, restoring its viscosity, and then pasting of the gold was possible through pressing with a cotton swab.

42. Si vis colorem facere et tamquam aureum, recipe vitellos sex vel quatuor et pone ad vitrum. Et obstrue bene, ne humiditas intret. Et pone in fumum. Et mitte ibi stare per 90 diep. Et postea accipe et pone ad solem per 7 diep. Et tempera cum gummi. Et illumina.

If you want to make a colour looking like gold, take six yolks, or even four, and place them in a glass vessel. Cover tightly, so that dampness does not come into it. Put it in smoke. And keep it there for 90 days. Following this, take it and put in the sun for seven days. Dilute with gum. And paint.

Egg yolks are mostly used as a binder, but also as a source of yellow colour or imitation of gold colour. In the recipe the yolks underwent long lasting conservation through the smoking process in which thanks to various chemical compounds contained in smoke a slow transformation of the yolks' structure and their microbiological stability were achieved, accompanied simultaneously by their colour transformation. The time for the smoking process is defined in the manuscript with a figure: '90 dies'. At the next stage the yolks were exposed to temperature and light radiation for a week. However, the interpretation of such a process is difficult, since it has not been studied, and would require a thorough physical and chemical analysis. The obtained substance was combined with a solution of gum arabic. It is likely that in the long-lasting process of the structural transformation, also crystallization of the compounds contained in the yolks occurred, these visually imitating the shine of a gold or gilded surface. Although it was already in the *Mappae clavicula* (*Auri inscriptio, Item alia confectio*, No. XLV, p. 20) that the recipe to obtain a mixture imitating gold, containing, among others, egg yolk was given, the process of obtaining gold colour was nowhere else described as equally complicated and long-lasting.

A similar recipe, also linguistically, based possibly on the source shared with the Cracow record can again be found in the manuscript of Czech provenance from ca 1400 (Munich, BSB, Cgm 824, f. 57r): *Si vis cum auro scribere Recipe vitellum quantum vis et pone ad vnum vitrum et obstrue bene et pone in fimum et mitte iacere per nouem dies postea accipe de fimo et pone ad solem per nouem dies et post modum tempera cum gummi arabico.*

In the quoted recipe the process of preparing 'gold' paint has a similar course. Differences show up in the length of both stages of processing the yolks. Doubts particularly arise when the length of the first stage in both recipes is considered. In the Munich manuscript it is defined as 'nouem dies', while in the Cracow manuscript it is expressed with digits: '90 dies'. This symptomatic difference may have been caused by the incorrect grammar of the Cracow record in which '0' following '9' signifies superscript 'o' following many Latin numbers. Such a supposition is supported by another record describing the preparation of 'gold colour' based on the same ingredients and derived from Peder Månssons's manuscript in which the duration of the first stage was defined as 8-10 days (*Ad idem (Aureus color)* – Johannsen, p. 35). And so the first stage in both recipes would last equally long, while the difference in the exposure to the operation of sunlight would amount only to two days.

43. Tere cristallum subtilissime in marmore, clarum ovi apponendo, de quo scribe, quid voluerip. Postea litteram siccatam polluas, quocumque metallo volueris, et recipiet eundem colorem. Etc.	Grind crystal on marble in the most possibly delicate way, adding egg white. Write what you want with this. Later polish the dried letters with a metal of your choice, and the letters will take on its colour. Etc.

In the collection it is one of four recipes in which the method for obtaining an inscription or initial of a metallic surface is described (Nos. 17, 34, 55); this is achieved by using a writing liquid with light abrasive material permitting to apply a metallic layer to the inscription surface by rubbing the dried layer of 'ink' with a metal object. In this case *cristallum* is an undefined mineral, possibly mountain quartz, or, which is less likely, Venetian glass (Bartl *et al.*, p. 625). In the remaining three recipes in the collection the abrasive additive was, however, pumice ground with a binder, in two recipes mixed with cinnabar. In the discussed case the colour effect achieved differed from that obtained through using pumice mixed with cinnabar. The red pigment allowed to achieve a warm-red metallic coat, while the use of light finely ground pumice or crystal mixed with a colourless binder permitted to obtain a metallic surface of the colour of the used metal. It is difficult to identify heritage writing specimens in which this gilding method was used, and by the same token to assess its effectivity. Some academics (Clarke, p. 62; Bartl *et al.*, p. 625) point to the lack of examples of the use of this technique in late-Gothic manuscripts. It seems likely that the method was sporadically used as a cheaper and less professional substitute for proper gilding methods with the use of gold leaf or pulverized gold. However, in technological-artistic treatises and in recipe collections from the late Middle Ages recipes to obtain such decoration were substantially popular, and were often placed side by side with proper gilding techniques. In this way authors of their technological compendia enriched the scope of the techniques they provided with less typical solutions.

Similar recipes can be found in the *Secretum philosophorum* from ca 1300-1350 (Clarke, p. 62); in the collection *Experimenta de coloribus* by Jean le Bègue (Merrifield, Vol. I, p. 63); in the *Compendium artis picturae* (Silvestre, No. 17, p. 126); in the manuscript *Bamberger Malerbüchlein* from 1503–1509 (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Theol. 225, f. 203v); or in the writings of the Swedish clergyman and scholar Peder Månssons from the early 16th century (*Color multiple* – Johannsen, p. 32). However, the recipe version which is the closest was contained in the *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, No. 24, p. 68): *Recipe cristallum, et tere in lapide uel mortario minutissime ad modum minij, apponendo de albugine oui quod sufficit. et cum hac confectione scribe quid volueris, et permitte siccari. postea frica ipsam litteram cum quocunque metallo volueris: et accipiet colorem huius metalli.* Similarly close recipes can be found in the 13th-century manuscript, Call No. Plut. 30, cod. 29, (f. 72rb), from the Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana in Florence (Thorndike 1960, p. 63), or the Czech manuscript M. VIII from the Library of the Prague Metropolitan Chapter (f. 56v).

44. Alius modus, Tere es aut cuprum cum forti aceto sale mediante, ut tibi sufficere videatur. Postea lava pulverem aqua munda et desicca. Cum autem ipso scribere volueris, tempera cum aqua gummi arabica. Et scribe, ~~quid~~ voluerip. Postea cum siccum fuerit, polluas cum dente lupino. Etc. Sequitur.	Another way: grind as much bronze or copper as you think is essential with strong vinegar and salt. Then rinse the dust with clean water and dry it. If you wanted to write anything, dilute it with gum arabic. And write whatever you want. Then, when it dries, polish it with wolf tooth. Etc. Further part below.

This is the second recipe in the treatise, next to recipe No. 24, addressing the making of an imitation of gold ink with the use of copper or bronze. In the commentary to recipe No. 24 two source records related to making analogical metallic inks were pointed to: contained in Alcherius's treatise (Merrifield I, No. 312, p. 299) and in the anonymous manuscript, Call No. Ms II.3.17, from the

Cambridge University Library. As distinct, however, from recipe No. 24 and the two quoted records where metal filings were ground with water, in this case bronze or copper were ground with vinegar and salt. It is likely that the use of these ingredients, creating hydrochloric acid in the reaction, was to purify metal of oxidation products, and to obtain the cleanest possible product. Possibly the application of lye in the recipe to obtain copper and bronze powder contained in the *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, No. 230, p. 170) was to yield an analogical effect. In this case metallic powder was also mixed with the solution of gum arabic. Similarly as in recipe No. 24, the dried inscription was polished with an animal tooth to make it shine. The ending of the recipe with the word 'Sequitur' suggests continuation of recipes concerning gilding, this manifesting that it was extracted from a different collection of recipes from the one following it, namely recipe No. 45.

45. Smigma sic paratur. Cineres vulgariter popyolu brzostowego et stercora canina et fac lixinium. Et cum fuerit factum, effunde de vase et illam substanciam, que remanet ibidem, sub paniculo fac exsiccare in sole valde bene, ita quod fiat dura illa substancia. Et cum iam fuerit sicca, tunc impone eam ad caldar et effunde lixinium eundem desuper et fac bulire. Et capias in tantum de sepo alias topyonego loyu, quantum erit de cineribus et stercoribup. Et mitte pariter bulire. Et quando vides, quod iam debuliunt, tunc infunde plus de lixinio et fac bulire. Et quando vis scire, quod habet satis, tunc capias lignum cum quo misces et aspergas prunam.	Soap is prepared in the following way. From the ash of the tree called colloquially 'wych elm' and dog excrement prepare lye. And when it is ready, pour out of the vessel and leave the remains under a cloth for it to dry in the sun, until it all hardens. And when it is dry, put it in a cauldron, pour the remaining lye on top, and cook. Add lard, namely 'melted suet' in the amount equalling the ash and excrement, and cook again. And when you see that it is boiling, add more lye and cook it. If you want to check if there is enough suet, take the spoon you are stirring it with, and let some drops fall on the coals in the fire. If they are set ablaze like suet, it means there is not enough suet

Si tunc pruna ardebit sicut sepum, non habet satis [sepum]. Si autem carbo extinguitur, tunc habet satip. Et si vis, quod sit glaucum, tunc impone modicum de croco, vel quantum vip. Et infunde ad formas et sic tunc fiat bene. Probatum est. Etc.	yet. If they go out, then there is enough. If you want it to be tawny, add saffron, a bit or as much as you want. Pour it into tins and it will be ready. It has been tested, etc.

Although soap could be used as an additive in various recipes concerning preparation of pigments, recipes telling us how to make it are relatively rare. Practically focused recipes, useful in daily life, were usually a supplement to the main set of recipes connected with painting. Such information can be found in broader collections, like the *Mappae clavicula* (No. 280, p. 60, No. 288, p. 62), *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, Nos. 332, 333, pp. 220–222), *Segredi per colori* (Merrifield II, pp. 497–499), Peder Månssons's manuscript (Johannsen, p. 115), or else in treatise collections, like the exceptional *Thesaurus pauperum* from the Oxford Bodleian Library (mp. Canonici Misc. 128), containing, among others, the '*Liber Henrici de modo faciendi sapone cum multis aliis receptis notabilibus*' (f. 58r–62r).

Soap could serve as a hygroscopic ingredient of burnish clay, to cleanse azurite as an additive to lye (Petrus de P. Audemaro, *De coloribus faciensis* (Merrifield I, p. 157); Bartl *et al.*, pp. 322, 330; *Tractatus Qualiter Quilibet Artificialis Color Fieri Possit* – Thompson 1935b, pp. 461–462), when making green copper pigment or blue dye from flowers (*Mappae clavicula*, p. 8, No. 108, p. 30). Theophilus recommended to use soap for cleansing gold and silver (*Theophil*, pp. 338–340).

Soap was usually made from potash, sometimes with added quicklime or oil, or animal fat. If soap was made with the lye of the ashes of plants containing potassium, so-called soft soaps were created which only needed some flour to be added as the hardening agent (Bartl *et al.*, p. 723). In the discussed recipe, however, ingredients differ slightly from those usually used for soap making. In this

FIG. 5. Black ground visible on the sides of goldings in the hand-written *Missale*, Cracow, ca. XV century, Gniezno, AA Ms 146. Photo by Jacek Tomaszewski

case lye is made from dog excrement and potash made from ash of the field elm (*Ulmus minor Mill.*) according to Linde (Vol. 1, p. 183) or wych elm (*Ulmus glabra Huds.*) according to Gabriel Rączyński and Krzysztof Kluk (Rączyński, p. 295; Kluk, t. III, p. 140). As much as ash from a deciduous tree was a common ingredient in the process, dog excrement was an original item in the recipe. It may have been used here owing to its high calcium content coming from animal bones which were one of the main elements of the dogs' diet at that time. In towns, dog excrement was a precious resource used by tanners and parchment makers, but also for soap producers. This material was, however, sporadically mentioned in treatises: in the *Mappae clavicula* we can find a recipe for dressing leather prepared for being dyed green, while in the *Liber illuministarum* dog excrement was an ingredient of dark ink, so-called Indian ink (Bartl *et al.*, No. 329, pp. 219–221).

In the discussed recipe lye was made in two stages: at the first one, dog excrement was cooked with potash, following which the liquid was poured into another vessel, and the remains were dried in the sun. At the second stage the dried remains were cooked again in the obtained lye in order to strengthen it, and 'melted suet', namely animal fat, was added in an equal proportion to the remaining ingredients. In this case no information is provided on the kind of the animal fat used. Other recipes recommend beef or deer fat (*Segredi per colori* – Merrifield II, pp. 497–49; *Mappae clavicula*, No. 280, p. 60), or goat or sheep fat (*Liber illuministarum* No. 329, pp. 219–221).

Soap could be coloured with a dye. In the *Liber illuministarum* when making 'saracenic soap', the recommendation was to use verdigris (Bartl *et al.*, p. 223), while in the discussed recipe the colour was altered with the use of saffron.

46. Ad ponendum aurum vel argentum, ut fiat clarum sicut speculum. Tere cretam peroptime cum aqua in lapide. Et fac siccari. Tunc iterum tere et appone modicum de nigro, ut fiat color griseup. Et iterum sicca. Postea pone modicum de czucaro, ut aurum attrahatur et iterum tere per omnia sicut priup. Et habeas bitumen per pannum colatum. Et tempera materiam tritam. Et scribe cum ipsa, quid vip. Et fiat optime sicca per horam vel per duap. Tunc rade cutello aliquantulum et superpone aurum. Et applica bene bombice. Et siccum plana cum dente equino fortiter super aliquam thabulam, donec erit clarum et perspicuum, ut speculum. Et sic intelligendum est de argento. Etc.

On applying gold or silver, for it to be as smooth as a mirror. Grind chalk on the slab with water, as thoroughly as you can. Put it aside to dry. Then grind again adding some black to obtain grey colour. And dry again. After that add some sugar so that it attracts gold, and grind again like before. You need to have glue strained through a piece of cloth. Mix the ground ingredients. Write with it whatever you want. It is best that it dries for an hour or two. Then scrape off the top with a knife and apply gold. Apply it carefully with a silk swab. When dried, smooth it strongly with a horse tooth holding it on a board until it is clean and clear like a mirror. The same has to be done with silver. Etc.

It is the last of the series of recipes to make grey ground for gold or silver. In the three previous ones one of the ingredients was soot (Nos. 27, 32, 33) and in two limewood charcoal was used (Nos. 29, 30). In this case an undefined pigment is added, which in practice could be one of the two above-mentioned blacks. The basic ingredient: chalk, was ground three times; the first time with water alone, the second with black added in the amount necessary for the mixture to become grey, and the third time with sugar. The latter ingredient: *czucaro* was, in the author's view, to cause gold's pasting to the undercoat, while in reality it was the hygroscopic ingredient of the ground, maintaining binder's adequate humidity. At each respective stage the matter was dried. Triple grinding permitted a thorough bonding of the ingredients, an adequately fine graining, while the mixture was mixed with animal glue. An unidentified *bitumen* which could have been an extract of parchment scraps (*bitumen pargameni*) or extract of sturgeon swim bladders (*bitumen esocis*, *bitumen vsiorum*), prior to being mixed with other ingredients, was purified by being strained through a densely-woven piece of fabric. The ground prepared in this way, and applied to the leaf surface, was dried for one to two hours, and later smoothed with a little knife. This tool: *cutellus*, or *cultellus scriptorius*, or *scriptural*, meaning a small knife with an appropriately-shaped blade, was one of the multi-functional scribe's tools, serving mainly to cut feathers, scraping off the uneven undercoat and errors made when writing. In this case it also served to make the ground prepared for silver and gold even as well as to smooth it.

Metal leaf was applied and pasted with the use of a silk swab after a delicate moistening of the ground through breathing onto it, which is not unequivocally pointed to in the recipe, however, seems obvious from the character of the foundation. The decoration gilded with gold or silver on the leaf, placed on a flat board, was polished with a horse tooth to obtain a 'mirror-like' shine. A horse tooth as a tool for polishing appears relatively rarely in sources. It is referred to in the afore-mentioned recipe to obtain 'Fundamentum Gotuicense', which came from the Göttweig Abbey in Austria; it was also contained in the *Liber Illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, No. 282, p. 194), the collection of technological recipes from the Tegernsee Abbey from 1464–1473 (Munich, BSB, Clm 20174, f. 177rv), or the Czech codex from the first half of the 15th century (Praha, NK ČR, Cod. XIV H 16, f. 21v), in which the recipe 'De assis pro Auro' shows a distant affinity to the Cracow record.

47. Accipe aurum tabulatum et pone illud in zuccararis pomi silvestrip. Et simul horam stare permitte. Et tunc recipe in pennam et scribe. Cum siccum fuerit, polluas cum dente lupino. Etc.	Take gold leaf and place it among sugared-coated forest apples. Leave the whole for an hour. Then scoop onto the pen and write. When it dries, polish it with a wolf tooth. Etc.

It is the second recipe describing how to prepare gold ink for writing, though less precise than the analogical recipe No. 31. Adding gold leaf to sweetened apples seems to be a mental shortcut of the recipe's author. It is likely that crushed apples were added sugar to stimulate juice extraction from the fruit. In this case the time necessary for an effective digestion of gold leaf with the use of the juice of forest apples was defined. After an hour the ink was ready to be used. This, however, seems to be too short a time in the context of German recipes quoted above where gold leaf was kept in vinegar for 24 hours.

The additive in the form of sugar constituted an additional binder. Similarly as in recipe No. 31, the inscription made with this ink was also polished with a tooth, this time a wolf one.

48. Aurum sic ponitur. Recipe clarum, quando inspissatur et scribe in pargameno. Et cum aliquantulum siccatur, pone aurum et cauda leporis atinge [acinde]. Et polluas dente, et splendebit.	You apply gold like this: take thickening egg white and write on parchment, When it dries slightly, apply gold, and press it with a hare tail. Smooth with a tooth, and it will shine.

The recipe speaks of applying gold leaf without ground, pasted to an almost dry, yet still viscous binder. It was white of egg of broken structure, partially thickened by having been vaporized, which increased its viscosity. Fresh unthickened egg white could unevenly soak into the undercoat and evaporate, which would weaken effective adhesion of gold leaf. Thanks to the increased thickness of the binder it was possible to work at a slower pace when gilding. Having been applied to the binder, the gold was pressed with a hare tale. Having dried, the gilding was polished with an animal tooth. This gilding method ranks among the easier ones, however, the result of the polishing of the gold is not as effective as in the gilding on a smoothed undercoat.

A similar method is described in the treatise *Diversarum artium schedula* by Theophilus where fresh glaire is used, and applying gold had to be conducted fast (*Theophil*, Lib. I, Chapter XXV, p. 30).

The genuine element in the discussed recipe is the use of a hare tail as a tool serving to press and adhere gold leaf. The usual object used for the purpose was a swab of delicate silk or cotton fabric. It is very rare for *cauda leporis* to appear in recipes of the period. The hare tail or paw (*pes leporis*) served to press the gold in two recipes: 'De sicco auro' and 'Posicio auri super librum vel ymaginem. quomodo fiat' found in the collection of technological recipes from the Tegernsee Abbey from 1464–1473 (Munich, BSB, Clm 20174, f. 197rv). This is, however, the only element those recipes have in common with the Cracow one, though the fact obviously testifies to the tradition of using similar tools.

49. Si vis facere flaveum colorem, primo habeas fraga vulgariter czirnicze et coque eas in aceto bono. Et pone alumen in quantum sufficit. Et tunc depinge in tela et fac siccare telam depictam, nec in sole noc in vento, sed in camera, vel in aliquo loco secreto. Et postquam siccabitur, tunc polluas dente magno et erit plauaticus.	If you want to make yellow [blue] colour, you first have to have berries colloquially called *czirnicze*, and cook them in good vinegar. Add alum to it, as much as is needed. And paint on canvas, when painted, put aside to dry, not in the sun or in draught, but in a chamber or another quiet place. When it dries, smooth if with a large tooth, and it will turn bluish.

Similarly as in many other recipes, this one, too, speaks of preparing blue (*blavum*) and not yellow (*flavum*). The Old-Polish name ‘czirnicze’ refers to European blueberry. It has retained its conventional name as ‘czernica’. Still in the mid-19th century Gerard Józef Wyżycki (Wyżycki I, p. 207) called blackberry: ‘czernica’. Next to elder (*Sambucus nigra L.*) and less so blackberry (*Rubus fruticosus L.*) it was the main plant for centuries used in folk dyeing to dye textiles various shades of red and through violet to navy blue. The fruit of the plant contain anthocyanin dyes (cyanidin glycosides, delphinidines, and malvidins). Depending on pH of the environment these compounds show a different colour. In an acidic environment they yield red, while blue in the alkalic environment. They turn purple with some alum added (Bartl *et al.*, pp. 562–563). In this recipe the berries are cooked with strong vinegar and alum, owing to which the dye itself becomes more reddish-purple. However, what also affects the very process of dyeing is the reaction of the undercoat to which the paint is applied. When the canvas was washed in hard water, the volume of calcium carbonate ($CaCO_3$) increased in the fabric, raising its pH. The dye applied to such an undercoat took on a blue tint. Anthocyanin dyes are not resistant to light, that is why the recipe’s author recommends drying them at a shaded place or in a room. Polishing canvas dyed in this way makes its surface shine, and boosts the colour.

The range of colours achieved from a blueberry is relatively broad. The *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, p. 563, Nos. 1205, 1254) contains recipes for dyeing leather blue or obtaining green from unripe fruit. Pietro Andrea Mattioli in the Czech edition of his *Herbal* as translated by Tadeáš Hájek (f. 72v) in order to dye fabrics blue recommends a procedure identical with the Cracow recipe, differentiating the colour range by adding vitriol or oak apples (Novák, p. 505). In his manuscript Théodore de Mayerne mentions juice of berries giving red colour and at the same time beautiful crimson (London, BL, Ms.Sloane 2052, f. 23v).

In the chapter ‘Płatkow farbowanie albo chusthek/ w kthorych zachowanie farb bywa/ ku pisaniu y malowaniu’ (Siennik, p. 589)

Marcin Siennik recommended obtaining a brown dye for painting from almost ripe European blueberries. Much later Krzysztof Kluk (Kluk, Vol.3, pp. 144–145) described several ways of preparing the dye in various colours, including crimson paint for painting obtained from *czernica* fresh juice with added calcium, verdigris, and sal ammoniac. Furthermore, he provided ways of preparing a violet dye for wool and linen with alum mixed, or blue with the additive of copper and alum, as well as a navy blue paint additionally seasoned with the oak apples.

50. Si vis facere rubeum colorem, primo habeas fraga, que [~~habeant~~] vocantur yezyni. Et tunc fac, ut prius dictum est, de fluveo colore.	If you want to make red colour first you need to have berries called *yezyni*. Then follow the instructions described for yellow [blue].

Blackberries (*Rubus caesius L.; Rubus fruticosus L., pol.: jeżyna),* similarly as the fruit of European blueberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus* L.*),* were for centuries used mainly in folk dyeing. The fruit of both plants, similarly as that of elder (*Sambucus nigra L.),* contain anthocyanin glycosides in which it is anthocyanins which are coloured aglycones (cyanide, pelargonidin, delphinidin). Depending on the environment's pH these compounds are of a different colour. In acidic environments they are red, and blue in alkaline one. When added alum, they turn purple (Bartl *et al.*, pp. 562–563).

When talking about preparing the dye the author refers to the previous recipe in which fruit was cooked in vinegar, following which alum was added. In that case the obtained colour meant to dye linen was dark red. However, among mediaeval recipes this dye has not been found to serve in illumination.

51. Si vis facere viridem colorem, recipe fraga, que dicuntur psye yagodi et alio modo crussinam, que crescit ad modum crateis [criteis] et pone illa fraga ad	If you want green, take the fruit called *psie jagody* or *kruszyna* which grows like a hedge. Put the fruit into a pan or a jug, and pour vinegar over it. Put aside

unam ollam seu amphoram et infunde desuper bonum acetum. Et mitte stare per unam noctem vel ultra. Tunc effunde illum acetum de fragis et terge has fragas manibus in olla et exprime vulgariter wiszmy per panniculum. Et recipe succum et infunde ad vesicam et pende ad aerem et mitte siccare. Quando vis temperare tunc recipe acetum bonum et impone de illa substancia. Et appone alumen et grispanum, quantum vip. Sed hoc fac statim, quando vis laborare.

for the night or longer. Then pour the vinegar out, take the fruit with your hands, and wring it through a piece of cloth. Take the juice, pour it into a bladder, and hang it out in the air to dry. If you want to dilute it, take good vinegar and pour over what has been left after the juice had dried. Add alum and verdigris, as much as you want. But do this directly before you want to work.

In the Middle Ages and later, many plants were used to obtain green of different shades, used widely in dyeing and to make paints for artistic purposes. One of the plants was black nightshade (*Solanum nigrum* L.), whose leaves and black fruit, also called in Polish 'devil' or 'dog' berries, served as the basic source of green and blue dyes. Black nightshade leaves were used in Italy in the Middle Ages to make the paint called *Morella*, in France known under an analogical name *Morelle*. In the dictionary *Herbaria Latino-Polonica* contained in the manuscript *Scripta medica* (Warsaw, BN, Rps BOZ 66, f. 335), which came from the monastery of Canons Regular in Czerwińsk from 1464–1468, the translation of the word 'morella' to 'psyevino' can be found (source: https://polona.pl/item-view/632d32dc-0f48-4fc7-a73c-901244eabcf1?page=340). Some tens years later in Murmellius's dictionary from the first decade of the 16th century the word *solanum* was translated to *psynki* (Murmelius, p. 114).

In Europe the fruit of the plants of the Rhamnaceae (*Rhamnus* L.) family, whose species differ slightly depending on the location they grow at, was also widely used. In Poland it was European buckthorn (*Rhamnus cathartica* L.), and to a lesser degree also alder buckthorn (*Rhamnus Frangula alnus* Mill), that was used as the source of yellow and green dyes. In the case of the discussed recipe the name 'crussina' refers more to European buckthorn (*szakłak*), since that was the one whose fruit was generally used for a green dye, while alder buckthorn (*kruszyna*) was a source of dye mainly through its bark (Kluk, t.3, p. 13). Here, additional information on the type of the plant is provided by the recipe's author: 'que crescit ad modum crateis [criteis]', speaking of the habit of using this plant for utilitarian and decorative purposes. Still in the 18th century, Krzysztof Kluk (Kluk, Vol.3, p. 13) mentioned that European buckthorn 'can be planted into rows and living fences, dense and beautiful', which points to the century-old tradition of using this plant for growing hedges. In the discussed recipe we possibly come across the oldest name of *kruszyna* (*szakłak?*), though in their Latinized form.

From both trees the fruit as a source of dye at different stages of the ripening process and leaves were used. European buckthorn yielded the dye called *verde di vescica* or *pasta verde* in Italy, *Safftgrün* in Germany (Boltz, f. 30v–31r), while in France the fruit of *Rhamnus infectorius* called *grain d'Avignon* created the dye *stils de grain* (Merrifield I, p. CCXIX). In 16th- and 17th-century Poland the German name of the paint: *Zawgryn* took root (Haur, p. 369). Haur also provided a recipe to prepare yellow paint of unripe European buckthorn fruit and dried in a bladder (*macherzyna*) (Haur, p. 360).

In the discussed recipe the fruit was initially soaked in vinegar, following which juice was pressed, and dried in an animal bladder. The dry dye prepared in this was could be turned to paint if needed by diluting it with vinegar. The paint's colour and its covering power were boosted by adding ground verdigris and alum. Thanks to natural glycosides contained in the fruit, the dye did not require an additional binder.

Mediaeval recipes provide several ways of preparing a dye from the fruit of both plants. In order to extract the pigment the fruit was soaked, like in this case, in vinegar (Munich, BSB, Clm 20174, f. 168v), or in lye, or cooked with no additives. The manner pro-

FIG. 6. Dyes made by use of recipe 51 with fruits of common buckthorn, *Rhamnus cathartica* (left-hand side) and alder buckthorn, *Rhamnus Frangula alnus* (right-hand side). Photo by Agnieszka Kalbarczyk

vided in the *De arte illuminandi* (Lecoy de la Marche, p. 16) involved alum additive together with lye. The dye could be kept either in its liquid form in a glass vessel or dry after evaporating in a beef bladder or soaked into pieces of linen fabric (*folium*). As much as alkaline solution in the form of lye is more frequently used in Italian manuscripts (*Segredi per Colori* – Merriefield, pp. 420–421), vinegar or lack of additives are often present in northern and German recipes (Alcherius – Merriefeld, t. I, p. 86); *Liber illuministarum*, – Bartl *et al.*, No. 1225). Fresh or dried juice on its own with no additives is brownish, and when added alum, it turns green (Bartl *et al.*, pp. 570–571).

Recipes given by Marcin Siennik to dye goatskin with the use of European buckthorn berries cooked in alum water date from a later period (Siennik, p. 588). Also Krzysztof Kluk (p. 12) gives a similar procedure to prepare the dye: *Jagody doyrzałe przed mrozami zebrane, z octem roztarte gotuią się: do soku potym wygniecionego przez płatek przyda się nieco Ałunu: a wlawszy w naczynie szklane zamknięte, w ciepłym miejscu, ale nie na słońcu ususzy się* (Ripe berries picked before the frost, crushed with vinegar, are cooked; for the juice later pressed through a cloth some alum might be needed; having poured it into a closed glass vessel, dry it at a warm spot, though not in the sun).

The drying of a dye in an animal bladder is still mentioned in the mid-19th century by Gerard Józef Wyżycki (Wyżycki I, p. 148).

52. Ut scribas quocumque metallo, recipe limaturam cuiuscumque metalli et tere in marmore cum aceto et sale. Cumque bene tritum fuerit, lava cum aqua. Et serva pulverem in umbra et usui reserva. Et dum scribere volueris, tempera cum claro et scribe. Et siccum polluas cum dente et apparebit in tali colore, quale erat metallum

In order to write with any metal, take filings of this metal, and grind them on marble with vinegar and salt. When well ground, rinse them with water. Keep the dust in the shade, and use guardedly. And if you want it, prepare with glaire, and write. After it has dried, smooth it with a tooth, and the colour the metal was will appear.

This is a recipe telling us how to make an inscription or decoration with a metallic lustre, close to recipe No. 44. It is likely that similarly as in the recipe found in the addenda to Theophilus's manuscript *Diversarum atrium schedula* published by Robert Hendrie 'Si vis facere literas aureas vel argenteas vel cupreas vel ereas aut ferreas' (*Theophilus*, p. 420), in this case various metals can be used, mainly the less noble ones like copper, bronze, or iron. Here, however, metal filings were ground in vinegar with some cooking salt added, as distinct from Theophilus's manuscript where metal particles were crushed in the solution of plum gum in vinegar. The composition of vinegar and salt evidently makes the discussed recipe share the source with recipe No. 44. Similarly as there, the process of grinding was accompanied by a complex chemical reaction in which the organic acid and the hydrochloric acid created as the reaction's results dissolved both metal flecks, but mainly the marble (calcium carbonate) on which the ingredients were ground. Such a reactive chemical composition permitted to avoid calcium impurities in the metallic powder: those were dissolved in the acids, and rinsed in clean water. In the discussed recipe, as distinct from recipe No. 44, and that contained in Theophilus's treatise, the metallic powder was ground with egg white. After the inscription dried, the surface was polished with an animal tooth, this yielding metallic shine.

53. Radix lilii in aqua decocta purificat faciem et maculam delet, si fuerit lota. Probatum est.

Boiled in water lily root cleanses face and removes blotches if there were any. It has been tested.

This is a medical-cosmetic recipe which was placed in the treatise between the recipes for metallic inscriptions and making parchment window films. The rubricator, however, did not separate it with a paragraph marker. This is the only recipe thematically differing from the technological profile of the treatise. Although the whole text of the *Ars de omnibus coloribus* was written down in a homogenous layout, it is thematically unordered and compiled from various sources, which can be seen in the fact that recipes concerning preparation of the same pigments or dyes appear at different places. In his manuscripts, John of Dobra took loose hurried notes onfly leaves with medical recipes which could alternate with recipes of another kind, yet these notes are of a different chronological character, and for obvious reasons they could be thematically mixed (see: BJ rkps 849). In this case placing here the recipe of this character may be regarded as ‘accidental’, and may show that earlier notes were mechanically copied.

54. Ad membranas faciendas pargamenicas. Prout iam excidetur de tentorio ponatur per unum diem in urina et sic lava de cimento. Iterum ponatur in forte acetum per unum diem et lavatur bene in aceto. Et postmodum distat in lignis fenestralìbus et perfundat eam cum bitumine vel lineat cum sumany melli.

On preparing parchment membranes. Once you cut out a leaf from parchment, put it in urine for the night, thus cleansing it of calcium. Then put it into strong vinegar for a day, and wash it in it. Finally, stretch it on a wooden window frame, saturate it with glue, or smear with *sumany* honey.

Recipes telling us how to prepare parchment membranes instead of glass in windows are relatively rare. We find them in technological and technical treatises, e.g., in the *De Fenestris*, contained in the manuscript *Thesaurus pauperum* from the Bodleian Library (Travaglio 2012, p. 608), in the Bologna manuscript (Merrifield, II, No. 214, 215, p. 493), in the *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, No. 408, p. 250), or in the manuscript from the Tegernsee Abbey from 1464–1473 (Call No. Clm 20174, Munich, BSB, f. 171v–172r).

The recipe speaks about making parchment membranes used in windows instead of glass. In this case parchment is a much more convenient material than crude hide, since the parchment maker has already done a part of the necessary jobs that need to be done to crude hide: he has removed the hair and epidermis, he cleared the flesh side of the skin and has evened out the hide's thickness. Parchment prepared for writing is as a rule opaque and hygroscopic. These properties were to be removed or at least greatly mitigated through appropriate treatments. The methods to achieve the goal included longlasting soaking of the skin in urine, which additionally, thanks to containing urea, softened the parchment, following which soaking in vinegar was to effectively remove particles of calcium carbonate introduced into the parchment structure in the course of producing it. In the case of the discussed recipe the process of soaking and decalcifying of the skin is more laborious than in other recipes where usually clean water was used for the soaking and cleaning of the parchment surface, and optionally wine to remove calcium (*Liber illuministarum,* Bartl *et al.*, No. 408, p. 250).

The elastic and still wet skin was immediately stretched out on the window frame and attached to the wood with nails. When drying, the parchment shrank and straightened up. The recipe's author suggests some saturation of the skin with *bitumine* or *sumany melli*. Neither of the two terms is unequivocal. As for the first, it was most commonly used in the meaning of 'glue'. In the Cracow treatise the word has so far been used twice: for the first time in the meaning of animal glue (No. 27) and in the second meaning precisely as a solution of cherry gum (No. 29). However, examples of different recipes suggest that the use of the words *bitumine* or *bitumen* refers most often to glue obtained from hides (see: *Liber illuministarum*, Bartl *et al.*, No. 363, 364, p. 238; Clark, I. 38 p. 60). As for the other term: *sumany melli,* Maria Kowalczyk, who submitted the text of the treatise for printing, had doubts as for whether the word *sumany* had been correctly read and as for its meaning, which she marked by putting a question mark by it. As it seems, the meaning of this word is not to be found in Latin but Polish. Before being applied, honey should be cleared of the remains of wax and impurities through so-called *szumowanie* in Polish, meaning scumming. In old-Polish the word *szuminy* signified foam, while *szumowany* or *szymowany* referred to having been cleared of foam and impurities. Hence possibly the word *sumany* in the text, being the 15th-century form of the Polish *szumiony*. This thesis can be confirmed by another recipe to make parchment membranes for windows provided in the Bologna manuscript (Merrifield II, No. 214, p. 493). There, in a slightly different procedure, the honey used was *de mele spumato*, cleared through scumming.

55. Si vis scribere anulo, quod apparebit quasi aurum, recipe cinobrium et tere fortiter cum claro. Post hoc recipe pomicem et tere cum cinobrio simul et parum de vitello, ita quod plus de cinobrio quam pomice. Post hoc pone in pergameno et fac siccare. Et cum siccum fuerit, plana bene cum anulo aureo vel argenteo et apparebit aurealis vel argentealis etc.

If you want to write with a ring so that it looks like gold, take cinnabar and grind it thoroughly with glaire. Then take pumice, and grind it with cinnabar with a bit of yolk, taking more cinnabar than pumice. Then apply it to the parchment and leave to dry. When it has dried, smooth it carefully with a gold or silver ring, and it will look as if gilded with gold or silver. Etc.

In its core, the above recipe almost literally repeats the procedure described in recipe No. 17 in whose comment the specificity of the gilding/metallizing method was characterized. An almost identical recipe can be found in the manuscript, Call No. M. VIII, from the Library of the Prague Metropolitan Chapter (f. 45v), which has been quoted in extenso above, next to recipe No. 17. The same method is also tackled in recipes Nos. 34 and 43 contained in the Cracow treatise. As much as in all the known recipes there is mention of rubbing the prepared inscription or decoration with ‘metal’, here and in recipe No. 17 there is mention of a definite metal object: *anulo*. A ring being the material for obtaining colour is mentioned twice in the Prague manuscript (Call No. M. VIII, f. 45v, 56v) and in two recipes in the *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, Nos. 19, 337, pp. 66, 224).

56. Si vis scribere, ut fiat roseicus color, recipe albumen ovis et briselium et alumen. Et ista tria comisce simul et pone in ollam novam et mundam. Et sic dimitte stare tribus vel quatuor diebus sub terra. Et postea recipe et cola bene per pannum et cum eo scribe, quid vip. Et erit roseicus color. Probatum est. Etc.	If you want inscriptions to be pink, take egg white, brazil, and alum. Mix the three components, and put them into a new and clean pan. Place it in the ground for three or four days. Then take it out, strain it through a piece of cloth, and write what you want. The colour will be pink. It has been tested. Etc.

It is the fourth recipe speaking of preparing a dye from brazil through cold extraction. The recipe is original, though based on basic principles of preparing dyes in numerous treatises. In the discussed case the author emphasizes what colour can be obtained in such a way. However, the very colour’s name: *roseicus* does not fit the Latin grammar rules, neither is it found in any of the known recipes. The usual word used to describe pink is *rŏsĕus* (Le Bègue *Tabula de vocabulis sinonimis et equivocis colorum* – Merrifeld I, p. 34; Thompson 1926, p. 284). The recipe to produce pink colour with brazil, albumen, and alum as its base can be found in the manuscript *Secretum philosophorum* (Clark, p. 55) or in the *Liber de coloribus illuminatorum* (Thompson 1926, p. 284). Most frequently, however, in order to obtain pink it was recommended to mix red with white, e.g., minium with ceruse (Thorndike 1960, p. 59, 68; Clark, p. 55).

In the known recipes we have not come across the method of placing the dish with the prepared dye in soil. A similar method was applied only in the case of long-lasting preparation of green, called Spanish green (Petrus de P. Audemaro – Merrifield I, p. 127) or Greek green (Thompson 1926, p. 294) in the winter period, or when preparing 'lazurium' in the treatise *Illuminaciones et temperature colorum* by Johann Boloniensis (Thorndike 1959, p. 18). There is no practical justification for doing so. It is not accounted for either by the necessity to maintain stable temperature or absolute darkness. Contrariwise, in some recipes the mixture of glaire with wood filings was purposefully exposed to light (Silvestre, p. 124).

57. Si vis aurum madidum supponere, recipe albumen ovi et bene distempera. Post hoc recipe crocum et post et clarum et exprime et appone cretam. Bene autem omnia simul tere, ita quod satis spissum fiat. Et scribe cum eo. Aurum vero | desuper pone. Cum bene siccum fuerit, tunc eciam bene debes polluere cum dente valde bene. Et sic permanebit pulcrum et durabile. Etc.	If you want to apply gold on wet surface, take egg white, and mix it well. Then take saffron, mix it with glaire, press out, and add chalk. Grind everything thoroughly for it to be quite thick. And write with it. Apply gold on top. After it dries, smooth it well with a tooth. Thanks to this it will stay beautiful and durable. Etc.

It is the second recipe (after No. 25) to make yellow gilding ground. The recipe is similar to No. 48 where gold was applied to thickened glaire, without tinting additives. Although it was not clearly specified, the saffron should be initially soaked in the beaten white of egg. Following this, after having pressed it through a densely-woven cloth, chalk was added and all was thoroughly ground on the slab, to obtain a mixture whose consistency would allow to write with a pen. Gold was applied to the still moist ground, and after it had dried, it was thoroughly polished with an animal tooth. A similar 'wet' gilding procedure is provided in Petrus de P. Audemaro's treatise *De coloribus faciendis* (Merrifield I, No. 192, pp. 154–155). Audemaro, however, recommended tinting glaire with brazil and apply the gilding to the still wet ground without chalk. Other known 'De madido asse' recipes on the basis of water binders with some saffron added (*Liber illuministarum* – Bartl *et al.*, No. 8, p. 58; No. 194, p. 150) or oil-based ones (Munich, BSB, Clm 20174, f. 197v-198r), however, differ from the Cracow wording. Meanwhile, a similar recipe is contained in the manuscript from the Library of the Prague Metropolitan Chapter, mentioned above on many occasions (Call No, M. VIII, f. 45v), which reads as follows: *Si vis aurum madidum apponere, accipe albumen ovi et bene distempera. Et crocum pone ad clarum tunc exprime et appone cridam. Bene omnia trita et appone modicum de czukaro, ita quod satis spissum fit. Et fit scribe cum eo. Et aurum desuper in mome[n]to appone et noli nimis aurum exponere. Postquam siccatum fuerit dente bene planabitur.*

58. Glaucus color sic est temperandup. Recipe auripigmentum et tere fortiter cum aqua et fac exsiccari. Et cum bene siccum fuerit, pone in cornu et tunc accipe crocum et desuper funde clarum. Et sic de ilio liquore temperato scribe. Etc.	Tawny/yellow colour is prepared in this way: take orpiment, thoroughly grind it with water, and leave aside to dry. When it has dried well, put it into a horn, add saffron, and pour glaire on top. And write with the liquid prepared in this way. Etc.

This recipe undoubtedly speaks of preparing yellow, which dispels all the doubts as for understanding the word *glaucus* in numerous mediaeval recipes (see No. 6). The author uses here yellow orpiment, and boosts its colour adding saffron to glaire. This is the same understanding of the term *glaucus* as that shown by the author of the mid-13th century's *Liber colorum secundum magistrum Bernardum quomodo debent distemperari et temperari et confici*, where in the recipe concerning preparation of green he recommended adding *glaucum illud quod dicitur auripigmentum* (Travaglio 2008, p. 131). The colour defined as *glaucus* was most frequently made from chalk with added saffron and a bit of egg yolk ground on a white of egg binder (Praha, NK ČR, Cod. XIV H 16, f. 21v; Munich, BSB, Cgm 824, f. 13r). An almost identical recipe can be found in manuscript M. VIII from the Prague Library: (f. 46r) : *Glaucus color sic temperatur. Recipe auripigmentum et tere fortiter cum aqua et fac exsiccari. Tere in lapide et cum exsiccatum fuit, pone in cornu et tunc accipe crocum et desuper funde clarum. Et cum illo liquore distempera.*

59. De cinobrio temperando. Recipe cinobrium et pone super lapidem et tere cum claro tam diu, donec clarum per omnia exsiccatur. Et iterum denuo teratur cum claro, in quo crocus per noctem iacuit, tamdiu donec iterum exsiccatur. Et caveas ne aqua demisceatur. Etc.	On preparing cinnabar. Take cinnabar, put it on the slab, and grind it with glaire until the glaire dries. Grind it again, this time with the glaire saffron soaked in, also until it dries. Refrain from adding water. Etc.

Although the author of this concise recipe does not say anything about the purpose of such prepared paint, it has to be supposed that it is cinnabar meant to paint initials rather than for writing. Grinding the pigment twice with glaire is recommended by the author of the *De arte illuminandi* when speaking of preparing paint for painting initials with a brush in the recipe ‘Ad faciendum corpora licterarum de cinobro’ (Lecoy de la Marche, pp. 34–35). The drying of the paint after the second grinding with some egg white permitted storing it for long. In order to prepare cinnabar produced in such a way, it had to be ground with glare once again, avoiding adding water. In fact, the paint prepared in such a way has more binding than when ground only once, which boosts its lustre, however, also increasing brittleness of the paint coat. In order to avoid brittleness it was usual to add a plasticiser to the paint: honey or earwax, the author of the discussed recipe not mentioning it, however (Thompson, Hamilton, pp. 56–57).

Although adding a yellow dye in the form of saffron was not a standard procedure when preparing cinnabar, some recipes where it is used can nevertheless be found. The Bologna manuscript recommends the use of cinnabar rinsed with lye with albumen tinted with saffron added (Merrifield II, No. 224, p. 500). The adding of saffron when grinding the pigment is also mentioned in the Strasbourg recipe ('Wiltu zinober tempereren ze florirende' – Berger, No. 5, p. 154). The way to prepare egg white with some saffron added is also described in the treatise *De Clarea* (Baroni 2016b, p. 308). Adding saffron to ground cinnabar with red wine is recommended much later also by Jakub Haur (Haur, p. 362). We come across the discussed recipe in manuscript M. VIII from the Library of the Prague Metropolitan Chapter, which, importantly, in both manuscripts follows the recipe 'Glaucus color sic est temperandus': *Recipe cinobrium et pone super lapidem et tere cum claro tam diu donec clarum per omnia exsiccatur. Et iterum denuo teratur cum claro tamdiu donec iterum exsiccatur et tunc denuo teratur cum claro in quo crocus per noctem iacuit, tamdiu donec iterum exsiccatur. In lapide denuo imponatur tertia para vitelli ovi et apponantur ad cynobrium et teratur diu donec iterum exsiccatur. Et caveas ne aqua admissecatur quia uquam colorem denigrat*. However, although the initial sentences sound identical, in the Cracow manuscript the recipe is simplified. Here the pigment is dried twice, while four times in the version contained in the Prague manuscript; additionally, at the final stage of the process egg yolk is added, serving, as explained above, as a plasticiser. It is not, however, certain whether the Cracow manuscript omitted a part of the procedure, or it may have been the Prague scribe who erroneously added the phrase: 'tamdiu donec iterum exsiccatur'.

60. Cinobrium est res mollis et fit ex sulphure et mercurio. Recipe mercurii 2 partes et terciam partem sulphurip. Hec tere simul cum aqua et pone in	Vermilion is a brittle material made from sulphur and mercury. Take two parts of mercury and one part of sulphur. Grind it together with

vas vitreum angustum, habens collum. Et ipsum cum argilla obstrue exterius ad spissitudinem unius digiti. Et desicatum pone super tripedem et obstrue vap. Et da ignem lentum fere per medium diem. Postea vigora ignem magis et sic assa per integrum diem, donec videas superius rubeum exire, et tunc permitte infrigidari. Et frange vas et invenies cinobrium bonum. Etc.

water, and place in a glass vessel with a neck. On the outside cover it with finger-thick coat of clay. When it has dried, place it on a tripod, cover from the top and start a light fire under it for half a day. Then increase the fire and roast it for a whole day until you see reddish smoke appear. Lead it to cool. Break the dish, and you will find good vermilion. Etc.

It is the only recipe in the treatise to make vermilion, an artificial variety of cinnabar, from the basic ingredients: mercury and sulphur. Called *vermiculum* in the *Mappae Clavicula*, vermilion was one of the major pigments in the palette of not only an illuminator, but also a basic material for a rubricator and a scribe making red initials. That is why it takes a prominent position in all the collections of paint recipes, while sublimation of mercury and sulphur ranked among the basic training exercises of alchemists. In the recipe two parts of mercury were combined with one part of sulphur, and ground with some water added. The mixture was placed in a glass vessel with a narrow neck, subsequently coated with a thick layer of clay. After the protective clay coating had dried, the vessel was placed over fire, and heated for two days, with the fire temperature increased on the second. The herald of the finalization of the process of making vermilion was the appearance of red fumes in the dish. The pigment was reached after breaking the glass vessel. The proportions quoted in the discussed recipe: two parts of mercury and one of sulphur are the most frequently pointed to in 14th-century technological recipes (Kroustallis, Galán, p. 24). In later periods reverse proportions appeared: 1:2 mercury to sulphur. In both cases they are proportions with respect to the volume. Stoichiometric analysis, however, points to the fact that the appropriate proportions in order to obtain vermilion are as follows: 1 weight portion of sulphur with 6.2 parts of mercury (Kroustallis, Galán, p. 25). Actually, in both versions the proportions are disturbed, with excessive sulphur involved, which escapes in the course of the mixture's heating, or is rinsed away when the pigment is cleansed. In the discussed recipe the ingredients are initially mixed and ground with some water. The added water facilitated the grinding of the ingredients, in whose course black metacinnabar was created. The additional rinsing with water of the mixture could remove excessive free sulphur. One of the recipes contained in the *Liber Illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, No. 335, p. 222) gives a more detailed description of the procedures in which, prior to any further steps, water was evaporated from the mixture of the ingredients ground in this way.

In the Middle Ages, two methods of producing vermilion were practiced. In the first, the older one as it seems, the ingredients were mixed in a dish later heated in order to obtain the pigment. The second method, also embracing the Cracow recipe, was conducted in two stages: initially, metacinnabar was obtained through grinding the ingredients at room temperature, following which the black semiproduct was placed in a glass vessel, in which the appropriate synthesis occurred at high temperature.

In harmony with the recipe, a glass vessel, most likely narrowing towards the top, with a long neck, was coated with clay in a finger-thick layer. Such-shaped vessel could facilitate the reaction, and at the same time prevent evaporation of mercury and sulphur. The layer of clay secured an even spread of temperature on the vessel's surface which levelled differences in glass tensions, preventing its breaking (Kroustallis, Galán, p. 27). Although in the discussed recipe there is only mention of covering the neck's outlet, the vessel was generally sealed with a mixture of clay with horse dung, called *lutum sapience* in alchemical terminology (see No. 21).

A recipe of a very similar linguistic structure can be found in the manuscript Call No. Cgm 824 from the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (f. 12v). Apart from the first sentence and some minor differences both texts are almost identical: *Item cynobrium sic fit rec-*

ipe mercurium duas partes et sulfur tertiam partem hec tria contere simul cum aqua et pone in vas vitreum angustum habens collum et ipsum cum argilla exterius vndique circunda ad spissitudinem vnius digiti et desiccatum pone super tripedum et obstrue ab vase et da ei ignem lentem fere per medium diem postea maiorem ignem et sic assa per integrum diem donec videbis fumum rubeum tunc infrigidare permitte et frange vas et invenies cynobrum. A similar formula was also contained in the collection *Illuminaciones et temperature colorum* compiled by Johann Boloniensis (Copenhagen, KB.DK, Call No. Gl.kg1.S.165 – Thorndike 1959, p. 18). All the texts are likely to have come from the same, at least 14th-century, source text.

61. Item lazurium sic fit. Recipe duas partes mercurii et tres partes sulphuris et tres partes salis armoniaci. Et contere simul, ut docui de cinobrio, et pone in vase vitreo et assa per omnia, ut cinobrium. Et cum fumum videbis exire flaveum, tunc satis est. Et mitte infrigidari. Et cum infrigidatum fuerit, invenies nobilem lazurium et tunc contere in lapide in pulverem sine aqua etc.	Azure is also created in this way. Take two parts of mercury, three parts of sulphur, three parts of sal ammoniac, and grind those together like in the recipe to obtain vermilion. Put it all into a glass vessel and roast precisely like vermilion. And when you see yellow [blue] smoke released, it means that it has been roasted sufficiently. Then cool it. And when it is cooled, you will obtain excellent azure. Grind it on the slab without water. Etc.

The compound of mercury with sulphur is the basis for producing vermilion with some tin, meaning mosaic gold. In this recipe mention is of another compound, this time with sal ammoniac, namely ammonium chloride. The process occurred similarly as in producing vermilion, the fact the author mentions in the previous recipe. The ingredients ground together with some water added (this mentioned in recipe No. 60) were heated in a glass flask until blue smoke appeared, which testified to the completion of the process of pigment creation. Here, however, the smoke's colour was erroneously defined as *flaveum* and not *blavum*, or less correctly *blaveum*.

Recipes to produce blue based on the combination of mercury, sulphur, and sal ammoniac are found in technological-artistic recipes in Italy (Bologna manuscript - Merrifield II, No. 30, pp. 386-387), where in the 18th century artificial blue produced in this way was called Venetian azure (Merrifield I, p. CCX). Similar recipes were also included in German sources, e.g., in the *Liber Illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, No. 325 and 908) and in the manuscript containing the set of recipes from ca 1400 (Munich, BSB, Cgm 824, f, 12v). The latter manuscript contains two recipes to prepare that pigment, of which at least one, the one quoted below, may have come from the same source as the Cracow recipe, possibly an earlier manuscript: *Lasurium sic fit accipe duas partes mercuri et terciam sulfuris et 4tam salis armoniaci et contere et pone in vase vitreo et assa per omnia et cum fumum mittes exire flaueum tunc satis est et cum vas infrigidatum fuerit in venies nobilem lasurium et contere in lapidem et puluerem sine aqua Si lasurium sit pendolum Ita quod non vult de penna exire Recipe sal armoniacum et pone cornu vbi est lasurium ad quantitatem pise et moueas simul valet bene tunc in scribendo.*

However, despite the presence of numerous analogical phrases and clear repetitions of whole word sequences, in both recipes there is a visible difference in the proportions of the ingredients used to make the pigment. Such differences may testify to the popularity of similar recipes and their frequent copying at the time, enriched with factual modifications while keeping also the general scheme of the record.

Despite the fact that this recipe to obtain azure is present in many technological-artistic collections, from the chemical point of view the combination of the ingredients under the discussed circumstances does not give a blue pigment. The success the recipe enjoyed in various regions of Europe despite its practical uselessness can suggest a strong influence of alchemical practices in the process of creating coloured substances used in fine arts. (Bartl *et al.*, p. 541). In the course of the described process black mercury sulphide in the form of metacinnabar (HgS) is created; described as *fumum flaveum* [*blaveum*], it forms a deposit on the walls of the glass flask, which could have a certain blue shine. One of the recipes to produce this pigment in the *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, No. 325, p. 217) compares its colour to ultramarine. Metacinnabar occurring in nature as a mineral is also created in natural cinnabar in the course of processes catalysed by contaminating alkali metals and under the influence of the visible spectrum (*The Pigment Compendium*, p. 266).

62. Ad temperandum lazurium tere cum aqua simplici munda. Et cum bene tritum fuerit, congrega super astulam et permitte bene exsiccare. Et cum bene siccum fuerit, pone in cornu stanneum vel bovinum et desuper funde temperatum clarum apponens modicum de minio vel vitello ovi etc.	In order to prepare azure simply grind it with clean water. When it is thoroughly ground, collect it on a slat, and put aside for it to dry. When it is dried, put it into a tin horn or oxhorn, pouring over prepared glaire with a drop of minium and egg yolk, etc.

This recipe, similarly as Nos. 3 and 20, concerns preparing paint from azurite. The pigment was thoroughly ground with clean water added, and then dried. The dried pigment was mixed in the horn with egg white with little yolk and minium added. What is interesting in the recipe is the use of tin horn or oxhorn as a dish for the paint. According to the anonymous author of the *Liber de coloribus illuminatorum siue pictorum* what mattered was the kind of metal of which the dish for the paint from azurite was made: *Azorium bonum molitur cum aqua, et postea ponitur in cornu argenteo. Talis, enim, nature est ut argentum uelit. Si non habes argenteum, quere stagneum et in illo pone* (Thompson 1926, p. 282). Interestingly, in the manuscript Call No. M. VIII from the Prague Chapter (f. 50v) we find an almost identically formulated recipe, but related to preparing vermilion: *Cynobrium quomodo temperabip*. In that recipe the following phrase is found: *pone in cornu stanneum vel bovinum*. Therefore, did the kind of metal of which the dish was made matter for the process of preparing and using a definite paint? It seems that the selection of material for the dish is quite accidental, related more to the workshop tradition, or was a mere coincidence. A natural dish for paints and writing liquids used for manuscript making was an animal horn. In the Cracow treatise a horn is the dish for paints in 19 recipes; in one recipe only (No. 14) lead horn is mentioned, and in the discussed recipe tin one is. In treatises there is rare mention of the material for making an ink horn: a glass horn is specified in the recipe to prepare glaire for vermilion in the *De arte illuminandi* (Lecoy de la Marche, Nos. 23, 32, pp. 31, 38); tin horn in specified in the preparation of writing gold in the *Libper illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, No. 12, pp. 60–62), where there is also mention of a copper horn which served to store verdigris green (Bartl *et al.*, No. 51, pp. 82–85), while a lead horn is used in the recipe for gold for writing in the Italian *Tractatus aliquorum colorum* (Travaglio 2016, No. 15, p. 252). However, it continues unresolved whether the above was an intentional use of a dish made of a definite material, stemming from the author's knowledge and experience, or whether it simply resulted from what a given workshop was equipped with.

As mentioned above, owing to the coarseness of azurite, it requires a sufficiently strong and elastic binder. In recipe No. 20 the binder was gum arabic with some honey, here it is glaire with a bit of egg yolk. Being a natural water and oil emulsion, yolk strengthened the binder, adding elasticity to the paint layer. The additive in the form of minium, similarly as of brazil in recipe No. 20, was to alter the colour towards purple.

63. Briselium sic fit. Recipe cimentum et impone in ollam novam et desuper funde aquam mundam et fac stare per tres dies, donec statim fiat pura aqua et tunc effunde in ollam novam et mundam et appone lac pulcherime mulieris, capiens	Brazil is prepared in the following way. Take lime, put it in a pan, pour clean water on top, and leave it for three days until the water clarifies, then pour it to a new pan, and add milk that came from the breast of a beautiful

eam per mamillam. Et exprime et decoque, postea sume cretam bene tritam et appone lac de lapide calamitaris bene trito. Postea pone in vas purum et superfunde briselium et tere firmiter donec spumescet ampliup. Tunc infunde in lapidem, qui dicitur creta.

woman. Then strain it and boil. Take thoroughly ground chalk and add a suspension of a well-ground calamine stone. Subsequently, put it into a clean dish, pour over brazilwood and mix strongly until it foams. Finally, pour it onto stone which is called chalk.

Although it is not clearly specified, it can be deduced from the context that similarly as in recipe No. 7, *cimentum* has to be understood as quicklime. The recipe speaks about obtaining the dye in the course of a hot extraction of brazilwood in lime lye. In this way an opaque paint defined by the author of the *De arte iliuminandi* as *rosecta corporea* (Lecoy de la Marche, p. 17) was obtained. However, as distinct from recipe No. 7, instead of glaire, the additive used was breast milk, while after boiling, instead of alum, ground chalk and calamine *lapis calaminaris*, erroneously written down here as *calamitaris*, were added. All was mixed with shavings of brazilwood and ground on the slab. When being ground, the wood particles lost colour, while the dye was deposited on calcium and zinc compounds. The obtained mixture was then poured onto the surface of a limestone slab, where it was dried. Such a procedure is typical of obtaining lakes, since the absorbent chalk surface allowed to strain the water solution, leaving only solid particles on the surface. In this case it was not only pure lake that was obtained, but its mixture with wood cellulose and tinted chalk. The procedure is not clear, and it did not guarantee obtaining the correctly created material for painting. The reconstruction of the recipe conducted by the author allowed to obtain a whitened claret covering pigment.

Calamine is a mixture of tin compounds, mainly carbonates and silicates with other additives, including iron ore tinting the mineral reddish. In the Middle Ages, it was often present in pharmaceutical and alchemical writings also as *cadmia* (Bartl *et al.*, p. 695).

The mineral was used in metallurgy, mainly in brass production, but in glass making as well (*Theophil*, LXIII, p. 306, LXVI, p. 310), or when purifying silver or gold, whose recipes can be found in the *Mappae Clavicula* (IX, p. 195). In the known artistic and technological sources we do not find recipes with the use of this mineral, actually not just to prepare brazil, but also other dyes and pigments.

The recipe is of a particularly alchemical character. This can be seen not only in the use of calamine, but also of mother's milk. The latter additive is known from the recipe to prepare azurite in the treatise of Petrus de P. Audemaro (Merrifield I, p. 135) and two recipes to prepare burning arrows contained in the *Mappae Clavicula* (ed. T. Phillipps, Nos. CCLXVI and CCLXVIIII, p. 57). Interestingly, Ernst Berger (Berger, p. 139, footnote 2) was critical of the translation of Audemaro's treatise by Marie Ph. Merrifield opting for the adjective from the noun mule (*mulus*) instead of the word 'woman's – *mulieris*'. This approach would be understandable, since in treatises the adding of goat milk or milk of other domestic animals was recommended, e.g., in wall painting. The repetition in the *Liber de coloribus* connected with Audemaro's treatise (Thompson 1926, p. 300) does not solve the issue. Instead, the discussed recipe is unequivocal in this respect by putting the word *pulcherime* before *mulieris*.

64. Item hoc modo distempera briselium. Rade lignum dulciter et deleta rasura et ipsam rasuram in vasculum aliquid vel in cornu mundum plumbeum et infunde glaream [garram] novam et parum albi aluminip. Et mitte maturescere, donec optime coloratum fiat. Sed tamen quanto plus aluminis, tanto nigrior erit briselium et tenacior. Quanto minus, tanto rubicundius et minus tenax.

In the similar manner you can dissolve brazilwood. Scrape delicately the wood, and put whatever you scrape off into a dish or little horn, made of lead and clean. After that add fresh glaire and a bit of alum. Put it aside for it to mature, until it dyes nicely. The more alum you give, the darker and more durable brazil will be. The less of it you give, the redder and less durable it will be. You can use

Et de isto colore per tres dies debes temperare, quia nisi uno die vel duobus poterit durare. Quidam intingunt modicum cum lazurio et fit purpurea. Si vero album commisceris, erit roseaceus color pulchevrimup. Quidam in eum mittunt parum de albo et parum de creta et parum aluminis et erit sanguineup. Et si parum in eo verniculum misceris et erit briselium optimum pictoris parietis [?]. Tamen omnibus coloribus fere miscunt briselium etc. Sequitur.

such dye for three days, since it can last not just one or two days. There are some who mix some brazil with azurite, and crimson is then created. And if you add white, you will get beautiful pink. Some add little white to it, and little chalk, as well as some alum, and it will create blood-red. And if you mix some vermilion with it, the brazil will be excellent for a wall decorator. Because they add brazil to almost all colours. Etc. Further part below.

This is the third recipe speaking about preparing paint from brazilwood in a cold extraction in egg white, repeating the overall procedure contained in other recipe collections. Although it was written down without being separated from the previous recipe, and was not marked by the rubricator as another paragraph, it has to be treated separately , since it is a separate recipe, possibly coming from another source. An analogical formula can be found in the treatise *Illuminaciones et temperature colorum* compiled by Johann Boloniensis (Thorndike 1959, p. 19). However, on the linguistic level the latter recipe differs, which suggests its frequent re-editions. However, since all the most essential elements are present in both recipes, we should quote it at full length: *Item ad idem. Rade presilium, micte in cornu plumbeum. Infunde novam claretam, parum rubrici aluminise Micte maturescere donec optime coloratum sit; stet. Parum de alumine, eo splendidior color et levior. Si autem multum, eo nigrius et tenaciup. Parum distempera de isto, quia non datur nisi primo die vel secundo. Quidam cum eo tingunt modicum lazurii. Si autem album cum eo miscueris, erit pulcher color roseup. Si autem parum de albo, parum de croco, parum aluminis, et efit sanguineus color. Si in eo parum vermiculi* *miscueris, erit optimum brunium. Pictores periti cum omnibus fere miscent presilium.*

It is characteristic of several recipes contained in the treatise that the paint is kept in a lead horn, which suggests that it is prepared more for writing than for painting. Such a way is quoted in several treatises in the recipes evidently concentrated on adorning manuscripts. Apart from the above-quoted recipe we can find this element in the *Liber de coloribus illuminatorum sive pictorum* (Thompson 1926, pp. 282 300, 306), Theophilus's *Diversarum Artium Schedula* (*Theophil*, pp. 40, 410), in Heraclius (Marrifield I, p. 241), Alcherius (Marrifield I, p. 275), and in Petrus de P. Audemaro (Marrifield I, pp. 135, 143) in the recipes related to preparing red for rubrication, azurite, or gold for writing.

The author enumerates typical combinations with pigments: with azurite to create purple, with white (ceruse) in order to obtain pink, and with white, chalk, and alum to create 'blood-red'. The last composition gains such colour mainly thanks to alum and alkaline chalk, while ceruse only makes the colour lighter.

It remains uncertain what pigment is hidden under the name *verniculum*, or strictly speaking *vermiculum*. According to De Cange (Vol. 8, col. 282b) and also Merrifield (I, p. CLXXIV) such was the name of a red dye (lake) of the kind of kermes (*Kermes vermilio*). Preparation of the mixture of vermilion with the Kermes dye is described in the *Mappae claviculae* (Nos. 175, 176, p. 221), although the name *vermiculum* is used to denominate a colour, both for vermilion (*vermiculum cinnaberin*) and kermes (*vermiculum terrenum*). Meanwhile, in the treatise *De coloribus faciendis* by Petrus de P. Audemaro (Merrifield I, pp. 139–141) under the name *vermiculum* there is a recipe to make vermilion, namely artificial cinnabar. Similarly in Heraclius (Merrifield I, pp. 251–255), in the Bologna manuscript (Merrifield II, p. 449), in the *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, p. 92), or in the *Secretum philosophorum* from around 1300 (Clark, p. 55), there are resembling recipes. In the late Middle Ages, the word *vermiculum* defined more a definite colour, and not the type of pigment or dye, although more often it was applied to define artificial cinnabar whose colour resembles lake made with *kermes vermilio* (*The Pigment Compendium,* pp. 210–211). Importantly, however, all the additives in the recipe are pigments, therefore it has to be assumed that also in the case of this red we have to do with vermillion. The mixture of brazil with vermilion, depending on the proportions, yields a dark and deep shade. There is no mention of the usefulness of that combination for wall decoration in any of the known treatises. The use of brazil itself *in muro* is mentioned only by Heraclius (Merrifield I, p. 235). Recipe collections focused on miniature painting as a rule do not refer to murals, the only exception being the *Liber de coloribus* where the author speaks of ochre used by painters of murals (Thompson 1926, p. 284). In this case the scribe of the Cracow treatise erroneously wrote down the word *periti*, giving here an abbreviation, therefore the word could be read as *parietis*. Such a transcription can be found in Johann Boloniensis's treatise, which changes the sense of the sentence. Here we have to do not with *pictoris parietis* – 'wall painters', but *pictores periti*, namely 'experienced painters'.

Mentions of making shades in-between, and mixtures of white and azurite with the brazil dye can be found also in Theophilus (p. 415) and made by the author of the treatise *Liber de Coloribus Illuminatorum sine Pictorum* (Thompson 1926, pp. 282, 284), whose text fragment is also found in the 14th-century compendium of paintings from the library of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gdańsk (Czartoryski Library, no. 1501 III Rkps; see: Wyrozumski, pp. 663–671).

65. Item superfunde clarum post hec omnia. Sperge modicum de alumine et mitte per noctem stare, quousque spissum fiat. Tunc cola per pannum et sic operare cum eo, quid vip. Hoc probatum est.	Similarly pour in white of egg after all that. Crush some alum and leave for the night to thicken. Then strain through a piece of cloth, and do with it what you want. It has been tested.

This recipe tells us how to prepare a binder from ~~chicken~~ egg white: *clarum ovi* or *glarea ovi* for illumination purposes. The beginning of this brief text suggests that it is only a part of a recipe, and factually it could be connected with the previous one. However, the previous text speaks about colour shades of brazil, and contains no mention of preparing glaire for painting.

The recipe is relatively simple and laconic. Alum was added to the white separated from the yolk, and it was left for the night. On the following day the binder was filtered through a piece of cloth. This aimed to at least partially disrupt the fibrous structure of egg white.

Consistency was the usual challenge when a binder with the use of egg white was prepared. The common recommendation was to beat it with various tools which destroyed the ovomucin (Heraclius – Merrifield I, p. 233, XXXI. [284]). This stage of binder's preparation was particularly pointed to by the author of the treatise *De clarea* (Baroni 2016b, pp. 305–306). The more effectively the white was beaten, the more homogenous the binder was. Breaking down the egg white structure with the use of a sponge or a piece of cloth was regarded as not very effective, owing to which the binder was not sufficiently homogenous, and made writing or painting with the paint with such a binder difficult (Bartl *et al.*, p. 575). Another method for breaking down the fibrous structure of the egg white was through putrefaction for several days. However, the second method applied in gilding techniques weakened the binder's adhesion and reduced the elasticity of the adhesive layer.

In the discussed recipe the additive of alum is recommended, possibly as a means preventing binding's deterioration. We come across no other recipes adding alum to albumen. In the treatise such a binding aged for three days was used to prepare a dye from brazilwood (No. 8) where alum was also added, but mainly to obtain the dye's appropriate colour. Most recipes speak about preparing a binding without additives, and only rarely with some antiseptics, such as realgar, camphor, or cloves (Lecoy de la Marche, p. 25).

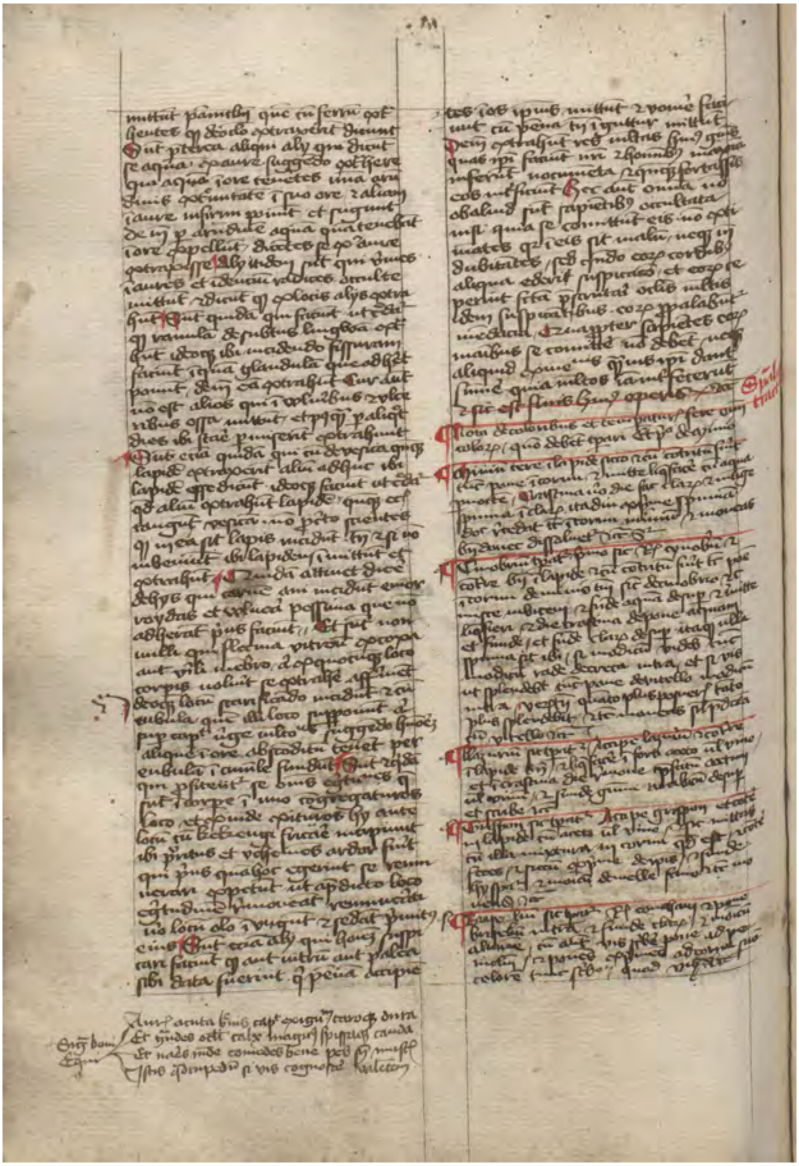

FIG. 7. Folio 174v, beginning of treaty, hand-written at BJ 778 III of the Jagellonian Library. Source: https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/publication/167666/edition/159341/content (2024.11.19)

Et sic est finis huius artis videlicet de omnibus coloribus. Et quis scite perficere secundum hec notata, procedat sine rubore, quia in omnibus particulis est iam probatus.

Here the treatise on all colours ends. And whatever you do precisely according to these recipes, do it without fear, for they have been tested in all detail.

Conclusion

A detailed analysis of the recipes contained in the treatise, its structure, and used terminology in the context of other sources of the technology of miniature painting in the late Middle Ages allows us to thoroughly assess the genuine character and factual content of the work. Not only does it permit to underline the outstanding importance of the text within the Polish context, but also to define the directions of cultural and artistic influences, as well as the context of its creation.

In a brief introduction to the first publication of this source Maria Kowalczyk states that the text was most likely edited in Poland, possibly in Cracow, this testified to by many Polish words which can be found in it (Kowalczyk 1977, p. 166). We should agree with such a conclusion, but at the same time it is hard to admit that the treatise was purposefully and finally edited in compliance with the principles applicable to such technological texts. As a rule, in painting treatises recipes were grouped depending on colours or kinds of the pigments used, with a separate group being formed with those concerning gilding and other issues. Such a logical arrangement can be found not only in the major technological treatises such as the *Mappae clavicula*, *Diversarum artium schedula* by Theophilus, Cennini's *Trattato Della pittura*, *De coloribus et artibus Romanorum* by Heraclius, *De coloribus diversis* by Alcherius, *De coloribus faciendis* by Petrus de P. Audemaro, or the anonymous *De arte illuminandi*, and also in numerous minor works. Meanwhile, no such rule is present in the Cracow treatise, while it reveals a somewhat unclear though visible division into three groups of recipes. The first one (Nos. 1-22) contains recipes speaking of preparing the basic pigments and dyes provided chaotically, in which recipes related to minium, cinnabar, azure, verdigris, and brazil are found at different spots. The second group (Nos, 23-48) encompasses mainly recipes concerning gilding techniques. Here, too, lack of a logical arrangement can be found, this additionally undermined with interjections in the form of recipes concerning preparation of some pigments or soap. The last third group (Nos. 49-66) seems the least ordered, containing again recipes speaking of preparing paints (brazil, orpiment, azure) as well as gilding, or preparing egg white. Importantly, in the first three recipes of the group, concerning plant dyes, there are Polish glosses pointing at least to the local reception and provenance of the recipes. The vernacular provenance of this group of recipes can also be seen in the word ‘sumany’, to-date unrecorded in literature, present in recipe No. 54 speaking about the preparation of window parchment membranes.

The disorderly arrangement of the treatise may suggest a gradual adding subsequent recipes obtained from various sources and on different occasions. Such a compilation may have been created for a longer time until its author decided the set was sufficiently representative, fairly exhaustive, and closed to be written down in a codex. However, lack of any edition, ordering of the content, and material selection is excessively visible, since it contains the cosmetic recipe speaking about a lily root preparation whose presence in such a work is entirely groundless. It, however, testifies to the author of the compilation who may have had something more in common with medicine than book decoration. Furthermore, following Maria Kowalczyk, it seems justified, to associate the treatise with the interest John of Dobra showed in the art of book, all the more so since she has found single recipes related to book painting in another of his manuscripts at the Jagiellonian Library, Call No. BJ 849 (Kowalczyk 1977, p. 166).

Apart from the above remarks, let us also point to relatively frequent strikethroughs and errors in the text, which, however, indicates more the character of the sources from which the treatise was copied than the carelessness or negligence of the scribe: in other texts contained in the manuscript there are not as many of them, this suggesting that the source from which the text was copied must have been challenging for the scribe, e.g., showing little legibility. Such a source may have been in the form of loose or working notes, and not carefully copied in another codex. Naturally, the chaotic arrangement does not suggest that the treatise was a genuine work existing in a single copy only. Equally likely, it may have been copied from another manuscript as a text circulating within the Cracow circles.

The set of pigments and dyes included in the treatise is relatively scarce. It lacks many recipes telling readers how to prepare numerous pigments usually applied in miniature painting, and as a rule present in most of such compilations. The treatise lacks recipes for basic whites, black, indigo, ultramarine, green earth, or brown and yellow earth pigments. The relatively limited set of pigments and dyes presented in the treatise may to a great degree account for the specificity and professional profile of its addressee, e.g., a scribe painting initials or making a modest decoration of manuscripts. An equally symptomatic factor in the discussed set is the lack of expensive and not readily available pigments. Furthermore, the pigment names are not very precise, this visible in the lack of the differentiation of the kinds of copper greens or mineral blues. Such names for green as *viride hispanicum* or *viride grecum,* or blues defined as *azurium ultramarinum*, *lazurium montanum*, or *azurium de Alemania* are to be found not only in the largest treatises, but also in smaller collections of painting recipes. What is more, some names given in the Cracow source are erroneous, as was the case with mosaic gold or purpurin, defined here as orpiment. Such simplifications and errors generally do not happen in 'professional' treatises.

The terminology used in the treatise is noteworthy; it may be pointing to the direction of cultural influences affecting the author of the compilation. As emphasized by Maria Kowalczyk in her edition of the text, the treatise's language is clumsy, and the spelling incorrect (Kowalczyk 1977, p. 166). In this context some more striking examples can be pointed to: they partially result from the author's ineptness to describe untypical procedures, and partially from the terminology consolidated in the technological tradition. Some colour names are given ungrammatically, e.g.: *flaveum* (correctly *flavus*), *brunaticum* (correctly *brunum*), or *roseicus* instead of *roseus.* This, however, not being something exceptional at that time, since, as it is known, many similar sets of recipes were written down in inept and simplified Latin, while within the area of the impact of German also transcriptions combining the two languages were frequent. However, there are no names in the text which would unequivocally testify to the direction of technical influences. Apart from the name *grispon* given to verdigris there are no traces of the language and terminology of German origin in the compilation. In this case, the name may have been a linguistic borrowing widely used in Poland. What is more, the given word in this original transcription is not present in any known treatise either in Germany or any other country. It also seems that the word in this form, in the context of a painting pigment, did not come to Cracow from Bohemia where the most commonly found description in the sources is *viride hyspanicum*. Furthermore, what strikes is also the word *briselium*, which has nothing in common with the impact of the German cultural environment visible in Bohemia where, as a rule in various Latin and German versions, the transcription changed the initial letter 'b' to 'p'. The *briselium* variant of the word used in the treatise is unique and not present in other sources.

Another name remaining outside the main impact of the terminology from the German circles is that serving to define ceruse as *cerusa*, present in the Cracow treatise only twice (Nos. 22, 35). This Latin name in the Latin texts in Germany and Bohemia was in the 15th century most frequently replaced with the German *bleyweis* or *playweys*.

Moreover, let us point to a subsequent interesting fact in the context of a cultural or terminological impact, namely the word *fundamentum* used in the meaning of undercoat or gilding ground in recipes Nos. 25, 27, 32, 33, and 35. A review of sources shows that this term appears exclusively in German ones. In the remaining texts the words more commonly used are *assis* (*assisa*) or *scisa*.

Furthermore, the name of the blue pigment: *lazurium* used in the treatise to a certain degree also points to the northern cultural and linguistic sphere in which recipes for this pigment were created. The analysis of treatises created or copied in various regions of Europe points to the tendency to use two various versions of the name. When in southern countries the term *azurium* tends to be more frequent, in northern and central Europe: in Germany, Austria, Bohemia, and Poland, what dominates is the name *lazurium*. In France or the Netherlands the names may have alternated, as can be judged from the definition contained in Jehan le Bégue's *Tabula de vocabulis sinonimis et equivocis colorum*: *Azurium vel lazurium est color; aliter celestis vel celestinus, aliter blauccus, aliter persus, et aliter ethereus dicitur* (Merrifeld I, p. 18). The remaining names of pigments and dyes: *minium, cinobrium, vermiculum* (written as *vernicu-lum*), or *crocus* are in harmony with the terms used across whole Europe.

As a result of the analysis of numerous technological texts created at various places in Europe, it can be concluded that some Latin names or terms were more popular with or characteristic of given regions and traditions. In the Cracow treatise several other Latin terms were used; these refered to materials or auxiliary means used for paint preparation, one of them being quicklime, in the treatise defined as *cimentum inextinctum* (No. 7) or *creta combusta* (No. 33). As much as the first one is not really found in painting recipes, the second comes only in the Munich *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*), while the term widely used in treatises is *calx viva*. Similarly, the Latin name for lye (correctly: *lixivium*), most likely owing to the copyist's error written in the treatise as *lixinium* (No. 45), is present in the afore-mentioned Czech manuscript (Praha, NK ČR, Cod. XIV. H. 16) and the frequently-quoted *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl, pp.709, 789). An interesting factor worth pointing to is the untypical additive in the form of mother's milk, present most commonly in magic and alchemical recipes. The *Lac pulcherime mulieris* (No. 63) is, interestingly, absent in German sources, but mentioned in French treatises, such as the *Liber de coloribus illuminatorum siue pictorum* or the treatise by Petrus de P. Audemaro (Thompson 1926, p. 300; Merrifield I, p. 135).

The Cracow treatise provides a whole set of binders used on various occasions. Generally, the terms used here are widely applied throughout Europe, and they include the basic binders: *gummi arabico*, *claro ovi*, *albugine*, *vitello*, *bitumen*, *bitumen pargameni*, or *bitumine cerusarum*. The term *bitumen* (as distinct from *bitumine*), signifying 'glue' in general, is found in the Anglo-Latin collection of recipes contained in the manuscript *Secretum philosophorum* from the University of Glasgow Library, Call No. MS Hunterian 110, (Clark, p. 60), yet also in numerous recipes in the *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*). Interestingly, however, next to the sour cherry gum: *de bitumine cerusarum* mentioned in the collection (No, 29) another name was added in parentheses: *merusarum*, the name found only in the *Liber illuministarum* (Bartl *et al.*, p. 430, Nos. 472–474) in recipes for preserves made from sour cherries. Similarly, two other ingredients: lamb liver bile *iecur agni* (No. 36) used for writing in gold colour (München, BSB, Cgm. 824, f. 57r) and juice of forest apples: *pomum silvestre* (No. 31) applied to dissolve gold, have their equivalents only in German and Czech sources.

In the context of gilding technique let us focus on the tools mentioned in the recipes, and meant to polish the gilt. In 11 recipes animal teeth are recommended as burnishers. Among them the following are mentioned: pig tooth (No. 30), horse tooth (No. 46), and wolf tooth (Nos. 44, 47). Although Maria Kowalczyk suggests the connection of the use of animal teeth for the purpose with magic practices, it is more likely that the variation of the teeth results more from various technical traditions the recipes came from (Kowalczyk 2000, p. 272). In consistently and homogenously edited treatises for painting the tendency to apply the same tools and methods is visible.

All the examples of the terminology applied in the treatise locate the Cracow text within the influences coming from south-eastern Poland. In the context of that impact it is the recipes to make *griseum fundamentum*, namely grey ground for gilding on parchment, which are symptomatic, and which seem to be characteristic of the territory of Germany, Austria, and East-Central European countries. Among six recipes to make such ground in two (Nos. 29, 30) it was recommended to use black from burnt linden tree typical of the moderate climate of Central Europe.

At that time all pigments were ground on a grinding slab (the underneath stone) with the use of a muller, namely the upper stone, made of hard material, such as porphyry or marble. That is why in many recipes in the treatise the phrase *tere in lapide* was translated as 'grind on the slab' (and not in a mortar), in harmony with the Old-Czech inscription from that period: *nakameni trzy* found in one of the recipes from the manuscript of the Library of the Prague Metropolitan Chapter (M. VIII, f. 52v).

Apart from numerous recipes which can be found in collections from the period in an identical or similar wording, some may have been genuine, and if not, they must have been edited in the Polish environment, They are the recipes containing Polish glosses: *popyolu brzostowego* (No. 45), *czirnicze* (No. 49), *yezyni* (No. 50), *psye yagodi*, *wiszmy*, and *crussina* (words in No. 51) as well as *sumany* (No. 54) in their Latin form. Furthermore, recipe No. 32, containing the Latinized word *czucrum,* can be ranked among this group. The latter name is also present in Czech sources, taking on the form: *czukercandi* (Praha, NK ČR, Cod. XIV H 16, f. 21v) or *czukaro* (Praha, Library of the Metropolitan Chapter, Call No. M. VIII, f. 45v). According to Maria Kowalczyk, the presence of numerous Polish names of plants and simple medicines as the glosses in the afore-mentioned treatise of *Onomasticon de simplicibus* by Gelasius of St Sophia, written down in the same codex, testifies to John of Dobra's interest in vernacular names and a wide application of herbs in his doctor's practice. It is most likely for a reason that Polish names of dye-yielding plants were incorporated in the above-mentioned recipes for paints (Kowalczyk 2000, p. 269).

A comparison of numerous treatises and collections of painting recipes allowed to identify a direct connection of as many as 18 recipes from the Cracow treatise with recipes in other sources (Table 1 a). These records constituting almost 30 per cent of the whole treatise have in part their literal or linguistically and content-wise close equivalents in other treatises. As for the further 13 recipes significant analogies and an indirect connection with other texts can be found, testifying to the common source (Table 1 b). However, despite such numerous analogies it is impossible to point to one source from which they are derived. The recipes which have their analogical versions in other texts are dispersed throughout the whole text of the Cracow treatise. Even when they occur in a certain sequence (10–12, 36–37, 57–61), their order in analogical sources is entirely different. This may suggest that either all those collections drew from another, to-date unidentified as yet source, or were independent compilations of single recipes circulating among copyists, scribes, or illuminators in various configurations

TABLE 1. LIST OF RECIPES CONTAINED IN THE TREATISE AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH RECORDS INCLUDED IN OTHER SOURCES.

a – directly connected with the recipes contained in the treatise; b – significant analogies and indirect connection with the treatise; c– a more distant relation with the treatise resulting from technical traditions. Abbreviations: BnF – Bibliothèque nationale de France; SBB – Berlin, Staatsbibliothek; CUL – Cambridge, University Library, GNM – Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum; KB.DK – Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek; BL – London, British Library; BSB – Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; BodL – Oxford, Bodleian Library ; KPMK – Praha, Knihovna pražské metropolitní kapituly; NK ČR – Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky; ULBT – Innsbruck, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol; BnM – Venice, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana

No.	Pigment/ dye	A	b	C
1.	Et primo de minio			BL Sloane 1754 BSB Clm 20174 Alcherius
2.	Cinobrium temperatur primo sic			*Liber illuministarum* Alcherius
3.	Lazurium sic temperature			*Liber illuministarum*
4.	Grispon sic temperatur			*Liber illuministarum*
5.	Briselium sic temperatur			
6.	Glaucum, quod venditur			
7.	Briselium sic temperature			Rękopis boloński BSB Clm 20174
8.	Briselium sic temperabis	KPMK M. VIII		*Theophil*

No.	Pigment/ dye	A	b	C
9.	Crocus autem sic temperatur		Recette…di colori	*Liber illuminis-tarum* BSB Clm 20174 NK ČR Cod. XIV H 16
10.	Si vis habere viridem colorem		BSB Cgm 824	Audemar BL Sloane 1754
11.	Si vis habere viridem colorem			BSB Cgm 824
12.	Item si viridem colorem	BSB Cgm 824		
13.	Si vis facere de cupro viridem colorem			
14.	Si vis temperare pulcrum flaveum colorem	KPMK M. VIII		*Liber illuminis-tarum* BSB Cgm 824
15.	Item aliter tempera flaveum colorem			*Liber illuminis-tarum*
16.	Cinobrium temperabis sic			
17.	Item accipe cinobrium	KPMK M. VIII		
18.	Item minium			BSB Cgm 824
19.	Item si vis habere griseum colorem	BSB Cgm 822		BSB Cgm 824
20.	Item si vis temperare lazurium	KPMK M. VIII		*De arte ilumi-nandi* *Compendium artis Picture* *Liber illuminis-tarum*
21.	Item ad faciendum auripigmento			
22.	Si vis scribere cum albo super nigrum			SBB Germ. Quart. 417 *Illuminierbuch* (Boltz) Siennik
23.	Si vis deaurare columbam			
24.	Si vis cum auro de penna scribere			Alcherius BnF Mp. latin 6749b CUL Ms II.3.17
25.	Nota ad ponendum aurum super capitalia	BSB Cgm 824	GNM 3227a	Månssons
26.	Item si vis habere colorem brunaticum			NK ČR Cod. VI. F. 19
27.	Fundamentum auri			*Liber illuminis-tarum* BSB Cgm 824
28	Item fac farnisium			BnM sygn. IT.III.10
29.	Item si vis cum auro scribere		Liber illuminis-tarum	
30.	Item si vis bene aurum apponere			Rękopis boloński

No.	Pigment/ dye	A	b	C
31.	Item si vis cum auro de penna scribere			*Liber illumini-starum* BSB Cgm 822 BSB Cgm 824 GNM sygn. 3227a
32.	Item fundamentum ad ponendum aurum vel argentum			*Liber illumini-starum*
33.	Alia informacio ad fundamentum			*De arte illumi-nandi* *Liber illumini-starum*
34.	Ad scribendas litteras aureas, argenteas vel cupreas			BnF Mp. latin 6749b
35.	Si vis scribere flores aureos vel argenteos,			Alcherius *Liber Illumini-starum* BSB Cgm 822
36.	Si vis cum auro scribere	BSB Cgm 824	GNM Call No. 3227a	
37.	Item si vis grispon temperare	BSB Cgm 824		
38.	Si vis briselium temperare		Bologna manu-script	KB.DK sygn. 1656 *Liber illumini-starum*
39.	Si vis aurum ponere super vitrum			*Liber illumini-starum* *De Fenestris*
40.	Item aliter sic			Rękopis boloński
41.	Si vis aurum super nucem vel pomum vel muscatum		BSB Cgm 824	*Tractatus Alkimie* ULBT Cod. 422 *Qualiter Quilibet Artificialis*
42.	Si vis colorem facere et tamquam aureum	BSB Cgm 824		*Mappae clavicula* Månssons
43.	Tere cristallum subtilissime in marmore	KPMK M. VIII	*Liber illumini-starum*	*Secretum philoso-phorum* *Experimenta de coloribus* *Compendium artis picturae*
44.	Alius modus			Alcherius CUL Ms II.3.17
45.	Smigma sic paratur			*Liber illumini-starum* BL mp. Canon. Misc. 128
46.	Ad ponendum aurum vel argentum		NK ČR Cod. XIV H 16	
47.	Accipe aurum tabulatum			BSB Cgm 822 BSB Cgm 824 GNM sygn. 3227a
48.	Aurum sic ponitur		Teofil	BSB Clm 20174

No.	Pigment/ dye	A	b	C
49.	Si vis facere flaveum colorem			Mattioli *Liber illumini-starum* Siennik
50.	Si vis facere rubeum colorem			
51.	Si vis facere viridem colorem,		BSB Clm 20174	Alcherius *Liber illumini-starum*
52.	Ut scribas quocumque metallo			Theophilus
53.	Radix lilii			
54.	Ad membranas faciendas pargamenicas			*Liber illumini-starum* Bologna manu-script *De Fenestris*
55.	Si vis scribere anulo	KPMK M. VIII		*Liber illumini-starum*
56.	Si vis scribere, ut fiat roseicus color			*Illuminaciones et temperature colorum*
57.	Si vis aurum madidum supponere	KPMK M. VIII		Audemaro *Liber illumini-starum*
58.	Glaucus color sic est temperandus	KPMK M. VIII		
59.	De cinobrio temperando	KPMK M. VIII		*De arte illumi-nandi* Bologna manu-script
60.	Cinobrium est res mollis	BSB Cgm 824	*Illuminaciones et temperature colorum*	
61.	Item lazurium sic fit	BSB Cgm 824		Bologna manu-script *Liber illumini-starum*
62.	Ad temperandum lazurium	KPMK M. VIII		
63.	Briselium sic fit			*De arte ilumi-nandi*
64.	Item hoc modo distempera briselium		*Illuminaciones et temperature colorum*	*Liber de coloribus* Theophilus Heraclius Alcherius, The-ophilus *Liber de Coloribus*
65.	Item superfunde clarum post hec omnia			

Among the numerous sources in which we find some of the recipes contained in the treatise *Ars de omnibus coloribus* particularly two codices of Czech-German provenance draw our attention. The first of them is the unpublished yet manuscript from the Library of the Prague Metropolitan Chapter, Call No. M. VIII, (No. 1361) from the first half of the 15^{th} century (Podlaha, pp. 264–268). The codex contains a collection of predominantly medical treatises, including two sets of painting recipes written down on leaves: 43r–52v and 55v–56v. Two groups of recipes are separated with texts of other content, and although they were composed in a similar editing format, they feature additions testifying to a more make-shift character of the record. Similarly as in the Cracow treatise, respective recipes are separated with paragraph markers and red lines. This collection contains as many as nine recipes of an almost identical wording.

The second source is the manuscript kept at the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Call No. Cgm 824, on leaves 12r–14v, 66r–69r, and 74v–75v containing recipes written mainly in German and Latin, and in a Czech dialect. The manuscript from ca 1400 created in Bohemia, used also in the Benedictine Abbey of St Ulrich and St Afra in Augsburg (Bartl *et al.*, p. 30), contains mainly pharmacological, technical, and domestic recipes (Schneider, pp. 486–491; Ploss, p. 156). This manuscript encompasses six recipes clearly connected with those in the Cracow treatise.

Echoes of some of the recipes can be found in two more sources. One of them is the manuscript, Call No. is Cod. XIV H 16, kept at the National Library in Prague, and containing theological and astrological texts (Truhlář, p. 345–346). On leaves 66v–68v the manuscript from the first half of the 15^{th} century, written down in Latin ad German, contains the *Formulae componendorum colorum* copied by different hands. The other source is the codex, mainly of alchemical content, from ca 1390 (currently at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, Call No. GNM 3227a), containing, among other texts numerous painting and household recipes (*Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften*, pp. 16–18 (Nos. 38.1.4). In those two manuscripts single recipes to a bigger or lesser extent linked with those contained in the *Ars de omnibus coloribus* can be found.

A more distant affinity to the Cracow treatise, more within the illumination tradition or terminology than in the actual record, can be found in the manuscripts from the Tegernsee Abbey kept at the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, including one from the first half of the 15th century, Call No. Cgm 822, (Schneider, pp. 471–478), the second (Call No. Clm 20174) containing *Praecepta de cera et plurima de coloribus faciendis et de codicibus scribendis* from 1473 (Halm, p. 287 (No. 2341), and the third being as extensive collection of recipes from ca 1500: *Liber Illuministarum,* Call No. Cmg 821 (Schneider, pp. 461–470). Some similarities can also be found in the treatise *Illuminaciones et temperature colorum* compiled by Johannes Boloniensis, and contained in the manuscript of Call No. Gl.kg1.S.165 kept at the Det Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen. Interestingly, as can be read in the explicit to the treatise, Johannes wrote it down in 'Gorlicz' (Zgorzelec), on the border between Bohemia and the Kingdom of Germany (Thorndike 1959, pp. 16–21).

The above remarks concerning the provenance and character of the treatise *Ars de omnibus coloribus* allow us to suggest that it was compiled within the Jagiellonian University circles, and the fact that it was written down in the codex of Call No. BJ 778 may have been inspired by John of Dobra. The manuscript is dated to around 1425, when the future doctor, having been conferred the Master's degree at the *artium* faculty, was beginning medical studies at the Cracow university, while intensively amassing specialist literature. It has also been confirmed that, among others, in 1426–1427, he copied medical treatises from the manuscript now at the Jagiellonian Library, Call No. BJ 2027 (Kowalczyk 2000, p. 261; Potkowski, p. 86). Furthermore, it is known, too, that not only did John of Dobra collect medical recipes, but he was also interested in the questions related to writing and painting techniques. In his manuscripts single recipes to make paints can be found; he was also familiar with Theophilus's treatise (Kowalczyk 1977, p. 166). The fact that his handwriting was identified in manuscript BJ 1962 allowed to identify several other books from his library, including the manuscripts of Call Nos. BJ 758, 787, 802, 828, 837, and

849, in which the medic wrote some marginalia or added extensive comments (Kowalczyk 2000, p. 278). Several of those manuscripts, particularly the earlier ones, evidently copied abroad, may have reached his book collection as a purchase, and some were copied for his use. A similar editing scheme, decoration, and the same hand of the scribe who copied the technological treatise in BJ 778 may be identified in at least two more manuscripts as well: BJ 785 and 787. This shows that, while collecting various works, John of Dobra also resorted to the services of professional scribes whom he commissioned to copy respective texts. This, in turn, can lead to the conclusion that the treatise in manuscript BJ 778 was also copied on John of Dobra's commission.

What matters for the context of the genesis of the treatise is the overview of the historical backdrop to the creation of the *Ars de omnibus coloribus*. As mentioned above, the manuscript was written down around the period when John of Dobra was intensively collecting texts in relation to his medical studies. He may have had the manuscripts copied in the University environment where many manuscripts were imported from other university centres in Europe. The recipes in the treatise are most often connected with the manuscripts of Czech provenance. The last decades of the 14th and the first quarter of the 15th century exceptionally favoured Polish-Czech contacts in the sphere of culture and science, as well the migration of ideas and the transfer of current artistic styles. Under the Luxembourg rulers: Charles IV and Wenceslaus IV Prague turned into an important centre focusing cultural trends coming from different directions. Thanks to the oldest university in this part of Europe (from 1348), it also constituted an important centre of intellectual life, and, at the same time, an important centre of manuscript copying.

The years 1380–1430 were the heyday of Czech illumination focused around the Prague court and cathedral, radiating not only to neighbouring countries, but with its impact reaching also Rhineland, France, or England (Dostál, p. 57; Miodońska 1960, p. 154; Miodońska 1993, pp. 121–122). The artistic tendencies arrived in Lesser Poland mainly through Silesia or Slovakia (Miodońska 1993, p. 122). That was the period when contacts between Prague and Cracow intensified, not only through those of the court, university, and intellectual circles, but also Church ones. They were particularly intense in the communication of Charles University with the recently-founded Cracow one (Miodońska 1960, p. 155). The necessity to copy manuscripts from Prague libraries by Polish students and professors for their own use may have favoured the enriching and perfecting of the writing techniques, not only inspiring interest, but also a need to become acquainted with the illumination techniques and materials. The general enlivening of contacts between the neighbouring countries led to the migration of numerous artists dealing with book decoration and Czech artists to Poland, this helping the penetration of painting styles and reception of the secrets of illuminator's technique (Miodońska 1960, p. 169). It goes without saying that for authors of manuscript decoration the arcane knowledge of the technique was of major importance. That is why, most likely, they collected painting recipes meant to boost their career potential. Recipes of the kind might have migrated to Poland along different channels: as a result of personal contacts between the Cracow and Prague university centres, through the contacts of monasteries of the same rule producing manuscripts, or directly, thanks to Czech artists active at the time in Poland. It seems that in the case of the treatise *Ars de omnibus coloribus* the most likely hypothesis is the interpenetration of the recipes through university contacts.

Addressees of such a compilation of painting recipes could be professional scribes, notaries, or text copiers focused on making additional rubrication, or on a more modest initial or marginal decoration. Such recipes may have been most commonly helpful when learning the basics of manuscript ornamentation, although in the case of the discussed manuscript we come across more advanced gilding techniques (Nos. 25, 35). In such a situation the usual thing was to systematically conduct the teaching of illumination art, as was the case in the later period (1482) when Bartłomiej, an altaris at St Mary's Church in Cracow, began teaching Jacob of Bystrzyca the *illuminati libros cum auro et cum floribus* (*Cracovia artificum*, p. 249, No. 816; Miodońska 1993, p. 88).

When analysing the colour rage of the decoration of manuscripts from the late 14th and the first decades of the 15th century, Barbara Miodyńska points to a more modest colour range of the works created in Poland than that which were products of Czech illuminators. What dominates in that painting is verdigris green, cool blue (in the shade of ultramarine), pinks, claret shades (interpreted by Miodyńska as a mixture of alizarin), vermilion red, cool greys, and light ochre. Among the colour selection it is more rarely that we come across pinks bordering on purple, cold violet, orange and a lemon yellow, as well as shades of reddish- grey. At the same time it is a light mat tone, obtained through softening the colours with white, that is characteristic of both Bohemia and Poland. In the second quarter of the 15th century the intense colour of the initial dominates over the pale green of foliated scrolls and flowers in the colour range of light grey, ochre, broken blue, and brownish pink (Miodońska 1960, pp. 197–198). These observations coincide with the colour scale of pigments and dyes presented in the *Ars de omnibus coloribus*.

Interestingly, let us also point to the character of paints generally applied in mediaeval book painting in the context of the terminology currently used in studies in art history. Names like 'water colour' , 'gouache', or 'distemper' seem not to be historically adequate or too simplified versus the richness of painting methods applied in illumination. All the above terms refer to painting techniques based on definite binders or additives, as in the case of gouache. However, the illumination painting technique is far more complex, containing in it elements of all the above ones. It is water painting, using, nevertheless, various binders and their combinations, depending on the colour factor, or even on a century-long technique tradition. Next to the most commonly applied binders in the form of egg white or gum solutions, also animal glues obtained from different sources were used, but so were water-and-oil emulsions in the form of egg yolk. The sources of colourants are an equally complex issue. In the palette of a painter-illuminator the same prominence as to mineral and earth pigments was given to lakes and dyes. The illumination technique combines elements of all the above variants of water painting, containing opaque or transparent paints, giving them an appropriate character through the application of various binders or additives.

The treatise *Ars de omnibus coloribus* contained in the manuscript of John of Dobra has to-date constituted a unique source related to the late-mediaeval illumination technique, and also a testimony to the migration and assimilation of Central-European artistic and technological influences in Poland. It is likely that further archival research can yield new discoveries of other technological texts, enriching our so-far knowledge of the secrets of the art of book and of the penetration of artistic traditions in the technological context.

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THE STATE OF THE ART OF SELECTED WRITING MATERIALS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY BASED ON 19TH-CENTURY SOURCES AND CONTEMPORARY KNOWLEDGE

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ABSTRACT

The paper aims to present and compare the state of knowledge in selected writing materials based on 19th-century sources and contemporary news examples. The paper cites an excerpt from the written examination for director of the Jagiellonian Library, relating to writing materials, of Józef Muczkowski in 1836. The course of the entire examination and the committee's work on its preparation are also outlined. The article also elaborates on selected discoveries of ancient papyri, parchments and clay tablets between the 19th and 21st centuries. These included documents found during excavations carried out in: Herculaneum (at the Villa of the Papyri), Tebtunis on the outskirts of the Fajum oasis, Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, Nineveh, Dura Europos, Qumran and Ein-Gedi. Aspects of their preservation and dissemination, as well as digitisation, are addressed. The tasks carried out in opening and reading the contents of the various manuscripts without risking their destruction are also described.

KEYWORDS: history of librarianship, history of writing materials, discoveries of ancient writing materials, digitisation, Jagiellonian Library, Józef Muczkowski

Knowledge is constantly being transformed. It would seem that objects that were created hundreds of years ago are forever stored. However, the galloping development of technology has always dictated its rules to all sectors of science, bringing newer and newer solutions into circulation, improving not only the quality of life but also of research. In this way, history was – and still is – often reinvented. Things that used to be used daily became a thing of the past, replaced by new and improved inventions. The hundreds of years that have passed have encouraged the disappearance of certain practices that were previously an indispensable part of the life of certain civilisations. The widely understood 'library world', once hermetic, has also been obliged to adapt its offerings to the needs of society while striking a balance between technology and science. However, there are still areas that reflect past practices. Library science, on the one hand, is a discipline closely tied to its tradition and, therefore, conservative, while on the other hand, it is evolving in line with emerging improvements. It combines tradition with modernity. The history of the book and, at the same time, of librarianship is changing; nevertheless, the knowledge of the book from earlier years was not always as we know it now.

The greatest influence on the development of libraries and the knowledge of librarianship in the Polish lands was exerted by the directors of libraries. In the first half of the 19th century, the director of the Jagiellonian Library was Józef Muczkowski. He held this position from 1837 to 1858. During his 21 years at the helm, he introduced numerous changes to the library. First and foremost, he generally rebuilt the Library, then located in the building of the Collegium Maius. He also carried out a comprehensive reorganisation of the library's collection. He re-organised the catalogues to improve the search for works. He created an alphabetical master catalogue by combining all bibliographical descriptions previously arranged by language. As a result, he searched for a large number of duplicates, which, among other things, made it possible to clarify the full numerical status of the collection held in the Library. Noting all sorts of problems that the 19th-century institution had to face, he repeatedly implemented innovative solutions to raise the standard of the library. With regard to cataloguing, he developed and introduced his own systematic scheme. It was a material scheme based on the relationship of superiority and inferiority of individual divisions and subdivisions of science. Józef Muczkowski was the first to deal with what are now known as special collections. He listed and arranged documents of social life and graphic and cartographic materials, including all brochures, dissertations, calendars, maps, and engravings. He separated incunabula from the collection into a separate resource, which he took special care of, rearranged manuscripts, and arranged and compiled a catalogue of numismatic items.

All his activities were based on his knowledge of librarianship, which he continuously developed as director of the Jagiellonian Library.[1] Nevertheless, the science of Libraries or books in the early nineteenth century differed in many respects from that which we study today. One can learn about what knowledge was available to scholar-librarians in the nineteenth century, in the broad field of the history of the book, among other things, from the documents preserved in the Jagiellonian Library and the Jagiellonian University Archives for the examination for the post of director of the Jagiellonian Library, which Józef Muczkowski took.

The competition for the director of the university library was announced nearly six months after the death of Jerzy Samuel Bandtkie, on 10 December 1835 to be precise.[2] All those interested in the

1 B. Krawczyk, *Józef Muczkowski: dyrektor Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej, historyk*, Kraków 2021, pp. 121-240.

2 Archive of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow (hereinafter: AUJ), ref. S I 584, k. nlb., [Announcement of the Competition for the Chair of Librarian at the University of Cracow dated 10 December 1835].

position had to send an official application by post to the university rector at their own expense by the deadline of 20 February 1836. They were obliged to attach numerous documents to the letter, such as a curriculum vitae, a birth certificate, and a doctoral degree from the University of Kraków or another university located in the state of one of the Three Greatest Guardian Crowns. In addition, an employment certificate from a well-known and respected library was required, indicating the years worked at the institution. Priority over fellow applicants for the post of director was also ensured by enclosed documents proving, among other things, knowledge of foreign languages, bibliography and Slavonic literature, printing machines and numismatics.[3] Furthermore, those entering the competition for the post of university librarian were required to provide evidence of competence in literary diplomatics, i.e. the ability to read old manuscripts and indicate their dating.[4]

Candidates for the post, vacated after J. S. Bandtkie, would have had as part of their duties, in addition to the overall care of the library, to hold classes with students in the form of lectures on bibliography. The classes were to be held in Polish at a rate of three hours per week. The remuneration proposed at the time for both duties was 7,000 Polish zlotys per year.[5]

Before a particular candidate was accepted by the University Senate and entrusted with the duties of librarian of the Krakow Library, the whole process took the form of a competition. All persons interested in the post, after fulfilling the formal requirements, which focused solely on providing or uploading the indicated doc-

3 AUJ, ref. S I 584, k. nlb., [Announcement of the Competition for the Chair of Librarian at the University of Cracow dated 10 December 1835].

4 M. M. Biernacka, *Wykłady Karola Estreichera w Szkole Głównej w Warszawie 1865-1868. Studium bibliologiczne*, Warsaw 1989, pp. 45-56.

5 AUJ, ref. S I 584, k. nlb., [Announcement of the Competition for the Chair of Librarian at the University of Kraków dated 10 December 1835]. Comparing the salary of different positions, it is worth noting that in 1825 a labourer working in the Kraków region received 10-15 Polish zlotys per month, while, for example, in 1857 the scribe of the Library of the National Ossoliński Institute in Lviv received an annual salary of 700 Rhine zlotys. See J. A. Szwagrzyk, *Pieniądz na ziemiach polskich X-XX w.*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1973, p. 262.

umentation, had to obtain a positive result in the examinations (written and oral) conducted in Polish. The written examination was scheduled for 14 April 1836, and the oral examination for the following day, i.e. 15 April 1836.[6]

The requirements for the candidates of the competition and the rules of the competition were agreed on several occasions in a wide circle. On 25 June 1835,[7] the first mention was made of the fact that a competition for a university librarian should be held. It was mentioned in a letter from Karol Hube – the rector of the university – to Karol Hübner, who was then a government commissioner. In it, the rector pointed to §39 of the Internal Regulations, which stated that a competition for a vacant chair should be held for four months and start within 14 days of the vacancy. This paragraph caused the Rector, K. Hube, to demand that the University Senate meet without delay and hold a competition for the vacant chair, postponing its time to a maximum of seven days.[8]

Despite the indication of the rector K. Hube, on 7 July 1835 the President of the Governing Senate of the Free, Independent and Strictly Neutral City of Cracow and its District, Kacper Wielogłowski sent a letter to the Government Commissioner K. Hübner regarding the filling of the chair of professor of bibliography and librarian at the Jagiellonian University. Kacper Wielogłowski wanted the relevant information about the competition and the vacancy to be withheld, of course, after the matter had been agreed with the Academic Senate. In the letter in question, he suggested that there was an unexplained proposal to entrust a post to one of the Jagiellonian University professors outside the competition procedures.[9] The person in question was Paweł Czajkowski – a professor of lit-

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6 Ibid.

7 J. S. Bandtkie died on 11 June 1835. The letter was written 14 days after the librarian's death. See A. Birkenmajer, *Bandtkie (Bandtke) Jerzy Samuel (1768-1835)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, Kraków 1935, vol. 1, pp. 260-263.

8 AUJ, ref. S I 584, k. nlb., [Letter from K. Hube to K. Hübner dated 25 June 1835], record number 32.

9 Ibid, k. nlb., [Letter from K. Wielogłowski to K. Hübner dated 7 July 1835], reference number 4071.

erature at the Kraków University, serving as dean of the Faculty of Philosophy in the years 1823-1828 and, from 1831, as a member of the Governing Senate,[10] who wanted to take over the post without having to participate in the competition.

The matter was not clarified until 18 November 1835. On that date, the President of the Ruling Senate, K. Wielogłowski, drafted a letter justifying the impossibility of accepting P. Czajkowski's proposal. On November 17, 1835, during a conference of residents of the Three Greatest Courts, it was decided that the post vacated by J. S. Bandtkie could not be 'offered'. Hence, there was no question of handing over the post to P. Czajkowski outside the competition procedures, and the Senate itself decreed that the Government Commissioner to the Scientific Institutes should inform the relevant persons as soon as possible of the need to announce a competition and to supervise its results.[11]

Only 10 days later, i.e. on 28 November 1835, K. Hübner responded to the recommendations of the President of the Governing Senate and sent a letter to Jan Kajetan Trojański[12] , who was a Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy about the need to announce a competition for a University Librarian. Trojański, as a Dean, was first and foremost tasked with convening a meeting of the Faculty members and defining the duties to be performed by the newly hired Librarian at the Jagiellonian University. Having defined the duties,

10 A. Bar, *Czajkowski (Czaykowski) Paweł (zm. 1839)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, Kraków 1938, vol. 4, pp. 159-160.

11 AUJ, ref. S I 584, k. nlb., [Letter from K. Wielogłowski to K. Hübner dated 18 November 1835], record number 7055.

12 Jan Kajetan Trojański lived between 1797 and 1850 and was a lexicographer and classical philologist. He served as a school teacher at the Royal Gymnasium in Poznań, and was subsequently a lecturer at the University in Kraków. He lectured on Polish and Latin literature. He also held the position of rector of the university in 1841-1843, and was dean of the Faculty of Philosophy in 1835-1837 and 1845-1848. He was also president of the Cracow Scientific Society. See Z. Pietrzyk, *Poczet rektorów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1400-2000*, Jagiellonian University, Wydawnictwo Jagiellonia SA, Kraków 2000, p. 253; *Jan Kajetan Trojański*, http://tnk.krakow.pl/czlonkowie/trojanski-jan-kajetan/ [accessed 02.12.2023]; W. Steffen, "Sylwetki filologów wielkopolskich XIX wieku", *Meander*, 1969, R. 24, vol. 3, pp. 140-142.

he was also obliged to present them to the Academic Senate for its opinion and approval.[13]

There was no long wait for the reply from J. K. Trojański, which was sent to K. Hübner already on 4 December 1835. According to the information contained in the letter, Trojański convened a faculty meeting on 30 November 1835, and at that meeting, a resolution was passed to hold a competition for the post of university librarian. All professors of the Faculty of Philosophy agreed that the competition should be based on four flagship requirements that a candidate should meet in order to obtain the post left behind by J. S. Bandtkie. Firstly, the Faculty Committee determined that the future librarian, despite his theoretical knowledge of librarianship, should have a strong practical background. Thus, a work certificate from another recognised library indicating experience in library management and knowledge of the rules of such institutions was required. The second aspect articulated in Trojański's letter was that the candidate for the librarian should demonstrate a considerable background of knowledge in literature, Slavic and Polish bibliography, as well as knowledge of ancient languages, in order to take due care of a good arrangement of the collection and to select new acquisitions appropriately at every possible opportunity. This requirement was conditioned by the fact that, at that time, the Jagiellonian Library already had an extensive collection of manuscripts, as well as Slavic and Polish works of literature and bibliography. Thirdly, the future librarian had to be proficient in the broad field of numismatics and the workings of the printing house. According to §75 of the University Statute, the librarian also looked after the numismatic collection and the printing house.[14] Hence, the professors of the Faculty considered that to manage the printing house well and to supervise the orderliness of the col-

13 AUJ, ref. S I 584, k. nlb., [Letter from K. Hübner to J. K. Trojański dated 28 November 1835], registration number 980.

14 *Statut organiczny Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z dnia 24 sierpnia 1833 r.*, Kraków 1833, p. 187.

lection, broad knowledge in this area was necessary.[15] The final, fourth requirement stated that all candidates for library director should be informed that during the examination, an additional test on knowledge of literary diplomatics, i.e. the ability to read manuscripts and determine their dating, should be conducted.[16]

Acquainted with the requirements, two candidates entered the competition. One of them was Józef Muczkowski, who on 20 March 1836 received a letter inviting him to the examination.[17] The second candidate, Förstmann,[18] was informed of the negative decision to entrust him with the post decided by the competition.[19]

Documents relating to the conduct of the Józef Muczkowski competition are held in the Archives of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. Among them is a report on the competition written down by J. K. Trojański. In it, he noted that following the provisions of the university's Statute, a faculty meeting was held three days before the examination, during which 50 questions were worked out,[20] from which the candidate was to draw three. The competition, or rather the competitive examination, lasted two days. It was held on 14 and 15 April 1836. The questions were divided into four thematic blocks, dealing successively with manuscripts and the history of writing, bibliography, librarianship, and numismatics.

In this article, only the first set of 'Manuscript Studies' questions of 9 questions will be discussed. According to the plan, there should have been 10 questions, but the number 8 was omitted, hence the error in the overall numbering. The questions were as

15 AUJ, ref. WF I 53, [Letter from the government commissioner J. Schindler to the dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, J. K. Trojański dated 28 February 1837], record number 159.

16 AUJ, ref. S I 584, k. nlb., [Letter from J. K. Trojański to K. Hübner dated 4 December 1835].

17 BJ, Rkps ref. Przyb. 27/59, k. nlb., [Letter from the Rector of the University to J. Muczkowski, dated 20 March 1836], reference 84.

18 Unidentified person.

19 AUJ, ref. S I 584, k. nlb., [Letter from A. Czapski to the Rector of the Jagiellonian University dated 26 March 1836].

20 Indeed, due to a numbering error in the report, there were 49 questions.

follows: *1) About the invention of writing, its perfection and on what medium was writing done at different times? 2) Describe the history of Egyptian paper, parchment, cotton and linen paper. 3) In what respect should a manuscript librarian be careful? 4) On what does theoretical manuscript science depend? 5) Identify the principles of practical manuscript science. 6) What are the principles for assessing the value of manuscripts and how should they be organised in a library? 7) How are manuscripts described? 9) Identify sources relevant to manuscript studies? 10) Provide information on Polish diplomatics.*[21]

From this set of questions, Muczkowski drew number two. His task was to describe the history of Egyptian paper (papyrus), cotton, linen and parchment.[22] The candidate's answer was elaborate and precise, indicating the state of knowledge in the field at the time. It was contained in nine pages written by Muczkowski's hand. Above all, it contained many details indicating his excellent knowledge of the literature on the history of writing. At the beginning of his reply, he pointed out that "*when manuscripts form an important part of public libraries, and the knowledge of the matter on which they were written in different centuries, in addition to other closer means of estimating their age which facilitate the evaluation of their age, by means of which external signs by diplomats [...] described, their character and importance for indicating the time when a given manuscript was written, therefore from the earliest times, when more scrupulous study began, some scholars were concerned with tracing the beginning of manuscript matter*". He cited works by, among others: Melchior Guilandi,[23] Charles-François Toustain, René-Prosper Tassin, Jean--Baptiste Baussonnet[24]

21 AUJ, ref. S I 584, k. nlb., [Documents relating to Józef Muczkowski's competition for the post of Professor of Bibliography and Librarian of the Jagiellonian University].

22 Ibid, k. nlb., [Documents relating to Józef Muczkowski's competition for the post of Professor of Bibliography and Librarian of the Jagiellonian University].

23 M. Guilandi, *Melchioris Guilandini Papyrus. Hoc est, commentarius in tria C. Plinii Maioris de papyro capita; multiplici rerum variorum cognition refertus, recensente, et summariis, atque indice rerum verborumque augente. Henrico Salmuth*, Typis Schönfeldianis, Ambergae 1613.

24 C. F. Toustain, R. P. Tassin, J. B. Baussonnet, *Nouveau traité de diplomatique, où l'on examine les fondemens de cet art, on établit des règles sur le discernement des titres, et l'on*

and Georg Friedrich Wehrs.[25] He also demonstrated his knowledge of scholars researching the history of paper, repeatedly citing their names, such as the historian Jean Mabillon, the typographer Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf and the librarian of the Vatican Library Leo Allatius. Muczkowski outlined the subsequent history of papyrus. He began by stating that *"when the method of making Egyptian paper was invented, it is difficult to determine with certainty because apart from Pliny, who reported on the method of making it, there is a profound silence in ancient authors about this subject"*. He characterised the ways of writing content on papyrus and its durability. He then described parchment noting its occurrence in three colours, i.e. white, yellow and purple. He also discussed the colours of the inks used depending on the nature of the work and the colour of the parchment. Gold and silver ink on purple parchment was only attributed to religious books. He cited as an example of such work the manuscript of the Roman clergyman and also the translator of the Bible, Wulfil (Ulfilas), noting that he had personally seen it in 1824 in the university library in Uppsala, Sweden, during his scholarly journey.[26] He also did not fail to add information about its state of preservation, emphasising that *"time and frequent viewing had significantly damaged this ancient scribal monument"*. He then referred to the work kept in the Jagiellonian Library in the field of astronomy drawn up *"on white paper with gold ink"*.[27] He also men-

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expose historiquement les caractères des bulles pontificales et des diplômes, Chez Gullaume Desprez, Paris 1750, vols. 1-6.

25 G. F. Wehrs, *Vom Papier, und den vor der Erfindung desselben üblich gewesenen Schreibmassen*, Th. 1, Helwingschen Hofbuchhandlung, Hannover 1788.

26 Wulfila, *Codex argenteus (Silverbibeln)*; see Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala University Library, Rkps ref. DG 1.

27 He probably had in mind the following manuscript: G. Peuerbach, *Theoricae novae planetarum cum figuris Absque fine*; M. Bylica de Olkusz, *Figurae additiae ad Georgii Peurbachii Theoricas novas planetarum*, c. 1470; see BJ, Rkps ref. 599. In the *catalogue of manuscripts of the Jagiellonian Library* by Władysław Wisłocki, there is a note next to this item that it is a parchment codex from the end of the 15th century. It is *"decorated with beautifully painted and gilded initials and astronomical figures"* and probably came to the Jagiellonian Library thanks to Marcin of Olkusz. See W. Wisłocki, *Katalog rękopisów Biblijoteki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, Jagiellonian University, Kraków 1877-1891, part 1, p. 189.

tioned the changes in the thickness of parchment over the years, as well as palimpsests, which, in his opinion, bore "*the hallmark of the barbarism of those centuries. Indeed, sometimes a classical author or an important historian had to give way to a shabby tripe*". In doing so, he referred again to the publication *Nouveau traité de diplomatique...* by C. F. Toustain, R. P. Tassin and J. B. Baussonnet, from which more information can be gleaned about how "*this barbaric operation was handled*".

Subsequently, Muczkowski drew attention to the discovery of linen paper originally stitched together with parchment in codices and discussed the history of cotton paper. He pointed out that the origins of cotton paper should be sought in Asia. "*The Saracens, on their expedition to Bukharai, learnt how to make it in Samarkand, which, being rich in cotton, was particularly famous for this product.*" He briefly presented the history of cotton paper and the use of cotton rags for its production in Europe thanks to workshops in Italy and Spain, and the mixing of cotton and linen rags for the production of another writing material. He then added a few remarks about Polish paper mills, referring to the publication of Joachim Lelewel's *Bibljograficznych ksiąg dwoje.*[28] Muczkowski concluded his answer to the drawn question with an argument aimed at drawing attention to the importance of the ability to work with historical works.

The following day, on 15 April 1836, Muczkowski took the second part of the exam, held in the form of an interview. His task was to draw two questions from a pool of issues and answer them. After the oral examination and the evaluation of Muczkowski's answers in the written examination, the professors of the Faculty of Philosophy examining him gave a positive opinion on the transfer of the Jagiellonian Library and the chair of bibliography to his care after the late J. S. Bandtkie. In addition, the Academic Senate also consulted the professors of Vilnius University on this issue. They

28 J. Lelewel, *Bibljograficznych ksiąg dwoje w których rozebrane i pomnożone zostały dwa dzieła Jerzego Samuela Bandtke : Historia drukarń krakowskich – tudzież historia Bibjioteki Uniw[ersytetu] Jagiell[ońskiego] w Krakowie a przydany katalog inkunabułów polskich, Nakładem i drukiem Józefa Zawadzkiego*, Wilno 1823-1826, vol. 1-2.

agreed.[29] As a result, Józef Muczkowski officially became director of the Jagiellonian Library and professor of the Department of Bibliography at Jagiellonian University on 15 December 1836.[30]

In 1836 and 30 years later (as evidenced by the lectures delivered in 1866 by Karol Estreicher at the Main School in Warsaw), the state of knowledge about ancient writing materials differed significantly from the knowledge we have today. When lecturing on bibliography, Karol Estreicher pointed to its many connections with the history of writing and printing. He believed that the study of bibliography should precede the study of the history of literature, while "*the lecture on bibliography [...] treated historically should pay attention both to what printing has accumulated for us today and from what the relationship of the writing culture of each nation began*".[31] When discussing papyrus, one should, first of all, mention the dramatic events that took place in Herculaneum in 79, when Vesuvius erupted. At that time, the Villa of the Papyri (Villa dei Papiri) was buried under the ruins of the volcanic materials. It was rediscovered in 1750, and by 1764 one of its levels had been explored using a network of tunnels.[32] The Villa of the Papyri hid many treasures from antiquity, including numerous sculptures, such as the herma (bust) of the Macedonian king Demetrius Poliorcetes[33] and a bronze statue

29 AUJ, ref. S I 584, k. nlb., [Letter of the Academic Senate to the Governing Senate of 9 December 1836].

30 Ibid, k. nlb., [Letter from the President of the Ruling Senate to the Government Commissioner dated 15 December 1836 regarding the transfer to Muczkowski of the Chair of Bibliography and the Jagiellonian Library as a director], record number 7267; BJ, Rkps ref. Przyb. 27/59, k. nlb., [Patent for J. Muczkowski dated 15 December 1836], record number 7267.

31 K. Estreicher, M. M. Biernacka [ed.], *O bibliografii: Trzy lekcje wygłoszone 6, 13 i 16 listopada 1866 roku w Szkole Głównej w Warszawie*. National Library, Warsaw 1978, pp. 15-25.

32 G. W. Houston, 'The Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum', in G. W. Houston, *Inside Roman Libraries: Book Collections and Their Management in Antiquity*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 2014, pp. 87-88.

33 T. Zieliński, 'Nowy Dionizos czy syn Posejdona? De(kon)strukcja obrazu Demetriusza Poliorketesa w świetle nowożytnej historiografii', *Studia Antiquitatis et Medii Aevi Incohantis*, 2021, vol. 6, no. 21, pp. 27-57. For the catalogue of the bronze and marble sculptures in the Villa of the Papyri as of 1908, see E. R. Barker, *Buried Herculaneum*, Adam and Charles Black, London 1908, pp. 219-227.

of a dancing Faun-satyr.[34] The first discovery of papyri at the Villa was made in 1752 with excavations commissioned by King Charles III of Bourbon of Spain.[35] At that time, 21 works and various fragments were found stored in two wooden boxes. Exploring further rooms of the Villa, 11 papyri were found in the spring of 1753, while 250 more scrolls were discovered in the summer. By 1754, 337 Greek papyri and 18 Latin papyri had already been found. As the years passed, the number of excavated papyri increased. After 1855, the number of manuscripts rescued from the ruins of the Villa was 1806, of which 500 were fragmentary and charred, 341 were almost whole, and 965 were in an intermediate state of degradation. Unfortunately, due to the lack of knowledge and tools needed to secure and read the destroyed documents, the vast majority of them were destroyed in subsequent attempts to discover their contents by, for example, splitting them lengthwise.[36]

The first attempt to unwrap the papyri more securely was made by Antonio Piaggio, an Italian monk and Vatican scholar who lived between 1713 and 1796. Commissioned by the Vatican, he was sent to Naples in 1753 to unwrap, decipher and transcribe the contents of the manuscripts from the Villa Papyri.[37] Piaggio found an authorial solution for the unfolding of the manuscripts. He attached silk threads to the edges of the papyri. One by one, each part of the papyrus was unrolled and glued to a piece of membrane and then canvas. It took four to five hours to unroll one inch of the manuscript. However, this action allowed works to be copied and preserved. In subsequent years, attempts were made to open manuscripts with the help of chemicals. Nevertheless, Antonio Piaggi's

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34 L. Sternklar, *Artystyczno-informacyjny przewodnik po Pompei, Herkulanum i Capri: z planem wykopalisk Pompei*,, By the Polish Bookstore B. Połoniecki, Bookstore under the firm of E. Wende and Company, Lviv, Warsaw 1906, p. 110.

35 'IV. Papyri Herculaneum', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 1986, vol. 33, no. S54, p. 36.

36 E. R. Barker, *Buried…*, pp. 108-110.

37 *Padre Antonio Piaggio*, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG41904 [accessed 18.11.2023].

method was reinstated due to the experiments' failure.[38] The works found in the Villa of the Papyri that were successfully unfolded were mainly Greek manuscripts in philosophy, but also 21 Latin items located in the previously mentioned wooden boxes.[39] Among them were some 30 works by the Greek philosopher and poet Philodemus of Gadara, which were published and translated,[40] four of the books of Epicurus' treatise *On Nature*, i.e. books XIV, XV, XXV and XXVIII,[41] and a Latin poem (hexameter) treating the exploits of Mark Antony in Egypt.[42] The popularity of the works found in Herculaneum is also evidenced by early 19th-century publications available in Polish libraries, such as a novel which is probably a mystification of the original manuscript of *Podróże Antenora po Grecyi i Azyi z wiadomościami o Egipcie: rękopism grecki znaleziony w Herkulanum* by Étienne François de Lantier.[43]

It was not until the 21st century that major discoveries related to the manuscripts secured at Herculaneum were made. First of all, it should be mentioned that in 2001, the Packard Humanities Institute, which is a non-profit foundation with a focus on archaeology, music, films and archives of a historical nature, set up the Herculaneum Conservation Project in collaboration with the Italian organisation Soprientendoza. The project's main aim is to protect the sites excavated during archaeological work by at least regularly conserving them. Moreover, since most of the collections found at Herculaneum in the 20th century were taken to the Archaeological Museum in Naples and Herculaneum does not have its own museum, the Packard Humanities Institute Foundation is considering and investigating the possibility of building such an

38 E. R. Barker, *Buried…*, pp. 110-112.

39 Ibid, pp. 118-119.

40 J. Z. Lichański, 'Historia retoryki; rozdział wciąż otwarty, czyli retoryka – nauka o rozwoju', *Poradnik Językowy*, 2013, vol. 6, p. 13.

41 J. Kutkiewicz, 'Historiografia filozofii w starożytności: part 1: od najwcześniejszych źródeł do Platona', *Studia z Historii Filozofii*, 2022, no. 4, p. 89.

42 E. R. Barker, *Buried…*, pp. 119-120.

43 E. F. Lantier, *Podróże Antenora po Grecyi i Azyi z wiadomościami o Egipcie: rękopism grecki znaleziony w Herkulanum*, Gröblowskiey Printing House, Cracow 1808, vols. 1-5.

institution also on site, in the vicinity of the excavations. It bases its plans, above all, on the assumptions of the archaeological excavations carried out and the discovery of many objects of everyday life of past centuries. It also seeks to integrate the ancient and modern city with an emphasis on preserving and enabling access to the excavations for visitors who are on site.[44] The project is currently led by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, Honorary Professor of Romance Studies and Director of Research at the Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge.[45]

In addition to the preservation of the excavations at Herculaneum, there is ongoing work on the reading of the manuscripts excavated from the Villa Papyri. Major work aimed not only at reading but also at safeguarding the collection includes, in particular, the project for the digitisation of papyri by the FARMS Centre for the Preservation of Ancient Religious Texts (CPART), which began in 1999,[46] and was completed in 2002. More than 30,000 scrolls were then imaged in high quality.[47] Then, in 2016, Dr W. Brenta Seales of the University of Kentucky in Lexington, using X-ray tomography and computer visualisation, discovered the possibility of reading an Ein-Gedi scroll found in the Dead Sea region of Israel.[48] Using the knowledge gained and the ability to virtually open papyri without physically unrolling them, a further study of the Herculaneum col-

44 [*The Packard Humanities Institute programs in archaeology*], https://packhum.org/archaeology.html [accessed 19.11.2023].

45 *Professor Andrew Wallace-Hadrill*, https://www.classics.cam.ac.uk/directory/andrew-wallace-hadrill [accessed 19.11.2023]; A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Herculaneum: Past and Future*, Frances Lincoln, London 2011; *From pumice to LEGO*, https://www.classics.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/hcp [accessed 19.11.2023].

46 'Herculaneum Project Exceeds Expectations', *Insights*, 2000, vol. 20, no. 7, https://web.archive.org/web/20130701184752/http://maxwellinstitute.byu.edu/publications/insights/?vol=20&num=7&id=143 [accessed 19.11.2023]; S. W. Booras, D. M. Chabries, 'The Herculaneum scrolls', *IS&T Reporter: The Window on Imaging*, 2001, no. 16.2, pp. 215-218.

47 'Digitization of Herculaneum Papyri Completed', *Insights*, 2002, vol. 22, no. 6, https://web.archive.org/web/20130701184553/http://maxwellinstitute.byu.edu/publications/insights/?vol=22&num=6&id=246 [accessed 19.11.2023].

48 'AI reads text from ancient Herculaneum scroll for the first time', *Nature*, 2023, https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-023-03212-1 [accessed 19.11.2023].

lection was carried out in 2019. Taking X-rays, the team led by Dr Seales uses a particle accelerator. With this type of activity, they are capturing delicate surface patterns on the manuscripts that indicate ink, or rather its presence on the charred scrolls. Thus, in 2023, the lab made a breakthrough discovery –identifying ink on X-ray scans and separating it from a layer of charred material.[49] As a result, work is now underway to decipher the contents of the digitised materials obtained in this way. A Vesuvius Challenge has been announced in collaboration with the team of Dr B. Seales.[50] While the organisers encouraged participation through several financial prizes, the grand prize was $700,000, and the deadline for submissions was 31 December 2023. Those wishing to receive it had to read four passages of text of at least 140 continuous characters, each from two scrolls from which scans were generated without unrolling them. As of 5 January 2024, this prize has not yet been awarded to anyone, while the process of checking the submissions is ongoing.[51] Nevertheless, individual awards for contributions to the work of reading the scrolls have already been distributed. Most notably, on 12 October 2023, the organisers announced that a prize had been awarded for the first discovered word in an unopened Herculaneum scroll, consisting of more than 10 characters in an area of 4 cm^2. This was won by Luke Farritor, a 21-year-old computer science student from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, who thus received a prize of $40,000. Another entrant, Free University of Berlin graduate Youssef Nader, also read the same word, which confirmed its veracity and was awarded second place with the equivalent of $10,000.[52]

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49 *Vesuvius Challenge*, https://scrollprize.org/ [accessed 19.11.2023].

50 'Contest launched to decipher Herculaneum scrolls using 3D X-ray software', *The Guardian*, 2023, https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2023/mar/15/contest-decipher-herculaneum-scrolls-3d-x-ray-software [accessed 191.11.2023]; *Vesuvius Challenge*, https://scrollprize.org/ [accessed 19.11.2023].

51 *Vesuvius Challenge - Grand Prize*, https://scrollprize.org/grand_prize [accessed 05.01.2023]; *Vesuvius Challenge - Prize Winners*, https://scrollprize.org/winners [accessed 05.01.2023].

52 *Vesuvius Challenge – First Letters*, https://scrollprize.org/firstletters [accessed 19.11.2023]; 'AI reads text…'.

There were many more discoveries and opportunities to read ancient manuscripts of which Józef Muczkowski could not have been aware at the time of passing the exam for director of the Jagiellonian Library. It is worth mentioning here another great, though completely accidental, discovery of papyri testifying to the life of the ancient Egyptians. In 1900, during excavations at Tebtunis on the outskirts of the Fajum oasis in northern Egypt, further manuscripts were encountered. The work was carried out for the University of California at Berkeley and the Hearst Foundation. On 16 January 1900, to be exact, one of the labourers working on the excavation came across a mummified crocodile.[53] Being disappointed by the discovery, as he was expecting a sarcophagus, he struck the crocodile, which revealed ancient manuscripts. The animal was stuffed with scrolls of papyrus. In the following weeks, a full cemetery of mummified crocodiles was uncovered, but only about two per cent contained papyri.[54] Among the papyri found at the time, texts by Homer, Sophocles and Euripides, among others, were encountered. Between 1902 and 1933, a catalogue of the collection from Tebtunis was published,[55] although the collection was never fully inventoried nor counted. However, it is estimated to contain more than 26,000 fragments of ancient texts.[56] Today, some of these are housed in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, where the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri was established in 2000. Its aim is primarily to research the papyri collection, to decipher its contents, but also to digitise it and to train students who

53 Crocodiles were worshipped in ancient times in that area as sacred animals through the god Sobek – in Egyptian mythology the ruler and protector of water and the army. The god Sobek was depicted as a man with a crocodile head, a crocodile or a mummified crocodile. See: *Ancient Egypt Online: Ancient Egyptian history and art: Sobek*, https://ancientegyptonline.co.uk/sobek/ [accessed 26.11.2023].

54 S. M. Burstein, *Kleopatra i jej rządy: Kleopatra VII Wielka 69-30 p.n.e.*, Bellona, Warsaw 2008, pp. 87-88; *The Periodical*, 1903, no. 21, pp. 7-8.

55 P. W. Campbell, 'In the Mouth of the Crocodile', *Humanities*, 2001, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 30-33.

56 *The Tebtunis Papyri Collection,* https://www.lib.berkeley.edu/visit/bancroft/tebtunis-papyri/collection [accessed 26.11.2023].

can take on the task of conducting further research in the future.[57] A publicly accessible database of sources from Tebtunis has also been created at the Center. It is not complete but contains details of several thousand documents. Work to update and complete the database is still ongoing. It can be accessed from the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri website.[58]

When discussing papyrus discoveries, it is impossible not to mention the discovery made by the Centre for Mediterranean Archaeology at the University of Warsaw, led by Tomasz Górecki. In 2004, during research at Sheikh Abd el-Gurna in Egypt, the team came across a collection of Coptic and Greek texts written on papyrus, vessel shells and limestone shards.[59] Subsequently, two leather-bound papyrus books inscribed with the Coptic alphabet and a dozen texts on parchment wrapped between two leather-bound boards were found in 2005.[60] The first codex was possible to be deciphered as a set of rules and regulations for the church community, the so-called Pseudo-Basil Canon in Coptic. It dates to the seventh/eighth century. The second is a collection of eulogies by the Theban saint Pisenthios – one of the Coptic bishops.[61] The third collection consists of parchments written in Coptic and one in Greek.[62]

Recalling the discoveries of T. Górecki, it is also worth noting the previously indicated texts written on vessel shells and limestone shards. Józef Muczkowski did not mention this type of writing ma-

57 *Center for the Tebtunis Papyri,* https://www.lib.berkeley.edu/visit/bancroft/tebtunis-papyri [accessed 26.11.2023].

58 *Center for the Tebtunis Papyri – About us – About the database*, https://www.lib.berkeley.edu/visit/bancroft/tebtunis-papyri/about-us [accessed 26.11.2023]; *Berkeley Library digital collections*, https://digicoll.lib.berkeley.edu/search?p1=&ln=en&as=1&m=a&p2=852%3ATebtunis+Papyri [accessed 26.11.2023].

59 T. Górecki, *Odkrycie cennych ksiąg papirusowych w Gurana w Górnym Egipcie*, https://pcma.uw.edu.pl/badania/sezon-po-sezonie/odkrycie-cennych-ksiag-papirusowych-w-gurna-w-gornym-egipcie/ [accessed 26.11.2023].

60 T. Górecki, 'Sheikh Abd El-Gurna (Hermitage in Tomb 1152): Preliminary Report, 2005', *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, 2007, no. 17, pp. 263-274.

61 Ibid, pp. 266-274; E. Kokoszycka, *Koptyjskie księgi odkrywają coraz więcej tajemnic*, https://naukawpolsce.pl/aktualnosci/news%2C20534%2Ckoptyjskie-ksiegi-odkrywaja-coraz-wiecej-tajemnic.html [accessed 26.11.2023].

62 T. Górecki, *Sheikh Abd El-Gurna…*, p. 274.

terial when giving his answer about writing materials during his examination for the director of the Jagiellonian Library. However, as a professor at the Jagiellonian University, he taught the history of writing (within his lectures on bibliography) also pointing out Old Egyptian writing.[63] Of course, Muczkowski was already familiar with one of the greatest discoveries in the history of archaeology related to writing – the so-called Rosetta stone, as it was found in 1799. It was read in 1822 by the French hieroglyphic writing researcher John F. Champollion.[64] Nevertheless, it should be remembered that historically, almost simultaneously with Egyptian culture and civilisation, Sumerian culture and civilisation, and therefore cuneiform writing recorded in clay, developed. Knowledge of cuneiform writing in the early 19th century was severely limited. Research into its reading took many years. The first person to read cuneiform writing was the German teacher George Friedrich Grotefend.[65] In subsequent years, the English scholar Henry Rawlinson, the Irish-born Edward Hincks, the French orientalist ldzi Oppert and the German-born Frederick Delitzsch also deciphered the writing.[66] One of the greatest discoveries of cultural evidence written in cuneiform script in history is undoubtedly the discovery of King Assurbanipal's library in Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrian state (now in Iraq), in 1850. The discovery of the library was made by Austen Henry Layard, an Englishman, in King Assurbanipal's palace.[67]

63 BJ, Rkps ref. 5790, vols. 1-3, ['Wykład bibliografii i nauk pomocnych', vol. 1: 'Bibliografia'; vol. 2: 'Drukarstwo'; vol. 3: 'Biblioteki i bibliotekarstwo']; BJ, Rkps ref. 6309, ['Wykłady bibliografii ś.p. Józefa Muczkowskiego profesora i bibliotekarza Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego miewane w latach [1837 i następnych]'], pp. 1-106.

64 B. Bieńkowska, H. Chamerska, *Zarys dziejów książki*, Wydawnictwo Spółdzielcze, Warsaw 1987, p. 24.

65 Ibid, pp. 27-28; K. Głombiowski, H. Szwejkowska, *Książka rękopiśmienna i biblioteka w starożytności i średniowieczu*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1979, p. 14; K. Maleczyńska, *Historia książki i jej funkcji społecznej*, Wydawnictwo UW, Wrocław 1987, p. 14.

66 K. Glombiowski, H. Szwejkowska, *Książka rękopiśmienna…*, p. 14; K. Maleczyńska, *Historia książki i jej funkcji…*, p. 14.

67 K. Głombiowski, H. Szwejkowska, *Książka rękopiśmienna…*, p. 14; J. Grycz, A. Gryczowa, *Historia książki i bibliotek w zarysie*, Stowarzyszenie Bibliotekarzy Polskich, Warsaw 1959, p. 17.

Just two years later, his assistant, Hormuzd Rassam, found the king's second palace. Both were filled with substantial collections of clay tablets written in cuneiform script. Through these materials, the history of the Assyrians became known. In total, more than 30,000 clay tablets and fragments were found during excavations in Nineveh from the 1840s to the 1930s.[68] These include, among others, works on astronomy, astrology, science, history, law, philology and theology.[69]

All are currently a part of the British Museum's collection. The selection of the tablets is on permanent display at the Museum in the Later Mesopotamia Gallery and in a virtual version in the exhibition 'I am Ashurbanipal: King of the world, king of Assyria'.[70] From the Museum's online platform, there is also access to a catalogue of Nineveh tablets in the form of a database.[71] In addition, a research project to reconstruct a medical encyclopaedia from Assurbanipal's library was conducted at the British Museum between 1 May 2020 and 30 June 2023 in consultation with University College London. This work is preserved in fragments and is a compendium of centuries of medical research in Assyria. It also combines aspects of ancient Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Greek and Roman medicine with Syriac-Aramaic traditions. It was discovered that each text found in the work consists of three main subjects: prescriptions, healing procedures, including the medicines used, and medical spells.[72] One of the results of the project is that the entire encyclopaedia (consisting of a total of 12 works) is now available in electronic form with transliteration and translation

68 *A library fit for a king*, https://www.britishmuseum.org/blog/library-fit-king [accessed 26.11.2023].

69 K. Glombiowski, H. Szwejkowska, *Książka rękopiśmienna...*, pp. 15-17.

70 See *I am Ashurbanipal: King of the world, king of Assyria*, https://www.britishmuseum.org/exhibitions/i-am-ashurbanipal-king-world-king-assyria [accessed 26.11.2023]; *A library fit for a* king....

71 See *ASBP Corpus*, http://oracc.iaas.upenn.edu/asbp/pager [accessed 26.11.2023].

72 *Research project: reconstructing a 2,500 year old medical encyclopaedia*, https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/projects/reconstructing-2500-year-old-medical-encyclopaedia [accessed 26.11.2023].

into English. In addition, it has been provided with an index of all ingredients and medical techniques used at the time.[73]

When answering the question about writing materials, Józef Muczkowski also characterised parchment. Some of the oldest parchment documents known to date are fragments found in 1923 in Dura Europos dating to the first years of the 2nd century BC.[74] They were encountered during excavations carried out jointly between 1920 and 1936 by Yale University and the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. The course of work and research on the discoveries at Dura Europos was described by the then leader of the campaign, the American archaeologist Clark Hopkins, in his publication *The Discovery of Dura-Europos*.[75] Most of the parchments (but also papyri) found there were in Latin. Much of it has also been published in print, except a few that were in fragments, now stored at the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library in New Haven.[76] They include both literary and liturgical texts. Some are official documents and military records written in Greek or Latin.[77]

Another great and again completely accidental discovery was made in August 1947 in Qumran on the Dead Sea.[78] According to a parable, a Bedouin named Ed-Dhib, while searching for a goat that had escaped him near Qumran, came across eleven caves filled with manuscripts. Of course, this legend can be questioned, as he probably discovered the caves while looking for secluded places to store illegally transported items. The explanation for questioning this theory is even trivial – the discovery was made in August when

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73 *The Nineveh Medical Project*, http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/asbp/ninmed/project/index.html [accessed 26.11.2023].

74 A. Świderkówna, M. Nowicka, *Książka się rozwija*, Wydawnictwo Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław, Warsaw, Kraków 2008, p. 48.

75 C. Hopkins, B. Goldman (ed.), *The Discovery of Dura-Europos*, Yale University Press, New Haven, London 1979.

76 G. Iovine, 'Unpublished latin papyri from Dura-Europos at the Beinecke Library', *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, 2019, vol. 56, pp. 95-96.

77 G. D. Kilpatrick, 'Dura-Europos: The Parchments and the Papyri', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 1964, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 215-216.

78 A. Świderkówna, M. Nowicka, *Książka się…*, p. 46.

the temperatures at the Dead Sea were too high to lead goats out to pasture. However, this does not change the fact that Ed-Dhib may have been the first to see the treasures hidden in the depths of the caves. Unfortunately, the discovery bears many signs of crime. The Bedouin told his friends about his adventure, about the jugs he had found and the scrolls they contained, and together, they divided up the spoils and began to trade them. In this way, some of the scrolls were sold to Kando, a cobbler and an antique dealer operating in Bethlehem, for a mere five dollars. After a thorough inspection of the purchase, he wished to consult a specialist and attempted to read the manuscripts.[79] To this end, he contacted the Syrian Metropolitan Athanasius, residing at St Mark's Monastery in Jerusalem. This man, interested in the manuscripts, bought them for $100 or $150,[80] and, in turn, took steps to establish what the acquired works were. These activities were shrouded in great secrecy and lasted two years. Some sought charlatanism in their discovery and unprecedentedly propounded theories that the texts were new.[81] In November 1947, an archaeologist and professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem – Eleazar Lipa Sukenik – bought back the manuscripts from a Kando trader and began researching their origins. Upon learning of the existence of further unexplored scrolls in the hands of the Metropolitan of Syria, other academic institutions stepped in to help recover the works and undertake research. The French School of Biblical and Archaeological Studies in Jerusalem and the American School of Oriental Studies were involved.

After years of research, it is known that E. L. Sukenik purchased from Kando a fragment of the book of Isaiah, a work he entitled 'The war of the sons of light against the sons of darkness' and a collection of hymns of thanksgiving. On the other hand, among the works that the Syrian Metropolitan purchased were: *the full text*

79 M. Belis, 'In search of the Qumran Library', *Near Eastern Archaeology*, 2000, vol. 63, no. 3, p. 122.

80 Ibid, p. 122; E. Dąbrowski, "Odkrycia nad Morzem Martwym po dziesięciu latach (1947-1957)", *Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny*, 1957, R. 10, no. 6, p. 359.

81 M. Belis, 'In search of the...', p. 122.

of the book of Isaiah, a commentary on the prophecy of Habakkuk, a rule of religious association called 'Manuale disciplinae', a scroll unfolded only in 1956, initially called 'Lamech's Apocalypse', and containing, as it turned out, an Aramaic commentary on the book of Genesis.[82]

Research at Qumran continued for many years, with scientific expeditions yielding many finds. They were not among the simple ones due to the then ongoing armed conflict following the division of Palestine in 1947 proposed by the UN. Actual excavation of the caves did not begin until 15 February 1949. Unfortunately, due to earlier looting of the caves, some finds could not be saved.[83] However, the caves hid a wealth of fragments and complete works. In total, *almost 600 different works have been discovered in the eleven caves of Qumran,*[84] *of which only about 10 in their entirety and others in larger or smaller fragments containing sometimes only a few sentences. These are mainly biblical texts constituting almost completely the so-called 'Palestinian canon*'.[85] These works were mostly written in Hebrew. Several apocrypha were also found among them.[86] Among other things, a copper scroll found in the third cave in 1952 is also an interesting find. This is because it contains clues to the hidden valuables. It is, in a way, a treasure map with links to places that are now no longer identifiable, such as 'In the second enclosure, in the underground passage facing east…'.[87]

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82 E. Dąbrowski, "Odkrycia nad Morzem…", p. 360.

83 M. Belis, 'In search of the…', p. 123.

84 We now know of a much larger collection. An online inventory of the collections found at Qumran conducted by Mitchell A. Hoselton states that a total of 790 pieces were found in all 11 caves, in terms of works and their fragments identified and unidentified. According to the inventory, the individual pieces found in the caves are as follows, in Grotto 1 - 72 copies, Grotto 2 - 33 copies, Grotto 3 - 14 copies, Grotto 4 - 561 copies, Grotto 5 - 25 copies, Grotto 6 - 31 copies, Grotto 7 - 19 copies, Grotto 8 - 8 copies, Grotto 9 - 1 copy, Grotto 10 - 1 copy, Grotto 11 - 25 copies. See M. A. Hoselton, *Dead Sea Scrolls & Qumran – Inventory of Manuscripts from Qumran*, https://www.bibliotecapleyades.net/scrolls_deadsea/inventory/caves.htm [accessed 28.11.2023].

85 E. Dąbrowski, "Odkrycia nad Morzem…", p. 366.

86 Ibid, pp. 366-370.

87 M. J. Lundberg, *Copper Scroll*, https://web.archive.org/web/20110303234829/http://www.usc.edu/dept/LAS/wsrp/educational_site/dead_sea_scrolls/copperscroll.shtml [accessed 28.11.2023]; R. R. Cargill, *On the Insignificance and the Abuse of the*

Just a few tens of kilometres from Qumran, further ancient materials were found in 1970 In Ein-Gedi, an ancient synagogue was discovered with a mosaic-like inscription in Hebrew and Aramaic.[88] Charred fragments of parchment scrolls were also encountered at the time. These were secured by the Israel Antiquities Authority and waited nearly 40 years to find the opportunity to open them safely and read them. The structure of the fragments found was in very poor condition and any physical touch caused all the archaeological material to disintegrate.[89] One of the scrolls stood out from the rest because it was located right in the ruins of an ancient temple. It was thus singled out for research. In 2014, the curator and also the director of the Dead Sea Scrolls Project at the Israel Antiquities Authority – Pnina Shor – contacted the aforementioned Dr W. Brent Seales to provide CT scan data of the scrolls. The team, led by Seales, then became the first to ever[90] 'virtually unwrap' the scroll.[91] By using various methods of digitisation, segmenting the fragments, flattening them, texturing them and then combining them, it was possible to obtain a set of 2D images that allowed the text to be identified and read. The scroll found at Ein-Gedi is the oldest scroll of the Pentateuch in Hebrew known to date, containing the book of Leviticus.[92]

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, knowledge of book history was shaped at different levels depending on the subject matter taken up and the related branch of general history. *There was also a place for bibliological problems in eighteenth-century cultural historiography but both in the theoretical and programmatic declarations*

Copper Scroll, https://web.archive.org/web/20180705134812/http://www.biblein-terp.com/opeds/copper.shtml [accessed 28.11.2023].

88 I. Kalimi, *The retelling of chronicles in Jewish tradition and literature a historical journey*, Penn State University Press, Winona Lake 2009, pp. 133-137.

89 W. B. Seales, et al, 'From damage to discovery via virtual unwrapping: Reading the scroll from En-Gedi', *Science Advances*, 2016, vol. 2, z. 9, p. [1], https://www-1science-1org-1h9xsv2kw2d98.hps.bj.uj.edu.pl/doi/epdf/10.1126/sciadv.1601247 [accessed 01.12.2023].

90 The second 'Virtual unpacking' concerned the papyri found at Herculaneum.

91 *The Scroll from En-Gedi*, https://www2.cs.uky.edu/dri/the-scroll-from-en-gedi/ [accessed 01.12.2023].

92 W. B. Seales, et al, 'From damage to discovery...', pp. [1-9].

and in the attempts to implement them, book issues were rarely discussed directly and presented more broadly. In the synthetic outlines of the cultural history of the time, the history of the book was only one strand, modestly included in addition [...].[93] Nowadays, knowledge of the history of the book, and the materials used in the creation of various kinds of documents, is widely available. Over the years, many studies relating to the history of library science in the broadest sense have been published. In the twentieth century, international conventions, e.g. papyrologists, also began to be organised.[94] The study of library and book science also allows for many interdisciplinary considerations in harmony with historians, archaeologists, and computer scientists. The technology available also makes it possible to carry out complex research. The lengthy archaeological work, the meticulous preservation of found materials and their restoration are just a few of the activities that make it possible to rediscover past history. The use of computer, X-ray and artificial intelligence techniques makes it possible to discover the content of manuscript documents without risking their destruction. The prospect of further development of forms of verification of archaeological material found is promising. Indeed, there are still many unidentified fragments found during excavations in various corners of the world that are waiting to be made public.

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93 A. Żbikowska-Migoń, *Historia książki w XVIII wieku*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1989, p. 32.

94 The first such convention was held in Brussels in 1930. See J. Manteuffel, *Rozwój i potrzeby papyrologji*, in: *Nauka Polska: jej potrzeby, organizacja i rozwój: w pięćdziesięciolecie Kasy imienia Mianowskiego MDCCCLXXXI-MCMXXXI*, Kasa *im.* Józefa Mianowskiego, Warsaw 1932, vol. 15, p. 289.

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DE LA PLUME AU CLAVIER OU COMMENT UN CENTRE D'ARCHIVES PEUT-IL AFFRONTER LA TRANSITION NUMÉRIQUE

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ABSTRACT

The digital transitions of archival centers such as the Archives and Museum of Literature in Brussels present unprecedented challenges in terms of the collection, preservation, and enhancement of literary heritage. The management of born-digital archives requires tailored protocols and a revision of traditional methods. The volatility and intangible nature of digital archives demand greater vigilance to ensure their integrity and authenticity. Digitization and online initiatives, like those undertaken by the AML, highlight the opportunities offered by digital technologies to make literary heritage more accessible, while underscoring the need for innovative solutions to sustainably preserve and enhance these new types of documents.

KEYWORDS: literary heritage, digital archive, Belgian french-speaking literature, digital transformation

> Je n'ai gardé aucun des brouillons de *La Salle de bain*, je les ai tous brûlés avant de quitter l'Algérie, des centaines de brouillons que j'ai brûlés un soir au coucher du soleil dans les poubelles publiques de la Cité d'Aïn d'Heb à Médéa quelques jours avant mon départ.
>
> *Jean-Philippe Toussaint*[1]

Introduction

Les Archives et Musée de la Littérature sont le plus grand centre dédié à la mémoire de la littérature et du théâtre en Belgique francophone ; ils se trouvent en plein cœur de Bruxelles. Portant sur un empan qui va du XIXe siècle jusqu'à nos jours, leurs collections, qui rassemblent manuscrits, correspondances, photos, documents audio et vidéo, objets et œuvres d'art, ainsi qu'un fonds bibliographique de quelque 100 000 volumes et pratiquement autant de numéros de revues, ne cessent de croître. Chaque année, de nouvelles acquisitions viennent enrichir les rayonnages qui, au moment de rédiger cet article, atteignent déjà plus de 6 km linéaires.

Depuis près de trente ans, soit quasiment une génération, aux traditionnels supports physiques et analogiques sont venues s'ajouter des archives numériques, dont la collecte, la description et la conservation ont ouvert de nouvelles problématiques. En effet, l'archivage du patrimoine littéraire numérique n'implique pas, simplement, de stocker des données. Il faut pouvoir les conserver de manière intelligente afin de permettre leur exploitation dans le temps tout en conservant leur intégrité. De plus, les évolutions rapides liées aux usages des outils informatiques ont donné lieu à de nouveaux types d'archives : emails, bases de données, photos numériques, matériel audiovisuel, échanges sur les réseaux sociaux, pages web, blogs, etc. Leur forme tout autant que leurs caractéristiques intrinsèques échappent aux modes de description classiques et normalisés des archives analogiques, littéraires ou autres. Il faut donc mettre en place de nouveaux protocoles adaptés à ces supports, tant pour la conservation (Quel format est répu-

1 J.-P. Toussaint, *Mes bureaux, Luoghi dove scrivo*, Mestre-Venezia, Amos Edizioni, 2005.

té pérenne ? Faut-il conserver localement ou sur le *Cloud*[2] ? Qu'en est-il de la réplication ?), que pour le traitement et la description ; sans parler de la mise à disposition et de la valorisation.

Les problématiques et les questionnements liés à l'archive nativement numérique semblent être sans fin. Le point de vue assumé dans les prochaines lignes sera non pas celui du chercheur, mais davantage celui de la responsable d'un centre d'archives littéraires et théâtrales, qui doit affronter ce changement de paradigme et les défis qu'il implique. Mes réflexions prendront diverses directions, plus exploratoires et ouvertes à la réflexion que péremptoires et définitives. Dans plusieurs cas, je nourrirai mes questionnements d'exemples concrets, dans une démarche volontairement empirique.

Archives Littéraires Numériques : Petit État de la Question

Les archives, on le sait, font partie d'un ensemble plus large que l'on dénomme patrimoine. En 2003, l'Unesco a adopté le premier texte reconnaissant la valeur culturelle et mémorielle du patrimoine dit numérique : la *Charte sur la conservation du patrimoine numérique*[3]. Dans ce texte essentiel, des notions telles que *l'héritage, l'accès et la conservation* sont mobilisées et inscrivent de facto le patrimoine numérique dans la continuité du patrimoine documentaire, au sens traditionnel du mot. La charte souligne le rôle que doivent jouer les institutions dans ces opérations de collecte, de conservation et d'accessibilité, ainsi que la nécessité de disposer d'une législation encadrant ces politiques patrimoniales. En outre, la charte fait la distinction entre les ressources « d'origine numérique », à savoir celles qui « existent uniquement sous leur forme numérique initiale » et celles qui sont « converties sous forme numérique à partir de ressources analogiques existantes ».

2 On appelle *Cloud* ou *Cloud computing* le fait d'utiliser, au lieu de serveurs ou de solutions de stockage locaux, des serveurs distants, hébergés dans des centres de données, pour stocker, gérer et traiter les données numériques.

3 Unesco, *Charte sur la conservation du patrimoine numérique*, Paris, 2003, https://www.unesco.org/fr/legal-affairs/charter-preservation-digital-heritage [accès 24/7/2024].

Aujourd'hui, quand on parle d'archives littéraires pouvant servir à une valorisation philologique, il s'agit le plus souvent d'archives numérisées – donc le deuxième cas envisagé par la charte de l'Unesco. En mettant à la disposition des chercheurs des *images* de manuscrits ou de correspondances, on permet à ceux-ci de procéder à une transcription, une étude critique, génétique ou philologique, ou tout autre modalité d'une valorisation, héritière, en définitive, de ce qui existe dans l'édition papier classique. Certes, de nouveaux espaces ont été ouverts par les technologies informatiques ou celles du web, telles que les possibilités de corriger ou d'amender à tout moment le travail, d'effectuer des recherches à même le texte, de mener à bien des analyses statistiques, etc. Mais cela ne suffit pas – en tout cas, pas dans l'immédiat – pour différencier fondamentalement le résultat du travail du philologue du premier quart du XXI^e^ siècle de celui de son homologue du XX^e^.

Notons toutefois que, du point de vue des méthodes pratiques, les développements technologiques constants ne cessent d'offrir au chercheur de nouveaux outils mobilisables, voire de révolutionner les méthodes mêmes d'approche du texte. Pour Jean-Baptiste Camps, on peut utiliser dans ce cas le terme de *philologie numérique* qui :

> peut alors être définie comme une transformation dans les méthodes d'établissement du texte et d'analyse, par l'intégration d'outils computationnels, dès que ceux-ci peuvent apporter des gains dans le processus d'établissement du texte (gains de temps, de finesse, de granularité dans la transcription, la collation…), sa représentation (enrichissement par la représentation de phénomènes graphiques, linguistiques, sémantiques…, et enregistrement des opérations éditoriales dans l'édition même) ou son analyse scientifique. Le contraste avec la philologie traditionnelle en sort renforcé[4].

De plus, d'un point de vue non plus strictement technologique, mais humain, quand il s'appuie sur du matériau numérisé, le travail d'édition peut désormais être assumé en parallèle par plu-

4 J.-B. Camps, « Où va la philologie numérique ? », *Fabula-LhT*, n° 20, janvier 2018, http://www.fabula.org/lht/20/camps.html [accès 24/7/2024].

sieurs personnes, qu'elles soient membres d'une même équipe ou qu'il s'agisse d'individus isolés les uns des autres, via du *crowdsourcing*, par exemple. Ce ne sont là que quelques possibilités dont les développements sont loin d'avoir atteint leurs limites.

Valorisation D'archives Numérisées : Des Projets Réalisés Par Les Aml

S'agissant d'archives numérisées, les AML ont mené à bien plusieurs projets de valorisation ces dernières années. Ainsi, pendant plus de quatre ans, entre 2014 et 2018, au moment des commémorations du centenaire de la Première Guerre mondiale, un site a été spécialement créé dans le but de faire connaître des archives liées à cette période historique[5]. Construit et diffusé sur le principe d'un parcours chronologique, ce site avait pour objectif non seulement de diffuser un choix d'archives numérisées, mais surtout, d'en retranscrire certaines parties et de les éditorialiser : en définitive, de donner à voir le potentiel de l'archive pour documenter et faire ressentir l'expérience de la Grande Guerre par les personnalités littéraires. Ce projet est exemplaire du processus de patrimonialisation numérique : « le savoir-faire des archives en matière de collecte, de description, de conservation et de diffusion des documents est mis à la portée d'un public large grâce à la numérisation. »[6]

En amont de cette opération de valorisation, de grandes quantités de documents ont été numérisées, dont certains dans le cadre d'une campagne spécialement menée par le projet Europeana 14-18[7]. Les AML ont ainsi pu bénéficier de la puissante dynamique de ce portail européen qui, malgré ses limites[8], a encouragé de nom-

5 AML, *Quand nos écrivains racontaient leur guerre*, 2014-2018, https://1418.aml-cfwb.be/ [accès 24/7/2024].

6 E. Bermès, *De l'écran à l'émotion. Quand le numérique devient patrimoine*, Paris, École nationale des Chartes – PSL, 2024, p. 140.

7 *Europeana 14-18*, http://www.europeana1914-1918.eu/fr [accès 24/7/2024].

8 Ainsi, comme le souligne Emmanuelle Bermès, le « manque de pertinence de son moteur de recherche et l'absence d'une expérience unifiée de consultation pour les usagers » (E. Bermès, op. cit., p. 60).

breuses institutions patrimoniales à se lancer dans une telle initiative numérique grâce au partage des compétences et à la mutualisation des moyens[9].

Dans un même ordre d'idées, en 2015, les carnets de campagne du poète-soldat Louis Boumal, dont les AML conservent le fonds d'archives, ont été mis en ligne. Au sein des archives de ce poète, victime indirecte de la guerre en 1918, se trouvent ses carnets de campagne. Plus que le journal de bord d'un jeune intellectuel confronté à l'horreur et à l'absurdité de la Première Guerre mondiale, cet objet multiforme sert à la fois de laboratoire d'écriture et de moyen pour maintenir une part d'humanité au sein du chaos environnant. L'auteur y rend compte de son quotidien comme de ses pensées intimes, de ses réflexions littéraires et de ses idées politiques ou philosophiques. Mais Louis Boumal utilise régulièrement ses carnets comme s'il s'agissait d'un support d'expérimentation. On y trouve des poèmes, des ébauches de récits, des articles de fond qui s'insèrent au cœur de la narration, comme autant de projets d'écriture destinés à la publication.

Le projet d'édition des carnets a consisté à afficher en vis-à-vis l'original numérisé et sa transcription[10]. Aucun commentaire additionnel n'a été ajouté[11], hormis une introduction générale au projet, afin de laisser à l'utilisateur la liberté de s'approprier le contenu sans être influencé par une quelconque analyse. Toutefois, comme l'archive se présente sous une forme chronologique, il nous a semblé judicieux de faire ressortir le séquençage qui rythme l'écriture et lui imprime une certaine valeur sémantique. C'est pourquoi, en

9 La numérisation d'une grande partie des archives des AML, diffusées via Europeana, a été prise en charge, à l'époque, par KBR (Bibliothèque royale de Belgique), institution qui héberge les AML et qui était partenaire institutionnelle d'Europeana.

10 AML, *Carnets de campagne de Louis Boumal,* http://1418.aml-cfwb.be/boumal [accès 24/7/2024].

11 Notons cependant que ce travail d'édition des Carnets de campagne a bénéficié à l'édition, sous format papier cette fois, des *Écrits de guerre* de Louis Boumal, rassemblant toute sa production entre 1914 et 1918, à l'exception des Carnets (L. Boumal, *Écrits de guerre*, édition réalisée par Laurence Boudart et Gérald Purnelle, Bruxelles, AML éditions, 2018, coll. « Archives du Futur »).

plus du texte, nous avons ajouté un calendrier sur lequel les jours d'écriture sont colorés, chaque tonalité signalant le lien matériel avec le carnet auquel il appartient. Plus qu'un gadget, cet élément permet de visualiser rapidement la concentration ou, au contraire, l'espacement des périodes de rédaction du journal, tout comme la manière dont l'écriture se distribue dans chaque carnet – entre condensation et dilatation.

Valorisation D'archives Numérisées : Les Projets En Cours Ou À L'étude

Plus récemment, un autre projet lié à des contenus archivistiques numérisés est venu enrichir nos initiatives de valorisation. À l'occasion de l'entrée dans le domaine public de l'écrivain et plasticien Jean De Boschère en 2024 et de la tenue de la « Journée internationale du domaine public »[12], les AML se sont associés à une démarche de diffusion de contenus sur le web, en collaboration avec la KBR (Bibliothèque royale de Belgique). Le projet consiste à mettre en ligne, sur Wikidata et Wikimedia, les références de certaines œuvres de Jean De Boschère, en proposant un contenu éditorialisé[13]. Précédemment, les AML avaient déjà mis en valeur certaines archives provenant de cet écrivain ou liées à lui, présentes dans leurs collections. Cela avait notamment été le cas lors d'une exposition qui s'était tenue en 2017 à la Wittockiana[14] et dans un livre de la collection « Archives du Futur »[15]. Certaines pièces avaient alors été numérisées, mais sans une politique élaborée ou concertée.

Toujours en cours au moment de rédiger cet article, le projet se décline en diverses phases. Premièrement, il s'est agi d'analyser les collections des AML en vue de sélectionner une centaine de docu-

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12 https://www.kbr.be/fr/evenement/journee-du-domaine-public-2023/ [accès 24/7/2024].

13 Voir https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Jean_de_Bosschere [accès 24/7/2024].

14 Musée des arts du livre et de la reliure situé à Bruxelles.

15 V. Jago-Antoine, *Dire et (contre)faire. Jean de Boschère, imagier rebelle des années vingt*, Bruxelles, AML Éditions, 2017, coll. « Archives du Futur » [accès 24/7/2024].

ments pour la numérisation. Un premier quart a été numérisé au début de 2024, le reste étant prévu dans le courant de cette même année. Notons d'emblée que nous avons écarté de ce choix la correspondance, car les lettres sont considérées comme trop « spécialisées » sur le plan du décryptage et de la contextualisation encyclopédique pour un lecteur non averti.

Les pièces sélectionnées relèvent de différentes catégories, dont la pertinence a été évaluée à l'aune de plusieurs critères :

a) Deux objets en 3 dimensions, emblématiques de l'activité d'auteur et de plasticien de De Boschère.

b) Des manuscrits. Comme il s'agit d'une mise en ligne, le choix se porte sur un manuscrit court, à savoir *Le Maçon*, soit six pages, qui montre l'écriture calligraphique si caractéristique de Jean De Boschère. Une page de *La Nef des fous* est retenue pour montrer le travail de l'auteur. Comme il ne s'agit pas de fournir en ligne une édition génétique, nous ne montrerons qu'une seule page, à titre d'échantillon.

c) Un livre en exemplaire unique, *Le Bourg*, entièrement conçu de la main de l'auteur (texte calligraphié et dessins). C'est une pièce rare, que les AML ont acquise récemment.

d) La première page du manuscrit *Filigranes entre le ciel et l'enfer*, inédit. Ici s'exprime la volonté de ne pas tout dévoiler s'agissant d'un texte inédit. La couverture est intéressante : conçue par l'auteur, elle porte la mention « éditeurs ».

e) Des illustrations : dessins préparatoires au trait (*Le Décameron*) ; des projets pour un livre pour enfants ; d'autres illustrations beaucoup plus accrocheuses et abouties. Certaines existent à l'état isolé, comme « Un individu particulièrement louche », d'autres ont été réalisées pour des livres, comme l'illustration noire de la mort (*Béâle-Gryne*) ou « Le Boulanger ».

Les illustrations retenues sont représentatives des multiples styles graphiques de l'auteur, produites au fil du temps, au gré des intentions ou des commandes.

À terme, les AML pourraient contribuer spontanément à ce type de valorisation, chaque année, soit par rétro-numérisation, soit par suivi des auteurs qui entrent dans le domaine public. Ce cas récent, toujours en cours d'élaboration au moment de rédiger cet article, relève d'une valorisation de type « grand public », qui passe par un canal ouvert. Wikimedia Commons se définit en effet comme

> une médiathèque multilingue de contenus (images, sons et vidéos) à vocation pédagogique, relevant du domaine public ou publiés sous licence libre. […] À la différence des banques de médias traditionnelles, Wikimedia Commons est libre. Tout un chacun peut librement et gratuitement copier, réutiliser, modifier les fichiers disponibles ici, pourvu que les conditions indiquées par l'auteur soient respectées[16].

D'autres projets de nature scientifique sont actuellement à l'étude, comme la publication des Carnets de Maurice Maeterlinck. Il s'agira cette fois de coupler la retranscription d'un texte réputé complexe avec des notes contextuelles, celles-ci pouvant être constamment modifiées et rechargées via une plateforme d'usage intuitif, sans XML.

Et L'archive Nativement Numérique ?

Les exemples présentés ci-dessus concernent tous des archives numérisées. Or, comme signalé précédemment, un centre d'archives comme les AML est confronté, depuis au moins les années 1990, à des archives littéraires dématérialisées nativement numériques. Sous ce syntagme se cachent en réalité plusieurs types d'objets, que l'on pourrait synthétiser, à la suite de Benoît Epron, Nathalie Pinède et Agnieszka Tona, comme « toute chose concrète, fabriquée à l'aide des technologies numériques et perceptibles par nos sens (visuel, auditif, tactile). »[17]

Si l'on s'en tient à la définition donnée par l'Unesco en 2003, il ne fait aucun doute que les archives littéraires nées numériques, rassemblées et conservées par les AML, ressortissent au patrimoine. À ce titre, il convient donc de les préserver et de les donner en

16 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Commons:Welcome/fr.

17 B. Epron, N. Pinède et A. Tona, 'Introduction, *Balisages*, n°1, 2020, http://journals.openedition.org/balisages/352 [accès 27/4/2024].

consultation. Or ces objets patrimoniaux d'un genre (relativement) nouveau ne sont pas sans poser divers problèmes. D'une part, quant à leur légitimité : en ce qu'« ils se rapprochent d'autres artefacts issus de la culture de masse ou de l'industrie », ils sont souvent considérés comme « non nobles »[18], tant par les donateurs potentiels que par les professionnels de l'archive, voire par les utilisateurs eux-mêmes. D'autre part, ils conjuguent deux traits propres au numérique en général : ces archives sont volatiles et dépourvues de matérialité.

En effet, l'un des traits les plus distinctifs de ces objets tient au fait qu'ils sont susceptibles de se reconfigurer en permanence sur l'écran, en fonction de l'environnement dans lequel ils se situent ou duquel ils sont issus. En outre, ils possèdent des propriétés complexes, souvent cachées au cœur du système informatique et, de ce fait, invisibles pour l'usager. Loin de les nimber d'une aura de mystère, cette caractéristique les rend parfois plus insaisissables, ce qui ne facilite pas leur appropriation symbolique par la communauté.

Comme l'explique Céline Guyon, le document numérique interrogerait la notion même de fixité de l'archive, qui est une donne essentielle de la pratique professionnelle, entraînant de ce fait une remise en question profonde des usages du métier :

> le numérique vient bousculer la stabilité inhérente au document d'archives sur support papier : le support n'est plus en capacité de garantir la fixité du document d'archives et les objets nativement numériques ont justement comme qualité intrinsèque d'être instables. Le document d'archives numérique est dès lors pris dans une double instabilité, de sa forme et de son contenu informationnel.[19]

Du point de vue de la conservation, par exemple, dès lors qu'une archive numérique entre aux AML, elle est copiée sur un serveur

18 E. Bermès, op. cit., p. 61.

19 C. Guyon, 'L'archivage comme dispositif de transformation de la nature intrinsèque des objets nativement numériques, *Balisages*, 1, 2020, http://journals.openedition.org/balisages/282 [accès 27/4/2024].

propre à l'institution, ce qui modifie déjà son support de conservation. Mais il arrive également que ce transfert suppose une migration de format, qui ne préserve que le contenu au détriment de la forme originale du document numérique (songeons, par exemple, à la conservation des mails). Cette migration s'avère certes nécessaire pour préserver le document, mais elle altère sa forme. Le lecteur perçoit bien ici tout le paradoxe de l'opération.

L'instabilité matérielle de l'archive littéraire numérique entraîne dans son sillage une interrogation sur son authenticité. Or, on le sait également, ce critère détermine la valeur de l'archive et sa caractéristique intrinsèque de trace probatoire. Quelle est, dès lors, la valeur d'authenticité et, *in fine*, d'usage, d'une archive numérique ? C'est ici que les institutions jouent un rôle essentiel : en introduisant des procédures normées, de la collecte à la reproduction, les professionnels de l'archive s'imposent comme les garants de la valeur patrimoniale des archives numériques qu'ils conservent.

Du Côté Des Producteurs D'archives

Avant de poursuivre la réflexion, sans doute est-il utile de définir une autre différenciation, liée cette fois au support de publication. En effet, au sein de ce déjà vaste ensemble, il convient de distinguer les archives littéraires servant à la publication d'un livre papier (ou un epub) et celles qui ressortissent à la littérature que l'on appelle, parfois, hypermédiatique. Celle-ci existe souvent en dehors des circuits habituels qui constituent le champ littéraire institutionnalisé (et pré-numérique). Actuellement, en l'absence d'instances de légitimation et, a fortiori, d'une tradition bien installée, ces productions échappent encore très souvent aux processus de patrimonialisation – et donc, pour le moment en tout cas, demeurent en dehors des radars des AML, qui ne pratiquent pas d'archivage du web.

Il existe également un espace, disons pour faire simple, intermédiaire entre cette pratique hypermédiatique et la littérature appelée à une diffusion traditionnelle. Dans un article déjà ancien à l'échelle des évolutions rapides des pratiques du milieu, Alexandre

Gefen pointait du doigt « Le devenir numérique de la littérature française » et évoquait, entre autres éléments, l'utilisation par des écrivains « traditionnels » des espaces numériques tels Twitter, Facebook ou des blogs. Gefen identifiait dans ces supports à contraintes des « cadres productifs », à même de renouveler pratiques, genres et démarches stylistiques :

> Ces écritures croisées du blog et du papier mériteraient une étude fine des échanges et des circulations qui s'y jouent, car il me semble que s'y inventent des formes qui ne sont ni tout à fait celles de l'écriture brève et du style coupé propres à la tradition du livre, ni tout à fait celles du blog numérique : la conversion numérique de la culture possède assurément nombre de conséquences indirectes, si ce n'est souterraines, sur la langue autant que sur les pratiques génériques.[20]

Il me semble que de telles pratiques, largement répandues désormais au sein de la communauté littéraire – et pas que littéraire, d'ailleurs – mériteraient l'attention d'analyses scientifiques, ce que la constitution de fonds d'archives de ce type pourrait sans aucun doute contribuer à stimuler.

Quoi qu'il en soit, il ne semble plus faire de doute pour personne que les manuscrits nativement numériques seront amenés, à terme, à remplacer les supports physiques équivalents. Or, la gestion d'un fonds d'archives littéraires numériques soulève quelques questions d'ordre pratique, qui vont de l'opération de sensibilisation et de collecte, à la valorisation, en passant par la description et la préservation pérenne.

Aujourd'hui, il est encore difficile de convaincre les écrivain.e.s de conserver et d'identifier les étapes successives d'un travail d'écriture mené uniquement par ordinateur. Cette prise de conscience n'est pas spontanée chez la plupart d'entre eux et nécessite donc, de la part des AML, un notable effort de pédagogie – qui se révèle, hélas, souvent vain. Autant l'écrivain e peut entendre l'importance

20 A. Gefen, « Le devenir numérique de la littérature française », *Implications philosophiques. Espace de recherche et de diffusion*, 19 juin 2012, https://www.implications-philosophiques.org/le-devenir-numerique-de-la-litterature-francaise/ [accès 27/4/2024].

de conserver des manuscrits papier, des notes ou des brouillons, autant cette même prise de conscience tarde à s'imposer dans les mentalités de l'écrivain du premier quart du XXIe siècle quand il s'agit de la modalité informatique.

Il y a quelques années, j'avais interrogé le dramaturge Jean-Marie Piemme sur ses pratiques scripturales. Né en 1944, cet auteur est arrivé assez tard à l'écriture. À dire vrai, de son propre aveu, sa créativité s'est libérée quand il a pu utiliser un medium non manuscrit, qui le bloquait. Voici ce qu'il me confiait lorsque je lui demandais s'il conservait les différentes étapes de son travail :

> Si je commence à garder toutes les variantes, à un moment donné, je suis noyé. Parfois, il y a tellement de variantes qu'il faudrait un logiciel spécifique ou un secrétariat à temps plein pour gérer le tout. Au début, je le faisais. Je trouvais qu'il était très intéressant de tout garder. Je me suis vite rendu compte que c'était un vrai marécage, que je m'enfonçais là-dedans, que je perdais du temps à chercher : fantasmatiquement, je croyais les anciennes formulations bien meilleures que celles que j'étais en train d'écrire. Ensuite, quand, après avoir fouillé dans les dossiers, je les retrouvais, je m'apercevais que ce n'était pas vraiment le cas. Alors j'ai opté pour la solution radicale. C'est-à-dire que je ne garde rien – enfin, je ne garde pas les traces des corrections. Cela me force à prendre mes responsabilités, notamment en cas de suppression. Donc je réfléchis à deux fois avant d'effacer. Et au final, je ne garde que les versions dites définitives. Ce n'est pas nécessairement la version définitive parce que je peux arriver à une version définitive 1, que je crois définitive, mais, pour laquelle, deux mois plus tard, j'ai une autre impulsion. Donc je me retrouve avec une version définitive 2. Ainsi je peux avoir des versions définitives successives. Souvent, je décide de garder la première et la dernière version et d'éliminer les versions intermédiaires, qui ne comportent généralement que des corrections de langue : j'ai changé une phrase, un mot, j'ai ajouté un petit bout de réplique. Mais je ne garde pas toutes les étapes, seulement les grands moments[21].

Il arrive pourtant que certains écrivains soient à ce point sensibilisés à la conservation de leurs archives qu'ils nous dament, pour

21 L. Boudart, « 'J'ai banni le stylo avec délice' », *Textyles*, n°60, 2021, pp. 127-136.

ainsi dire, le pion en proposant eux-mêmes de les valoriser via le web. C'est le cas du romancier belge Jean-Philippe Toussaint, qui a fait le choix de rendre publics quelques-uns de ses brouillons, notes et plans de travail. Le projet est bien connu des spécialistes de cet auteur et a d'ailleurs été abondamment commenté par lui-même (comme en 2015 dans la revue *Littérature*[22]). Il a également attiré l'attention de chercheurs en analyse génétique[23]. Néanmoins, étant donné la démarche particulière qui l'occupe, il me semble intéressant de le présenter rapidement.

Le romancier a mis au point un site, rassemblant un véritable gisement de données concernant son œuvre : les éditions, les traductions, les mémoires ou thèses, les ouvrages critiques… mais également, et c'est ce qui rend sa démarche véritablement originale, des manuscrits, notes et brouillons. Jean-Philippe Toussaint explique la genèse de ce projet par sa fascination pour Internet. Sans pour autant renoncer à la publication classique, en livre et avec le support d'un éditeur, l'auteur a décidé de donner un libre accès à certains de ses brouillons. En 2015, il déclarait ceci :

> J'ai écrit mes derniers livres sur un ordinateur et j'ai régulièrement fait des sauvegardes des différents états du manuscrit. Je l'ai fait d'un simple point de vue pratique, sans idée de constituer des archives, simplement pour pouvoir consulter une version antérieure du manuscrit. Ma façon d'écrire s'apparente un peu à un tournage de film, c'est-à-dire que je travaille par sessions, de trois semaines à deux mois. Entre ces sessions, je ne travaille pas. Après chaque session, je reprends mon manuscrit, je le relis, je le retravaille et je laisse reposer quelques mois. J'enregistre les versions au fur et à mesure en les datant à chaque fois. À la fin de l'écriture d'un livre, j'ai au moins une dizaine de versions sauvegardées, ainsi que de la documentation, de multiples variantes et des brouillons. Il y a là

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22 J.-P. Toussaint, « Mettre en ligne ses brouillons », *Littérature*, 178, 2015, pp. 117-126, https://www.cairn.info/revue-litterature-2015-2-page-117.htm [accès 27/4/2024]

23 Voir S. Chaudier (dir.), *Les vérités de Jean-Philippe Toussaint*, Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2016, ainsi que le colloque « Le Projet Réticence. Explorations des brouillons de Jean-Philippe Toussaint » (https://litt-arts.univ-grenoble-alpes.fr/fr/actualites/projet-reticence-explorations-brouillons-jean-philippe-toussaint-0) [accès 24/7/2024].

> une énorme masse de documents qui dort dans mon ordinateur. Je me suis dit que, si je décidais de mettre ces brouillons en ligne, ce serait une démarche vraiment spécifique à Internet. Il serait en effet inimaginable d'envisager de publier cela sur papier, aucun éditeur ne le pourrait physiquement ni n'en aurait envie. Mais cette décision n'était pas facile à prendre.

Passé le premier mouvement d'hésitation voire de gêne, Toussaint franchit le pas : « C'est un peu comme si mon ordinateur était en verre et que les internautes pouvaient regarder dedans. » Après un petit tri nécessaire et sans, bien entendu, publier en ligne le dernier état de son manuscrit ni les épreuves, pour ne pas entrer en concurrence avec son éditeur, les brouillons et étapes de travail sont livrés aux amateurs et chercheurs potentiels, sous une forme qui invite déjà à l'analyse philologique. Trois sections en effet se distinguent : « états du manuscrit », « plans, variantes et débris », « brouillons, manuscrits ».

Le romancier compare le contenu de cette dernière section à « des brouillons type XIX^e^ siècle », qui amènent l'observateur « au cœur de l'écriture ». Outre la démarche de visibilité contrôlée, ce qui est intéressant chez Toussaint, dans le cas de certains titres, c'est que ce qu'il dénomme « états du manuscrit » sont effectivement des documents Word exempts de toute trace matériellement manuscrite. Il procède pareillement lorsqu'il rend publique une partie de sa correspondance. À côté de ces sources brutes, numérisées ou nées numériques, Toussaint a également publié ce qu'il a appelé des « cahiers d'archives », constitués par des inédits restés à l'état d'ébauche, mais commentés par des universitaires. Trois textes sont actuellement disponibles et un quatrième est en préparation.

Audacieux et novateur, le projet numérique de Jean-Philippe Toussaint contribue à rendre transparent son processus d'écriture et, d'une certaine façon, à le démystifier. Il offre une perspective unique sur la genèse d'une œuvre littéraire et peut être très utile pour les recherches philologiques de ce type. Pour les chercheurs et les étudiants en littérature, avoir accès aux brouillons et aux ébauches d'un auteur contemporain (sans attendre qu'il soit décédé) est une mine d'or. De plus, en livrant (une sélection de) ses manuscrits à ses lecteurs, Toussaint crée une forme d'interaction et d'engagement. Ceux-ci peuvent suivre le développement d'une œuvre en temps presque réel, ce qui peut renforcer leur attachement à l'auteur et à son travail. Enfin, en les publiant en ligne, Toussaint assure une forme de préservation numérique de son travail. Les manuscrits ne sont pas seulement des documents physiques susceptibles de se détériorer, mais aussi des fichiers numériques accessibles à un public mondial.

Collecte Et Valorisation D'archives Nativement Numériques

Lorsqu'il est question de documents nativement numériques non textuels, la valorisation donne généralement lieu à peu de questionnement. Ainsi, visionne-t-on des photos ou des vidéos, écoute-t-on du son ou encore se promène-t-on virtuellement dans une exposition en ligne. Mais que se passe-t-il avec des manuscrits informatiques ? En 2020 et 2021, les AML se sont associés à un projet lancé par les deux fédérations professionnelles d'archivistes belges, destiné à collecter les traces, récits, témoignages, réflexions, photos… produits par les citoyens, citoyennes et organisations belges pendant le confinement. Le projet a été qualifié du syntagme « Archives de quarantaine ». Les AML ont immédiatement emboîté le pas de cette initiative et ont lancé un appel à tous les acteurs de la vie littéraire et théâtrale belge francophone. Le discours tenu était le suivant : « Les écrivains font partie de la société, ils en enregistrent dès lors eux aussi, à leur manière, les soubresauts et les crises. Que ces traces servent ensuite de matériaux pour une œuvre de plus lente gestation ou qu'elles ne soient qu'un *hapax*[24] me semble une question accessoire si l'on analyse les choses du point de vue de l'archive »[25].

24 On entend par *hapax* un mot, forme ou formule, ou par extension tout événement, qui ne compte qu'une seule occurrence.

25 https://le-carnet-et-les-instants.net/2020/05/06/les-aml-recoltent-les-archives-de-quarantaine-des-ecrivains/

Un appel avait été lancé via le site et les réseaux sociaux, rapidement relayé par des partenaires, expliquant que les documents reçus seraient non seulement conservés aux AML et décrits comme toute autre archive reçue par l'institution, mais avec une spécificité : « un mot-clé neuf à ajouter à notre thésaurus : 'Belgique – confinement'. Ce mot-clé permettra d'opérer une sélection quand, à l'avenir, un chercheur s'intéressera à cette période du point de vue littéraire ou théâtral. » De nombreux auteurs et autrices avaient répondu à l'appel. Du côté des archivistes, cette collecte a été une première occasion de prendre conscience de la valeur de l'archive littéraire numérique. Comme des pans entiers de la société étaient à l'arrêt ou vivaient au ralenti, ce nouvel arrivage soudain d'archives numériques a suscité un vrai intérêt auprès des professionnels de l'archive qui se sont pris au jeu. Saisir cette occasion a signifié aussi s'interroger efficacement sur les modes de traitement à donner à ces archives d'un genre (encore) nouveau pour un centre traditionnel comme les AML. En 2022, l'association des Archivistes francophones de Belgique a organisé une exposition virtuelle à partir de cette collecte inédite, à laquelle les AML ont participé en proposant certains des documents collectés et décrits pendant cette période particulière[26].

Conclusions

Il est évident que la petite promenade à la rencontre des archives numériques des AML, à laquelle j'ai convié le lecteur et la lectrice, a éludé de nombreuses questions, à commencer par la suivante : quel est le rôle du philologue à l'ère des humanités numériques et du big data ? Mais elle a le mérite – du moins, je l'espère – d'attirer l'attention de la communauté scientifique, au sens large, sur les effets concrets du changement de paradigme auquel on assiste. En matière de littérature, ces conséquences concernent l'ensemble de la chaîne de production-préservation-valorisation de l'archive. Loin

26 Voir https://archivesquarantainearchief.be/fr/ et l'exposition virtuelle : https://archivesquarantainearchief.be/expoaqa/s/expovirtuelle/page/expovirtuelle.

de constituer une perte, je suis convaincue que les chercheurs et chercheuses en littérature ont de nombreux avantages à obtenir de ces changements, à condition que les centres d'archives assument leur part de responsabilités. En mettant à profit les compétences acquises de longue date avec les archives papier ou analogiques, une institution comme les AML peut tirer parti de cette évolution et fournir à son public les sources nécessaires pour soutenir ses propres évolutions méthodologiques et conceptuelles.

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SHARED CARE FOR LIBRARY COLLECTIONS
THE ROLE OF THE MAURITS SABBE LIBRARY (KU LEUVEN) IN PRESERVING RELIGIOUS LIBRARY COLLECTIONS

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ABSTRACT

In the past 50 years the physical survival of book and manuscript collections in certain convent and abbey libraries in Flanders has become very precarious. Religious houses are closing down or divesting themselves of part of the buildings; there is often no staff left to take on the responsibility of managing the collections. Since its founding in 1974 as the library of the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, the Maurits Sabbe Library has defined the preservation of the precious collections owned by religious orders and congregations as one of its core tasks. Over the past five decades, contracts have been signed with more than 80 ecclesiastical institutions or religious orders and congregations. These agreements were mutually beneficial: the Maurits Sabbe Library and KU Leuven in general guaranteeded the religious partners, through substantial investments, a professional preservation, disclosure and valorisation of their endangered collections, but in its turn, thanks to this collaboration, KU Leuven has again acquired a heritage collection with international stature, after the disastrous losses of its collections caused by two world wars. In this article the origins and history of the cooperation between the Maurits Sabbe Library and Flemish religious institutions are discussed together with the way in which the preservation, disclosure and valorisation of these collections was and is handled.

KEYWORDS: religious libraries; religious documentary heritage; secularisation; Maurits Sabbe Library

1. Introduction: Religious Libraries in Flanders (Belgium)

Early modern Flanders was fertile ground for religious orders, especially the Jesuits. As early as 1542, when the Society of Jesus had been in existence for only two years, Jesuits settled in the Low Countries, first in Leuven; later other places followed, such as Antwerp in 1562, Bruges in 1570, Courtrai in 1588, Ghent in 1585, Ypres in the same year and Brussels in 1586. These Jesuits had important study houses and colleges with solid libraries of great scholarly value. Benedictines and Cistercians, Dominicans and Franciscans, Augustinians and Norbertines also developed study centres with libraries.

The end of the 18th century marked the first serious crisis period for religious libraries in Flanders. There were three major shock waves. When in 1773 the Jesuit order was abolished by Pope Clement XIV, the possessions of the Jesuits in the Low Countries – the books included – were confiscated by the State. The number of books from Belgian Jesuit libraries at the time is estimated at between 400.000 and 500.000. The manuscripts and valuable prints were transferred to the Royal Library in Brussels; the pedagogical books to schools and the other works were sold. More than 100.000 volumes were sold at auctions between 1777-1780, solely from the libraries of Jesuit colleges in the Southern Netherlands[1]. In the Austrian era, under Emperor Joseph II (decree of 1783), a large number of contemplative orders were abolished and their books sold. The ensuing French Revolution caused a complete decline in church librarianship with the forced breaking up of convent libraries and the secularisation of church property. Many valuable collections were confiscated and dragged to Paris. Other libraries served as basic collections for city libraries (e.g. Bruges, Antwerp, Malines) or the Royal Library of Brussels. Many books also came into the possession of private collectors.

The Belgian independence (1830) ushered in a particularly successful period in the history of religious institutions in Belgium. Belgian monasticism recovered impressively from the difficult period it faced during the 18th and early 19th centuries. In the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, some five hundred autonomous congregations or independent abbeys and monasteries saw the light of day in Belgium. Many orders and congregations tried to recover part of their old possessions through auctioning. Sometimes partial collections also had ended up with sympathisers who returned them to their original owners. Thus, during the 19th century, the libraries of religious institutes and seminaries were well developed.

Due to Anticlericalism in France at the beginning of the 20th century, 20.000 French religious took refuge in Belgium and thus brought a number of French religious libraries to Belgium, further enriching them[2].

The era of revival and exceptional expansion of religious life during the 19th and the first half of the 20th century was brought to an end by the cultural revolution of the 1960s which destabilised the central position of the Catholic Church in Western European societies[3].

1 Leo Kenis, "The Maurits Sabbe Library and Its Collection of Jesuit Books", in Paul Begheyn *et al.* (ed.), *Jesuit Books in the Low Countries 1540-1773*, Peeters, Leuven, 2009, XI-XIX, p. XIV.

2 E. D'HONDT, *Auflösung und Zusammenschluß von Kloster- und Abteibibliotheken in Belgien*, in *Mitteilungsblatt der Arbeitsgemeinshaft katholisch-theologischer Bibliotheken (AKTHB)* 42 (1995) 33-45, p. 34

3 Katrien Weyns and Kristien Suenens, *Negotiating a Future for Convent Libraries: KADOC-KU Leuven and Heritage Partnerships in Belgium*, in Leo Kenis *et al.* (ed.),

For the Belgian Catholic Church the 1960s were marked by the beginning of a very noticeable numerical decline of religious: the number of male and female religious decreased from over 62.000 at its height in 1947 to approximately 40.000 in 1973 and 7.985 in 2021[4]. When the Maurits Sabbe Library was founded in 1974, there was already a decrease of more than 35% in the number of male and female religious. In the second half of the 1960s the decline in the number of new candidates for the religious life and the priesthood was steep. In 74 years that is a decline of more than 86%, which is of course highly disruptive.

Religious superiors are faced with issues of reorganisation, both for financial reasons and to maintain dynamic communities. Many orders and congregations centralise their activities and regroup members. This means that religious houses, monasteries and abbeys are abandoned and often sold. Solutions have to be found for the library collection of those religious communities. Libraries always occupied a lot of physical space in the monasteries and in the new properties that are moved into, there is usually no room for an extensive collection[5].

2. The Maurits Sabbe Library: History and Mission

Since its inception in 1974 the Maurits Sabbe Library has served as an independent research facility for the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies at KU Leuven. Before 1974, the theological book collection was part of the Louvain University Library. At the beginning of the 20th century this library had grown into a very valuable collection, including ca. 300 000 books, 800 incunabula and 1000 manuscripts. In the four decades to come however, it was twice almost completely destroyed by acts of war. Furthermore in 1968

Theological Libraries and Library Associations in Europe. A Festschrift on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of BETH, Brill, Leiden, 2022, 333-356, p. 333.

4 *De Katholieke Kerk in België. Jaarrapport 2022*, p. 85. https://www.kerknet.be/sites/default/files/2022%20Jaarrapport%20katholieke%20Kerk.pdf

5 Weyns, *Negotiating*, p. 334 (See n. 3).

Fig. 1. Maurits Sabbe Library. ©Alexander Dumarey

the University of Louvain was split into separate Dutch-speaking and French-speaking universities. The library collection was then divided between the two university libraries in Louvain and Louvain-la-Neuve[6]. Upon that occasion the University library in Louvain adopted a new library policy, largely decentralising its library facilities. Henceforth every faculty got its own research library. The new library for the Faculty of Theology was to become something special for the Dutch-speaking Catholic University: namely it was to be a model library, destined to be a kind of confession of faith of the University community. Sure, the Catholic University had emancipated itself in 1968 from episcopal authority, but at the same time wanted to invest in its Catholic identity.

6 On the history of the Louvain University Library, see Chris Coppens, Mark Derez, Jan Roegiers, eds., *Leuven University Library 1425-2000: Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005.

In an undeniably disruptive period in the history of the Catholic Church in Belgium and Flanders in particular, marked by an increasing process of secularisation, the new library was of great importance to guarantee both the continuation of theological research and the preservation of precious book collections owned by religious orders and congregations[7]. It was clearly a win-win situation. The University took on the task of contributing to the preservation of Flemish religious heritage, but it also allowed it to rebuild a heritage collection and reshape its reputation as a heritage institution after the dramatic losses in two world wars. Indeed, over a period of 60 years, being part of the entire University Library, the theological book collection had to be completely or basically restored three times (in 1914, 1940 and 1968). The best way to up-build a valuable new collection of books was to bring together already existing collections from outside the University. Already in 1969, two fundamental agreements could be concluded with external partners.

The agreement with the Flemish Jesuits of March 1969 was innovative and set the tone for several dozen other agreements with religious institutions in subsequent decades. The March 19, 1969 agreement was a lease agreement. It should be noted that in the initial agreement the demand came primarily from KU Leuven and was not motivated by a precarious situation of the Flemish Jesuits, as was the case in many later agreements.

The agreement states, "Starting from the consideration that in Leuven and its surroundings the necessary forces are present to build a scientifically sound Faculty and research centre for theology in the Flemish part of Belgium and that this centre should be of a nature to exert an international appeal, the Faculty of Theology of the KUL has endeavoured to combine these forces to the extent possible. To build a library with an international appeal, the Faculty appealed to the SJ Fathers to rent out their library. The Fathers

7 Mathijs Lamberigts, "De Faculteitsbibliotheek," in *De Faculteit Godgeleerdheid in de KU Leuven (1969-1995)*, ed. Lieve Gevers and Leo Kenis, *Annua Nuntia Lovaniensia* 39, Leuven: Leuven University Press - Uitgeverij Peeters, 1997, 267-288, p. 283

of the Society of Jesus who wished to contribute in the largest possible way to the viability and international appeal of the research centre designed by the KUL were found willing to accept this proposal. The KUL or the tenant of the collection must maintain the collection in perfect condition"[8].

So in this case, the University was the requesting party to take over the library with a view to realising its international ambitions. The form of a lease agreement differed from, for example, the Dutch context, where universities bought up convent libraries[9]. The advantage of this system was that the Flemish Jesuits retained ownership of the collection, which could now be preserved, accessed and valorised in a more professional manner.

The second foundational agreement dates from December 5, 1969 and was concluded with the Archdiocese of Malines. The occasion was the fact that the Grand Seminary ceased to exist as a training centre for priest-candidates in Malines after the 1969-1970 academic year. In transferring its valuable heritage collection, the archdiocese also wanted to meet the desire of the Faculty of Theology to develop a research centre for theology. No lease in this case, but a deposit with the obligation to preserve the collection well and ensure optimal usability. This collection was particularly interesting because it was partly composed of old monastic libraries (in particular also of the Jesuits) and the libraries of the Leuven University colleges that were suppressed in 1797. In this way, a piece of the collection of the ancient Louvain University ended up back in Leuven after 170 years.

These two agreements had a major impact in the following years. The approach became less about supporting the KU Leuven's ambition to build an international research centre in theology, but about

8 ARCHIEF FACULTEIT THEOLOGIE EN RELIGIEWETENSCHAPPEN, *Huurcontract betreffende de theologische Bibliotheek van de Waversebaan 220, te Heverlee*, p. 1.

9 See for instance Otto S. Lankhorst, *Heritage Management in Monastery and Seminary Libraries in the Netherlands*, in Leo Kenis *et al.* (ed.), *Theological Libraries and Library Associations in Europe. A Festschrift on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of BETH*, Brill, Leiden, 2022, 203-227.

finding a meaningful use for collections for which lacked sufficient space, personnel or financial resources. The most important reason was that these collections would be preserved and cared for to a much higher standard than would ever be possible in their current location. The great advantage of the Louvain model was that religious institutions remained the owners of their collection which made the decision to move the collection less drastic and emotional.

A number of other libraries from religious congregations (in particular the Oblates, the Scheut Fathers, the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, the Redemptorists) have been completely or partially incorporated. The most important later acquisitions concern the library of the Franciscan Friars Minor at Vaalbeek, donated in 1989 and the Marian Library of the Belgian Montfort Fathers in 1995. Relocations and liquidations of convent libraries have continued apace into the first two decades of the 21st century. Religious continue to seek new destinations for collections that monasteries no longer want and which they can no longer accommodate.

In 2004 the Flemish Jesuits also deposited their Jesuitica and Ignatiana collections into the Maurits Sabbe Library. In 2008 the collection was extended by the acquisitions of the library of the Flemish Capuchins and with the library of the Josephites. More recently the first major Benedictine collection was added from the Sint-Andriesabdij of Zevenkerken. In sum, the arrangement with the Jesuits and the Archdiocese of Malines marked the beginning of a history of deposits and donations from about 80 religious institutions in the following decades. It turned the Maurits Sabbe Library into the Flemish deposit library for religion.

Due to this policy, the holdings of the Maurits Sabbe Library increased from 5.000 in 1969 to the current sum of approximately 1.3 million volumes, including next to the majority of present day research books ca. 900 manuscripts and ca. 180.000 early printed books: 600 incunabula, 1.600 post incunabula, 5.000 items from the late 16th century, 55.000 volumes from the 17th century and 110.000 from the 18th century. As a whole, it is an exceptional cultural patrimony.

3. Preserving, Cataloguing, Digitising and Valorising the Deposited Collections from Religious Institutions

The aim of the Maurits Sabbe Library is to preserve and unlock the cultural patrimony it has acquired from church institutions.

3.1. PRESERVATION

In the last ten years, awareness of the material condition of collections taken over from religious institutions has increased significantly. These collections were often kept in non-optimal conditions in terms of temperature, humidity and dust, and moving to a new location can trigger the outbreak of mould. The presence of silver and paper fish is also a problem in poorly maintained collections. While previously incoming collections were often catalogued immediately and placed in their final place in the closed stacks, they are now first quarantined and checked for traces of mould or vermin. It is our commitment to our religious partners that the collections are not kept in an external depository but in one of our four underground storerooms under the library itself, so that maximum availability can be guaranteed. The Maurits Sabbe Library works closely together with KU Leuven's technical services and researchers from the Department of Building Physics to control the climatic conditions in these in itself not ideal buildings. In addition, since 2016, we have been assisted in our collection management by a Book Heritage Lab housed in the Maurits Sabbe Library.

The Book Heritage Lab (BHL) carries out research into the material aspects of book and documentary heritage. The performed heritage research using the latest digital and digitisation technologies results in expertise about conservation of valuable books and manuscripts and supports the library in developing strategies for the preservation of its heritage and legacy collections. The Book Herit age Lab also offers services to church institutions that still manage their own collections. Not infrequently, these include masterpieces in need of conservation. Such pieces then sometimes come to

Fig. 2. Preciosa room of the Maurits Sabbe Library. ©Alexander Dumarey

the BHL in the Maurits Sabbe Library for several years for conservation and research and, after completion of the project, return to the religious institution keeping the object. Offering such expertise to religious institutions is of great importance, not only for the conservation of these pieces, but also to make collection managers and the general public aware of the sometimes exceptional value of objects in these religious collections.

3.2. CATALOGUING

Collections of religious institutions are rarely well disclosed. Digital registration of these collections is a huge challenge. Efforts are made to process incoming collections as quickly as possible, including through projects where we get support from central University Library services or volunteers. Nonetheless the Maurits Sabbe Library was faced with an immense backlog of more than 350.000 volumes in 2010. To solve this issue the Maurits Sabbe Library received help from the University Library to set up a project to eliminate the backlog. The project was launched on 1 July 2011. It took more than seven years and the employment of more than a hundred collaborators (staff, volunteers and job students) to add 266.280 records in the catalogue. A wealth of new research materials had been made accessible to scholars, but of course since 2018, a backlog has again developed due to incoming collections. When cataloguing collections, provenance is always included in the holding information so that religious libraries can be reconstructed at least virtually.

3.3. DIGITISATION

The Maurits Sabbe Library started digitising its heritage collections in 2010. When entering into new agreements with religious institutions about a deposit of their library, the right to digitise the collection is explicitly mentioned in the deposit contract. In 2016 a structural digitisation program was launched, namely to digitise 17th-century *Jesuitica* printed in Flanders. Recently an agreement with Google Books was concluded as to make a part of the heritage of Flemish religious institutions managed by the Maurits Sabbe Library (about 30.000 volumes) available in digitised version.

3.4. VALORISATION – FACILITATING RESEARCH ON COLLECTIONS OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

The transfer of extensive collections to the Maurits Sabbe Library has given rise to the creation of projects and research centres. For the Louvain Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, it is certainly true that not only research has determined collection development, but also that the contingency of incoming collections has given rise to new research *foci* of the Faculty. For instance, the library of the Jesuits and the library of the seminary of Malines both contained rich subcollections on Jansenism. As a result, the Maurits Sabbe Library has the largest collection on Jansenism in Belgium. The richness of such a collection invites further research and consequently developed into an important research focus at the Louvain Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies.

The transfer of the library of the Flemish Capuchins in 2008 resulted in the creation of a study and documentation centre

‘Capuchins in the Low Countries’. The purpose of the centre is to stimulate research in this collection in its integrity, first of all by cataloguing the collection, but also by digitising parts of it, by hosting a website creating a virtual research community, etc.

Most elaborate is the research support offered on the Jesuitica collection. This is the most valuable part of the Flemish Jesuit collection, which was only deposited to the Maurits Sabbe Library in 2003. The agreement about this deposit came with a clause. The library had to start a project dealing with the disclosure of the Jesuitica collection and finding new means to stimulate research in the field of Jesuitica. In order to make the Jesuitica book collection more accessible to the research community a website has been created: www.jesuitica.be. This site provides easy access to the volumes that have been catalogued thus far. Moreover one can find more detailed information, such as news concerning international Jesuitica research, prosopographic and bibliographic data and books that have been completely digitised. As already mentioned a structural digitisation program was set up in 2016 to digitise 17th-century Jesuitica printed in Flanders. Also an online discovery tool was created to search in one discovery environment in Jesuit collections held by different institutions in Flanders[10]. In this way the discovery platform virtually unites a very large part of the book collections of the Jesuit region of the European Low Countries.

4. Conclusion

When the Maurits Sabbe Library was created in 1974 the theological book collection had to be completely or basically restored. The only way to up-build a valuable new collection of books was to bring together already existing collections from outside the University. Due to the specific historical context in the late 1960s and early 1970s – a highly disruptive period in the history of the Belgian Catholic Church – full efforts were made to acquire religious collections. These were not purchased but, in the case of the Jesuits,

10 https://jesuitica.be/tools/jesuit-armarium/

leased and, in most other cases, included in deposit collections. It was a model that proved attractive to 19th-century congregations, which were already the first religious communities in the 1960s and 1970s to encounter problems in maintaining their libraries. The older orders, such as Benedictines, Franciscans, Capuchins and Dominicans have been able to find solutions for their libraries for longer, but in the 1990s they too have increasingly turned to external heritage partners, such as the Maurits Sabbe Library. After integrating so many religious collections in the past decades, solutions are increasingly difficult to find for collections with a lot of ordinary material: books in theology, church history, meditation, reference works that are present in so many collections. Evidently there is a lot of overlap and integrating complete collections is less and less an option.

Fortunately, a network of organisations committed to preserving religious heritage collections has really emerged in more recent years. In 2008, the non-profit organisation Flemish Heritage Libraries – of which the Maurits Sabbe Library is a member – was established, a service organisation funded by the Flemish Community, which sets up large-scale projects to catalogue, digitise and valorise documentary heritage in Flemish heritage libraries[11]. This organisation also pays attention to collections in religious institutions: the intention is not to repurpose collections, but to assist religious libraries that are still *in situ* to disclose their collections. Sometimes projects are set up by local heritage cells to preserve the religious library *in situ* in the context of a complete redevelopment of a monastery site as a heritage site.

Nevertheless, the Maurits Sabbe Library continues to integrate collections or collection items that otherwise risk being lost. The benefit for both partners in an agreement is clear: the partnership with religious institutions has enabled the Maurits Sabbe Library to realise its ambition to grow into an international research centre, and KU Leuven has reconnected with its past as a heritage in-

11 https://vlaamse-erfgoedbibliotheken.be/

stitution. The religious institutions, from their side, retain ownership of their collections, which are professionally preserved and accessed for current and future generations. But the greatest benefit is for the researcher and user who, through the Maurits Sabbe Library, has efficient access to an exceptionally large collection of religious heritage of the Low Countries.

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TRAVEL DIARY OF THE DUCHESS OF SAGAN DOROTHEA FROM A JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY MANUSCRIPT. DESCRIPTION AND EDITION: EXPECTATIONS AND CHALLENGES

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ABSTRACT

The paper presents the description of the manuscript Reiseerinnerungen 1852-1853 [Travel Memoirs 1852-1853] written in German by Dorothea de Talleyrand-Périgord, Duchess of Sagan (1793-1862), as perceived from the perspective of expectations and challenges connected with its planned edition. The richly ornamented handwritten neo-Gothic volume, currently in the collection of the Jagiellonian Library (BJ Rkp. 7424), records the Duchess's seven-month journey to Italy. It is interesting both in view of the author's personality, its content, and the visual layer. A well-known representative of the European aristocracy, Dorothea de Talleyrand-Périgord played an important role in Polish culture. The account of her Italian journey reflects her elite connections and interest in art. The description of the manuscript in the present article is to expose expectations and challenges implied by the planned critical edition to be conducted by an interdisciplinary team composed of a historian and a literary scholar.

KEYWORDS: Dorothea de Talleyrand-Périgord, *Reise Erinnerungen 1852-1853*, manuscript, Jagiellonian Library

The present paper discusses a manuscript written in German and containing the record of the travel to Italy in 1852-1853 of Dorothea de Talleyrand-Périgord, Duchess of Sagan (1793-1862), meant to list expectations and challenges connected with its critical edition whose implementation is planned by a team composed of a historian and a literary scholar.

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The manuscript bearing the title *Reise Erinnerungen 1852-1853* [Travel Memoirs 1852-1853] is currently held in the collection of the Jagiellonian Library (BJ Rkp. 7424).[1] The manuscript incites interest both thanks to its attractive visual layer and the identity of its author. The signature placed on the last page 'Dorothea H[er] z[zogin von] Sagan'[2] allows to attribute the authorship of the memoirs to famous Dorothea de Talleyrand-Périgord of the Courland House of Biron, as of 1817 bearing the title of the Duchess of Dino[3] and that of the Duchess of Sagan as of 1845.

1 BJ Rkp. 7424 Germ. and the 3rd quarter of the 19th century. 33.8 x 24.5 cm. folios 147 (1–146, 69a), including 2 folios not written on (85 and 147). Edition https:// jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/publication/204840/edition/193636/content [Accessed: 16 January 2024]

2 The abbreviation can also be read as 'Dorothea Herzogin zu Sagan', since the Duchess also used that signature.

3 Thanks to the marriage Dorothea de Talleyrand-Périgord was also the Duchess of Dino. The title of the 'duca de Dino' connected with a small island in Calabria was received by Charles the Talleyrand in 1817 who renounced it for the sake of the Duchess's husband. See J. Durka, 'Wokół życiorysu księżnej Doroty Dino i jej krótkiej wizyty w Antoninie latem 1843', *Poznańskie Zeszyty Humanistyczne* 2010, T. XIV, ed. A. Czabański, pp.19–27, p. 24.

Dorothea, Duchess of Courland, was born in 1793 as the fourth youngest daughter of Anna Charlotte Dorothea von Medem and Peter von Biron, Duke of Courland and Semigalia. However, it was the Polish diplomat Aleksander Benedykt Batowski[4] his mother had a long-standing love affair with that was considered her biological father. Her education was strongly shaped by the wife of Prince Antoni Radziwiłł, known for her pro-Polish views and the learned teacher Scypion Piattoli, Secretary of King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, co-creator of the Constitution of 3 May.[5] The latter encouraged his student to marry Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, however, in 1809, the Duchess finally married Edmund de Talleyrand, nephew of Charles de Talleyrand-Périgord, a French politician, France's Foreign Minister, and was introduced to Napoleon's court. She soon began accompanying the famous uncle of her husband not merely at Paris salons and during the stays at his estates, but also on official diplomatic missions to the Congress of Vienna (1815) or to England (1830-1834). She finally became the life companion of Charles the de Talleyrand-Périgord.[6] Widely appreciated for her general knowledge and diplomatic tact, she was considered the initiator of the politician's reconciliation with the Catholic Church, having herself converted to Catholicism in 1811.[7]

4 Andrzej Benedykt Batowski (1760-1841), who was as a youth in the French army, upon the return to Poland became the Chamberlain of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski and member of the Society of Friends of the Constitution of 3 May. In 1792, he became a royal commissar in the Duchy of Courland. During the Kosciuszko Uprising he was a liaison between Kosciuszko and France. As the Grand Pantler of the Warsaw Duchy he represented the interests of the Polish Governing Commission before Charles Talleyrand. In 1820, he was granted the title of a count in the Congress Kingdom, and in 1830, he became the Great Hunter at the royal court of Nicholas I of Russia. See A. Skałkowski, 'Batowski Aleksander Benedykt' in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Vol. 1 Kraków 1935, pp. 353–354.

5 See B. Koska, *Dorota de Talleyrand-Périgord – księżna Dino i Żagania*, [information on the publisher provided] Opole 2023, p. 9. https://zbc.uz.zgora.pl/dlibra/publication/64590/edition/57986/content [Accessed: 18 January 2024].

6 Her relationship with Edmund de Talleyrand-Périgord was concluded with a divorce declared after six years of separation in 1830.

7 A spectacular conversion of the Duchess known for her extramarital relationships is described by D.A. Rosenthal, *Konvertitenbilder aus dem neunzehnten Jahrhundert, Ersten Bandes erste Abtheilung. Deutschland I*, Verlags=Anstalt vorm. G. J. Manz, Regensburg 1899, pp. 239–242.

Following Talleyrand's death in 1838, the aristocrat moved to settle in Silesia, initially at the family Zatonie estate, as at that point she was not entitled to take over Sagan which was first inherited by her sisters: in 1800, by Wilhelmina, and Pauline in 1839 who, in turn, passed it on to her son.[8] Dorothea de Talleyrand-Périgord took over the Duchy of Sagan only in 1844 as a result of a conflict with her nephew, and the title of the Duchess of Sagan with the right of her lineal descendants to inherit was awarded to her by Frederick William IV of Prussia in 1845.[9] Having settled down in Sagan, she started to restore the former splendour to her residence: the palace and the garden. She was known for her charitable activities thanks to establishing ecumenical schools, a hospital, and many other philanthropic endeavours. Furthermore, she won recognition as a collector.[10]

The Duchess of Sagan boasted a rich collection of art works, and, this being particularly interesting from the perspective of the history of the libraries placed on the Polish territories, a precious collection of French, German, English, and Italian books.[11] Her jewel in the crown was a set of autographs of illustrious states-

8 Wilhelmina (1771-1839)], Duchess of Sagan in 1800-1839; Pauline (1782-1845)], Duchess of Sagan in 1839-1843; Duke Konstantin Hohenzollern-Hechingen (1801-1869).

9 See B. Koska, *Dorota de Talleyrand-Périgord – księżna Dino i Żagania*, p. 94.

10 The extensive collection of the Duchess containing 435 paintings and 61 sculptures was composed of the works by Italian, Dutch, German, Austrian, French, and Spanish artists, including also contemporary ones. See K. Adamek-Pujszo, *Zespół pałacowo-parkowy w Żaganiu*, https://www.palaceiparki.pl/zespol-palacowo-parkowy-w-zaganiu/dzieje-zespolu-i-jego-wlasciciele-i [Accessed: 18 January 2023]

11 The palace library contained e.g., the first editions of Goethe, Schiller, Stendhal, Balzac, Dickens, Hugo, and other European writers of the 18th and the 1st half of the 19th centuries, precious encyclopaedias, dictionaries, and atlases. See J. P. Majchrzak, 'Die Büchersammlung der herzoglichen Bibliothek in Żagań/Sagan (1631-1944) Geschichtlicher Abriss und Charakteristik der Sammlung' in: *Historia książki na terenach pogranicza i jej rola w kształtowaniu społeczeństw wielokulturowych Materiały z polsko-niemieckiej konferencji bibliotekarzy Zielona Góra, 21-22 kwietnia 2005 / Zur Geschichte des Buches in der Grenzregion und dessen Rolle in der Bildung der multikulturellen Gesellschaften Materialien aus der deutsch-polnischen Konferenz der Bibliothekaren und Bibliothekarinnen*, ed. K. Raczyńska, Pro Libris, Zielona Góra 2005, pp. 126–132, here: p. 132. See also B. Idzikowska, 'Pamiątkowy kufel Doroty Talleyrand-Périgord i kolekcja numizmatyczna żagańskich Bironów', *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne*, 2014, Y. LVIII/ fasc. 1–2, pp. 197–198.

men, monarchs, writers, and artists. It contained e.g. an extensive correspondence of Dorothea de Talleyrand-Périgord with Frederic William IV, Charles Talleyrand, letters of L. Beethoven, R. Wagner, G. Verdi, F. Chopin, and A. von Humboldt, while among the Polonica the correspondence of King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski with her mother Duchess Dorothea von Medem, as well as manuscripts by Adam Jerzy Czartoryski.[12] During WW II, the book collection and that of the autographs suffered the same fate as many other European collections: they have been searched for until this very day. In 1944, the most precious items from the library and the manuscripts were transferred to Kliczków located near Bolesławiec, yet there are no traces left of that operation. Scholars have been unable to find out what happened to the collection between the closing down of the last inventory on 27 December 1944 and the seizure of the Sagan Palace by the Red Army in February 1945. Almost a decade following WW II some renowned European auction houses started auctioning both single books and manuscripts with the book plate and Call Nos. of the Sagan Palace Library. The vicissitudes of the remaining parts of the important Sagan book collection remain unknown.[13]

The manuscript discussed here reached the Jagiellonian Library in 1947, and was registered as ACNO: Przyb. 2/47.[14] It remains unknown how it reached Krakow; the record accompanying the manuscript's accession, both in the Accession Book of the Manuscript Section of the Jagiellonian Library (BJ) and in the inventory of BJ's manuscripts is laconic. It gives the date: 15 January 1947, and says that it came from an individual anonymous donor. This

12 Se J. P. Majchrzak, *Die Büchersammlung der herzoglichen Bibliothek in Żagań/Sagan*, p. 132. The Duchess's correspondence unavailable today served in its majority as the basis of the biography published in 1917 whose author discusses her relations with representatives of the European aristocracy: E. Feckes, *Dorothea, Herzogin von Dino und Sagan, ihr Leben mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Beziehungen zur preussischen Königshause und zu deutschen Politikern*, J. B. Kleinsche Druckerei: Krefeld 1917, see details. pp. 61–76.

13 J. P. Majchrzak, *Die Büchersammlung der herzoglichen Bibliothek in Żagań/Sagan*, p. 132.

14 See *Inwentarz Rękopisów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej nr. 7001-8000, Część I nr 7000-7500*, Kraków 1966, p. 151.

entry in the Accession Book is preceded by a manuscript bearing ACNO. Przyb. 1/47, being also an anonymous donation, possibly by the same individual. The document in question is a parchment diploma dated 12 February 1846, granting Duchess Dorothea de Talleyrand-Périgord of Sagan the right to wear a Maltese cross in the same shape as that worn on the attire of the Order's members and permitting her to partake in the Order's spiritual benefits. Neither of the documents associated with Dorothea de Talleyrand-Périgord features any proprietary traces permitting to associate them with the collection created by the Duchess in Sagan; they are not recorded in the pre-WW II catalogue of Sagan archives and manuscripts either.[15] However, they must have been the property of the Duchess, although it can also be assumed that having been personal documents of the Duchess they did not undergo the formal registering process as her collection items.

The manuscript *Reise Erinnerungen 1852-53* contains the description of the travel of the Duchess of Sagan to southern Europe. She was heading for Nice (which belonged at the time to the Kingdom of Sardinia) [Photo 1], a venue of winter encounters of the European aristocracy at which Dorothea de Talleyrand-Périgord had also spent the winter 1841-1842. According to the record the route Dorothea embarked upon in the 1850s, much longer than the one before, lasting for seven months, began on 10 October 1851 in Berlin; successively leading via Potsdam, Munich, Trent, and Genoa to Nice, where the Duchess spent four months. On her return journey from the Côte d'Azur, the author spent a month in Venice, where she engaged in extensive sightseeing. She subsequently arrived in Sagan on 17 May 1853, via Graz, Vienna, Dresden, and Berlin.

The chronologically ordered account in the format of a diary was divided into five chapters (defined with the German word *Abtheilung*). Four titles e.g. 'Chapter I: to Nice', 'Chapter II: in Nice',

15 Tronlehn Fürstenthum Sagan' in *Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae, Die Inventare der nichtstaatlichen Archive Schlesiens. Kreis Sagan, red. Erich Graber*, Breslau 1927, Vol. 32, pp. 93–139 http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/plain-content?id=19985 [Accessed: 16 August 2023].

‘Chapter III: to Venice’, ‘Chapter IV: in Venice’ are determined with topographic criteria. These parts are followed by ‘Chapter V: Returning Home’. The manuscript’s detailed structure is as follows:

f. 1. Title page

f. 2. Title page of Chapter ‘I Abtheilung’

ff. 3-39 Journey from Berlin via Potsdam, Leipzig, Nuremberg. Munich. Innsbruck, Verona. Milan, Genoa, to Nice 10 October – 9 November 1852

f. 40 Title page of Chapter ‘III Abtheilung nach Venedig’

ff. 87-96 Journey from Nice via San Remo, Genoa, Verona, to Venice 5-29 March 1853

f. 97 Title page of Chapter ‘IV Abtheilung in Venedig’

ff. 135-147 Journey from Venice via Vienna, Dresden, Berlin, to Sagan 26 April – 17 May 1853

The text of the *Reise Erinnerungen* written in black ink, in the Gothic German script, known as *Kurrent*, contains interjections in Italian, French, and English, written down in Antiqua, similarly as the majority of proper names. Illustration captions are written in red ink. Red ink is also used for some proper names and words worth emphasizing in chapters II to IV. On l.145r there appears the author's personal signature 'Dorothea H[er]z[ogin von] Sagan' (see footnote 2). Her handwriting is clearly distinct from that in which the first-person account was written. The hand which wrote the fair copy remains anonymous, though it can be supposed that it belonged to Luise von Bolschwing, a lady-in-waiting; she accompanied the Duchess on her Italian trip, and the correspondence and other writing-related jobs were traditionally the task of ladies-in-waiting of queens and princesses.[16]

The manuscript boasts a binding from the latter half of the 19th century of claret-coloured leather. The central section of the front cover is delineated by alternating gold and blind lines embossed in the leather. The front cover features a mark after a rhombus-shaped plaque which could have contained the owner's coat of arms. The spine features gilded linear gilding. The doublure is of navy-blue silk, with the internal cover edges decorated with a golden ornament; moreover, leaf edges are gilded. Thicker cardboard leaves were used for the title page of the whole work and title pages of respective chapters. The manuscript has four decorative bookmarks of navy-blue silk attached to the book signature, and ending in decorative braids.

The manuscript is characterized by the consistency in shaping its visual layer. An important role is played in it by rich illustrations. As already mentioned, both the title page and title pages of all the chapters are richly decorated; additionally, ornaments can be found on three leaves beginning new months. Seventy-six illustrations

16 See M. Jaglarz, K. Jaśtal, `Fehlende Signaturen. Zur unveröffentlichten Handschrift der *Reiseerinnerungen 1852-1853* der Herzogin Dorothea von Sagan', in *Signaturen der Vielfalt. Autorinnen in der Sammlung Varnhagen*, eds. J. Kita-Huber, J. Paulus, V&R unipress, Göttingen 2024, pp. 285–298, particularly pp. 291–294.

were pasted in the text: one photograph, lithographs, pen-and-ink drawings, gouaches, and water colours illustrating landscapes and architecture of the places the Duchess visited. All the illustrations remain anonymous. Although the majority of them are of high aesthetic quality, their style is not homogenous. Some of them may have been executed by the Duchess herself, who dealt with drawing and painting, and was considered a talented amateur. [17]

The fact that these artistic elements are included in the manuscript significantly boosts its aesthetic quality and its importance as a document of culture, since the illustrations present e.g., views of the sites (such as e.g., the square in front of the Milan Cathedral or Nuremberg churches) whose look has significantly altered owing to the historical developments.[18]

Other essential visual features of the discussed volume will include ornamental initials used in town names in the entries giving the account of the Duchess arriving in a given town and the use of fleuron [Photo 2]. These two elements renew the graphic forms used in Gothic manuscripts which began to arouse interest once again in the first half of the 19th century.[19] The forms were adapted over that time both professionally, e.g., in book illustrations, and in amateur projects such as albums (regarded to be a women's domain).

When talking about the presence of the above decorations in the *Reise Erinnerungen* it has to be remembered that the Duchess of Sagan knew the book illustrator Allwina Frommann. Frommann, who made her living thanks to commissions and private classes

17 The fact that the author dealt with painting during her journey is confirmed by the entry under the date 25 January 1853 (BJ Rkp. 7424 ff. 71v-72r): `Apart from my flatmate, I did not see anybody: I would read, write, and paint a lot'.

18 We would like to extend our gratitude for the iconographic consultation to Joanna Winiewicz-Wolska, PhD.

19 Sandra Hidmann and Laura Light emphasize that the term 'Neo-Gothic' is traditionally associated with architecture, while at the same time omitting its importance for other culture areas, including 19th-century manuscripts and books. See S. Hidmann, L. Light, `Neo-Gothic Book Production and Medievalism', *Les Enluminures*, New York, Chicago, Paris 2015, pp. 4–5. https://www.textmanuscripts.com/enlu-assets/catalogues/primer/primer-5-neogothic/primer-5---neo--gothic-with-pricelist.pdf. [Accessed: 18 January 2024].

given to female students of aristocratic families, in 1849-1861, regularly spent one of the summer months at the Sagan residence teaching the Duchess drawing and doing some small commissions for her.[20] The *Reise Erinnerungen* manuscript mentions the painter five times, pointing to the fact that one of her accomplishments was displayed at a Berlin exhibition, and emphasizing her fascination with decorative initials as well as the visual layer of mediaeval books. Heading for Sagan at the end of the journey, the Duchess also announced an approaching visit of 'nice Frommann',[21] however, neither this mention nor the previous ones suggest that the teacher played a role in illustrating the planned manuscript of the travel memoirs. From the differences in the aesthetic quality of its respective initials and fleurons,[22] as well as the likeness of the ornaments of the title page and ornaments placed on the last page of the manuscript to Frommann's drawings, it can be supposed that she too authored some of the manuscript's artistic elements. Nonetheless, neither the illustrator's contribution nor that of the anonymous individual who wrote down the memoirs of Dorothea de Talleyrand-Périgord was mentioned in the manuscript, while the signature identifies the Duchess of Sagan as both the protagonist of the account and its sole author.

The value of the *Reise Erinnerungen* for the research into history and culture of the 19th century stems not only from it being a book representing neo-Gothic conventions of a richly adorned manuscript,

20 See I. Dietsch, *„Ich warte auf meine Zeit". Allwina Frommann: Buchillustratorin, Malerin und Zeitbeobachterin der Revolution von 1848*, Weimarer Taschenbuchverlag, Weimar 2010, pp. 189–199; A. Fuchs, `Waisenhaus, Pädagogium und Verlagsbuchhandlung im 18. Jahrhundert. Familie Frommann in Züllichau', in: *Sulechów na przestrzeni wieków. 300 lat Fundacji Rodziny Steinbartów. Uczniowie i nauczyciele szkół sulechowskich i ich powiązania europejskie*, eds. B. Burda, A. Chodorowska, Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, Zielona Góra 2019, pp. 133–150, here pp. 147–149.

21 BJ Rkp. 7424 f 143v.

22 In the 19th century, fleurons were ranked among 'arabesques'. The interest in them was incited also by e.g., the Romantic debate concerning arabesques. See J. Woźniakowski, 'Arabeska w literaturze i sztuce wczesnego romantyzmu', in *Pogranicza i korespondencje sztuk*, eds. T. Cieślikowska, J. Sławiński, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1980, pp. 191–203, here pp.199–200.

but also from its content. What actually proves the most decisive in this respect is not so much the theme of a travel to Italy: Italian voyages were in the late 18th and throughout the whole 19th century possibly the most frequent topic of the European travel literature. The book's importance results from the connections, political competences, and artistic interests of Dorothea de Talleyrand-Périgord, who, thanks to her financial standing could easily embark upon many-month journeys of which one is reflected in the book.

When travelling across the German, Italian, and Austrian territories, the account's protagonist freely socialized with Europe's crowned heads and social elites. Among the numerous prominent individuals she saw already on the first days the manuscript mentions representatives of the ruling House of Hohenzollern: Prince Augustus William of Prussia (brother of Frederick IV), his wife, King Frederick IV's nephew, and a friend from youth Wilhelm Radziwiłł.[23] The last days of the journey brought a meeting with Prince Metternich, widow of the Emperor of Austria Francis II Caroline Augustus von Wittelsbach; Dorothea also attended a private audience with the mother of Emperor Francis Joseph I, Archduchess Sophie. An equally high social status characterizes numerous friends she met with in Italy, with the climax of aristocratic meetings being the visit to the last heir of the House of Bourbon to the French crown Henri D'Artois residing in Venice and his mother Princess the Berry, Caroline of Burbon and Sicily. Among the names of those met in Berlin we can find Alexander von Humboldt and Maria Kalergis von Nesselrode-Ereshoven.[24] In the course of her travel the Duchess was joined by her children: Pauline de Castellane, Napoléon-Louis de Talleyrand-Périgord, Duke of Valençay, future Duke of Sagan, his brother Alexandre Edmond de Talleyrand-Périgord, 3rd Duke of Dino, additionally her brother in law and the administrator of the Sagan estates Carl Rudolf Graf von der

23 See J. Durka, 'Wokół życiorysu księżnej Doroty Dino i jej krótkiej wizyty w Antoninie', pp. 25–26.

24 Famous 'Madame Kalergis' was remembered in Poland as Norwid's lover.

Schulenburg-Vitzenburg, as well as her close friend Charles Talleyrand's secretary Adolf Fourier de Bacourt whom the Duchess would later name the executor of her will.

Many of these names also appear in the Duchess's texts known from 20th-century publications. However, the particular quality of the discussed manuscript is that it also gives the account of lower-social-status individuals she uses services of while travelling, e.g., above-mentioned Luise von Bolschwing and Allwina Frommann. In the text their names are recorded, and so are character features and behaviour; however, the Duchess does not mention the function she assigns to them. Furthermore, in the account of their potentially deadly error there also appear anonymous chambermaids, which allows the reader to glimpse, if only momentarily, into the operations of the Duchess's court during the journey.

Apart from the numerous meetings with representatives of the European aristocracy two areas stand to the fore: observations related to the visited sites with a particular emphasis on the encounters with art and political commentaries. Although Dorothea de Talleyrand-Périgord spent over four of the seven months of her journey in Nice, hoping to rest and repair her failing health, she dedicated the remaining three months to seeing relatives and friends, and visiting subsequent cities. She was not only interested in Italian towns, but also German and Austrian ones, although it is the first which are attributed more prominence in the *Reise Erinnerungen*. The Duchess finds almost every of the visited places inspiring to describe the landscape, buildings, and local collections of sculptures and paintings. Furthermore, the author also records concerts, theatre performances and operas seen in Berlin, Verona, and Vienna, registering repertories, names of musicians and actors. The text records, e.g., a Berlin concert of above-mentioned Maria Kalergis, the staging of the opera *Moses in Egitto* by Rossini (1792-1868), Vienna performances of the famous actress Mademoiselle Rachel,[25] and a theatre production at the Vienna

25 Mademoiselle Rachel: stage name of Elizabeth-Rachel Félix (1821-1858), actress known for great success in the plays by French classics.

Burgtheater, directed by the German writer Heinrich Laube. Resorting to her thorough education and experience gained in the course of long stays in European metropolises, Dorothea de Talleyrand-Périgord does not hesitate to severely judge the artists' accomplishments.

In the recollections of her travels the aristocrat presents herself not only as someone familiar with the European politics, but also its engaged commentator. The presence and high frequency of such comments does not really surprise one, since the Duchess known as Talleyrand's right hand was not only famed for her diplomatic skills, but also for her excellent knowledge of politics.[26]

The high frequency of political comments in the text was also determined by the fact that over the seven-month trip of the Duchess many important developments took place, particularly accumulated in early 1853. The Italian states across which the author was travelling were those which had failed in their struggle for independence during the Springtide of Nations, and returned under the Austrian rule, which, however, did not quench their independence aspirations. During her stay in Nice, on 6 February 1853, the unsuccessful Uprising in Milan broke out ending in its participants' executions. The very same month the international situation deteriorated: Russia intensified her efforts to turn Turkey into her protectorate, which would lead to the outbreak of the Crimean War: in February 1853, Emperor Nicholas I of Russia sent an ultimatum to Istanbul demanding guardianship of all the holy sites of the Orthodox cult and Orthodox citizens within the territory of the Ottoman Empire. Additionally, early 1853 brought the marriage of Napoleon III to Eugénie de Montijo, later known as Empress Eugénie, strongly criticized in the aristocratic circles. On

26 See. G. Erbe, *Dorothea Herzogin von Sagan. Eine deutsch-französische Karrierre*, Böhlau, Köln, Weimar, Wien 2009, p. 86; L. Guihéry, ‚L'influence de la duchesse de Dino sur la pensée européenne du prince de Talleyrand', *Le Courrier du Prince,* 2022, no. 14, pp. 52–60 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/358955423_L%27influence_de_la_duchesse_de_Dino_sur_la_pensee_europeenne_du_prince_de_Talleyrand [Accessed: 7 January 2024].

18 February 1853, an assassination attempt on Emperor Franz Joseph took place. All these events and their direct repercussions are reflected in the *Reise Erinnerungen*. While commenting one them, the author reaches for source materials precious from today's perspective: contemporary press and her current correspondence. She does not refrain from biting personal comments whose undertone differs from generally neutral opinions of the author known from her published recollections.

Some of the critical judgements of Dorothea de Talleyrand-Périgord sound, as justly observed by Laurent Guihéry, 'surprisingly sincere',[27] which permits to assume that the first-person account of the journey ordered chronologically and boasting unique illustrative material was not to be read by a wide circle of readers. At the same time, the *Reise Erinnerungen* are not of a confessional character, containing an intimate account of thoughts and emotions. There are three major elements which deny this thesis. The above-mentioned material and visual aspects of the volume suggest that the author relied of the assistance of others in its preparation. The other two issues refer to the content. The author follows the convention of applying aristocratic titles (if only in their simplified form). She does that at many points of the text, also when this applies to her sons and sister, thus, to the people from the closest family, whom she refers to using their ducal titles or using their surnames, unequivocally classifying them within the highest social groups.[28] This convention allows her to preserve the

27 The author claims: ‚Elle témoigne d'un franc parler surprenant, dressant un portrait, parfois au vitriol (…)'. L. Guihéry, `Souvenirs de voyage de la duchesse de Sagan, „nièce bien aimée de Talleyrand ", vers Nice et Venise à l'hiver 1852-1853: un voyage exceptionnel à la découverte des richesses de l'Europe', *Le Courrier du Prince*, 2023, no.15, pp. 48–51, here p. 50. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/368510682_Souvenirs_de_voyage_de_la_duchesse_de_Sagan_niece_bien_aimee_de_Talleyrand_vers_Nice_et_Venise_a_l%27hiver_1852-1853_un_voyage_exceptionnel_a_la_decouverte_des_richesses_de_l%27Europe [Accessed: 19 January 2024].

28 Compare e.g.. the following accounts in the *Reise Erinnerungen*: of 9 January 1853 (BJ Rkp. 7424 f. 67v) 'Yesterday was the anniversary of the death of my sister Hohenzollern', and of 16 January 1853 (BJ Rkp. 7424 f. 68v): 'Yesterday my son Valençay came here'.

social distinction between the aristocracy and commoners. Furthermore, the author is consistently discreet with reference to the detailed content discussed both during the formal and semi-formal visits and encounters with family members. Recording the very meeting as such and (often) the visitor list, she insists on protecting privacy, not mentioning the detailed conversation content, similarly as avoiding tackling delicate family issues, which points to a conscious self-censorship.[29]

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Reise Erinnerungen provide valuable demonstrative material showing how a recollection text becomes a space for creating social and cultural identity of the European elites of the time represented by the author. For this very reason, as a historical and literary source it is worth being shared in the format of a critical edition in its original language ,[30] all the more so as such a publication would complement the recollections connected with Sagan in circulation in academic literature by an important representative of the European aristocracy, both written by herself[31] and those

29 The characteristic description of a formal meeting can be found in the entry on 12 January 1853 (BJ Rkp. 7424 f. 68r). 'In order to please my son Dino I gave yesterday a real Piedmont dinner: at least as far as the guests were concerned, which went quite well. Count Robilante has dignity, Count Sclopis has scientific education, Marquis de Chateauneuf has enthusiasm and serenity. Countess Castiglione is still beautiful, lively, Countess Sclopis delicate, suffering, and charming: the beautiful Italian word *morbidezza* suits her perfectly. Marquise de Chateauneuf, M^{lle} Chelaincourt born in France, is dignified, pious, philanthropic. Briefly, all went smoothly, however, as we spent time together from 6 to 10 I felt tired.'. An exemplary discrete record of a private conversation can be seen in the entry dated 11 January 1853 (BJ Rkp. 7424 f. 68r) concerning the talk the Duchess had with her children: 'Yesterday, we spent several hours unpleasantly discussing some family issues.'

30 The French translation *Journal de voyage en Europe. Berlin-Nice-Venise-Sagan 1852–1853, Duchesse de Dino, Dorothée de Courlande*. Illustrated edition, ed. L. Guihéry, Editions Lacurne, Paris 2023 and popular Polish translation *Wspomnienia z podróży 1852-1853*, Fundacja Ogrody Kultury im. księżnej Dino, Zielona Góra 2023 do not fill in the gap.

31 *Kroniki księżnej Dino: zapiski z Zatonia z lat 1840-1861*, comp. J. Skorulski, transl. K. Witucka, Fundacja Ogrody Kultury im. księżnej Dino, Zielona Góra 2021 and *Notatki o Valençay: addenda*, comp. J. Skorulski, trans. K. Witucka, Fundacja Ogrody Kultury im. księżnej Dino, Zielona Góra 2023.

compiled after her death by her granddaughters Marie Dorothea Radziwiłł and Dorothea de Castellane.[32]

The edition we are planning will include the text's transcription, an academic introduction, as well as text and factual references. What we foresee challenging will be the text's edition which needs to negotiate between the need to preserve authenticity and eliminating barriers which could discourage contemporary readers from reading it, this being possible through applying modern spelling and correcting grammar errors. Additionally, broad contextual knowledge will be required of the places and individuals, this extremely difficult in view of the multitude of representatives of the European aristocracy, patriciate, and artists among whom there are many names of less-known individuals. It will also be important to provide the text's historic-literary contexts, with a particular emphasis on 19th-century travel accounts created by women. The planned edition will be accompanied by a commentary containing both its philological and historical interpretation, and will also discuss the visual aspect of the manuscript (iconographic description). Such an approach: the edition of the text in an interdisciplinary team composed of a literary scholar and a historian, permits a comprehensive overview of the text by taking into account different, yet complementary perspectives.

32 Duchesse de Dino, *Chronique de 1831 à 1862 publiée avec des annotations et un index biographique par la princesse Radziwiłł, née Castellane*. Vols. 1–4, Librairie Plon, Paris 1909-191,0 and *Souvenirs de la duchesse de Dino publiés par sa petite-file la comtesse Jean de Castellane*, Calmann-Levy, Editeurs, Paris [1908].

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L’ARCHIVIO DI ALBA DE CÉSPEDES: PROCESSI CREATIVI E RETI INTELLETTUALI

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ABSTRACT

Researching on writers’ archives makes possible for their papers and their historical context to communicate with each other. It also allows us to reconstruct more precise authors’ biographical pictures, or to interpret from new points of view literary works and their reception. This is the aim of the present article, which investigates the archival collection of the writer Alba de Céspedes in order to highlight its connection with the process of composition and publication of the novel *Prima e dopo* (1955): a personal story but also an account of an entire generation of young people who had participated in the Resistance and who, in the aftermath of the Second World War, were faced with a disappointing reality.

KEYWORDS: archives of women writers, intellectual network, Italian literature, Alba de Céspedes, ‘Before and after’ (novel, 1955)

Interrogare gli archivi, a partire dai più elementari documenti d’uso (cartoline, telegrammi, biglietti) su su sino agli autografi di opere, è operazione che permette di far dialogare le carte con il loro contesto autoriale, storico e sociale così da ricomporre quadri biografici più definiti, o di rileggere da punti di vista inediti i testi e la loro ricezione. Si tratta di una prospettiva che nel corso di questi ultimi decenni si è imposta alla considerazione degli studiosi attraverso un'attenzione verso gli archivi di scrittori (e ancor più di scrittrici) del Novecento che non ha forse avuto eguali in passato. Un ulteriore punto di forza di tale *speculum* è l'aver incoraggiato l'adozione di diverse linee di studio: dall'ambito bibliografico all'edizione di un volume, sino alla pubblicazione dei carteggi d'autore. Lungi dal privilegiare dunque le sole implicazioni filologiche, tale direzione di ricerca sta diventando strumento sempre più raffinato per l'interpretazione critica della produzione letteraria.[1] Seguire il passaggio di un testo da creazione d'autore a prodotto editoriale permette infatti una vera reinterpretazione critica dell'oggetto di studio:

> Le carte d'archivio conservano le tracce di questo passaggio, la mediazione editoriale, che si fa preminente in un secolo in cui le case editrici erano luoghi di cultura, punto di riferimento e d'incontro di intellettuali collaboratori della macchina editoriale, un secolo in cui l'editoria cercava di essere non solo mercato ma anche progetto.[2]

È dunque necessario fare i conti con questa duplice natura delle carte: la prima consiste nel loro essere testimonianza, documento storico di quello che è stato definito «campo culturale» di un autore, in grado di veicolare nomi, rapporti intellettuali, situazioni; la seconda è l'attitudine a porsi quale tassello adatto a reinterpretare la collocazione editoriale delle opere come caso di studio: «Assecondare le carte nel loro dispiegare vicende e relazioni inedite ci ha permesso di seguire i movimenti di alcuni dei nostri scrittori di maggior prestigio alla luce del secolo in cui si sono trovati a scrivere».[3]

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1 Rinvio all'*Introduzione* di Carmela Pierini a un volume di un decennio fa – *Letteratura e archivi editoriali. Nuovi spunti d'autore. Le carte d'archivio strumento di critica letteraria*, a cura di C. Pierini, S. Carini, E. Bolchi, Ariccia 2014, pp. 11-16 – che, sebbene volto a indagare i fondi editoriali, presenta spunti di notevole interesse anche in merito agli archivi di scrittori e con cui dichiaro dunque il mio debito per il ragionamento introduttivo al presente contributo.

2 Ibidem, p. 12.

3 Ibidem, p. 16.

La serie di presupposti sin qui enunciati è ancor più motivante se adottata in relazione a scrittori che si sono trovati a ricoprire un ruolo di spicco nei processi decisionali delle case editrici, collaborando dunque attivamente alla loro attività di programmazione: è stato questo, notoriamente, il duplice fronte di impegno intellettuale di Pavese, Vittorini, Calvino, ma anche (con minore successo purtroppo) di alcune scrittrici: il caso di studio al quale farò riferimento è dunque quello di Alba de Céspedes (Roma 1911 - Parigi 1997), autrice e consulente Mondadori per molti anni.[4]

L'Archivio de Céspedes, come ormai noto, è custodito a Milano dalla Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori (FAAM). Si tratta di documenti che seguono la scrittrice italo-cubana nel corso dell'intera esistenza, variamente e faticosamente stipati in ogni zona delle sue diverse abitazioni, illuminati dalla sua volontà di lasciare traccia di un ampio e diversificato impegno artistico e intellettuale: da Roma, dapprima in via Tirso poi in via Eleonora Duse, i documenti si sposteranno nel 1968 a Parigi, inizialmente in rue de Tournon, in seguito al 31 di quai de Bourbon per poi rientrare in Italia, a Milano, dopo la sua morte, presso la Fondazione Badaracco per sottoscrizione degli eredi (il figlio Franco Antamoro, il compagno Stefano De Palma) e infine dal 2009, come si anticipava, presso la Fondazione Mondadori. Tenacemente costruito, protetto e conservato, l'archivio custodisce documenti familiari e personali, bozze delle opere, dattiloscritti, ritagli di stampa, diari, quaderni di appunti e per finire l'intero epistolario della scrittrice. È stato osservato più volte, ma giova ripeterlo in questa sede, che all'interno di queste carte la letteratura si manifesta quale tema portante di un'intera esistenza. Esso trova il suo speculare corrispettivo nell'Archivio editoriale dei Mondadori, ma anche negli archivi degli intellettuali, uomini e donne, con cui de Céspedes fu in corrispondenza epistolare per molti anni.

L'occasione di frequentare tali documenti ha preso avvio da un'indagine sulla ricezione presso l'*entourage* culturale della fine

4 Rinvio, per un'utile panoramica, al libro di S. Ciminari, *Lettere all'editore. Alba de Céspedes e Gianna Manzini, autrici Mondadori*, Milano 2021.

degli anni Quaranta del fortunato romanzo *Dalla parte di lei* (Mondadori, 1949) anche se – come spesso accade aggirandosi per archivi – rispetto a quel progetto originario mi sono trovata a dare priorità cronologica a uno scambio epistolare che aveva immediatamente attirato la mia attenzione: quello con il poeta e critico d'arte Libero de Libero, di cui ho rintracciato le carte presso la Quadriennale di Roma[5]. Ciò mi ha permesso di ricostruire il fitto dialogo che ha animato la loro intesa intellettuale nel corso di oltre un trentennio.[6]

È stato dunque proprio grazie allo studio dell'archivio che il 'caso de Céspedes' ha ricevuto negli ultimi venti anni un impulso decisivo. Dopo un lungo disinteresse, le carte sono state rivitalizzate dalla meritoria attenzione scientifica di studiose che, muovendo da ambiti disciplinari diversi (letteratura, critica, archivistica) hanno recuperato, catalogato e valorizzato quel copioso materiale documentario, dando così slancio a molteplici attraversamenti e a una rinnovata attenzione verso una produzione che è stata 'canonizzata' dalla pubblicazione del Meridiano Mondadori, curato nel 2011 da Marina Zancan[7], contenente una selezione di cinque romanzi (*Nessuno torna indietro*, *Dalla parte di lei*, *Quaderno proibito*, *Nel buio della notte*, *Con grande amore*), poi da un'ampia gamma di interventi scientifici. Infine, più recentemente, è seguita la ripubblicazione di singole opere da parte di Mondadori ma anche di altri editori, con prefazioni di scrittrici (Melania Mazzucco, Nadia Terranova) che ne vivificano la lettura riattivando il dialogo di de Céspedes con l'attualità.[8] Lo studio di tali documenti sta dunque

5 Il ricco Fondo Libero de Libero è stato collocato dagli eredi presso l'Archivio Biblioteca Quadriennale di Roma (nella cornice di Villa Carpegna) sotto la supervisione di Lorenzo Cantatore.

6 L. Spera, «Un gran debito di mente e di cuore». Il carteggio inedito tra Alba de Céspedes e Libero de Libero (1944-1977), Milano 2016.

7 A. de Céspedes, *Romanzi*, a cura e con un saggio introduttivo di M. Zancan, Milano 2011.

8 Si veda ad esempio la recente pubblicazione da parte di Cliquot del testo d'esordio della scrittrice (all'epoca appena ventiquattrenne), la raccolta di racconti *L'anima degli altri* (2022) e, come vedremo, di *Prima e dopo* (2023). Mondadori ha recentemente riproposto, oltre ai romanzi presenti nel Meridiano del 2011, *La bambolona*, *Il rimorso*, *Nel buio della notte* (2023).

contribuendo a illuminare il processo di composizione delle opere di una scrittrice che ha attraversato, animandolo, lo scenario intellettuale italiano in particolar modo tra gli anni Trenta e la metà dei Sessanta, decennio quest'ultimo in cui si colloca il definitivo trasferimento a Parigi, che porta a maturazione una lunga e dolorosa insofferenza per l'ambiente romano.[9] Perché, dobbiamo riconoscerlo con onestà intellettuale, quelle carte non narrano una storia buona per tutte le stagioni: ci raccontano anche di momenti di crisi, di inadeguatezze, di fallimenti e di progetti rimasti allo stato di abbozzo o, addirittura, lungamente lavorati ma mai pervenuti a conclusione (è il caso, centrale nella poetica dell'autrice, del romanzo cubano *Con gran amor*, per il quale rinvio al recente volume di Cecilia Spaziani)[10] che, insieme ai numerosi, talvolta inaspettati successi (come vedremo a breve), ricostruiscono tutto intero il quadro della personalità intellettuale di de Céspedes e dell'ambiente entro il quale ella ha agito.

Tra i molteplici e pressoché infiniti itinerari possibili attraverso una serie di recuperi mirati, intendo avviare in queste pagine (e sviluppare in un prossimo futuro) un'analisi del romanzo breve (o racconto lungo) *Prima e dopo* (Mondadori, 1955) ponendolo in rapporto con ipotesi e progetti incompiuti, capaci di gettare nuova luce su un'opera che segna il superamento di una fase di profonda crisi e di radicale ripensamento della precedente attività. A questa ricostruzione – avviata dall'impegno di Antonia Virone, una giovane studiosa, autrice del volume «*Tante cose da dire e da scrivere*». *Alba de Céspedes e il laboratorio creativo di Prima e dopo (1955)*[11] – contribuiscono anche gli scambi epistolari che intendo trattare in una seconda fase delle indagini. Questi ultimi rivelano progetti personali

9 Tra i numerosi riferimenti a una sorta di disagio, cito quello tratto dai Diari agosto ´52-dicembre ´56: «Non posso più vivere a Roma, ne sono convinta» (la citazione è tratta dalla tesi di dottorato di M. D'Antoni, *Per un'edizione critica dei Diari di Alba de Céspedes*, Tesi di dottorato, Sapienza Università di Roma, a.a. 2016-2017).

10 C. Spaziani, *Con gran amor di Alba de Céspedes. Storie di un romanzo incompiuto*, Roma 2024.

11 Pubblicato nel 2019 da Pacini Editore di Pisa.

e collettivi: diversificate forme di impegno per la ricostruzione su base antifascista del tessuto civile e culturale italiano, alla luce di un continuo intreccio tra privato e pubblico che permette di ridefinire una rete intellettuale impegnata nella rifondazione del Paese all'indomani del secondo conflitto mondiale.

Per comprendere meglio occorre innanzitutto ricordare che gli anni Cinquanta, nei quali si colloca la composizione del romanzo, sono per de Céspedes un decennio molto complesso, segnato da gravi lutti. Era ormai chiuso il periodo propositivo animato dalle speranze di una rinascita dell'Italia dopo il devastante ventennio fascista, la tragedia della guerra e l'esaltante esperienza della Resistenza, che si concretizza intorno alla fondazione e direzione della rivista «Mercurio» (1944-'48) e l'aveva vista tessere una trama di rapporti con politici e intellettuali protagonisti di quella stagione. Dopo un viaggio a Cuba, nel febbraio '52 la scrittrice è di nuovo a Roma. Nella primavera di quello stesso anno firma il contratto col settimanale mondadoriano «Epoca», per il quale si impegna a scrivere due articoli al mese e a curare la rubrica fissa *Dalla parte di lei* (dal titolo di un suo fortunato romanzo) che terrà dal 28 giugno 1952 al 9 novembre 1958.[12] L'8 dicembre 1952 muore però suicida Agostino degli Espinosa, cui è legata sentimentalmente, lasciandola in una cupa disperazione; quattro anni dopo, il 21 febbraio 1956, perderà la madre, Laura Bertini, a L'Avana. Alla depressione e alla solitudine si aggiunge una sorta di disagio su cui agiscono «il degrado del tessuto sociale, il dramma, in esso, dello scrittore; la solitudine, in una società letteraria a sua volta corrotta».[13] Dopo un quindicennio in cui si erano susseguite opere che avevano avuto un grande successo di pubblico – i già rammentati romanzi *Nessuno torna indietro* (1938), *Dalla parte di lei* (1949), *Quaderno proibito* (1952) –

12 Sulla ricezione del romanzo, che sollevò all'epoca un vivace dibattito, rinvio ad alcuni miei interventi: L. Spera, 'Alba de Céspedes e la critica illustre. Dalla parte di lei tra Cecchi, Pancrazi e Bellonci', *Bollettino di Italianistica*, 2018, XV, pp. 170-190; Id., '«La fine non persuaderà tutti». Anna Garofalo legge Dalla parte di lei', *Filolog*, 2018, IX, pp. 118-131.

13 M. Zancan, *Cronologia*, in A. de Céspedes, *Romanzi*, op. cit., p. CX.

è dunque in questo quadro che de Céspedes lavora a una raccolta di racconti solo in parte editi, che uscirà sempre per Mondadori col titolo *Invito a pranzo* (1955). Nell'indice originario, tra gli inediti figura inizialmente un lungo racconto dal titolo *Prima e dopo*, la cui composizione si colloca nel '54 ma che, per volere di Alberto Mondadori, a partire dal maggio '55 si stacca dal progetto della raccolta (vicenda per la quale rinvio all'esaustiva trattazione di Antonia Virone) per poi approdare, appena qualche mese dopo (nel dicembre '55), alla pubblicazione autonoma nella collana "Grandi narratori italiani". I materiali d'archivio (in particolare i Diari, le cui note vanno dal 3 maggio 1936 all'11 marzo 1992[14], che accompagnano tanto la dimensione personale quanto quella intellettuale, più alcuni dattiloscritti volti a presentare il romanzo) sono dunque decisivi per una iniziale ricognizione dei motivi che presiedono la composizione dell'opera. Tra le carte è custodito infatti un dattiloscritto che intavola un dialogo schietto e diretto – a tratti persino disarmante per la sua sincerità – della scrittrice con i suoi lettori, in una duplice redazione (chiaramente una brutta copia con correzioni, poi messa in pulito):

> *Perché ho scritto Prima e dopo*
>
> Cari lettori, perdonatemi se, nonostante la buona volontà, non saprò presentarvi efficacemente il mio nuovo libro PRIMA E DOPO: ma credo che per uno scrittore sia sempre difficile riassumere in poche righe il significato di una sua opera, e proprio perché egli ha scritto pagine e pagine per esprimerlo attraverso le vicende di alcuni personaggi. I personaggi non sono pretesti, schermi, dietro i quali egli nasconde le sue idee: sono essi stessi le sue idee. Per questo penso che nessun narratore possa essere pienamente consapevole del significato etico e sociale dell'opera che sta scrivendo; giacché, se non lo fosse, non sarebbe più un vero narratore.
>
> Questi, infatti, crede sempre di raccontare soltanto la storia di un uomo, o di una donna; ma, una volta fatto il romanzo, si avvede che il personaggio, vivendo in un'epoca e in una società determinata,

14 I *Diari* rappresentano un'intera sottoserie – *Diari* 1.4.2 – della parte più significativa del Fondo Alba de Céspedes, la serie *Scritti* 1.4.

affrontando i problemi, gli ha insegnato moltissime cose che egli credeva di non conoscere, ha espresso opinioni che egli non sapeva di avere tanto chiare nella sua mente e delle quali, tuttavia, subito accetta la responsabilità.

Così è stato anche per me, scrivendo di Irene e di Pietro – i protagonisti di PRIMA E DOPO, di Erminia e degli altri personaggi che li circondano. Ma, ora, come potrei dirvi in poche parole chi essi sono e tutto ciò che mi hanno insegnato? Non basta dirvi che Irene è una giovane donna che ha lasciato il mondo tradizionale in cui era nata per trovare la propria libertà intima in una vita di lavoro, in un amore che non è sogno, vacanza della propria personalità, ma un rapporto consapevole in cui questa possa partecipare intera; né raccontarvi che Irene, come Valeria di QUADERNO PROIBITO, è indotta da un fatto in apparenza casuale a rivedere tutta la sua vita passata e presente, a domandarsi se, scegliendola, ha ubbidito davvero alla dignità, alla ragione, oppure semplicemente all'orgoglio e, via via, a domandarsi perché tante cose sono avvenute in lei e attorno a lei, dalla fine della guerra ad oggi; questo proprio mentre Pietro, l'uomo da lei amato, si pone per altri motivi le stesse domande. Per vecchia esperienza so ormai che dei miei libri è impossibile riassumere la trama; del resto, se anche lo tentassi, non riuscirei egualmente a farvi intendere cos'è PRIMA E DOPO: e neppure che cosa vuol dire il suo titolo.

Vorrei che, leggendo il libro, i lettori si avvedessero che nella vita di ogni uomo, come in quella di Irene e di Pietro, e in quella di Erminia, c'è un momento in cui un fatto, un amore, un incontro, insomma qualcosa ci fornisce l'occasione di domandarci certe cose e di tentare di capirle, dandoci così la possibilità di divenire adulti non soltanto per gli anni. E che alcuni approfittano di questa occasione mentre altri trovano più comodo non avvedersene. Poiché essa rappresenta la scelta tra il mondo delle passioni, degli istinti, e quello delle idee. Tra la felicità e la ragione.

Nessuno se ne avvede, al momento di compierla. Irene, infatti, abbandonando il conformismo in cui aveva vissuto, e Pietro, perseguendo, nella professione e nella politica, i suoi ideali di libertà, credono di riuscire a placare l'inquietudine che da anni, soprattutto dalla fine della guerra ad oggi, li fa vivere nell'attesa della felicità. Invece, per il loro arduo modo di vivere e per una sorta di sospetto, di rimprovero che sentono attorno a loro, [Irene e Pietro] temono di essere divenuti i nemici delle illusioni, dei sogni, di rappresentare un continuo pericolo, non solo per la loro felicità, ma anche per quella altrui, come lo sono stati per quella della candida Erminia. Ma, ormai, una insormontabile barriera divide il mondo di 'DOPO' da quello di 'PRIMA' e, nonostante lo scoraggiamento, la stanchezza, i fugaci rimpianti e le passeggere ribellioni, non potranno più tornare indietro. Il loro amore e l'istintiva solidarietà di Erminia li convincono finalmente che l'inquietudine appartiene all'uomo poiché esprime la sua costante ansia di una libertà che non può essere conquistata una volta per tutte, né assicurata da formule, ma va ricercata giorno dopo giorno in noi stessi e nel mondo che ci circonda.

Mi è stato chiesto anche di dirvi come ho avuto l'idea di questo libro; ma neppure questo saprei dirvi perché i miei romanzi maturano in me per anni mentre io maturo con essi. Da quando ho incominciato a scrivere, mi pare di star scrivendo sempre lo stesso romanzo che non ho ancora finito di scrivere, ma di cui, con PRIMA E DOPO, mi pare di aver concluso una prima parte. E anche le mie protagoniste sono sempre in fondo, in fondo, la stessa donna che impersona, a volta a volta, i problemi di una generazione, di un mondo e di un'età. Ma mentre Alessandra di DALLA PARTE DI LEI si riduce a uccidere per non rinunziare alla felicità e Valeria deve distruggere il 'QUADERNO PROIBITO', cioè la lucidità della coscienza, per tentare di trovarla, Irene comprende che la felicità si può trovare solo accettando la disperazione che assilla ogni creatura umana consapevole.

Così ciò che rappresentava un muro tra Alessandra e Francesco, un segreto tra Valeria e Michele, diviene invece un vincolo di qualità unica tra Irene e Pietro, i quali cercano insieme di dare un significato valido all'angoscia che pervade il loro amore, la loro naturale solitudine, il loro tempo e la loro età.[15]

Lungi dal voler rappresentare sé stessa con meccanico autobiografismo, de Céspedes ci sta dicendo che i protagonisti e soprattutto la protagonista di *Prima e dopo*, la trentacinquenne Irene, ex partigiana,

15 Il testo è stato pubblicato da Antonia Virone nel già citato «*Tante cose da dire e da scrivere*»..., op. cit., pp. 21-23. L'articolo dattiloscritto è presente nel Fondo de Céspedes in due redazioni. Le carte non riportano la data e solo uno dei documenti il titolo (Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori, Milano, Fondo Alba de Céspedes, b. 42, fasc. 2).

giornalista emancipata che – dopo aver rinunciato a una condizione borghese e a un benessere assicurato – vive del proprio lavoro e ha un rapporto moderno e paritetico col proprio compagno Pietro, non è personaggio che la rispecchia, ma che tale creazione letteraria l'ha aiutata a mettere in luce un itinerario di maturazione intellettuale che aveva attraversato i suoi romanzi più noti e che trova in *Prima e dopo* il momento di massima consapevolezza, tanto da chiudere una fase e aprirne una nuova. A tale proposito risulta prezioso l'archivio di un'altra scrittrice, Paola Masino, nel quale è presente una lettera di de Céspedes che conferma l'idea che *Prima e dopo* rappresenti proprio una cesura: il 2 febbraio 1956 Alba chiarisce infatti all'amica e collega che l'opera «chiude un ciclo del mio lavoro, di certi miei interessi, di alcuni problemi cui m'appassionavo: adesso doveva aprirsi, nei miei piani, un altro ciclo; e ti ho detto, temo di non avere più la forza, peggio, la passione di scrivere».[16] In verità, se di autobiografismo *strictu sensu* non si può parlare (ed è la stessa scrittrice a sostenerlo), è innegabile che il romanzo intenda mettere a consuntivo un passato collettivo, generazionale – potremmo dire – ancor prima che personale e una serie di progetti di scrittura, di cui sappiamo dalle carte d'archivio, che ci permettono di attraversare un'opera lungamente fraintesa e, a mio parere, talvolta ricondotta unicamente a una vicenda di emancipazione femminile che, se pure utile a spiegarne il portato complessivo, rischia di porne in ombra alcune importanti implicazioni. Partiamo dalla luce che le carte d'archivio gettano sul romanzo. Si trascrivono di seguito alcuni brevi passaggi (solo una selezione tra quelli che riguardano l'opera) tratti dai Diari, come si anticipava documenti privati che accompagnano l'esistenza e l'impegno culturale di de Céspedes:

> 27 febbraio 55
> Tornata incominciato a lavorare alla rubrica perché dovevo finirla: e poi, come sempre, non volevo staccarmene nemmeno per tornare al mio adorato "*Prima e dopo*".

16 La citazione è tratta da M. Zancan, *Notizie sui testi*, in A. de Céspedes, *Romanzi*, op. cit., p. CVII.

11 dicembre 1955 notte
Esattamente il giorno in cui finivo le bozze di *Prima e dopo*, in cui, tremando, scrivevo sul frontespizio la condanna del "visto si stampi".

11 dicembre 55 notte
Mi sgomentano le ultime righe del prec. diario così precise: quasi divinatorie. *Prima e dopo* andrà male, lo so. E non me ne importerà.

26 dicembre 55 – più tardi
la scelta della solitudine […] è la solita scelta cui Irene si trova di fronte quasi senza volerlo. Alcune frasi nel diario di Gide[17], mi hanno fatto sorgere alcuni dubbi circa *Prima e dopo*: li hanno precisati, anzi. Egli, a proposito di Henri Bordeaux[18], e di una frase detta da quest'ultimo disapprova la necessità di conoscersi, o almeno la giudica nociva per l'artista […]. Non riesco a comprendere appieno, e cioè in piena sincerità, se io mi sono conosciuta attraverso *Prima e dopo* (mi pare di sì, ma potrebbe essere una speranza) o se invece io abbia con quel racconto voluto dare al pubblico involontariamente, e in verità a me stessa la prova di quello che avevo acquisito attraverso la conoscenza.

12 gennaio 56
Due giorni fa una frase dettami forse senza sapere quale profonda risonanza avrebbe avuto su di me anche a causa di "*Prima e dopo*" mi ha condotto a rileggere pagine di diari antichi. Ho fatto grandi progressi in me, nel mio mondo intimo, nella mia cultura.[19]

Negli *Appunti e quaderni* è presente inoltre il seguente appunto:

24 febbraio 1956
La sera del 21, tornando da Milano, ho trovato un telegramma di Eladio[20] che mi annunziava la morte di mia madre, avvenuta al

17 Alba de Céspedes si riferisce al *Diario* che André Gide (1869-1951) – Premio Nobel per la letteratura nel 1947 – iniziò a scrivere nel 1887 e tenne tutta la vita, pubblicandone larghe parti durante tutta la sua esistenza. La traduzione italiana più recente è apparsa nel 2016, integrata da testi inediti, in precedenza sparsi o censurati: A. Gide, *Diario. Vol. 1/ 1887-1925, vol. 2/ 1926-1950*, a cura di P. Gelli, trad. di S. Arecco, Milano 2016.

18 Henri Bordeaux (1870-1963), scrittore e avvocato francese.

19 Come già segnalato, le annotazioni sin qui trascritte sono presenti nei Diari decespediani e sono tratte dalla tesi di dottorato M. D'Antoni, *Per un'edizione critica dei Diari…*, op. cit.

20 Si tratta dell'avvocato cubano Eladio Ramirez.

> mattino, repentinamente. Pochi giorni prima era uscito il mio nuovo libro "*Prima e dopo*".[21]

Anche a una rapida lettura, è evidente che il romanzo rappresenta per la scrittrice una sorta di consuntivo (personale e letterario) e che la spinta propulsiva alla scrittura supera di gran lunga anche i timori di un insuccesso, più volte preannunciato a sé stessa, infine smentito dalla grande fortuna presso il pubblico. L'insistenza sul tema della solitudine, che l'affianca alla protagonista Irene, la crisi sentimentale e, infine, la morte della madre quando ormai il romanzo è in stampa contribuiscono poi a fare di quest'opera un punto di non ritorno, segnando così al contempo la fine di un'epoca esistenziale e di una stagione letteraria.

Alle questioni ben evidenziate anche dalle poche righe dei Diari sin qui riportate, fanno eco nell'opera stessa parole-chiave o espressioni ricorrenti che insistono sull'idea di un cambio di passo e di cui in questa sede si rende sinteticamente conto.

Prima e dopo: l'espressione che dà il titolo al romanzo è anche quella a mio avviso maggiormente fraintesa. Troppo proiettato sul presente è infatti lo scarto, il passaggio rappresentato dall'episodio iniziale, forse persino sopravvalutato: la domestica Erminia – una giovane che viene dal contado e avverte, in modo seppure ingenuo, il disagio di lavorare in casa di una donna così poco 'borghese' come Irene – decide di tornare dall'odiata 'signora' presso cui aveva prestato servizio in passato, generando così un profondo senso di abbandono in Irene. Ritengo però che lo sconforto al quale la protagonista si lascia andare rappresenti anche molto altro e cioè una sorta di disagio di quella generazione che, dopo aver combattuto per la libertà italiana, si sente giudicata ora da una società volta a dimenticare la guerra e i suoi orrori e – come lei e Pietro – avverte la propria incapacità ad affrontare i compromessi di una quotidianità insoddisfacente. Il lungo passaggio che segue è a questo proposito illuminante della condizione di quanti avevano speso

21 La citazione è tratta da C. Spaziani, *Con gran amor di Alba de Céspedes…*, op. cit., p. 147.

la gioventù per la liberazione dell'Italia dalla dittatura fascista e, naufragato il progetto di ricostruzione civile e culturale, si trovano a fare i conti con un presente deludente sotto il profilo politico e personale:

> In quella ricerca [della felicità] avevamo speso il nostro tempo; sembrava solo un giorno, un minuto, ed erano quasi dieci anni, considerai amaramente. Avevamo scritto libri, stampato giornali, dipinto quadri, diretto film, sperando che servissero a darci almeno un annunzio, una chiave. [...] Allora, rinnovando le nostre illusioni, avevamo letto e tradotto libri venuti da paesi che ostentavano di possedere il segreto della felicità e lo divulgavano in trattati, lo vendevano in pillole; poi avevamo cercato di intuire quello che altri paesi non lasciavano uscire dai loro confini invarcabili, preclusi. Ma, mentre essi erano certi di possedere quel segreto come un messaggio messianico noi, a poco a poco, cominciavamo a sospettare che fosse impossibile penetrarlo. Per questo, forse, eravamo scoraggiati e dappertutto ci sentivamo fuori legge. [...] Inoltre, pur avendo la speranza che dovesse ancora incominciare, ripetevamo spesso che la giovinezza era finita. Dopo tanti anni, osservai con ironia, eravamo a questo punto. Ma almeno eravamo consapevoli di vivere in una condizione angosciosa, precaria. Ci sentivamo vecchi perché nella nostra vita era insaccata la vita di un secolo; eravamo stanchi perché stavamo traversando di corsa un grande spazio e avremmo voluto fermarci in un tempo che finalmente fosse il nostro: invece il nostro tempo era proprio quel sacco pesante di anni e di fatti che portavamo in noi. Perciò sentivamo sempre attorno un presagio di fine e, insieme, d'inizio; e spesso ci sembrava di vivere ancora come *prima*, benché ormai fosse *dopo*. (pp. 106-107, corsivo nostro)[22]

Difficile recuperare nella produzione del dopoguerra una descrizione più amara e realistica dello stato d'animo di quell'intera generazione che aveva combattuto, *prima*, per la libertà italiana sognando al contempo di recuperare, *dopo*, il tempo della libertà e della propria giovinezza («un tempo che finalmente fosse il nostro») con l'orgoglio per quanto era stato fatto, raccogliendo

22 I numeri di pagina da cui sono tratte le citazioni vengono forniti da qui in poi nel corpo del testo e fanno riferimento all'edizione A. de Céspedes, *Prima e dopo*, prefazione di N. Terranova, Roma 2023.

a piene mani l'ammirazione per aver contribuito a una nuova società e trovando invece solo diffidenza e volontà di dimenticare: il campo semantico di termini quali *aspettare/sperare/aspirando/ricerca*, la parola *felicità* rimarcano del resto significativamente l'assunto interpretativo qui proposto. Dunque, ancorare il romanzo all'occasione del noto incipit – «Quando Erminia entrò nel mio studio, col vassoio del desinare, subito intuii che doveva dirmi qualcosa di spiacevole», p. 13 – può risultare riduttivo della sua portata storica e morale, che travalica di gran lunga le difficoltà di una borghese 'pentita' come Irene la quale, al di là dei dettagli relativi ai suoi dati biografici e al suo *status* sociale, rappresenta invece una condizione epocale.

Bosco: il termine ricorre in più occasioni. Siamo alle battute finali e, dopo un lungo colloquio, Irene rievoca a Pietro il bosco in cui si era nascosta durante la guerra:

> Sai che spesso, in questi giorni, ripensavo a quando ero in quel bosco, nell'autunno del '43? (p. 123)

> Il bosco, invece, era sicuro: fitto, arroccato su una montagna e cinto da un torrente come un maniero; nessuno avrebbe osato venire a cercarci per tema di un agguato. I contadini ci costrinsero, quasi, a rimanere. Ci sistemarono in una stalla, tutti insieme... Eravamo in parecchi, venivamo da città e da classi diverse. (p. 124)

> Poi prendemmo l'abitudine di spingerci ogni giorno al limite del bosco, su un promontorio che dominava tutta la vallata [...]. Eravamo divorati dal desiderio di abbandonare la sicurezza, di sfidare il rischio che ci divideva dalla libertà [...]. (p. 125).

Ebbene, sappiamo dalle carte d'archivio (appunti privati dell'11 novembre 1943) che "Il bosco" è il titolo di un progetto di racconto che de Céspedes non svilupperà, ma nel quale avrebbe voluto narrare proprio l'esperienza vissuta insieme al marito Franco Bounous quando, in fuga da Roma nel settembre '43 per timore di rappresaglie, avevano trascorso nove mesi tra l'Abruzzo, Bari e Napoli. Anche questo riferimento supporta dunque l'idea di un 'prima' e un 'dopo' teso a fare i conti con l'esperienza della guerra e dell'impegno antifascista.

Gravita intorno all'area del 'prima e dopo' anche la parola *guerra*, con insistite ricorrenze[23], spesso anche insieme a *bosco*. Così, appena arrivata a Bari dopo aver lasciato Roma e l'Abruzzo, Irene aveva scoperto di essere priva di appoggi in un paesaggio urbano sconvolto dal conflitto: «M'ero dunque trovata sola in un paese che mi sembrava finalmente la mia patria e, insieme, una terra straniera. [...] I primi due giorni li avevo trascorsi passeggiando sul lungomare; il mare era grigio e nella strada, grigia anch'essa, si vedevano ammassi di macerie, di rottami» (p. 59). L'occorrenza più significativa coincide però con la rievocazione dell'ultima passeggiata con il fidanzato Maurizio, simbolo di quella condizione privilegiata che ella aveva deciso di abbandonare per una vita diversa, più vera e autonoma: la protagonista ricorda che il giovane, alla fine di un penoso colloquio teso, da entrambe le parti, a prendere atto della non percorribilità della loro storia, aveva detto «È tutta colpa della guerra» (p. 92). Il periodo di impegno antifascista a Bari, poi a Napoli, ha infatti prodotto in Irene nuove consapevolezze e un senso di responsabilità verso il prossimo e il futuro che non si concilia con la prospettiva di moglie borghese benestante di un affermato professionista. Nell'impossibilità di comprendere a pieno la trasformazione di Irene, Maurizio riconduce dunque al conflitto la causa della fine del loro rapporto.

Molte altre sono le questioni e i temi che potrebbero essere presi in considerazione e che ci ricondurrebbero a snodi centrali nel romanzo: tra questi l'*indipendenza*, argomento spesso presente nei dialoghi fra Irene e l'amica Adriana («Eppure, ormai, vivere con danaro che non fosse nostro, guadagnato da noi, ci sarebbe sembrato in

23 Una descrizione delle difficoltà imposte dal conflitto bellico è per esempio la seguente: «Non appena traversate le linee ci avevano condotti a Bari e gli amici cui m'ero accompagnata si erano dispersi, in cerca di lavoro, di conoscenze, di appoggi» (p. 59). E ancora: «Li avevo conosciuti quasi tutti nel tempo bellissimo, fervido, che aveva seguito la fine della guerra, e tra loro avevo conosciuto Pietro» (p. 87). Vale infine la pena recuperare nuovamente le bellissime pagine sulla condizione di chi aveva partecipato alla Resistenza: «da quando era finita la *guerra* lavoravamo alacremente, rincorrendoci con notizie e telefonate, discutendo fino a notte alta, impegnati nella ricerca di una felicità che non fosse dovuta alla fortuna, al caso, ma che ci spettasse per un diritto acquisito nella nostra coscienza» (p. 106).

pari tempo un sogno e una sregolatezza», p. 35); la *solitudine*, di cui la scrittrice scriveva anche nei Diari attribuendo a essa il ruolo di tema chiave del romanzo[24]; l'*abbandono*, che aleggia nel lungo colloquio tra una Irene sempre più sconsolata e la domestica Erminia. Questa accetta infine di incontrarla per spiegarle, a suo modo, di aver ripreso il suo vecchio impiego da «quella lì» (la signora Pasinotti, che «l'aveva fatta venire in città dal paese perché cugina di una cameriera che aveva da vari anni», p. 19) perché quel tipo di persone non vive (come invece Irene) della fatica del proprio lavoro e dunque nei loro confronti può permettersi di non nutrire affetto e comprensione (p. 77)[25]; infine, il *contrasto tra felicità e ragione*, esemplarmente espresso nell'ambito di un dialogo tra Irene e Maurizio, al quale la giovane donna spiega i motivi della sua decisione e della sua infelicità:

> «Io credo che a tutti, nella vita, capita un momento, un fatto, un incontro, un amore, che so?, insomma qualcosa che obbliga a pensare, a domandarsi certe cose e a tentare di capirle, di divenire adulti. Ma alcuni lo divengono altri mai». «E adesso?» Maurizio aveva ribattuto duramente: «Adesso che hai capito sei più felice?». Mi fissava con uno sguardo ostile e io, in un brivido, avevo chinato la testa confessando: «No, anzi temo che non mi sarà più possibile esserlo.... Temo che la sola felicità alla quale si possa aspirare è quella di capire.» (p. 95)

Il segnale che l'opera, così come abbiamo ricordato all'inizio, nelle intenzioni dell'autrice avrebbe dovuto chiudere un'epoca (personale e artistica) si ravvisa anche nell'insistito richiamo alla 'porta', che segna più momenti del romanzo; ne rievochiamo alcuni:

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24 Ecco quanto l'amica Adriana dice a Irene che rievoca il momento in cui ha deciso di rompere il suo fidanzamento con Maurizio: «Non hai ancora imparato a stare sola - ella diceva: ecco tutto. Del resto, non s'impara a stare soli che dopo essere stati lungamente in due» (p. 39)

25 Di questa difficoltà di Erminia a 'servire' in casa di una donna emancipata e non di una signora della buona borghesia c'erano stati del resto espliciti segnali quando, rievoca Irene, al suo arrivo la ragazza: «Mi aveva domandato perché vivevo sola, sebbene mia madre abitasse nella stessa città, perché il telefono sonava così spesso; e, nel vedere attorno tanti libri, aveva detto con sussiego che in casa Pasinotti, non ce n'era più uno perché la signora aveva finito di studiare. Io, ridendo, avevo risposto che neppure dopo aver letto tutti quei libri avrei finito di studiare e i suoi neri occhi si erano spalancati in una sorta di sgomento» (p. 22).

Tre giorni dopo, quando richiusi la *porta* alle sue spalle, l'odore della cera mi cagionò lo stesso dolore lacerante che avevo provato anni prima nel sentire sulle mie mani, dopo il commiato ultimo, l'odore della colonia di Maurizio. (dopo la partenza di Erminia, p. 15, corsivo nostro)

Parlavamo sempre del futuro; era come se stessimo dietro una *porta chiusa*, aspettando d'essere finalmente ammessi in un mondo dove tutti sarebbero stati sempre giusti, onesti, buoni, dove ogni amore sarebbe stato fedele, ogni intesa perfetta, e dove – senza più lottare nemmeno con noi stessi – avremmo goduto di una perenne felicità. (rievocando il periodo trascorso a Bari, p. 62, corsivo nostro)

«Vieni presto...» le avevo detto prendendole una mano: «Non so quello che troveremo... Anch'io, ti confesso, ho una gran paura di essere libera». «Tu non sarai mai libera» ella aveva replicato: «tu sei sempre difesa dalla volontà, dalla ragione, da un muro...». «D'orgoglio?» le avevo suggerito con un sorriso; poi, senza aspettare che rispondesse, l'avevo abbracciata congedandomi. Il camion s'allontanava e io la vedevo ancora, tutta bianca contro il legno scuro della *porta*. (dialogo con la sorella Marta, a Napoli, prima di lasciarla per rientrare a Roma e dare avvio a una nuova vita, p. 71, corsivo nostro)

Ferma dietro la *porta chiusa*, udivo Erminia allontanarsi svelta. (subito dopo il dialogo chiarificatore tra Irene ed Erminia, p. 84, corsivo nostro)

Ci eravamo illusi che, improvvisamente, da una parola detta o scritta, questa felicità avrebbe preso vita, forma, nome. L'aspettavamo come una persona fisica che un giorno sarebbe arrivata, bussando alla *porta*. (nell'ambito della riflessione sul passato di impegno politico e nell'ambito della Resistenza, p. 106, corsivo nostro)

Era già pomeriggio inoltrato: subito mi levai e avevo incominciato a rassettarmi quando il campanello riprese a sonare ininterrottamente. C'era qualcosa di minaccioso in quel suono; perciò raggiunsi l'ingresso in punta di piedi e domandai, contro le mie abitudini: «Chi è?». Nessuno rispose; oltre la *porta* sentivo una presenza non casuale. Aprii ed era Pietro.

«Oh!...» feci in un sussulto. Egli entrò e richiuse la *porta*, senza salutarmi. «Che facevi?» chiese freddamente: «Perché non sei venuta ad aprire?». (l'arrivo di Pietro, inaspettato, che dà avvio a un importante chiarimento con Irene, p. 113, corsivo nostro)

Le immagini e i numerosi momenti connessi alla porta (spesso 'chiusa') rievocano infine quei "Dialoghi attraverso la porta chiusa" che nelle carte della scrittrice vengono indicati come il romanzo in cui avrebbe voluto narrare la dolorosa condizione della madre ormai persa dietro il passato, nel ricordo del marito amatissimo scomparso nel '39 con cui fantasticava di parlare ancora, chiusa appunto dietro la porta della sua camera, che non permetteva ad alcuno di varcare: di nuovo ci soccorrono le carte, dato che a quei *Dialoghi* fa un breve riferimento anche Alberto Mondadori in una lettera scritta da Milano e indirizzata a de Céspedes il 24 maggio 1950, in cui dichiara: «Sono felice del nuovo romanzo: il titolo *Dialoghi attraverso la porta chiusa* mi piace molto e sarà di successo».[26]

Ancora, e in chiusura, durante una passeggiata con Adriana, mi sembra suggestivo il richiamo a quella «Roma afosa», tanto amata e qui splendidamente descritta:

> A poco a poco, discorrendo, eravamo giunte in via Sistina: la trattoria ove eravamo dirette era nei pressi di piazza di Spagna. Camminavamo da un'ora, ubbidendo entrambe a un inconsapevole desiderio di stancarci. Era spiovuto, ma dalle grondaie venivano giù certe gocce dure che rimbalzavano sui nostri impermeabili.
>
> «Speriamo che rinfreschi» osservai «non posso sopportare lo scirocco. Mi pare che l'aria di Roma si sia fatta opprimente. O forse» aggiunsi sorridendo «prima non ce ne avvedevamo».
>
> Andammo ad affacciarci alla balaustra di Trinità dei Monti; oltre i primi gradini la scalinata era un vuoto scuro. Io sentivo la mia angoscia aumentare ed ero talmente stanca da averne le vertigini: mi figuravo di precipitare nel buio abisso delle scale.
>
> «Ho paura» dissi.
>
> Adriana taceva, guardando verso via dei Condotti ove i lampioni si susseguivano in una linea fulgida, diritta, e sperai che non avesse udito. Ma replicò: «Abbiamo avuto paura tante volte» (pp. 44-45).

Indubbiamente Alba de Céspedes attribuisce alla descrizione la funzione di esprimere metaforicamente il suo difficile rapporto

26 Lettera citata da M. Zancan nel Meridiano, *Cronologia*, p. XCIX.

con una città il cui *entourage* intellettuale, a quest'altezza cronologica, ella avverte come ormai compromesso e ostile. Ciò la porterà sempre più spesso, tra il '57 e il '59, a soggiornare a Parigi, sino al trasferimento definitivo, nel corso di quegli anni Sessanta contrassegnati da difficoltà economiche, delusione, scoramento per il contrasto tra la grande *popolarità* delle sue opere presso il pubblico dei lettori e, al contrario, l'indifferenza e l'estraneità che ella avverte nei confronti della critica *alta*.

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RECENSIONI EPISTOLARI: ENNIO FLAIANO E PAOLO MILANO LETTORI DEI RACCONTI DI HERLING

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ABSTRACT

The article concerns the early reception of Gustaw Herling-Grudziński's oeuvre in Italy, with particular attention to epistolary reactions following the publication of the collection of short stories *Pale di altare* (Silva, 1960). Analysis is focused on correspondence preserved in the Gustaw Herling-Grudziński Archives in Naples: attention was given particularly to the epistolary reviews of the book, contained in the letters of Ennio Flaiano and Paolo Milano. A contrast of the reactions of the two Italian writers makes it possible to observe different qualities and issues worth addressing in Gustaw Herling-Grudziński's short stories in *Pale di altare* and their Italian translations.

KEYWORDS: Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, Pale di altare, reception, correspondence, Ennio Flaiano, Paolo Milano

Quando si riflette sulla questione degli archivi, viene in mente il caso degli archivi di Alba De Céspedes, che – come scrive Jadwiga Miszalska – "allestiti già con cura dalla scrittrice stessa ed ora riordinati e catalogati, costituiscono una ricca fonte di informazioni e non sono da sottovalutare nei lavori di ricostruzione del suo processo creativo, delle relazioni con l'editore, dei contatti con i traduttori e il mondo della cultura".[1] Non sempre si ha a che fare con una precisione e cura così meticolosa, e molto spesso i materiali accumulati durante la vita di un letterato vengono scartati o dispersi. D'altro lato, quando ci si pone la questione dell'organizzazione dei materiali, l'archivio ci appare come un "locus of power"[2] e ci si rende conto del ruolo decisivo che ha il modo in cui il fondo viene organizzato. Da un'efficace sistematizzazione di un archivio dipendono molto spesso le sorti delle ricerche sulla vita e sul pensiero dei letterati e sulle vicende dei libri. Come ogni catalogo, anche questo, "è un atto performativo che produce fatti".[3]

Qui ci focalizzeremo su un momento particolare della ricezione italiana della raccolta di racconti *Pale di altare* di Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, sulla scorta dell'analisi dei materiali conservati nell'Archivio di Gustaw Herling-Grudziński a Napoli, resi recentemente accessibili grazie alla generosa disponibilità degli Eredi. Dopo un breve riepilogo della ricerca svolta finora sulla corrispondenza dello scrittore con Cristina Campo e Elémire Zolla, mi occuperò della ricezione epistolare di *Pale di altare* da parte di Ennio Flaiano e Paolo Milano, testimoniata dai loro rispettivi carteggi.

Nel *Diario scritto di notte* Gustaw Herling ha dichiarato:

> Alcune carte e lettere in mio possesso difficilmente potrebbero essere chiamate archivio, è piuttosto materiale d'archivio, accatastato anno dopo anno in molte scatole, caotico, mai toccato dalla mano

1 J. Miszalska, 'I personaggi sdoppiati in *nessuno torna indietro* di Alba de Céspedes e le vicende tedesco-polacche del romanzo', *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* 2019, n. 2, p. 222.

2 P. Claus and J. Marriott, *History: An Introduction to Theory, Method and Practice*, New York 2012, p. 386, cit. in J. Munday, 'Using primary sources to produce a microhistory of translation and translators: theoretical and methodological concerns', *Translator: Studies in Intercultural Communication*, 2014, n. 20 (1).

3 C. Vismann, *Akten. Medientechnik und Recht*, Fischer Taschenbuch, Frankfurt am Main 2000, p. 89, cit. in P. Zajas, 'Chaos i porządek archiwum,' *Teksty drugie* 2021, n. 2, p. 239.

sistematrice nello sforzo di tale segregazione, comunque condannato ad essere bruciato dopo la mia morte.[4]

Eppure, grazie all'impegno degli eredi, l'archivio non solo non è stato bruciato, ma è stato anche riordinato in modo pressoché perfetto, aprendo nuovi spazi di ricerca su aspetti ancora non approfonditi della ricezione dell'opera di Herling in Italia.

Dopo la morte dello scrittore, i materiali – "valigie e scatole [...] [contenenti] migliaia di lettere con allegati dattiloscritti, riproduzioni, fotocopie, documenti e manoscritti"[5] – in accordo con la sua volontà, sono stati depositati presso la Fondazione "Biblioteca Benedetto Croce". Anche se più volte Gustaw Herling accennò all'intenzione di distruggere[6] questi materiali, alla fine la moglie Lidia Croce-Herling lo convinse a preservare l'Archivio.[7] Dopo i primi lavori, condotti dal 2002, in occasione del novantesimo anniversario della nascita dello scrittore, nel 2009 ha preso avvio un lavoro di catalogazione più esteso, che dal 2010, viene svolto sotto l'egida della Biblioteca Nazionale polacca. Il risultato del progetto "Inventario dell'Archivio Gustaw Herling-Grudziński a Napoli" è stato reso pubblico in occasione del centenario della nascita dello scrittore, nel 2019, proclamato anno di Gustaw Herling-Grudziński dal parlamento della Repubblica di Polonia. L'organizzazione e la descrizione dell'archivio sono state realizzate in conformità allo schema utilizzato nelle biblioteche accademiche polacche per trattare i lasciti privati.[8] Il progetto della

4 G. Herling-Grudziński, *Dziennik pisany nocą*, vol. 2, Kraków 2012, p. 891.

5 M. Herling, 'Świadectwo o Archiwum Gustawa Herlinga-Grudzińskiego', in *Katalog Archiwum Gustawa Herlinga-Grudzińskiego w Fundacji „Biblioteca Benedetto Croce"*, a cura di J. Borysiak, Warszawa 2019, p. 9. Marta Herling racconta qui la storia e le vicende legate alla fondazione dell'Archivio del padre.

6 W. Karpiński, *G.H.G. Droga i dom*, „Zeszyty Literackie" 2009, n. 1(105), in J. Borysiak, *Wprowadzenie*, in *Katalog Archiwum Gustawa Herlinga-Grudzińskiego...*, p. 13.

7 Vedi J. Borysiak, 'Wprowadzenie', in *Katalog Archiwum Gustawa Herlinga-Grudzińskiego...*, p. 14.

8 Vedi J. Borysiak, 'Wprowadzenie', in *Katalog Archiwum Gustawa Herlinga-Grudzińskiego...*, p. 17. Joanna Borysiak fornisce qui una descrizione dettagliata della catalogazione dell'Archivio. Vedi anche M. Śniedziewska, *Najkrótszy przewodnik po moim ojcu. Z Martą Herling rozmawia Magdalena Śniedziewska*, "Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne. Seria Literacka" 2020, n. 38 (58), pp. 272, 278.

sistematizzazione dell'Archivio consisteva non solo in un accurato riordino dei materiali in varie sezioni e nella pubblicazione del dettagliato catalogo, ma anche nella creazione di un database utilizzabile nella Biblioteca Nazionale Polacca e nella Fondazione "Biblioteca Benedetto Croce". I materiali messi a disposizione dei ricercatori in formato elettronico sono stati digitalizzati in modo rigoroso: per quanto riguarda la corrispondenza, oltre ai materiali scritti sono state fotografate le buste e il retro delle carte delle lettere. Ogni consultazione dei materiali è possibile solamente dopo aver ottenuto il consenso degli Eredi.

L'accurata organizzazione dell'Archivio rende possibile conoscere la corrispondenza inedita di Gustaw Herling con gli scrittori italiani, conservata tra i materiali lasciati dallo scrittore. Grazie a queste nuove fonti, possiamo approfondire la ricezione italiana delle prime pubblicazioni dello scrittore in Italia. In questa sede ci interesseremo in particolare alla ricezione della prima raccolta di racconti pubblicata in italiano, *Pale di altare* (Silva, 1960). Il volume include i racconti *La torre* e *L'isola*, tradotti da Dario Staffa e Pierfrancesco Poli.

Fino a poco tempo fa, ad esempio, rimaneva sconosciuto il carteggio tra Gustaw Herling e Cristina Campo, riguardante il volume *Pale di altare*.[9] La scrittrice era entrata in contatto con Gustaw Herling per il tramite di Elena Croce[10] e anche grazie al circolo di "Tempo Presente", a cui entrambi collaboravano. L'effetto dell'entusiasmo della scrittrice per i racconti di Herling è stata la pubblicazione della sua recensione sulla rivista romana "Il punto" l'11 marzo 1961. Il saggio di Cristina Campo, che successivamen-

9 Vedi M. Ślarzyńska, *Cristina Campo e la ricezione di Gustaw Herling-Grudziński in Italia*, "Italica Wratislaviensia" 2020, n. 11(1), pp. 215–233. Ristampato in A. F. De Carlo, M. Herling, (eds.), *Gustaw Herling e il suo mondo. La Storia, il coraggio civile e la libertà di scrivere*, Roma 2022, pp. 281–295. La corrispondenza con Campo consiste in 7 lettere, tra cui 3 cartoline.

10 Vedi 'Note' in C. Campo, *Caro Bul. Lettere a Leone Traverso (1953–1967)*, a cura e con nota di M. Pieracci Harwell, Milano 2007, p. 191. Cristina Campo associa Herling a Elena Croce anche in una delle lettere a Leone Traverso, vedi Lettera di Cristina Campo a Leone Traverso [n. 101], del 11 maggio 1961, in C. Campo, *Caro Bul. Lettere a Leone Traverso...*, p. 112.

te è stato incluso nel volume pubblicato postumo *Sotto falso nome*, fu molto apprezzato da Herling (che elenca la scrittrice tra i suoi “buoni critici” e le rende omaggio nel suo *Diario* come la lettrice da cui inizia la ricezione italiana della sua opera).[11]

Alla prima lettera[12] la scrittrice allega il fascicolo del settimanale romano con la recensione, e loda ancora il volume. Evidenzia inoltre l’affinità con Borges, che è un’intuizione penetrante del suo articolo. Sia in questa lettera che nelle successive sottolinea anche la “orizzontalità” del suo commento, che secondo lei rimane estetico, mentre si dovrebbe “scendere” in profondità. Tale tipo di commento, “verticale”, le sembra svolto nel testo di Elémire Zolla, di cui scrive nella lettera successiva[13], in cui consiglia allo scrittore di spedire il volume anche a Margherita Guidacci, che poi effettivamente pubblicherà a sua volta una recensione.[14] Nella sua recensione, Zolla[15], prima ancora di passare alla raccolta *Pale di altare*, si riferisce a *Un mondo a parte*, descrivendolo come il libro sui campi sovietici più struggente e terribile tra quelli che aveva letto. Per quanto riguarda i racconti della raccolta, invece, si focalizza soprattutto su *Pietà dell’isola* e sulla figura di Padre Rocca, che con il suo sacrificio riesce a spezzare la catena dei mali a cui si riferisce il titolo del testo. Di particolare importanza per Herling gli sembra

11 G. Herling-Grudziński, *Dziennik pisany nocą*, vol. 3 (1993–2000), Kraków 2012, p. 922. Vedi M. Ślarzyńska, *Cristina Campo e la ricezione di Gustaw Herling-Grudziński…*, p. 216.

12 Lettera di Cristina Campo a Gustaw Herling del Lettera di Cristina Campo a Gustaw Herling-Grudziński del 12 marzo 1961, AGHG 523, n. 1. I brani tratti dalle lettere di Cristina Campo sono citati in M. Ślarzyńska, *Cristina Campo e la ricezione di Gustaw Herling-Grudziński…*

13 Lettera di Cristina Campo a Gustaw Herling del 14 febbraio (marzo) 1961, AGHG 523, n. 2.

14 M. Guidacci, ‘Lo scrittore polacco’, *Il Popolo*, 1961, 26 maggio, p. 5. Margherita Guidacci si focalizza sul motivo del pellegrino di roccia della montagna di Santa Croce. La poetessa riepiloga in modo piuttosto dettagliato le vicende dei protagonisti de *La Torre*, tralasciando il secondo racconto.

15 E. Zolla, ‘La catena dei mali’, *Gazzetta del Popolo* del 14 marzo 1961. Gustaw Herling si è riferito al testo di Zolla nella corrispondenza con Jerzy Giedroyć (Lettera di Gustaw Herling a Jerzy Giedroyć del 17 marzo 1961, in G. Herling-Grudziński, Jerzy Giedroyć, *Korespondencja*, vol. 1. 1944–1966 in G. Herling-Grudziński, *Dzieła zebrane*, vol. 12, a cura di W. Bolecki, Kraków 2019, pp. 290-291).

l'idea del destino, che appare come l'intricato intreccio delle esigenze dell'esistenza, il labirinto in cui i tre fili intrecciati – morte, resurrezione e sacrificio – si trasformano nel filo conduttore.

Nella corrispondenza successiva la Campo aggiunge che Leone Traverso, seguendo il suo consiglio ha letto il libro e ne è rimasto "incantato" (egli ne scriverà successivamente su "La Nazione").[16] Accenna anche alla recensione preparata dal giovane Roberto Calasso[17] e successivamente molto lodata sia dalla scrittrice che da Zolla. La corrispondenza tra Cristina Campo e Gustaw Herling continua negli anni successivi, fino al 1964. Le lettere offrono una testimonianza esemplare dell'entusiasmo disinteressato della grande scrittrice verso l'opera di Gustaw Herling. Non si può dimenticare neanche il valore della corrispondenza tra Herling e Zolla, già commentata altrove[18], in cui emerge pure il tema della lettura di *Pale di altare*. Grazie all'accesso all'Archivio Gustaw Herling è stato finalmente possibile capire il rilievo intellettuale dei rapporti tra lo scrittore, Cristina Campo e lo stesso Elémire Zolla.

Per quanto riguarda il contesto italiano della ricezione dell'opera di Herling, si dovrebbe evidenziare la sua costante attività nel panorama culturale italiano e il dialogo che intratteneva con esso. Va sottolineato il valore dei suoi contributi in lingua italiana, come gli articoli frequentemente pubblicati su "Tempo Presente", "Il

16 L. Traverso, 'Il demone dell'analogia', *La Nazione*, 1962, 24 gennaio, p. 3. Traverso nel suo perspicace commento sottolineerà il ruolo dell'analogia nella costruzione dei racconti. Si veda: Lettera di Cristina Campo a Gustaw Herling, del 20 aprile 1961, AGHG 523, n. 4, nonché la corrispondenza della scrittrice con Leone Traverso a riguardo: Lettera di Cristina Campo a Leone Traverso (n. 100), del 22 marzo 1961, in C. Campo, *Caro Bul. Lettere a Leone Traverso...*, p. 111; Lettera di Cristina Campo a Leone Traverso [n. 101], del 11 maggio 1961, in: C. Campo, *Caro Bul. Lettere a Leone Traverso...*, p. 112.

17 R. Calasso, 'Lebbra e solitudine', *Tempo Presente*, 1961, n. 4–5 (aprile–maggio), pp. 370–371. Calasso sottolineava la presenza delle strutture più vaste, mitologiche nei racconti di Herling e la dimensione della meditazione liturgica di essi.

18 Vedi R. Bruni, M. Ślarzyńska, 'Gustaw Herling e Elémire Zolla: tracce di un'amicizia', *Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne Seria Literacka* 2020, n. 39 (59), pp. 13-38. Ristampato in *Gustaw Herling e il suo mondo. La Storia, il coraggio civile e la libertà di scrivere*, a cura di A. F. De Carlo, M. Herling, Roma 2022, pp. 297–315. Su Zolla vedi anche G. Herling-Grudziński, *Dziennik 1957–1958*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 2018, p. 137.

Mondo", "Il Corriere della Sera", "Il Giornale", "La Stampa", recentemente raccolti e curati da Magdalena Śniedziewska nel volume *Scritti italiani*.[19] Sebbene, come osserva la curatrice, Herling non considerasse la sua pubblicistica in italiano "sullo stesso piano delle sue opere letterarie in polacco […], si dimostra tanto un fruitore consapevole, sciolto e addirittura sofisticato della lingua italiana, quanto un autorevole commentatore e critico letterario".[20] Herling mantenne un rapporto costante, diretto e proficuo con scrittori e intellettuali italiani, come si può documentare attraverso i suoi scambi epistolari.

La ricerca riguardante la corrispondenza di Cristina Campo e il suo vivo interesse per *Pale di altare* mi ha indirizzata anche verso altri scrittori italiani[21] della cerchia di "Tempo Presente", tra cui Ennio Flaiano e Paolo Milano, che hanno commentato i racconti di Herling.

Ennio Flaiano lesse uno dei racconti di *Pale di altare*, *La torre*, ancora prima che uscisse in volume, cioè quando viene anticipato su "Tempo Presente" nel gennaio 1959.[22] Nella lettera del 12 dicembre 1959, inviata da Roma, Flaiano scrisse:

> Caro Herling,
> forse lei ricorda, ci siamo conosciuti in via della Croce, con Nicola Chiaromonte e altri amici. Proprio a Chiaromonte ho chiesto il suo indirizzo. Nei giorni scorsi ho avuto alcuni numeri arretrati di Tempo Presente e, in uno di questi, ho letto il suo racconto *La torre*. Mi ha talmente colpito per la perfezione dello stile e la sua intima bellezza, così rara oggi a trovarsi in un'opera letteraria, che sento il bisogno di scriverle e di ringraziarla.[23]

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19 G. Herling, *Scritti italiani 1944–2000*, a cura di M. Śniedziewska, vol. 1–2, Napoli 2022.

20 M. Śniedziewska, 'Introduzione', in G. Herling, *Scritti italiani…*, vol. 1, p. XIX.

21 La pubblicazione italiana del volume *Pale di altare* destò interesse da parte di vari letterati italiani. Vedi M. Herling, *Cronologia*, in G. Herling. *Etica e letteratura. Testimonianze, diario, racconti*, a cura di K. Jaworska, Milano 2019, pp. CXLII–CXLIII.

22 G. Herling, 'La torre', *Tempo Presente*, 1959, gennaio, n. 1 (IV), pp. 21–36.

23 Lettera di Ennio Flaiano a Gustaw Herling Grudziński, del 12 dicembre 1959, AGHG 526, n. 1.

Infatti, il numero della rivista era uscito a gennaio, quindi a dicembre era arretrato già di alcuni mesi. Con la sua tardiva ed entusiastica lettura, però, Flaiano fece una sorpresa a Herling che serbò memoria di quella lettera per anni.

A questa inaspettata lettera di Flaiano, si può trovare un riferimento nel *Diario* di Herling, in una nota dettata più di dieci anni dopo, per l'esattezza, nel 1972. Il 27 novembre di quell'anno Herling, sette giorni dopo la morte dello scrittore italiano scrisse: "È morto Ennio Flaiano, scrittore ironico e triste, sceneggiatore di Rossellini e Fellini, impareggiabile cronista di Roma. Ha lasciato poco, disgustato dalla stampa nell'ex «impero dei nove milioni di baionette», diventato improvvisamente «il paese dei nove milioni di penne». Quando la mia *Torre* fu pubblicata in italiano, ricevetti una bella lettera da lui. Ma l'incontro non ha avuto luogo, e devo rimproverarmi per la mia lentezza nell'instaurare e mantenere rapporti con le persone".[24]

Colpisce che sia per Ennio Flaiano, sia per Cristina Campo Herling abbia usato l'aggettivo "triste" ("smutny"). Flaiano diventa uno scrittore "triste", mentre a proposito di Campo Herling ha scritto: "Debuttai in Italia sotto una stella felice e triste".[25] La tristezza, valorizzata apparentemente in modo positivo, potrebbe essere percepita come una chiave di riconoscimento poetico, di una sorte di concordia delle anime nella letteratura. D'altro lato, la malinconia è, come noto, un aspetto noto dell'opera e della psicologia di Ennio Flaiano.[26]

Alla tristezza alludeva anche Flaiano stesso che, sempre nella stessa lettera, descrisse il racconto *La torre* come molto raro, dicendo che poche volte si può leggere un testo così nobile, calmo e "di

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24 G. Herling-Grudziński, *Dziennik pisany nocą*, vol. I, Dzieła zebrane, vol. 7, a cura di W. Bolecki, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 2017, p. 148. Herling riassume nella stessa nota il testo di Flaiano pubblicato tre settimane prima della morte, *La mia marcia*. Dice che la persona che sarebbe stato in grado di apprezzarlo pienamente è Jerzy Stempowski. Cfr. ivi, p. 149.

25 G. Herling-Grudziński, *Dziennik pisany nocą*, vol. 3..., p. 922. Vedi M. Ślarzyńska, *Cristina Campo e la ricezione di Gustaw Herling-Grudziński...*, p. 216.

26 Vedi anche G. Ruozzi, *Ennio Flaiano. Una verità personale*, Roma 2012.

così pacata tristezza".[27] La tristezza era legata anche a uno dei testi prediletti di Flaiano, l'ottocentesco *La lépreux de la cité d'Aoste* di Xavier De Maistre, a cui si era ispirato Herling nella scrittura del racconto. Il fatto di sottolineare l'importanza del riferimento a De Maistre avvicina la lettura di Flaiano a quella della Campo.[28] Secondo Flaiano il testo di De Maistre, grazie al racconto di Herling, acquisisce una nuova dimensione, "indicando nella solitudine una condizione perenne dell'uomo, e anche la sua condanna".[29] L'osservazione corrisponde con il carattere delle opere di Ennio Flaiano, uno dei cui libri più famosi si intitola *La solitudine del satiro* (Rizzoli, 1973; Adelphi, 1996). Lo scrittore italiano sottolinea anche la semplicità, la sintesi che caratterizza l'opera di Herling, nonché la disperazione che traspare nel racconto ma che porta conforto, essendo "artisticamente risolta".

Flaiano accennava, infatti, ad un possibile incontro voluto: "spero di incontrarla ancora e di poterle dire a voce quanto e come la sua Torre mi riguarda e mi fa pensare".[30] Ma, secondo le parole di Herling affidate alla già citata nota del diario, l'incontro progettato non ebbe mai luogo. Il 16 dicembre 1959 però, nella lettera successiva, Flaiano reagisce alla presunta risposta di Herling, che presumibilmente gli ha regalato anche un libro: molto probabilmente si poteva trattare di *Un mondo a parte*, di cui a quell'epoca era uscita la edizione italiana. Scrisse Flaiano: "Caro Herling, La ringrazio molto del libro, che non conoscevo se non di fama e che ora mi occuperà in questi giorni poco allegri di «feste»".[31]

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27 Lettera di Ennio Flaiano a Gustaw Herling Grudziński, del 12 dicembre 1959, AGHG 526, n. 1.

28 "L'eco si fece più limpida quando mi accadde di leggere, senza avvertire sbalzi di clima né di stile, quella sublime piccola opera *Le lépreux de la cité d'Aoste* di Xavier de Maistre, sulla quale è imperniato, appunto, il racconto di Herling". C. Campo, *La torre e l'isola*, in eadem, *Sotto falso nome*, Milano 1998.

29 Lettera di Ennio Flaiano a Gustaw Herling Grudziński, del 12 dicembre 1959, AGHG 526, n. 1.

30 Ibidem.

31 Lettera di Ennio Flaiano a Gustaw Herling Grudziński, del 16 dicembre 1959, AGHG 526, n. 3.

La lettera successiva, conservatasi nell'Archivio, è del 15 marzo 1961 e risulta legata alla raccolta *Pale di altare* probabilmente spedita a Flaiano che la apprezza, scrivendo con entusiasmo:

> Caro Herling,
> La ringrazio per il Suo libro – sono due racconti stupendi, esemplari, da rileggere più e più volte, perché mi sembra di scoprirvi sempre qualcosa di nuovo.[32]

Si inizia anche a menzionare un futuro incontro ("Potrei dirle il resto soltanto a voce e spero che un giorno ne avrò l'occasione").[33]

Paolo Milano, scrittore e critico letterario – noto soprattutto per la sua pluriennale collaborazione con "L'Espresso" – fu a lungo esule negli Stati Uniti, dove insegnò nelle università americane: fu quindi un esule come Gustaw Herling.[34] Fu un amico di Herling, oltre che uno dei suoi primi e più acuti lettori italiani. Firmò l'importante recensione di *Un mondo a parte*, apparsa su "L'Espresso" nel 1958.[35] Milano tenta un paragone, che può venire naturale, con le *Memorie della casa dei morti* di Dostoevskij, ma subito lo ridimensiona come un confronto poco efficace. Il romanzo di Dostoevskij è "un libro religioso", mentre *Un mondo a parte* risulta un libro in cui la disumanità è priva di qualunque chiave o conforto. Il punto centrale del testo di Milano consiste però nell'accostamento del libro di Herling al modello del *Bildugsroman*. In questa chiave di lettura, *Un mondo a parte* è letto come un resoconto del periodo dell'adolescenza di un ragazzo per cui le esperienze del lavoro forzato nel

32 Lettera di Ennio Flaiano a Gustaw Herling Grudziński, del 15 maggio 1961, AGHG 526, n. 4.

33 Ibidem.

34 Herling nutriva l'interesse per gli "scrittori costretti a vivere lontano dalla patria, immersi come lui in una cultura straniera", M. Śniedziewska, 'Introduzione', in G. Herling, *Scritti italiani…*, vol. 1, p. XIX. Si può aggiungere che Herling si riferisce a Paolo Milano in uno dei suoi articoli italiani, *Estetica marxista*, "Tempo Presente" III, 1958, n. 8, p. 677, oggi in G. Herling, *Scritti italiani…*, vol. 1, p. 154.

35 P. Milano, 'Torna a vivere la casa dei morti', *L'Espresso*, 8 aprile 1958, p. 17; oggi in G. Herling, *Un mondo a parte*, Mondadori, Milano 2017, pp. 361–365. Vale la pena notare che nell'Archivio di Gustaw Herling si conserva anche il taccuino con le annotazioni prese subito dopo la liberazione dal campo, che è "«l'embrione» di *Un mondo a parte*", vedi M. Herling, *La religione della libertà di Croce nella biografia di Gustaw Herling*, "pl.it rassegna italiana di argomenti polacchi", 2019, n. 10, p. 88.

gulag diventano l'inizio della vita. Come nota giustamente Magdalena Śniedziewska[36], Herling più volte è ritornato a questa idea di *Bildungsroman*, acutamente proposta da Milano. Ci è tornato per esempio nei suoi colloqui con Włodzimierz Bolecki[37] e nel *Diario*.[38]

L'articolo di Milano è un raro esempio di reazioni critiche alla prima edizione italiana di *Un mondo a parte*. Come ricorda Francesco Cataluccio, il libro non era facilmente accessibile[39], e così per tanti lettori, la lettura di *Pale d'altare* rappresentò il primo contatto con l'opera di Herling.

Paolo Milano si sofferma ampiamente sui racconti di Herling in una delle lettere, datata 18 febbraio 1961. Le osservazioni di Milano sono molto interessanti perché il critico tocca anche questioni legate alla traduzione e alla preparazione editoriale del testo, indicando varie sviste linguistiche che sono state tralasciate nel processo della redazione del libro. Proprio in virtù dell'amicizia e del rapporto molto diretto il critico italiano può rivolgersi con particolare franchezza a Herling:

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36 Vedi M. Śniedziewska, *"Osobiste sprawy i tematy". Gustaw Herling wobec dwudziestowiecznej literatury włoskiej*, Warszawa 2019, p. 217-218. Sulla ricezione italiana di *Un mondo a parte* vedi anche D. Prola, '*Un mondo a parte*: storia di un libro scomodo fra critica e editoria', *Lingue e Linguaggi*, 2022, n. 48, pp. 277–291.

37 G. Herling-Grudziński, W. Bolecki, *Rozmowy w Dragonei. Rozmowy w Neapolu*, in G. Herling-Grudziński, *Dzieła zebrane*, vol. 11, p. 113.

38 G. Herling-Grudziński, *Dziennik pisany nocą*, vol. 2: 1982–1992, Kraków, p. 277.

39 Francesco Cataluccio racconta: "Il mio primo incontro con Herling, prima di diventargli amico, fu quando avevo quattordici anni e scovai casualmente, in una bancarella di libri usati vicino a Piazza San Marco a Firenze, una copia malmessa di *Un mondo a parte* (*Inny świat*), nella maltrattata edizione laterziana del 1958. Come ricordò amaramente Herling: «Laterza, editore di Croce stampò *Un mondo a parte* contro voglia; quasi per un obbligo, diciamo così, familiare. Dubito persino che l'abbia distribuito, visto che, girando per le librerie italiane, allora non ne vidi mai una copia. Ciò detto, con le sole eccezioni di Paolo Milano e di Leo Valiani, quel libro fu ignorato del tutto. E lo stesso accadde nel '65 quando, per volontà del compianto Domenico Porzio, il libro uscì da Rizzoli. Nessuna reazione: solo un bell'articolo di Giancarlo Vigorelli e una recensione su Paese Sera (di Gianni Toti) in cui si suggeriva alle autorità italiane di espellermi dall'Italia»", F. Cataluccio, *Uno scrittore a parte*, in *Dall''Europa illegale' all'Europa unita. Gustaw Herling-Grudziński: l'uomo, lo scrittore, l'opera*, Atti del convegno, Roma-Napoli, 1–2 dicembre 2014, a cura di L. Marinelli, M. Herling, Accademia Polacca delle Scienze Biblioteca e Centro di Studi a Roma, Roma 2015, pp. 189–190. Lo conferma lo stesso Gustaw Herling, cf. M. Śniedziewska, *"Osobiste sprawy i tematy"*..., p. 244.

Caro Gustavo,
no[n] ho ancora *La torre*, ma ho invece letto – con molta attenzione, mi pare – *La pieta dell'isola*. E ho sentito subito desiderio di scrivertene; senonché mi trovo di fronte a una singolare difficoltà. Non mi riesce di dirti quel che ne penso, per ostacoli, direi, estranei a me. Ti spiego.

La versione italiana della Pietà dell'isola è buona fino a un certo punto. Errori d'italiano veri e propri, ce ne sono pochissimi, (ma già il fatto che ce ne siano, è antipatico [...]). Ma essenziale è il fondo della questione: la traduzione è discreta quando il testo è semplice; nei momenti cruciali, invece, quando la vicenda psicologica e metafisica si fa più complessa, quando cioè più sarebbe necessaria una massima cura, la versione scade di tono, s'imbroglia e, in qualche raro caso è addirittura poco comprensibile.[40]

Il critico italiano valorizza la qualità di traduzione come un fattore cruciale per la piena comprensione del testo su tutti i livelli. Scrive che la caratteristica di essere "poco comprensibile" non si riferisce alla comprensione del testo sul livello narrativo ("non intendo dire che non si capisca quel che succede") ma offusca il valore artistico del racconto ("che non s'intende bene a che livello le cose procedono").[41] Milano indica lo stile come il fattore da cui è determinato un testo come *La pietà dell'isola* che dipende, cioè, "dalle profondità di cui l'autore, attraverso la magia della sua prosa, riesce ad articolare la sua trama".[42] La versione italiana, secondo Milano, preclude la possibilità di cogliere i livelli più profondi del testo: "Nell'italiano sciatto e insapore di Pier Francesco Poli, il racconto non è giudicabile, (a mio avviso)".[43] Il critico descrive il problema interpretativo che nasce, secondo lui, dalla qualità di traduzione italiana:

Io non sono riuscito neanche a risolvere questa semplicissima questione estetica, (la quale, se avessi letto il testo originale, si sarebbe, immagino, risolta da sé o non si sarebbe neanche posta): il

40 Lettera di Paolo Milano a Gustaw Herling del 18 febbraio 1961, AGHG 527, n. 10.

41 Ibidem.

42 Ibidem.

43 Ibidem.

> sentimento religioso di cui il racconto è pervaso, è diretto o indiretto? Deve essere, cioè, accettato on its face value, o invece, (come mi sembra più probabile), è un semplice linguaggio, di cui lo scrittore si serve per esprimere alcuni suoi temi esistenziali?[44]

La lettera finisce con un accento familiare che dovrebbe alleviare le osservazioni critiche:

> Scusami questa lettera un po' scucita. Ti scrivo assordato da un trapano elettrico che certi operai stanno usando sul selciato della mia strada. Ma *il me tardait* di darti una prima espressione, o meglio riferirti un involontario infortunio, della mia lettura del tuo secondo racconto, (il quale c'è anche il rischio che sia bellissimo), e di scriverti quanto piacere mi ha fatto di rivederti qui a Roma e, presto, come spero, a Napoli.[45]

Il riferimento al trapano elettrico che disturba la lettura allude al "contesto materiale di una vita vissuta" ("der dingliche Kontext eines gelebten Leben"), per usare l'espressione di Aleida Assman.[46]

Pochi giorni dopo arrivò probabilmente la risposta da parte di Gustaw Herling, visto che già il 22 febbraio Paolo Milano scrive un'altra lettera in cui esprime la sua contentezza per le parole dell'amico. Contestualmente sottolinea la responsabilità dell'editore: "Io mi sto arrabbiando (mentalmente) con l'editore Silva"[47], che ha pubblicato in quel periodo anche *Europa familiare* di Czeslaw Milosz, sulla cui versione italiana Milano esprime un parere altrettanto critico.[48] Difende la sua posizione esigente verso la qualità delle traduzioni: "Tu mi dirai che io ho l'ossessione delle traduzioni inadeguate ma, nel caso delle memorie di M., non mi pare che vi siano dubbi. Questo Silva mette i suoi amici in un bel guaio".[49]

44 Ibidem, il retro del foglio.

45 Ibidem.

46 A. Assmann, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit. Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik*, München 2006, p. 54. Vedi anche P. Zajas, 'Porządek i chaos...', p. 235.

47 Lettera di Paolo Milano a Gustaw Herling del 18 febbraio 1961, AGHG 527, n. 11.

48 "[...] la versione non permette di seguire il filo reale dei pensieri dell'autore". Ibidem.

49 Ibidem.

La testimonianza della lettura sincera di Paolo Milano di uno dei racconti del volume *Pale di altare* aggiunge una dimensione diversa alla precedente ricezione italiana della pubblicazione. La questione della traduzione era rimasta fino ad allora nell'ombra (inoltre, la prima edizione di *Un mondo a parte* si basava sulla versione inglese), non messa alla luce dai precedenti commentatori. Interessante è anche l'approccio di Milano, che insiste non tanto sugli errori linguistici (anche se ne fa una breve lista) quanto sulla funzione interpretativa legata alla traduzione. La sua intuizione, quindi, è quella del sospetto che desta la traduzione non riuscita, che offusca il valore artistico del testo, a cui in questo modo il lettore italiano non avrebbe pieno accesso.

La ricerca negli archivi rimane sempre una preziosa occasione di arricchimento del discorso critico, storico e letterario. Grazie alla sistemazione e alla cura degli archivi si possono ritrovare tasselli preziosi che gettano luce su questioni non sempre ben conosciute o commentate. Le riflessioni di Ennio Flaiano e di Paolo Milano dedicate ai racconti del volume *Pale di altare* offrono la prova di due letture esemplari da parte di due tra i maggiori intellettuali italiani del secondo Novecento. Flaiano interpreta i racconti in chiave personale, intima, trovando nella lettura la risposta a interrogativi esistenziali. La lettura diventa per lui anche l'occasione di allacciare un contatto con lo scrittore polacco, che stima e ammira. Milano, dalla sua posizione di amico stretto di Herling, indica i problemi di traduzione e coglie l'occasione per elogiare il valore artistico del racconto in lingua originale.

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Le lettere inedite di Cristina Campo, Ennio Flaiano e Paolo Milano a Herling fanno parte dell'Archivio di Gustaw Herling, custodito presso la Fondazione "Biblioteca Benedetto Croce". Le lettere hanno le collocazioni, rispettivamente: AGHG 523, AGHG 526, AGHG 527 (Katalog Archiwum Gustawa Herlinga-Grudzińskiego, a cura di J. Borysiak, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawa 2019). I brani delle lettere di Cristina Campo sono stati citati per la prima volta in: M. Ślarzyńska, *Cristina Campo e la ricezione di Gustaw Herling-Grudziński in Italia*, "Italica Wratislaviensia" 2020, n. 11(1), pp. 215–233.

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THE CLANDESTINE EDUCATIONAL AND SELF-EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN WARSAW IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY: THE SUBSCRIPTION LIBRARY AND READING ROOM, CZYTELNIA NAUKOWA, AS REFLECTED IN MEMOIRS AND PRESS MATERIALS

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ABSTRACT

The paper presents the results of research into the history of lending libraries and reading rooms in Warsaw between 1890 and 1906. These institutions offering periodicals and scholar books were created by members of a clandestine self-education and educational movement. Political repression from the authorities of Tsarist Russia made them work in two dimensions: officially, as commercial lending libraries with reading rooms and clandestinely, as grassroots self-help initiatives. My research has focused on Czytelnia Naukowa [Scholarly Reading Room], whose resources became the nucleus for the Warsaw Public Library created in 1907. Due to its partly underground character there is a shortage of archival material related to the Czytelnia Naukowa. The research has made use of memoirs written by members of the self-education and (general) educational movement, as well as announcements, advertisements and articles in the Warsaw newspapers from the

studied period. Copious press materials have allowed to supplement and verify information found in the memoirs. The research has confirmed the hypothesis that the women's self-education movement, especially its organizers and students of clandestine academic courses for women, called the Flying University, played a significant role in the creation of reading rooms equipped with non-fiction scholarly books.

KEYWORDS: lending libraries, reading rooms, clandestine social libraries, self-education, Warsaw, 19th century

Introduction

At the beginning of the 20th century, approximately 700,000 people lived in Warsaw. There were several schools of higher education and many commercial and cultural institutions, such as theatres and concert halls as well as a flourishing, dynamic publishing industry, but no independent public library.[1] The lack of a public library had been criticized in the press since the 1870s, but the authorities of Tsarist Russia blocked the creation of such an institution. The ban on establishing Polish cultural institutions was part of the repression in the Russian partition of the Polish territories after the fall of the January Uprising of 1864 and also a result of the general Russification policy introduced in the Russian Empire in the 1880s.[2] It was only in 1907 that a public library was created

1 The library of the Imperial University of Warsaw also served as a public library. However, the scope of its services for the public outside the University remained very limited. Potential users of the University of Warsaw library's public reading room were discouraged by inconvenient opening hours, limited access to the latest purchases and rigorous access rules to its collections. O. Błażejewicz, *Dzieje biblioteki uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie 1871-1915*, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 1990; J. Szczawińska Dawid, *O potrzebie założenia Publicznej Biblioteki w Warszawie*, Warszawa 1897, pp. 9-10.

2 About Russification and the imperial policies of tsarist Russia, see T. R. Weeks, *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia: Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier, 1863–1914*, Northern Illinois University Press, DeKalb 1996; T. R. Weeks, *Across the Revolutionary Divide: Russia and the USSR, 1861–1945*, Wiley Blackwell, Chichester 2011; R. Malte, *Imperial Russian Rule in the Kingdom of Poland 1864–1918*, trans. C. Klohr, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh 2021.

in Warsaw. Its establishment was made possible by the reforms introduced after the 1905 revolution, which liberalized the tsarist cultural-educational policy. Before 1905, when it was not possible to open legal public libraries in Warsaw, a grassroots, non-institutional library movement developed. It was related to clandestine self-education and popular education movements which developed since the 1880s and whose primary goals, apart from self-education, were resistance to russification and developing the Polish language and culture.[3] These movements enjoyed support from progressive-patriotic circles of the Warsaw intelligentsia.[4] People engaged in these movements used the infrastructure of legally functioning institutions, such as philanthropic societies, trade and industry associations, or commercial companies to set up lending libraries and reading rooms associated with them.[5] Self-help libraries and reading rooms were created under the guise of commercial lending libraries and reading rooms, for which it was easier to obtain permissions. Czytelnia Naukowa [The Scholarly Reading Room] was this kind of institution, officially a private lending library with a reading room on the premises; unofficially, a grassroots initiative undertaken by people involved in Warsaw's educational and self-education movement. In 1907, Czytelnia Naukowa's collection of 3000 titles was handed over to the Public Library Society and became the foundation of the book collection of Warsaw's first public

3 See footnote 2.

4 The following publications present the wider socio-political context of the origin of the self-education and popular education movements: B. Cywiński, *Rodowody niepokornych*, Editions Spotkania, Paris 1985; M. Micińska, *Inteligencja na rozdrożach 1864-1918*, Instytut Historii PAN - Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warszawa 2008; "Tajne nauczanie w Królestwie Polskim w świetle dokumentów władz rosyjskich", in: *Studia z dziejów edukacji*, J. Miąso (ed.), Żak, Warszawa 1994, pp. 199-234.

5 There is no comprehensive study of the Warsaw library movement. Partial descriptions of initiatives in this area may be found i.a., in: K. Świerkowski, Rodowód Towarzystwa Biblioteki Publicznej w Warszawie, in: *Z dziejów książki i bibliotek w Warszawie*, S. Tazbir (ed.), Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warszawa 1961, pp. 106-130; J. Krajewska, *Czytelnictwo wśród robotników w Królestwie Polskim 1870-1914*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1979; S. Michalski, Stanisława Michalskiego autobiografia i działalność oświatowa, H. Radlińska, I. Lepalczyk (eds.), Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich - Wydawnictwo PAN, Wrocław - Warszawa - Kraków 1967.

lending library. This was important not just so much for the Public Library itself which, as a legal institution, developed rapidly thanks to help from society and book sponsors, but from the point of view of survival of the memory of Czytelnia Naukowa, this unusual institution which owed its existence to clandestine activities of Warsaw's progressive circles.[6] The Archives of the City of Warsaw Public Library hold a small collection of documents related to the activities of Czytelnia Naukowa.[7] Two remembrances of Czytelnia Naukowa were published, one in 1908 in a collection of materials related to the founding of the Warsaw Public Library and the other in 1947 in a collection of texts issued for its 40th anniversary. Otherwise, Czytelnia Naukowa appears in many mentions in memoirs of people engaged in the Warsaw self-education and popular educational movements and in the Polish independence movement. The 19th century press is an important but so far little-used source of information on Czytelnia Naukowa. Thanks to digitization and full-text search capabilities offered by the Polona digital library, it was possible to find information about Czytelnia Naukowa scattered in Warsaw dailies and periodicals. Press materials made it possible to reconstruct the various stages of Czytelnia Naukowa's functioning between the years of 1890 and 1906. A comparison of recollections and press materials showed that from 1890 to 1898 two separate reading rooms existed which in later times were referred to by the same name. One of them was Czytelnia Naukowa, located at 34 Nowy Świat Street (1890-1898) which offered mainly access to periodicals; the other was Czytelnia Dzieł i Pism Naukowych (The Reading Room for Scientific Books and Journals) (1893-1898) which offered both books and periodicals both to borrow and to read on site. In 1898 they were merged into Czytelnia Naukowa which in 1907 became the nucleus of the Warsaw Public Library.

6 In the organizational meeting minutes of the Public Library Society in Warsaw we can find information about donations of scholarly book collections for the newly created public library. „Zebranie Organizacyjne Towarzystwa Biblioteki Publicznej w Warszawie", *Przegląd Biblioteczny,* 1908, 1, pp. 27-30.

7 Archives of the City of Warsaw Public Library (A.106-A.110).

The Social Context: The Warsaw Self-Education Movement and the Flying University

Since the 1880s, a clandestine self-education movement developed in Warsaw and other cities of the Polish Kingdom. University and secondary school students set up self-learning circles to study subjects inaccessible in russified schools and the russified Imperial University of Warsaw.[8] This movement also brought forth women's self-education circles which were set up as well, and in the mid-1880s evolved into an entire system of clandestine higher courses for women called the Flying University. Stefania Sempołowska, one of the movement's leading activists recalled it like this: "We would meet in small groups, read social books and brochures and discuss. Young men who were more fortunate because between secondary school and the start of waged work, they dedicated years to acquiring university knowledge, shared these achievements with their disadvantaged female companions – giving lectures on social and natural sciences in women's circles. The dream of these young people, hungry for knowledge, was universities, libraries, laboratories abroad."[9]

One of the main factors in the development of the women's self-education movement in Warsaw was an unequal access to education between men and women. In the Kingdom of Poland, women not only had no access to universities but also received an inferior secondary education.[10] As Sempołowska noted, until the 1880s only a few exceptionally talented and extremely determined women went to study abroad. "So far, only exceptional, gifted, talented, strong individuals, towering over the average crowd of women, have acquired knowledge, overcoming thousands of obstacles

8 Polish history and literature, as well as progressive liberal works and socialist literature were studied in these circles. The Polish self-education movement in the 19th century is described by D. Tomaszewska, *Drogi wyboru. konspiracyjny ruch samokształceniowy na ziemiach polskich w końcu XIX i na początku XX wieku*, Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, Łódź 1987.

9 S. Sempołowska, "Uniwersytet Latający", *Społeczeństwo*, 1910, no. 11.

10 J. Hulewicz, *Sprawa wyższego wykształcenia kobiet w Polsce w XIX wieku*, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1939.

and difficulties – the rest had to make do with low-level, superficial school education, often hurrying on to waged work straight from the classroom."[11] Warsaw's progressive-liberal press had promoted the idea of women's access to universities since the 1870s. News about women studying abroad was disseminated rapidly, and more and more girls dreamed of higher education.[12] As mentioned earlier, only a few of them could afford to travel and study abroad.[13] Despite efforts made in the 1880s to launch higher education courses for women in Warsaw the Russian authorities did not authorize them.[14] In the early 1880s, self-help circles preparing young women for studies abroad appeared in Warsaw. The organizers of these circles included male students who had previously set up their own self-education circles.[15] In the mid-1880s, these circles developed into an entire network of clandestine higher education courses for women, and women themselves took over their organization. Information about the courses was disseminated through informal means. For security reasons, the circles had loose, horizontal structures. Elected representatives of individual circles were responsible for contacting professors and determining

11 S. Sempołowska, *Uniwersytet Latający*.

12 Women in the Russian Empire did not have access to universities but in the 1960s they belonged to the first women who started studying at universitites in Switzerland and France. Beginning in the 1870s, higher courses for women appeared in some big Russian cities. D. Neumann, *Studentinnen aus dem Russischen Reich in der Schweiz (1867-1914)*, Verlag Hans Rohr, Zurich 1987.

13 Less wealthy but very determined women worked as teachers to pay for their studies abroad and prepared for them in self-education circles. In the press of this period, we find reports about the difficult economic situation of Polish female students abroad. Female students and their situation started to be mentioned in the late 1870s. *Gazeta Polska*, 1879, no. 24; *Kurjer Warszawski*, 1879, no. 56. A longer article was published in the first issue of a progressive periodical for women. „Studentki-Polki", *Świt. Pismo Tygodniowe Illustrowane dla Kobiet Wraz z Dodatkiem Wzorów Robót i Ubrań Kobiecych*, 1884, no. 1, pp. 7-8.

14 In the Russian empire, women's access to higher education was treated as a political issue, not least because the first female students were active in anti-tsarist movements and organizations. R. Stites, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia. Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860-1930*, Princeton University Press, Princeton-New Jersey 1991; J. Hulewicz, *Sprawa wyższego wykształcenia kobiet…*

15 L. Krzywicki, „Wykłady latające", in: *Ex Litteris Libertas. Jednodniówka studentów Wolnej Wszechnicy Polskiej w Warszawie*, Warszawa 1923, pp. 13-16.

the time and location of the lectures which took place in private homes or laboratories. The clandestine aspect of these activities caused frequent changes of venues, even at short notice; that is why the underground courses were called the Flying University. The secrecy of the Flying University's activities is also the reason why no written documentation has survived. Knowledge about it is found mainly in recollections, which are corroborated by reports of the Tsarist secret police.[16] Teachers at the Flying University came from Warsaw's progressive-liberal intelligentsia; they were scholars who could not obtain employment at the russified University of Warsaw.[17] For holding lectures they received a wage which was paid out of dues collected from female students. From the police archives we know of the existence of secret program catalogues.[18] The Flying University existed unofficially from approx. 1885 to 1905 and was very popular among young women; some of the lectures also attracted progressive male students from higher education institutions in Warsaw. According to various estimates, between 1.000 and 2.000 women attended clandestine courses at the Flying University. Most of them were teachers at private boarding schools for girls or in private homes or were active in underground people's education. Some women who attended the Flying University continued their studies abroad. Some of them, like Maria Skłodowska-Curie, achieved significant scientific success.

The female students of the Flying University engaged in various social activities in addition to attending courses. Some belonged to suffragist circles; others were involved in underground popular education circles or belonged to socialist and/or patriotic groups.[19] They also took part in activities on behalf of Free of Charge Read-

16 J. Mackiewicz - Wojciechowska, *Uniwersytet „Latajacy". Karta z dziejów tajnej pracy oświatowej*, Warszawa 1933; J. Miąso, Tajne nauczanie w Królestwie Polskim..., see subsection „Uniwersytet Latający", pp. 214-226.

17 B. Cywiński, *Rodowody niepokornych...;* J. Miąso, Tajne nauczanie w Królestwie Polskim..., p. 215.

18 J. Miąso, Tajne nauczanie w Królestwie Polskim..., p. 216.

19 B. Cywiński, *Rodowody niepokornych...;* C. Walewska, *W walce o równe prawa. Nasze bojownice*, Warszawa 1930.

ing Rooms organized by the Warsaw Charitable Society. Despite different views and political orientations, they shared the goal of acquiring knowledge and the belief in learning and education, which reflected the overall spirit of the late 19th century. These women who did not have access to universities and university libraries were particularly affected by the lack of access to scientific and specialized books. That is why the self-help activities undertaken by the female students of the clandestine courses to procure educational materials inspired the creation of reading rooms with scientific journals and books.[20] Jadwiga Szczawińska Dawid, also known as the Flying University's main organizer, was one of the principal initiators and co-founders of Czytelnia Naukowa.

Description of the Sources

The Archives of the City of Warsaw's Public Library hold several collections of documents referring to Czytelnia Naukowa, namely, the hand-written and undated Catalogues of Czytelnia Naukowa listing approx. 2,500 titles (A.106, A107); the receipt books of the Reading Room of Scientific Books and Journals, documenting the names of people borrowing books and paying security deposits for the loans (A. 108); a collection of documents entitled *Akta Czytelni Naukowej w Warszawie* which contains, among other things, a document from 1904 about the change of ownership of Czytelnia Naukowa as well as printed forms for people supporting Czytelnia Naukowa in 1904-1906. Documents referring to Czytelnia Naukowa's activities in 1904-1907 also figure among archival collections related to the Society for the Public Library in Warsaw, which took over Czytelnia Naukowa in 1907. The collection of documents entitled *Akta Towarzystwa Biblioteki Publicznej w Warszawie* (A.162) contains, among other things, an unpublished manuscript of recollections about Czytelnia Naukowa with a note attributing

20 D. Wawrzykowska -Wierciochowa, „Udział kobiet w tajnym i jawnym ruchu społeczno-kulturalnym w Warszawie w latach 1880-1914", in: *Z dziejów książki i bibliotek w Warszawie*, S. Tazbir (ed.), Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warszawa 1961, pp. 283-319.

its authorship to Ignacy Radliński, handwritten notes with data on titles of books and journals, as well as a note related to usage statistics of Czytelnia Naukowa from January 1907.

As mentioned earlier, Czytelnia Naukowa, whose collections ended up in the Warsaw Public Library, was created from a merger between Czytelnia Naukowa, founded in 1890, and the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals, founded in 1893. According to recollections, the merger took place in ca. 1898.[21] These sources use the name Czytelnia Naukowa for both reading rooms. It originated in the earliest published recollection entitled "the Czytelnia Naukowa," published anonymously in 1908 in the first issue of *Przegląd Biblioteczny*, a periodical published by the Public Library Society in Warsaw.[22] The author was Ludwik Krzywicki, a leading figure in the self-education movement and one of the most popular lecturers of the Flying University. Krzywicki was a member of the founding group of the Reading Room of Scientific Books and Journals and was one of the people who deposited their private book collections in it. Krzywicki's text is short, only four pages, and treats many issues in general terms. Despite gaps in the coherence and chronology of events, Krzywicki's recollection became the main reference point for later recollections and mentions. Józef Dąbrowski referred to it in his 1925 book of recollections, *Czerwona Warszawa*, published under the pen-name Jan Grabiec.[23] Dąbrowski also participated in the secondary school and university students' self-education movements and, like Krzywicki, was involved in socialist and patriotic underground activities. Stanisław Stempowski refers to both these texts in his recollections published in the journal *Bibliotekarz* in the issue cel-

21 Receipt books preserved at the Archives of the City of Warsaw's Public Library, which document the deposits for the loans of books in 1893 -1911, contain the name "Reading Room of Scientific Books and Journals." They were used with that name for several years after 1898, i.e., after the name had been changed to "the Czytelnia Naukowa."

22 L. Krzywicki, „Czytelnia Naukowa (Wspomnienie)", *Przegląd Biblioteczny*, 1908, no. 1, pp. 31-35.

23 J. Dąbrowski (Grabiec), *Czerwona Warszawa przed ćwierć wiekiem*, Poznań 1925.

ebrating the 40th anniversary of the Warsaw Public Library.[24] Stempowski repeats the main narrative reported in the earlier published recollections, completing it with additional information from the late 1890s when he was head of Czytelnia Naukowa.

Unfortunately, no recollections were left by Jadwiga Dawid née Szczawińska, the initiator and co-founder of both reading rooms who was also head of the Reading Room of Scientific Books and Journals for several years from 1893 to 1898 and was responsible for the entirety of organizational work in it. We learn about her contributions mainly from texts written by others like the manuscript of Radliński's recollections mentioned above. Radliński too deposited his book collection in the Reading Room of Scientific Books and Journals and also collaborated closely with Władysław Dawid, Jadwiga's husband, as editor of the periodicals *Przegląd Pedagogiczny* and *Głos*. In his recollections, Radliński writes about the couple's participation in activities related to the reading room and particularly highlights Jadwiga's merits.[25] Information about Jadwiga Dawid's involvement in the organization of the reading room specialized in scholarly books appears in publications by Dionizja Wawrzykowska-Wierciochowa, an author of popular books on women's history. Wawrzykowska-Wierciochowa collected recollections of women engaged in the self-education, education, and feminist movements in which there are also mentions to the found of women's involvement in the creation of reading rooms with scientific literature.[26]

24 S. Stempowski, „Bajeczne Dzieje Biblioteki Publicznej", *Bibliotekarz*, 1947, no. 11-12, pp. 190-192.

25 Radliński might have written the memoirs at Krzywicki's request, with whom he remained in close contact. This interpretation is supported by the fact that some information contained in it appeared in Krzywicki's text from 1908. Close relations between Krzywicki and Radliński are witnessed by Krzywicki's introduction to Ignacy Radliński's posthumously published autobiographical book. L. Krzywicki, „Przedmowa", in: I. Radliński, *Mój żywot*, Łuck 1938, pp. III-VII.

26 D. Wawrzykowska-Wierciochowa, „Udział kobiet w tajnym i jawnym ruchu społeczno-kulturalnym w Warszawie w latach 1880-1914", in: *Z dziejów książki i bibliotek w Warszawie*, S. Tazbir (ed.), Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warsaw 1961, pp. 283-319.

As mentioned earlier, the Warsaw press of that period has proven to be an important but so far little-used source of information on Czytelnia Naukowa in its various stages and incarnations. Press materials provide a complement to the memoirs and allow their verification. During the period in question (1890-1906), Warsaw daily newspapers and periodicals published many advertisements and announcements which can be used to fairly accurately date the opening of the individual reading rooms to the public, confirm their addresses and provide general information about their collections, opening hours, and fees. Quite often, these advertisements and announcements appeared in two Warsaw dailies, *Kurier Warszawski* and *Kurier Codzienny*. Usually, even before a reading room was opened, there would be advertisements announcing its opening and, later, confirming that the reading room had just been opened. The latter would be published repeatedly for the first month or two, and later as reminders. Such reminders would appear mainly in the fall, in October and November, when the summer vacations were over and students were returning to school and university. Before the vacations however, there were announcements that it was possible to borrow books for more extended stays in the countryside. From time to time, there would also be announcements about new acquisitions of books and periodicals. Press advertisements or announcements also informed about changes of address or opening hours. They also contained the names of the official owners of the reading rooms, that is, the persons in whose name the authorization for its opening had been given.

In addition to the advertisements and short announcements, newspapers and periodicals carried longer texts about the reading rooms and even short reports from visits to these institutions. Most of these materials were published in periodicals: *Przegląd Pedagogiczny*, *Głos*, and *Przegląd Tygodniowy*. These were progressive journals staffed by people involved in the self-education and popular educational movements. However, these texts did not include detailed information out of fear of repression from the tsarist police.

The projects that led to the creation of Czytelnia Naukowa had a hybrid character. Officially, they operated as commercial lending libraries and reading rooms registered in the name of fictional owners, usually women. Unofficially they operated as grassroots volunteer projects. Press advertisements and announcements rather referred to the official dimension, even if allusions to their social character may also be found in longer mentions or press articles.

Czytelnia Naukowa at 34, Nowy Świat Street (1890-1898)

An analysis of the available recollections and press materials leads to the conclusion that the people who contributed to the founding of Czytelnia Naukowa were directly involved in the Flying University and in the clandestine Polish educational movement. Some sources indicate that the idea of a reading room with scientific periodicals and books was prompted by the needs of female students of the Flying University. According to memoirs collected by Wawrzykowska-Wierciochowa, "[a]lready in 1885-86, women attending lectures at the Flying University experienced an acute shortage of scientific books. Therefore they began to pool their money and buy specific books and foreign journals. Jadwiga Szczawińska seized on this initiative and immediately came up with a concrete project, namely introducing a small fee for purchasing necessary books and journals for the common reading room to be paid by women attending the courses."[27] Many other sources confirm that the initiator and co-founder of Czytelnia Naukowa was Jadwiga Dawid née Szczawińska, and also her husband Władysław Dawid. They were both involved in the creation of the Flying University, she as the main organizer, and he as a lecturer in education.[28] In an article published in *Głos* in 1901, Jadwiga Dawid wrote that she founded

27 D. Wawrzykowska - Wierciochowa, Udział kobiet w tajnym i jawnym ruchu społeczno-kulturalnym ..., p. 313.

28 Władysław Dawid was a known educator and the editor-in-chief of *Przegląd Pedagogiczny.*

the reading room in collaboration with several people.[29] Krzywicki mentions that in addition to Jadwiga and Władysław Dawid, the management board of the reading room included Józef Piasecki, Antoni Pilecki, and Tadeusz Zalewski. Pilecki was a Warsaw lawyer and writer who was a proponent of positivism and popularized its ideas in his articles which were published in many periodicals. He was also a regular contributor to *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, a periodical supporting the idea of giving women access to better education and university studies. Unfortunately, the available sources do not provide much information about Piasecki. He may have also been a lawyer because someone of the same first and family name figures on the list of law students at the University of Warsaw. This interpretation seems to be supported by the fact that Dąbrowski mentioned the lawyers Piasecki and Pilecki who were involved in the education movement and the activities of the Reading Rooms Department of the Warsaw Charitable Society.[30] From information published in *Przegląd Tygodniowy* in 1890 and 1892 we learn that a reading room with scientific journals was founded by a group of people who cared about "scientific progress" and were keen to ensure access to adequate sources for "knowledge workers."[31]

Czytelnia Naukowa was inaugurated in November 1890, at 34, Nowy Świat Street. *Przegląd Pedagogiczny* informed of the opening plans already in early 1890.[32] The editors announced that the planned library would feature a reading room with all monthlies and other periodicals in Polish and other languages.[33] It was announced that fields of knowledge of general interest such as philosophy, natural sciences, history, and social sciences, would be represented in the reading room. An important position was

29 *Głos. Tygodnik Literacko-Spoleczno-Polityczny*, 1901, no. 10.

30 J. Dąbrowski, *Czerwona Warszawa ...*, p. 153.

31 *Przegląd Tygodniowy Życia Społecznego Literatury i sztuki*, 1890, no. 48, vol. 25, p. 574; *Przegląd Tygodniowy* 1892, no. 16, vol. 27, pp. 191-192.

32 *Przegląd Pedagogiczny. Czasopismo Poświęcone Sprawom Wychowania Szkolnego i Domowego*, 1890, no. 8, vol. IX, p. 32.

33 *Przegląd Pedagogiczny*, 1890, no. 8, vol. IX, p. 32.

also to be occupied by pedagogy so that teachers could familiarize themselves with the most important literature in the field: both with the theory of education and with textbooks that could be used to support lectures. The editors emphasized that the new institution sought to meet one of the most important needs of people working scientifically and would also encourage users to read more scientific literature. The announcement in *Przegląd Pedagogiczny* did not contain any information about the people involved in the project but said that the required permission had already been obtained from the authorities and expressed hope that the institution "would quickly come into life."[34]

In early November another announcement in *Kurier Codzienny* informed about the impending opening of a scholarly reading room on Nowy Świat Street in Warsaw which would offer "an abundance of periodicals with scientific content": philosophical, economic, pedagogical, and other, in Polish, Russian, French, German, English.[35] One day before the reading room opened on November 25, another announcement was published in *Kurier Codzienny* which informed that starting the next day there would be a scientific reading room on 34 Nowy Świat Street.[36] The announcement said that in the reading room it would be possible to read all Polish national and major foreign periodicals. In time, the reading room would become the scholarly library about whose lack scholars had been complaining. The institution would be open from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. Tickets would cost seven kopeks for a single entry and 75 kopeks for a whole month. A similar announcement was published in *Kurier Warszawski* on the same day. On Sundays and holidays the reading room was to be open from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m.[37] The opening of the reading room was also announced in the weekly *Głos* which emphasized that the Czytelnia Naukowa was the first institution in Warsaw to offer periodicals.

34 Ibidem.

35 *Kurjer Codzienny*, 1890, no. 304.

36 *Kurjer Codzienny*, 1890, no. 326.

37 *Kurjer Warszawski*, 1890, no. 326.

At the beginning of December, a large note about Czytelnia Naukowa appeared in *Gazeta Sądowa Warszawska* [Warsaw Court Gazette]. It explained that the reading room served the cause of learning and higher education and also described the offer in more detail. Apart from dailies and weeklies from Warsaw and the province it promoted periodicals bound in sewn volumes, such as *Ateneum*, *Biblioteka Warszawska*, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, and *Wisła*.[38] It also informed about titles which might be particularly interesting for readers of Warsaw Court Gazette: German, French, and Russian periodicals from the areas of law and political economy.[39] An increase in the number of titles in the section of the economy was announced. In mid-February 1891, more than two months after the opening of Czytelnia Naukowa, *Kurjer Warszawski* informed that the reading room offered 80 predominantly scholarly periodicals.[40] In late May 1894, the same newspaper informed that Czytelnia Naukowa at 34 Nowy Świat had recently acquired, among others, Aristotle's *Opera Omnia*, Hegel's *Werke*, Thomas H. Huxley's *La place de l'homme dans la nature*, Jacob Grimm's *Über den Ursprung der Sprache*, *Nouveaux Élements de physiologie humaine comprenant les principes de la physiologie comparée et de la physiologie générale* edited by Henri-Étienne Beaunis, Otto Behaghel's *Die deutsche Sprache*, Julius V. Carus' *Geschichte der Zoologie*, Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in Polish translation, Hippolyte Taine's *La Philosophie de l'Art* in Polish translation, Karl Vogt's *Bilder aus dem Tierleben*, as well as historical volumes of *Kurier Warszawski* (1826-1829; 1832-1865) and *Revue de Deux Mondes* (1848-1855; 1865-1875; 1876-1883).[41]

The press announcements also provide insight what kind of readers Czytelnia Naukowa was trying to attract. They invited any-

38 *Gazeta Sądowa Warszawska*, 1890, no. 49, vol. 18, p. 782.

39 The article mentioned Schmoller's Jahrbuch (*Jahrbuch* für *Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reiche*, whose editor-in-chief was, among others, Gustav von Schmoller); Conrad's Jahrbücher (*Jahrbücher* für *Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, published by Johannes Conrad); *Yuridicheskiy Vestnik*, *Revue d'economie politique*.

40 *Kurjer Warszawski*, 1891, no. 47.

41 *Kurjer Warszawski*, 1894, no. 146.

one interested in reading scholarly journals and non-fiction books. In particular, the offer was addressed to intellectuals, researchers, teachers, journalists, writers, and other people working in the liberal professions. Some press publications about Czytelnia Naukowa emphasized the need for an institution of this kind in Warsaw. A news item published in the weekly *Biesiada Literacka* complained about the generally disadvantageous situation regarding public access to scholarly book collections in Warsaw, pointing out that the library of the University of Warsaw, which served as a public library, was not accessible to working people because of its opening hours, and that there was no universal access to private libraries.[42] Most of the press materials concerning the Czytelnia Naukowa were short announcements with informational content. Longer promotional texts appeared mainly in periodicals associated with the progressive current of the Warsaw press or connected to the organizers of the Czytelnia Naukowa, like *Przegląd Tygodniowy* or *Przegląd Pedagogiczny*, whose editor-in-chief was Władysław Dawid.

Negative or critical pieces were rather the exception. An author using the initials G. Cz. expressed a critical opinion about the announced opening of Czytelnia Naukowa in the fashion and literature weekly *Tygodnik Mód i Powieści*.[43] The journalist noted that the purported intention of providing readers with books from all branches of knowledge and in "all civilized languages" was hardly realistic because such an enormous task would be difficult to accomplish even for the largest public libraries. The *Przegląd Tygodniowy* from November 29 immediately polemicized against such criticism in its column *Echa Warszawskie*,[44] accusing the author of the critical comment of ill will and failure to understand the simple fact that even large undertakings have slow beginnings, step by step, and explaining that due to their limited resources, the organizers would initially offer only scholarly journals and, over

42 *Biesiada Literacka. Pismo Literacko Polityczne Illustrowane*, 1891, no. 4, v. 31, p. 59.

43 *Tygodnik Mód i Powieści*, 1890, no. 46.

44 *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, 1890, no. 48.

time, planned to broaden the offer by adding "the most important scientific sources and the most eminent works in the domain of knowledge." The polemic expressed regret that Warsaw's mainstream literary circles either remained silent or foolishly criticized a beneficial grassroots initiative. Indifference or scepticism towards the planned reading room, as in the case of *Tygodnik Mód*, was explained by the fact that reading room's organizers did not have any connections and support among Warsaw literary elites, the latter disliking undertakings organized without their participation.

Some press reports indicate that during the first months after the opening, the number of people coming to Czytelnia Naukowa was not entirely satisfactory. In mid-April 1892, the editors of *Przegląd Tygodniowy* reminded readers about Czytelnia Naukowa in the column *Echa Warszawskie* at the same time, expressing disappointment that journalists and writers, who in the past lamented the lack of such an institution, now, while it was created with considerable efforts of its founders, did not make use of it at all.[45] The editors highlighted that the reading room, for starters located in a "not too splendid place," was well equipped with periodicals, which should be interesting for journalists. Shortly after, the weekly *Kraj* published an article which corrected the findings of *Echa Warszawskie* two months earlier and wrote that Czytelnia Naukowa was doing well, fulfilling its useful role for society and developing well. The article assured readers that the rooms of the reading room were never empty and often even packed. The article indicates that women were the reason for this development as they constituted "a significant proportion of visitors."[46]

45 The text includes an ironic comment that writers and journalists lack the time to refresh their knowledge which should be their primary goal. On the other hand, the text noted that the sterility of articles and newspapers reflected the weak development of scholarly reading rooms. *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, 1892, no. 16, vol. 27, pp. 191-192.

46 *Kraj. Tygodnik Polityczno-Społeczny*, 1892, no. 24.

In November 1892, just before the second anniversary of the founding of Czytelnia Naukowa, *Kurier Codzienny* published an article directly inviting women to visit the reading room, particularly those close to the ideas of emancipation.[47] It addressed women who spent the evenings alone while their husbands were out playing cards. It suggested that instead of spending the long November evenings alone, they should visit Czytelnia Naukowa on Nowy Świat Street where they would spend their time in a pleasant atmosphere reading interesting material, while a friendly female clerk could be consulted on the selection of texts. In the reading room, women would not be subjected to disapproving male stares or cigar smoke like in cafes.

The reading room operated at 34, Nowy Świat Street until July 1897. *Kurier Warszawski* of July 4 of that year reported that the reading room would move to 11, Mazowiecka Street on July 8.[48] A lending library called the General Reading Room (Czytelnia Powszechna) had already operated at the same address since 1893. I could not find any information confirming that Czytelnia Naukowa continued its operation at 11, Mazowiecka Street. According to Dąbrowski, in 1898 Czytelnia Naukowa was merged with the Reading Room of Scientific Journals and Books, and the institution resulting from the merger took over the name Czytelnia Naukowa.[49]

Press announcements indicate that the official owner to whose name Czytelnia Naukowa was registered was Stanisława, Maria Dowgiałło. The name Dowgiałło appears in two announcements. *Biesiada Literacka* on January 23, 1891, mentioned Stanisława Dowgiałło, and *Kurjer Warszawski* of November 5, 1893, published

47 *Kurjer Codzienny*, 1892, no. 308.

48 The text of the announcement was as follows: "The scholarly reading room located at 34, Nowy Świat Street since 1890 will be moved to 11, Mazowiecką Street on July 8. *Kurjer Warszawski*, 1897, no. 182, vol. 77. This information was confirmed in the same paper in an announcement published on September 19 of the same year, which stated that the reading room located at 34 Nowy Świat Street for seven years had moved to a new location at 11 Mazowiecka Street. *Kurjer Warszawski*, 1897, no. 259.

49 J. Dąbrowski, *Czerwona Warszawa ...*, p. 167.

a letter by Maria Dowgiałło.[50] None of the texts however provides more detailed information about the founder. Most probably, she was only the so-called figurehead registered as a founder and owner in official documents while in reality more people were involved in organizing and maintaining the reading room. The person whose name appeared in the press announcements, once as Stanisława Dowgiałło and once as Maria Dowgiałło, could have been Stanisława Maria Dowgiałło, one of the first female students of pharmacology at the Jagiellonian University, who studied at the Flying University in 1890. Memoirs and documents indicate that she used the first names alternatively, Stanisława privately but Stanisława, Maria in official documents.[51] Her close friend Jadwiga Klemensiewiczowa recalls that Dowgiałło, hailing from Livonia, lived in Warsaw at least from early 1890 until 1894 when she began her studies in Cracow.[52] From 1890 to 1993, they both completed a pharmacy internship in Warsaw and, starting in 1894, studied pharmacology at the Jagiellonian University of Cracow. While Klemensiewiczowa does not write anything about her friend's possible participation in the organization of Czytelnia Naukowa she describes her as a very helpful and discreet person which would not exclude such a possibility. "Being rather well-off, she was exceptionally modest for herself but did not hesitate to provide financial assistance to institutions and individuals who needed it; she did that in such a tactful and truly Christian manner that the left hand didn't know what the right hand was doing, and nobody

50 This letter stated that contrary to rumors Czytelnia Naukowa at Nowy Świat Street, owned by Maria Dowgiałło, had nothing in common with another scholarly reading room whose opening had been announced at 21 Jerozolimskie Street. *Kurjer Warszawski*, 1893, no. 306.

51 The name Stanisława, Maria Dowgiało appears in an application for admission to studies at the Jagiellonian University (June 26, 1894). J. Hulewicz, „O podłoże społeczno-ekonomiczne walki kobiet o dostęp na uniwersytety", *Przegląd Współczesny*, 1937, no. 2, pp. 138-144, (p. 142).

52 J. Klemensiewiczowa, *Przebojem ku wiedzy. Wspomnienia jednej z pierwszych studentek krakowskich z XIX wieku*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1961.

could feel offended or humiliated by her help."[53] Dowgiałło most probably did not run the reading room herself, since, as Klemensiewiczowa remembered, the pharmacy internship they were attending together filled their days entirely.[54]

Zofia Dygasińska-Wolterowa provides some information in her memoirs on how the operation of Czytelnia Naukowa at 34 Nowy Świat was organized: The board was in charge of general oversight, while day-to-day operations were run by female clerks (called cashiers) who received a small salary.[55] Dygasińska-Wolterowa writes: "Thanks to Mr. Teodor Paprocki I hold a permanent position at Czytelnia Naukowa, located at 34 Nowy Świat Street, in Boye's building. I became a clerk (cashier) working rotating shifts with Miss Teofila Kotarbińska,[56] one day from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. and the next day from 4 to 10 p.m."[57] This recollection of the work in the reading room is confirmed by the correspondence of Zofia's father Adolf Dygasiński, a writer and essayist. In a letter to his wife dated January 1, 1893, Dygasiński asks: "And how about Zosieńka? Did she get to work as a substitute in the reading room? The poor thing is so eager and willing – let her work there for a while if only for her own satisfaction."[58] We do not know when exactly Zofia Dygasińska began working at Czytelnia Naukowa. Her father's let-

53 Ibidem, p. 161

54 Ibidem, p. 195.

55 According to Z. Dygasińska-Wolterowa, the reading room's board included Antoni Pilecki (a writer and lawyer), Teodor Paprocki (a bookstore owner and publisher), Dr. Antoni Natanson (a physician), K.[azimierz] Olszowski (a lawyer), Stanisław Rodkiewicz (a lawyer), and someone named Weryho. By this last name, Dygasińska Wolterowa probably meant Maria Weryho, who studied natural sciences at the Bestuzhev Higher Courses for Women in St Petersburg in 1877-1885 and since 1885 had been working in Warsaw as a teacher for clandestine pedagogical courses organized at Henryka Czarnocka's boarding school for girls. Z. Dygasińska-Wolterowa, „Ze wspomnień o ojcu", in: A. Dygasiński, *Listy*, T. Nuckowski (ed.), Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1972, p. 161.

56 Probably the daughter of Józef and Teofila née Hermanowska, a teacher, sister of Cracow-based writer and theatre director Józef Kotarbiński, and painter Miłosz Kotarbiński. She died in Warsaw in 1903, aged 45. *Biesiada Literacka*, 1903, no. 36.

57 Z. Dygasińska-Wolterowa, *Ze wspomnień o ojcu*, p. 860.

58 A. Dygasiński, *Listy*, p. 333.

ter to her, dated August 3, 1894, shows she already worked there. The father tries to convince his daughter not to return to her job at Czytelnia Naukowa after the vacation. "My Zosieczka, when you come back to Warsaw, in my opinion you should not return to service in this reading room. Maybe you have come to realize yourself that this is not a good place for you where one has to deal with idiots all the time. Also, do you need this miserable salary so badly? Really, I would rather give you an allowance myself. And what does Mama think?"[59] Dygasińska-Wolterowa own memoirs indicate that she rather did not share her father's opinion about the job at the reading room and that the salary was not her main motivation to work there. She wrote:

"Working at the Czytelnia Naukowa was great: you could read a lot, meet many interesting people, almost all of the contemporary and later activists."[60] Dygasińska-Wolterowa listed a series of people from the educational and patriotic movement whom she met while working at Czytelnia Naukowa. She was also involved in clandestine education herself. In Wawrzykowska-Wierciochowa's books based on memoirs and interviews with women active in the self-education and educational movement, Czytelnia Naukowa on Nowy Świat Street figures as a scholarly reading room for women. It may be reasonably assumed that the reading room was one of the meeting points for female students of the Flying University and members of patriotic and educational, as well as emancipatory women's circles. Wawrzykowska-Wierciochowa refers to now-lost memoirs by Józefa Bojanowska and Helena Ceysingerówna. The former was one of the main organizers of the Polish feminist movement, the latter was a well-known figure in the clandestine patriotic-educational movement. The reading room for women was reported to be located at Nowy Świat Street, near Blikle's pastry shop, which would match with the address of 34, Nowy Świat, opposite the popular pastry shop. Dygasińska-Wolterowa's recol-

59 Ibidem, p. 377.

60 Z. Dygasińska-Wolterowa, *Ze wspomnień o ojcu*, p. 861.

lection about one of the regular readers confirms that women liked the atmosphere at the Czytelnia Naukowa: "Ms. Zofia Grabowska, whom I already mentioned more than once was a habitué of the reading room. She worked there for entire days, writing and translating. It was difficult to imagine the reading room without her. Most of the time, we would leave together in the evening, taking Chmielna Street."[61] Maria and Jadwiga Zaborowska, who also managed a lending library called the General Reading Room at 11 Mazowiecka Street, were probably also involved in running Czytelnia Naukowa.[62] Dąbrowski's memoirs mention this. He writes: "The reading room of scholarly journals at Nowy Świat operated under a fictional ownership; it was managed by a group of radical intellectuals, including Maria and Jadwiga Zaborowska, and a meeting place of not fully orthodox people."[63] According to Wawrzykowska-Wierciochowa, in 1891-1894 the reading room on Nowy Świat street was considered "a meeting place for organizers of patriotic manifestations, a distribution point of proclamations."[64]

It is not sure whether Bojanowska and Paulina Kuczalska Reinschmit, the leaders of the Warsaw emancipation movement, were involved in the organization of Czytelnia Naukowa at 34 Nowy Świat street to the extent which Wawrzykowska-Wierciochowa suggests in her publications. On the other hand, it is very likely that they were meeting there, as may be confirmed by the press article mentioned above inviting feminists to the reading room.[65]

61 Ibidem.

62 According to press announcements the Czytelnia Powszechna at ul. Mazowieckiej 11 was created in 1893. It is not known whether the Zaborowska sisters managed it from the beginning.

63 J. Dąbrowski, *Czerwona Warszawa* … p. 167.

64 D. Wawrzykowska-Wierciochowa, Udział kobiet w tajnym i jawnym ruchu społeczno-kulturalnym …, p. 310.

65 Warsaw suffragettes might have met at the Czytelnia Naukowa before they found other places. In 1894, Bojanowska and Kuczalska Reinschmit created the Delegation of Working Women within the Society for the Support of Industry and Commerce. Starting from 1898, they managed their own reading room for women which they bought from Maria Chojecka.

The Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals (1893-1898)

The Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals, like Czytelnia Naukowa, was founded by people active in the self-education and educational movement. Again, both Jadwiga and Władysław Dawid were among the main initiators and founders who had withdrawn from the board of Czytelnia Naukowa described above shortly after its inauguration for reasons not entirely known.[66] Several Flying University Lecturers and other members of the Warsaw intelligentsia joined the Dawids in establishing the new reading room. These people also deposited their book collections in the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals.[67] The student organization Bratnia Pomoc [Fraternal Aid] also deposited its library; in exchange, its members were to benefit from a reduced fee for using the reading room.[68] The Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals was opened in November 1893, which was widely publicized in the press. *Kurjer Warszawski* of October 23, 1893, reported: "On November 1, a new reading room specifically devoted to scholarly literature will join the number of reading rooms already existing in our city. The reading room is designed to assist scholars or people interested in more serious literature. The new institution will initially contain approx. four thousand works of mainly the newest scholarly writing, in the areas of philosophy, history, literary criticism, natural sciences, law and economics, anthropol-

66 One of the reasons for the Dawids' withdrawal from activities in the Czytelnia Naukowa might have been a conflict between women organizers of the Flying University in ca. 1890. J. Mackiewicz-Wojciechowska, *Uniwersytet "Latajacy"...*, p. 11.

67 Dąbrowski writes that the reading room at Marszałkowska Street received private book collections belonging to Ks. Krupiński, Bronisław Chlebowski, J. Wł. Dawid, Ludwik Krzywicki, Ms. Kirkorowa, St. Mieczyński. Krzywicki also lists A. Dygasiński. According to Ignacy Radliński's memoir, he deposited his own collection as did Józef Piasecki, Jan Popławski, Seweryn Jung, and Napoleon Hirszband. Dąbrowski, *Czerwona Warszawa*, p. 166; L. Krzywicki, *Czytelnia Naukowa* 1908, p. 35.

68 Dąbrowski writes that this was a rich book collection. According to Krzywicki, the students deposited their library because they wanted a place which was safe from police visits. *Czerwona Warszawa*, p. 166; Krzywicki, *Czytelnia Naukowa* 1908, p. 32.

ogy and linguistics, psychology, pedagogy, etc., of course in all European languages." *Głos* of October 28, 1893, also informed about the opening of a "Reading room of scholarly works." The editors wrote: "Despite the long-recognized need, until now, there was no reading room in Warsaw properly catering to the needs of people working intellectually. In some reading rooms, one can find more serious books, but in very small numbers and collected randomly, without selection. There is also one reading room offering scholarly journals but there are no books whatsoever. However, soon, that is in early November, a so highly desired and properly organized reading room of scholarly books will open. In addition to journals, the reading room will hold a relatively large number of books (currently ca. 2,500 works) available for reading on site or taking home. The more popular, more widely read titles will be available in two or even three copies. The reading room will procure all new publications in scholarly literature at the request of its subscribers."[69] The reading room opened on November 18 under the name "Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals," as *Kurier Warszawski* informed two days in advance.[70] Announcements about the opening of the reading room were run repeatedly by *Kurier Warszawski* until the end of November. They contained basic information about the address, opening hours of the reading room, fees, and general information about the collection. The reading room was open daily from 11 a.m. to 10 p.m.; a single-entry ticket cost five kopeks, while a monthly pass was 50 kopeks. The announcements or ads also appeared in other newspapers e.g. in *Gazeta Polska*, and in several liberal-progressive periodicals such as *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, *Głos* and *Przegląd Pedagogiczny*.[71] Later, they appeared less frequently, mainly

69 In the announcement quoted above, the reading room with scholarly journals but without books most probably referred to the the Czytelnia Naukowa at 34 Nowy Świat Street. *Głos*, 1893, no. 43, vol. 8, p. 510.

70 *Kurjer Warszawski*, 1893, no. 317.

71 *Kurjer Warszawski*, 1893, no. 293. The announcement in *Kurier Warszawski* and *Gazeta Polska* was repeated many times after the opening of the reading room. In late 1893 and early 1894, there were announcements or ads in many other Warsaw newspapers and periodicals. They informed about the number of avail-

in the fall, as a reminder for people returning from summer vacation, or before the holidays, informing about the possibility of borrowing books for the summer. They were also published on such occasions as, for example, changes in the reading room's address or the opening hours.[72]

There were several more extended mentions of the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals in the press. One of them was an article published in *Przegląd Tygodniowy* on November 27, 1893, that is, shortly after the opening of the reading room. The article described a visit there. It said that the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals was located at 21 Jerozolimska in a secluded building without an entrance gate and without flashy signs or reflecting window panes. Inside it was warm, bright, and tidy. There was a "serious silence, a friendly atmosphere making one want to sit down voluntarily for several hours and read more serious literature in the intelligent company of both genders."[73] The article also gave a detailed description of what the reading room and its furnishings looked like. It consisted of three rooms: a vestibule where visitors could leave their overcoats and two halls. One featured shelves with books and two tables: a smaller one for the cashier and a larger one for readers. In the second hall, there were three reading tables which were lighted with lamps, including one table for periodicals. The author also mentioned a book for requests where readers could write down titles they needed but could not find among the four thousand available volumes. The author de-

able works (ca. 4,000), the fee for a single visit (5 kopeks), the opening hours (11 a.m. – 10 p.m.) as well as the address (21, Jerozolimskie Avenue). Among others, announcements or ads appeared in: *Przegląd Pedagogiczny*, 1893, no. 24; *Gazeta Handlowa. Pismo Poświęcone Handlowi, Przemysłowi Fabrycznemu i Rolniczemu*, 1893, no. 276; *Kurjer Warszawski*, 1893, no. 326; *Gazeta Sądowa Warszawska*, 1893, no. 44; *Gazeta Polska*, 1894, no. 22.

72 In February 1895, for example, *Kurier Warszawski* advised that, at the request of working people, the reading room would also open on Sundays between 4 a.m. and 10 p.m., and that the Sunday fee would be fixed at 3 instead of the standard 5 kopeks. The lower fee was explained with the wish to make the reading room more accessible. On the other hand, the opening hours on Sundays were shorter. *Kurjer Warszawski*, 1895, no. 47.

73 *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, 1893, no. 49.

scribed the atmosphere in the reading room and its female and male readers using analogies to heroines and heroes from Bolesław Prus' novel *The New Woman* [*Emancypantki*] which was being published in instalments at that time. Miss Howard, a suffragette in the novel, was closely reading *Przegląd Pedagogiczny*, Madzia Brzeska, the heroine dreaming of becoming a teacher, pondered over *Jeździec i Myśliwy*,[74] while others read the *Revue de Revues* or a book on architecture. Alluding to *The New Woman* was probably intended to signal that the reading room was used by women who believed in equal access to education and connected to the emancipation movement. The author praised the reading room as a place of "intellectual work or respite," contrasting it with Warsaw tea shops, which, in his opinion, had become "exchanges for grain or actors." During the author's visit, 23 people were using the reading room.

Approx. Seven months after opening the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals was transferred to premises at 127 Marszałkowska Street.[75] At this last address it operated until 1898. Books and journals available in the reading room were publicized in press announcements or ads similar to the ones for Czytelnia Naukowa. In early December 1893, the weekly *Głos* advertised that the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals owned four thousand volumes of scholarly literature and 80 journals.[76] The advertisement listed the reading room's new acquisitions which, during the first month, were accessible only on-site. These were scientific works from the areas of social sciences, pedagogy, psychology and sociology, freshly published in 1893 in France and Germany, as well as the latest Polish translations of works by Charles

74 It refers possibly to a sports biweekly published since 1891.

75 In late June 1894, *Kurjer Warszawski* advised about the move of the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals to larger premises at 127 Marszałkowska Street, planned for July 8. On the same occasion, the ad announced that the reading room lended books for vacation in the country. The monthly subscription costed 50 kopeks and allowed borrowing two books. The ads for new premises for the reading room appeared in the fall, after the summer vacation. *Kurjer Warszawski*, 1894, no. 178; *Kurjer Warszawski*, 1894, no. 289.

76 *Głos*, 1893, no. 50.

Gide or Bernard Perez.[77] In mid-January, *Gazeta Sądowa* published an advertisement stating that the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals offered five thousand volumes and over a hundred periodicals. Nineteen titles of new acquisitions were listed, mainly scholarly works in French, German, English, and Italian, as well as in Polish translations. Next to scholarly literature, there were also literary texts of leading contemporary Polish writers, among them Bolesław Prus' *The New Woman* and Eliza Orzeszkowa's *Dwa bieguny [Two Poles]*.[78]

In March 1894, *Przegląd Pedagogiczny* informed that the reading room had six thousand scholarly books and over one hundred periodicals.[79] In October 1894, a year after the opening of the reading room, *Kurier Warszawski* mentioned the resources of the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals in its current news column.[80] At that time, the reading room was reported to have approximately eight thousand scholarly books as well as works of fiction and children's books. The news item informed that the scholarly book collection was being added to on an ongoing basis.[81] In June 1897,

77 Among new acquisitions, the following titles published in 1893 were listed; Robert Rocquigny *Syndicats agricoles et le socialisme agraire*; Alfred Fouillée *La psychologie des idées-forces*. Vol. 2; Émile Durkheim *De la division du travail social*; Gabriel Tarde *Les transformations du droit : étude sociologique*; Paul Hoensbroech *Mein Austritt aus dem Jesuitenorden*; Minna Wettstein-Adelt *3 1/2 Monate Fabrik-Arbeiterin. Eine practische Studie*; Ludwig Hammerstein *Das Preußische Schulmonopol mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Gymnasien*; Karl Gneisse *Schillers Lehre von der ästhetischen Wahrnehmung*; Fritz Schultze *Deutsche Erziehung*. Polish translations were also listed: Ch. Gide *Principes d'économie politique* (Polish title: *Zasady Ekonomii społecznej*, published in 1893); Bernard Perez *Le Caractere de L'Enfant A L'Homme* (Polish title: *Charakter dziecka i człowieka*). *Głos*, 1893, no. 50, vol 8.

78 Some of the titles were listed above in the previous footnote. Additionaly mentioned were Sidney J. Webb *A plea for an eight hours bill* (1890); Louis Bridel *Le Droit Des Femmes Et Le Mariage* (1893); Gabriel Compayre *L'évolution intellectuelle et morale de l'enfant* (1893). Ernest Lavisse and Alfred Rambaud *Histoire générale du IVe siècle à nos jours*, Theobald Ziegler *La question sociale est une question morale* (1893), *Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1890-1*; *Report of the Commissioner of Education in the United States for 1888-89*; *Gazeta Sądowa Warszawska*, 1894, vol. 22, no. 4.

79 *Przegląd Pedagogiczny*, 1894, no. 7, vol. 13, p. 100.

80 *Kurjer Warszawski*, 1894, no. 274.

81 Most recent acquisitions were to include further volumes of Lavisse and Rambaud *Histoire générale du IVe siècle* and the latest publications of the Smithsonian Institution and the Office of Education in Washington. Additionally, the reading

Przegląd Pedagogiczny invited to visit the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals and informed that readers would find all Polish periodicals published in Warsaw and in the provinces, as well as a selection of periodicals in other languages.[82]

The offer of the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals was addressed to female and male visitors similar to those of Czytelnia Naukowa. Its most frequent users were male students of Warsaw's higher education institutions and female students of the Flying University. According to the receipt books, women accounted for approximately one third of all people borrowing books.[83]

The Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals operated according to principles similar to those of Czytelnia Naukowa. Unofficially, it was managed by a board composed of several people and had a fictional owner, a woman under whose name the reading room was registered as a private company. The first board of the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals consisted mainly of people involved in the Flying University.[84] It also included representatives of the Bratnia Pomoc [Fraternal Aid] student association, who had deposited their library in the book collection of the reading room. The Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals was registered to Bronisława Szczawińska, Jadwiga Dawid's moth-

room provided encyclopedias, dictionaries, and over a hundred scholarly journals, which, in addition to Polish publications, included foreign ones in English, French, German, and Russian. *Kurjer Warszawski*, 1894, no. 274.

82 Examples of over a dozen available titles were quoted, the French including: *Revue des Deux Mondes*, *Revue des Revues*, *Revue internationale de Sociologie*, *Revue d'Economie politique*, *Revue Scientifique*, *Revue Bleu*, *Revue philosophique*; the Russian ones including: *Russkie Vedomosti*, *Vestnik Yevropy*, *Russkaya Mysl'*, *Russkoye Bogatstvo*, Luts', *Varshavskiy Dnevnik*; the German ones including: *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, *Ethische Kultur*, *Zeitschrift für Schulgesundheitspflege*, *Illustrierte Zeitung*; the English ones including: *Popular Science Monthly*, *Nineteenth Century*, *Review of Reviews*. *Przegląd Pedagogiczny*, 1897, no. 12, vol. 16, p. 216.

83 Archiwum Biblioteki Publicznej, Kwitariusze (A. 108).

84 According to Krzywicki, initially the board of the reading room consisted of Jadwiga and Władysław Dawid, Bronisław Chlebowski, Piotr Chmielowski, Dr. Zofja Daszyńska, Ludwik Krzywicki, Miłguj Malinowski and two representatives of university students. Almost all of them were involved in the Flying University. Krzywicki, *Czytelnia Naukowa*, p. 33.

er.[85] In 1893-1898, Jadwiga Dawid took care of all organizational things. As Krzywicki said in his memoir: "Fundraising, collecting books, organizing lectures, concerts and balls for this cause were the exclusive responsibility of Jadwiga Dawidowa, who withdrew from these activities in 1898."[86]

The circumstances of Jadwiga Dawid's departure, or removal, as Krzywicki called it, remain unclear. Dąbrowski wrote in his memoirs published in 1925 when both Dawids were no longer alive: "In 1897 or 1898, Czytelnia Naukowa [actually, the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals] began to decline, and at the same time, there were misunderstandings between Mrs. Dawid and students who accused the board of unsatisfactory and negligent management and even of misappropriation."[87]

In 1897, Jadwiga Dawid wrote and published a pamphlet *O potrzebie założenia biblioteki publicznej w Warszawie* [About the Need to Establish a Public Library in Warsaw].[88] In the text, she presented the deplorable situation of Warsaw's inhabitants, especially the less wealthy, regarding public access to books and scientific and popular science periodicals. She pointed at examples of other cities, including cities in Russia, where well-equipped public libraries were operated thanks to municipal and/or private financial support. In the pamphlet, she mentioned the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals as an institution that, to a certain extent, fulfilled the function of the missing public library. She also wrote that in spite of huge interest from readers the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals was not able to survive without additional financial support from society, and she called for that support. As mentioned above, shortly after the publication of this text, Jadwiga Dawid left the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and

85 J. Dabrowski, *Czerwona Warszawa*, p. 166.

86 L. Krzywicki, *The Czytelnia Naukowa*, p. 34.

87 Dąbrowski uses the term "Czytelnia Naukowa," but applies it at that time to the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals. J. Dabrowski, *Czerwona Warszawa*, p. 166.

88 J. Szczawińska Dawid, *O potrzebie założenia Publicznej Biblioteki w Warszawie*.

Journals.[89] According to Radliński's memoirs, she left the reading room exhausted by constant fundraising activities and disappointed by the lack of understanding from society.[90]

Czytelnia Naukowa (1898-1907)

After Jadwiga Dawid withdrew from her organizational work at the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals, Józef Kochanowski and Przemysław Rudzki, representatives of the student association, temporarily took over supervision. They began seeking financial support and a new figurehead, i.e. a new fictional owner under whose name the reading room could be registered.[91] Bronisław Natanson, a social activist and sponsor involved in financing clandestine education, agreed to contribute funds needed to rebuild the reading room. The new stage was launched by a change of premises and a name change to "Czytelnia Naukowa."[92] Stanisław Stempowski, a friend of Natanson's from the university, became the reading room's manager. Natanson's financial assistance allowed to rent new, comfortable premises and employing two female librarians, one of whom also became a figurehead.[93] The new management also talked to people who had deposited their book collection in the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and

89 In the news item published in April 1898 in the periodical Głos, the author, signed with initials "kz," informed that the circumstances of the reading room, which went recently through a crisis and even almost failed, improved after a new board took over the control. He wrote that the necessary upgrades were implemented, mainly in the required increase in the number of available journals and books. He also added that opening hours were extended. The reading room was to open daily from 10 am to 10 pm and on Sundays from 10 am to 6 pm. *Głos*, 1898, no. 17.

90 Archiwum Biblioteki Publicznej, Akta Towarzystwa Biblioteki Publicznej w Warszawie (A.162), leaves 78-80.

91 J. Dabrowski, *Czerwona Warszawa*, p. 166.

92 The detailed circumstances of these changes are unknown. It is possible that the change of name and premises was necessary beause of the conflict with Jadwiga Dawid.

93 According to Stempowski, the figurehead was Jadwiga Skąpska, a teacher and activist in the clandestine educational movement. She also worked as a half-time librarian and lived in the apartment next to the reading room, which was supposed to lend credibility to her being the owner. S. Stempowski, "Bajeczne Dzieje Biblioteki Publicznej", *Bibliotekarz*, 1947, no. 11-12, p. 191.

Journals. According to Stempowski, almost all of them renounced their ownership of the deposits and donated them to Czytelnia Naukowa. Thanks to Natanson's financial support Czytelnia Naukowa was moved to comfortable premises consisting of a large reading room, a storage room, and an office and an apartment for the librarian. The reading room also started renewing the collection, including making subscriptions to foreign periodicals.[94] Natanson's financial support for Czytelnia Naukowa did not last long however, that is, until 1901, when it was withdrawn due to him falling seriously ill. After losing Natanson's contribution, it became impossible to further maintain Czytelnia Naukowa at the same level.[95] The collection was moved to more modest premises at 62 Nowy Świat. According to Krzywicki's and Stempowski's memoirs, from 1901 to 1904 Czytelnia Naukowa had to deal with many problems due to the lack of funds. Most of all, the organizers could not afford suitable premises, therefore the collection was frequently moved, and access to it had to be temporarily suspended.

According to Stempowski, during that period Czytelnia Naukowa was supervised by Aleksander Heflich, a known activist in the self-education movement who wrote popular self-study guides and was also involved in the organization of the Warsaw Philanthropic Society's free reading rooms, Stanisław Posner, a lawyer and social activist who also wrote articles on readership and libraries, Ludwik Krzywicki, and Józef Kochanowski as a student representative.[96]

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94 Still, it may be concluded that Natanson's support was not enough to purchase all periodicals because, according to Stempowski, students "went begging for suscriptions of national periodicals for free or at a significant discount." S. Stempowski, *Bajeczne Dzieje Biblioteki Publicznej*, p. 192.

95 Ibidem.

96 Krzywicki described the composition of the board of the Czytelnia Naukowa in a similar way. According to him, in 1898-1899, the board included Bronisław Natanson, Aleksander Heflich, Józef Kochanowski and Stanisław Stempowski, while from 1989 to 1901 the reading room was managed by Aleksander Heflich and Stanisław Posner, and for the next three years until 1904 the board included Ignacy Bendetson, Józef Kochanowski, Ludwik Krzywicki and Stanisław Posner. Krzywicki, *the Czytelnia Naukowa*, p. 34.

In 1904, an unregistered private contract transferred Czytelnia Naukowa's book collection and assets to a group of prominent figures from Warsaw's literary, scholarly, and financial circles. Members of this group were Samuel Dickstein, a professor of mathematics, Adam Count Krasiński, a writer, educational activist and editor of *Biblioteka Warszawska;* Leopold Baron Kronenberg, a financier; Stanisław Leszczyński, a well-known lawyer and longstanding president of the Department of Free Reading Rooms at the Warsaw Philanthropic Society, as well as Henryk Sienkiewicz who was already a famous writer.

The transfer agreement indicates that in 1904 the Czytelnia Naukowa was in severe debt.[97] The buyers acquired it for a sum which covered debts and obligations to the amount of 1139 rubles and 25 kopeks. To raise money, they wrote an appeal asking for support of the development of the Czytelnia Naukowa in which they asked for declarations to pay annual dues of 50 rubles for three years.[98] The Acts of the Public Library Society hold financial records ofCzytelnia Naukowa dated from December 1906, listing forty three dues-paying supporters.[99]

Once again, the next stage in the development of Czytelnia Naukowa began with a change of official ownership. The new managing board recruited Celina Sielska as the new nominal owner and moved the collections to new premises at 41 Żurawia Street.[100] Czytelnia Naukowa was handed over to the new board in June 1904, and in July the press wrote about the move to new premises.[101]

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97 Archiwum Biblioteki Publicznej, Akta Czytelni Naukowej w Warszawie (A 110).

98 Over a dozen prints are preserved which ask for contributions to the development of the Czytelni Naukowej. Archiwum Biblioteki Publicznej, Akta Czytelni Naukowej (A 110).

99 Archiwum Biblioteki Publicznej, *Akta Towarzystwa Biblioteki Publicznej w Warszawie, (A 162).*

100 According to Krzywicki's memoirs, the new board of the Czytelnia Naukowa obtained a "regular subsidy offered by a group of benefactors, and that was how they ensured the continued existence of an institution in decline because of a lack of funds." L. Krzywicki, *Czytelnia Naukowa*, p. 34.

101 "The Czytelnia Naukowa which until now was located at 86 Jerozolimska Ave has been moved to 41 Żurawia Street." *Gazeta Polska*, 1904, no. 212.

In September, *Kurier Warszawski* published an announcement inviting to visit the new premises at 41 Żurawia Street.[102] The announcement encouraged a visit to the reading room by praising its large selection of scholarly books and Polish periodicals. According to the announcement, the reading room was open from 3 p.m. to 10 p.m. and a single-entrance ticket still costed five kopeks. In early October, the same newspaper printed a longer text which said that Czytelnia Naukowa which had existed in Warsaw for the previous 15 years had recently moved from Jerozolimskie Ave to 41 Żurawia Street.[103] The premises included a large and well-lit room for reading on site. Like the September announcement, this one too mentioned the considerable collection of books which could be borrowed and taken home as well as the Polish periodicals on stock. It also said that the reading room subscribed foreign periodicals.[104] The following year, *Kurier Codzienny* systematically reminded readers about Czytelnia Naukowa at 41 Żurawia Street.[105] The reading room was open from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. on weekdays, from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. on Sundays and holidays, except for the holiday period in July and August when opening hours were shortened and the reading room was closed on Sundays and holidays.[106] An advertisement of October 1905 informed that the reading room had many foreign language periodicals on top of the Polish ones and also carried the most recent publications. Students were being lured by a 50% fee reduction.[107]

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102 *Kurjer Warszawski*, 1904, no. 270.

103 *Kurjer Warszawski*, 1904, no. 274.

104 In the Acts of the Public Library Society in Warsaw there is a list dated November 16, 1904 of titles of Polish and foreign periodicals preferred for subscription. The list spans several areas of knowledge: natural sciences and and mathematics, philosophy, pedagogy, ethnography, geography, history, literature. Archiwum Biblioteki Publicznej m.st. Warszawy, Akta Towarzystwa Biblioteki Publicznej w Warszawie. (A 162).

105 In 1905, *Kurier Codzienny*, had announcements in the following issues: 67, 69, 70, 87, 109, 113, 115, 148, 171, 176, 196, 204, 205, 211, 261, 262.

106 *Kurier Codzienny*, 1905, issues: 176, 196, 204, 205, 211

107 *Kurier Codzienny*, 1905, no. 261.

In the Acts of Public Library Society, there is a small collection of invoices from bookstores in Poland and abroad for ordered books and periodicals relating to the time between 1904 and 1906.[108] There are also handwritten lists of titles of books and periodicals planned to be ordered for the Czytelnia Naukowa. These documents indicate that Dickstein was the person who approved purchases and subscriptions of titles.

When tsarist authorities consented to the creation of the Public Library Society in 1906, Czytelnia Naukowa was transferred to this Society as stipulated by the contract signed in 1904.[109] At the organizational meeting of the Society, which took place on February 2, 1907, Dickstein, who was one of the founding members, announced that the Society had taken over the ownership of Czytelnia Naukowa with a book collection counting ca. 3000 volumes and become "the first and principal foundation of the future Public Library."[110]

The last stage of Czytelnia Naukowa's activities, once the involvement of influential people from the cultural elites and the organization of broader financial support had freed it from debt and brought it back to an active life, was, in a sense, the realization of the project which Jadwiga Dawid had drafted in 1897. It was also a bridge between Czytelnia Naukowa's history as a grassroots self-help organization of the progressive self-education movement and the official project of a public library in a large city with active involvement of the city's cultural and financial elites.

Summary

The transfer of Czytelnia Naukowa to the Public Library Society ended the institution's underground history whose creation in the

108 Archiwum Biblioteki Publicznej, Akta Towarzystwa Biblioteki Publicznej w Warszawie. (A 162).

109 Krzywicki writes that attempts to obtain a permit for the opening of a public library in Warsaw began in 1904 and succeded in 1906. L. Krzywicki, *Czytelnia Naukowa*, p. 34.

110 Zebranie organizacyjne Towarzystwa Biblioteki Publicznej w Warszawie, *Przegląd Biblioteczny*, 1908, no. 1, p. 27-30.

period between 1890 and 1906 had actively involved many women and men who together had created the politically diverse clandestine educational and self-education movement. The history of Czytelnia Naukowa is, above all, the history of people who fought for the right to education and intellectual freedom in politically oppressed Warsaw. Czytelnia Naukowa, in its various branches and stages, was a typical grassroots endeavour with a broad reach. It was made possible by the involvement of many people: those who deposited their private or collective libraries in it, those who paid membership dues, those who, like Jadwiga Dawid, contributed to its existence through pro bono organizational work, and also readers of both genders who added their small entrance fees to its budget and gave it its basic goal and raison d'être. The reading rooms with periodicals and scholarly books, which led up to the creation of Czytelnia Naukowa, were an important educational support structure and a space for intellectual exchange for women studying at Flying University. Not only did they provide access to the most recent scholarly publications but they were also a place for meetings and discussions. This space was particularly important for women because it gave them access not just to knowledge but also to a place where they could work, meet, and become active together. In a publication about the Flying University, Janina Mackiewicz-Wojciechowska wrote that "probably all women attending the Flying University and all progressive elements of Warsaw of that time passed through Czytelnia Naukowa, one of the few intellectual centers of the capital."[111] Memoirs and press materials indicate that mainly women went to Czytelnia Naukowa, founded in 1890, at 34 Nowy Świat Street. Receipt books from the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals show that women accounted for a significant proportion of the people who borrowed books from that reading room. Women were also highly involved in organizational tasks. They were the so-called figureheads, women who lent their names to register the reading room as a com-

111 Janina Mackiewicz-Wojciechowska, Uniwersytet „Latający", p. 21.

mercial entity. Women also attended to readers of both genders, working pro bono as volunteers or for a small salary.

Many of the readers at Czytelnia Naukowa, especially at the incarnation which originated from the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals, were men studying at higher education institutions in Warsaw, especially those involved in the student self-education movement. The student association Fraternal Aid not only deposited its library at the Reading Room of Scholarly Books and Journals; its members participated in organizational work and fundraising and tried to negotiate better purchasing conditions for periodicals and books from Warsaw book dealers. In addition to the organizers and lecturers of the Flying University and student self-help organizations, many other people from the progressive Warsaw intelligentsia were involved in the creation of the Czytelnia Naukowa: authors, publishers, and lawyers. People connected with the Department of Free Reading Rooms of the Warsaw Philanthropic Society and leading figures of the Warsaw self-education movement, like authors of self-study guides were instrumental in saving of the economically failing Czytelnia Naukowa.

Krzywicki wrote that “the history of the reading room is the history of a struggle of the most progressive segment of our activists with the lack of books and the absence of a collection of scholarly journals.”[112] Most of all, they were struggling with the challenges of financing such an ambitious endeavour. “We constantly had to struggle with the lack of money which did not allow us to renew subscriptions of periodicals, purchase new books, and thereby generate revenue. For this reason, one of the most important issues was finding people who would be willing to pay annual dues.”[113] Krzywicki explained in his memoirs that “in normal political conditions, such an institution would have been subsidized by the city or maintained through open fundraising – however, those times

112 L. Krzywicki, *Czytelnia Naukowa*, p. 35.

113 Ibidem, p. 32.

forced people to gather funds secretly, putting the fundraisers at the risk of administrative fines. It was a thorny road, involving both a lot of work and the danger of arrest."[114]

For a scholarly library, the Czytelnia Naukowa was a relatively modest endeavour with several thousand books mainly from private deposits and with a number of periodicals not exceeding, in the best of times, about a hundred titles. For Warsaw's male, and especially female students, it was an important place where, at an accessible price which was lower than those at typical commercial reading rooms, they had access to important Polish and foreign titles, including those containing the newest and most progressive ideas. Titles of periodicals and books were selected by specialists, mainly lecturers at the Flying University or activists in the self-education movement. These titles were not available at the university library or at secondary school libraries in Warsaw.

Translated by Elżbieta Olechowska

114 Ibidem, p. 33-34.

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PROMOTION OF PROVINCIAL EDUCATIONAL LIBRARIES IN SOCIAL NETWORKS (2004-2023)

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ABSTRACT

The quantitative research aimed to determine the dynamics of the development of promotional activities of provincial pedagogical libraries in Poland in the form of activities on social networking sites, including the number of newly created accounts and services in particular years, on which they were set up. The websites of the libraries subjected to the research, their official accounts on social networking sites, as well as scientific and professional literature in this field, were used as the source material. As a result of the research, the activity of libraries or their central units on the following websites was noted: Facebook, YouTube, Twitter and Instagram. In the analysis of the collected data, all libraries or their central units today (2023) have Facebook accounts (100% of the 47 voivodeship pedagogical libraries in Poland). Underrepresented in the remaining services are: YouTube (87% of libraries

have accounts on it), Instagram (64%) and Twitter (28%). The following methods were used to achieve the set goals: analysis of social networks and websites, critical analysis of the literature on the subject, statistical and comparative.

The results of the analysis of the collected data can serve practising librarians and, above all, those in managerial positions, leading teams of educational institutions and pedagogical provincial libraries. It is not excluded that they will also become an inspiration for directors of all types of libraries, researchers dealing with the indicated issues, and lecturers in the Library and Information Science field.

KEYWORDS: pedagogical libraries, social networks, voivodship pedagogical libraries, social media, Poland.

Introduction

The number of people using social media is growing worldwide every year. According to the authors of the *Digital 2023* report, the number of active social media users reached approximately 4.76 billion people in January 2023, or 59.4 percent of the entire human population. In Poland, 27.5 million people connect with others in online communities.[1] The sites' functional characteristics and growing popularity create opportunities for promotion unprecedented in previously established media (e.g. radio, TV), the importance of which should not be ignored.[2]

Promotion (from Latin *promotio* – to endorse, to promote; from *promovere* – to advance, to spread) in a library is the action of provid-

1 S. Kemp [January 26, 2023] *Digital 2023: Global Overview Report. DataReportal*, [online:] https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2023-global-overview-report, [accessed: 5 June 2023].

2 By comparison, according to E. Qualman, it took 38 years for radio, 13 years for television, four years for the Internet and three years for the iPod to reach an audience of 50 million. E. Qualman, *Socialnomics: How Social Media Transforms the Way We Live and Do Business*, N.J. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., Hoboken 2009. Cited after. E. Jaska, A. Werenowska, 'Brand promotion in social media', *Internal Trade*, 2016, 2(361), p. 206, [online:] https://www.ceeol.com/content-files/document-572924.pdf?casa_token=SDVZjqOSX3YAAAAA:M4PxRRr79gbqpdRwXMsDUXdQ20wo-J5whsGPZTWROA3MeMr61QLPumJfX5MrE6udv3U8kAML4C9E, [accessed: 6 June 2023].

ing information to its actual and potential customers, intending to increase awareness of and generate interest in the products and services offered, leading them to borrow or use the collections and services and their participation in library events.[3] Increasingly, the literature draws attention to the slightly different conceptual scopes of the terms 'promotion' and 'marketing communication'. The broader scope of the term 'communication' is emphasised, which in the context of a library is understood as the mutual exchange of information between it and its customers. Its scope relates to the activities carried out by the institution, and its purpose is to stimulate the audience's activity and to obtain feedback from them.[4] Communication is, therefore a dialogue, transmission of information, but also the acquisition of information, which is made possible by social networks.[5]

The growing presence of libraries in social media has been noticed by many Polish and foreign researchers and practitioners.[6] Publica-

3 Wikipedia contributors, Promotion (marketing), in: Wikipedia. The free encyclopedia [en], [online:] https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Promotion_(marketing)&oldid=1151790127, [accessed: 10 June 2023]; Wikipedia contributors, Promocja (marketing), in: Wikipedia. The free encyclopedia [pl], [online:] //pl.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Promocja_(marketing)&oldid=69177998, [accessed: 10 June 2023]; M. Huczek, *Marketing* of *non-profit organisations*, Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Zarządzania i Marketingu w Sosnowcu, Sosnowiec, p. 130. ISBN 83-89275-30-9.

4 J. W. Wiktor, 'System komunikacji marketingowej w perspektywie produktu systemowego', *Studia Ekonomiczne*, 2016, (262), pp. 49-50, [online:] http://cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.cejsh-6f2847b7-8381-4283-81f3-e42e74581f0d, [accessed: 10 June 2023].

5 M. Drzazga, 'Media społecznościowe w procesie komunikacji marketingowej przedsiębiorstw handlu detalicznego z rynkiem', *Studia Ekonomiczne*, 2013, no. 140, p. 103-107, [online:] http://bazekon.icm.edu.pl/bazekon/element/bwmeta1.element.ekon-element-000171254709, [accessed: 10 June 2023].

6 Developing and maintaining contacts with users through social media during the COVID-19 pandemic was encouraged by the National Library (Rekomendacje BN, 2021, 2020). Articles have been published in portals and websites for librarians: e.g. *Lustro Biblioteki*, in which in 2017 Barbara Maria Morawiec analysed the profiles of selected public libraries present on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram and created their rankings based on the number of likes, followers, posts (tweets or photos or videos). National Library Recommendations for the operation of libraries during the summer [2021, 16 June], [online:] https://www.bn.org.pl/aktualnosci/4336-rekomendacje-biblioteki-narodowej-dotyczace-funkcjonowania-bibliotek-w-okresie-letnim.html, [accessed: 9 June 2023]; BN Recommendations for

tions have been produced, in which one can find extensive terminological findings concerning social media and social networks[7],

the operation of libraries during the epidemic, as of 24 October 2020 [first post: 2020, 8 August; with further updates], [online:] https://www.bn.org.pl/aktualnosci/4035-rekomendacje-bn-dotyczace-funkcjonowania-bibliotek-podczas-epidemii,-stan-na-9-pazdziernika-2020-roku.html [accessed: 9 June 2023]; *Public and academic libraries closed from 7 November. Recommendations from the National Library. News*, in: Book Institute [official website], [online:] https://instytutksiazki.pl/aktualnosci,2,biblioteki-publiczne-i-naukowe-zamkniete-od-7-listopada-rekomendacje-biblioteki-narodowej,5767.html, [accessed: 9 June 2023], cited: bn.org.pl; B. M. Morawiec, 'Ranking bibliotek w social mediach', *Lustro Biblioteki,* 2017 [online:] https://lustrobiblioteki.pl/2017/02/ranking-bibliotek-social-mediach/, [accessed: 15 April 2023].

7 There are many definitions of 'social networking' in the literature. We can point to several common elements in them. Their emergence would have been impossible without the "new media universe of Web 2.0". The analogous term "Library 2.0" has been coined in relation to this term. Another element is the emphasis on the communicative role of services and the emergence through them of "digital communities" and "virtual communities", which are linked by "the creation of a public or semi-public profile and their own list of real and virtual friends". User engagement translates into the financial health of media organisations. "Social networks are [...] part of a media «new economy» in which the activity of community members plays a fundamental role." M. Lamberti, M. Theus, 'Media społecznościowe w polskich bibliotekach, archiwach i muzeach', *Biblioteka*, 2016, p. 183, [online:] http://cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.ojs-doi-10_14746_b_2016_20_11, [accessed: 28 May 2023]; M. Wójcik, 'Użytkownicy serwisów społecznościowych poświęconych literaturze. Analiza wyników badania', *Przegląd Biblioteczny,* 2012, z. 2, pp. 222-240, [online:] http://ojs.sbp.pl/index.php/pb/article/view/128/94, [accessed: 07.06.2023]). Joanna Krawiec and Joanna Wyrwisz, following Arkadiusz Podlaski, distinguished 4 categories of communication: horizontal (communication between users), vertical (bringing together users with similar interests), local (users from the same area) and professional (intended to maintain professional, business contacts) A. Podlaski, *Marketing społecznościowy. Tajniki skutecznej promocji w social media*, Helion, Gliwice 2011, pp. 7-8 cited after Krawiec J., Wyrwisz J., 'Facebook.com jako efektywne narzędzie komunikacji marketingowej'*, Problemy Zarządzania, Finansów i Marketingu*, 2013, 32, p. 376, [online:] https://bazhum.muzhp.pl/media/files/Problemy_Zarzadzania_Finansow_i_Marketingu/Problemy_Zarzadzania_Finansow_i_Marketingu-r2013-t32/Problemy_Zarzadzania_Finansow_i_Marketingu-r2013-t32-s375-388/Problemy_Zarzadzania_Finansow_i_Marketingu-r2013-t32-s375-388.pdf, [accessed: 13 June 2023]. The publication adopts the nomenclature and division of social media proposed by Magdalena Wójcik in her monograph published in 2013 M. Wójcik, *Web 2.0 w działalności usługowej instytucji książki*, Jagiellonian University Publishers, Kraków 2013. ISBN 978-83-233-3620-4; M. Lamberti, M. Theus, 'Media społecznościowe w polskich bibliotekach, archiwach i muzeach', *Biblioteka*, 2016, p. 183, [online:] http://cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.ojs-doi--10_14746_b_2016_20_11, [accessed: 28 May 2023]; A. Podlaski, *Marketing społecznościowy. Tajniki skutecznej promocji w social media*, Helion, Gliwice 2011, pp. 7-8 cited after Krawiec J., Wyrwisz J., *op.cit.*; M. Wójcik, 'Użytkownicy serwisów społecznościowych poświęconych literaturze. Analiza wyników badania', *Przegląd*

as well as the origins and characteristics of their functioning in Poland[8] and abroad.[9] The literature discusses the use of social media (services) concerning different types of libraries, (with a decided underrepresentation of pedagogical libraries).[10] The analysis of the

Biblioteczny, 2012, z. 2, pp. 222-240, online:] http://ojs.sbp.pl/index.php/pb/article/view/128/94, [accessed: 07.06.2023]; D. M. Boyd, N.B. Ellison, 'Social network sites: Definition, history, and scholarship', *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 2007, vol. 13, issue 1, pp. 210-230, [online:] https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2007.00393.x.

8 As early as 2007, Cezary Mazurek, Tomasz Parkoła, Marcin Werla from the Poznan Supercomputing and Networking Centre wrote about the role of the librarian and reader community in the development of the dLibra digital library software on the example of the activities of the Silesian Library's "Library 2.0" forum, which was set up in the same year. C. Mazurek, T. Parkoła, M. Werla, *Superkomputerowo--Sieciowe, P. C. Rozwój bibliotek cyfrowych w Polsce,* in: Institutional Repository Poznan Supercomputing and Networking Center, p. [4], [online:] https://lib.psnc.pl/dlibra/publication/183/edition/173, [accessed: 6 June 2023].

9 In 2008, Sharon Griffith, Liwan Liyanage characterised and discussed selected social networking sites (Facebook, MySpace), in terms of their functionality, data security, user privacy, their target age categories, S. Griffith, L. Liyanage, *An introduction to the potential of social networking sites in education* (2008), Emerging Technologies Conference 2008. 9, [online:] https://ro.uow.edu.au/etc08/9, [accessed: 10 June 2023].

10 The functioning of university libraries and repositories in social media was described by Agnieszka Galecka-Golec, Katarzyna Puksza, Ewa Witkowska and Wiesław Wróbel (Jerzy Giedroyc University Library in Białystok, Repository of the University of Białystok), among others. A. Gałecka-Golec, K. Puksza, E. Witkowska, 'Biblioteka w czasie pandemii – doświadczenia Repozytorium Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku', *EBIB*, 2020, no. 4 (193), pp. 1-8, [online:] https://ebibojs.pl/index.php/ebib/article/view/687/723, [accessed: 10 June 2023]; W. Wróbel, E. Witkowska, *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka im. Jerzego Giedroycia w Białymstoku w świecie cyfrowym, Scientific Conference entitled "The Scientific Library in the Digital and Analog World"*, Main Library of the Kielce University of Technology, Kielce (Ameliówka) 13-14 September 2022 [preprint], [online:] https://repozytorium.uwb.edu.pl/jspui/handle/11320/13892, [accessed: 10 June 2023].
The issue of social media concerning cultural institutions in 2016 was discussed by Maria Lamberti and Monika Theus, who surveyed a selection of them.
M. Lamberti, M. Theus, 'Media społecznościowe w polskich bibliotekach, archiwach i muzeach', *Biblioteka*, 2016, pp. 183-206, [online:] http://cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.ojs-doi-10_14746_b_2016_20_11, [accessed: 28 May 2023) ; Magdalena Wójcik elaborated on the issue of social networking in relation to public libraries (2022, 2014). M.Wójcik, 'Profile bibliotek publicznych w serwisie Facebook jako źródło informacji o wydarzeniach lokalnych – komunikat z badań pilotażowych', in: M. Ślusarek, B. Janik, W. Bukowczan (ed.), *Biblioteki pedagogiczne lokalnie – małe ojczyzny, duże perspektywy*, Kraków 2022, pp. 39-45; Wójcik, M. 'Małe biblioteki publiczne w serwisach społecznościowych [Small Public Libraries in Social Networking Sites]', in: *Sfera Kultury, Sfera Nauki: Współczesny Obraz Biblioteki*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Edward Mitek, Gdańsk 2014, pp. 37-46, [online:] https://depot.ceon.pl/bitstream/handle/123456789/17431/Sfera%20kultury%2C%20sfera%20nauki%20-%20

results of the authors' research, concerning the presence on social networks of these very libraries, aims to fill the gap that has arisen. Considering the objectives that these institutions can – thanks to their presence in social networks – achieve, which include: providing information, education, maintaining relations/contacts, modelling reading culture including reading interests and preferences, building a positive image of the library and staff, attracting new users, learning about their opinions, providing them with entertainment, or promoting the library's collection, its services and cultural and educational events,[11] it is impossible not to appreciate such a powerful promotional tool, whose effectiveness is high and the costs associated with its use are relatively low.

The principal aim of the research was to ascertain the extent to which libraries utilise online platforms to promote their institutions and to identify those that do not engage in any such promotion. To review the scholarly literature on educational libraries in the context of promotional activities through social networks, a search was conducted in databases: EBSCO,[12]

wsp%C3%B3%C5%82czesny%20obraz%20biblioteki%20-%20Maja%20Wojciechowska.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y#page=37, [accessed: 17 June 2023].

11 Own study, cf. also B. Boryczka, 'Wykorzystanie mediów społecznościowych w bibliotekach pedagogicznych', *Elektroniczny Biuletyn Informacyjny Bibliotekarzy*, 2018, no. 1, [online:] http://ebibojs.pl/index.php/ebib/article/view/80/81M, [accessed: 17 June 2023]; B. Budyńska, M. Jezierska (ed.), *Stan bibliotek w Polsce. Raport 2017*, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw 2021; M. Wojciechowska, M. Orzoł, 'Promocja jako instrument marketingu wspierający działania bibliotek w obliczu niskiego czytelnictwa Polaków. Przykłady akcji i działań promujących czytelnictwo', *Zarządzanie Biblioteką*, 2020, 1 (12), pp. 23-35, [online:] https://czasopisma.bg.ug.edu.pl/index.php/ZB/article/download/5952/5208/9114, [accessed: 17 June 2023].

12 The EBSCO host database search was carried out on 09.06.2023 using an extended version of the multi-search engine. In the first search by keywords "promotion" and "libraries" and "pedagogical" and "community". It is worth noting that the use of the term "community-based" was dictated by the desire to obtain information on all publications on the subject. The authors were aware that the terms "social media" and "social networking" are sometimes used interchangeably in the literature. A total of 32 search results were obtained, sorted according to the criterion "relevance". Among them, there was only one publication that referred directly to the promotional activities of pedagogical libraries in social media. This was Bożena Boryczka's article, 'Wykorzystanie mediów społecznościowych w bibliotekach pedagogicznych', *EBIB*, 2018, 178(1), pp. 1-14, [accessed: 9 June 2023].

Scopus,[13] Google Scholar[14] search engine, as well as the use of functioning references in the found literature to previous studies on this topic (*growing pearl* strategy), which together gave a document-

13 A search in the Scopus database was carried out on 12.06.2023 according to the criteria "Article title, abstract, keywords" by entering the keywords "library" and "pedagogical", which did not yield any results. Entering the keywords "pedagogical" and "library" gave the same result. Using the keywords: "social networking servers" and "library" yielded 596 records, none of which referred to the issue of pedagogical libraries, which was checked by adding the search term "pedagogical" according to the "all fields" criterion. This yielded 7 records that were not related to the subject matter under study.

14 A Google Scholar search was carried out on 09.06.2023 by the keywords "promotion" and "libraries" and "pedagogical" and "community". The advanced search operator "intitle" was used, creating the phrase: '[intitle:promotion and libraries and pedagogical and community]'. This yielded 24 search results, one of which met the criteria related to the research question, but related to the issue of higher education libraries: M. Nagięć, 'Promotion of research libraries of state and non-state higher education institutions', *Fides. Bulletin of Church Libraries*, 2013, 19(37 (2)), pp. 3-24. [online"] https://digital.fides.org.pl/dlibra/publication/1852/edition/1693/content, [accessed: 6 June 2023. The search phrase was then entered: "[promotion and libraries and pedagogical and intitle:social]". This yielded 6 results, one of which concerned social media in cultural institutions: M. Lamberti, M. Theus, 'Social media in Polish libraries, archives and museums', *Biblioteka*, 2016, 20 (29), pp. 183-206. [online:] .file:///C:/Users/Acer/Desktop/PUBLIKACJE%20BIE%C5%BB%C4%84CE/Teksty%20z%20Monik%C4%85/7074-7071.pdf, [accessed: 29 November 2024]. Another search phrase "[promotion and libraries and intitle:social]" yielded 46 records, none of which concerned social media considered in the context of pedagogical libraries. The search results included publications related to libraries, archives, museums, university libraries, e.g. M. Lamberti, M. Theus *op.cit.*; J. Przybysz, P. Pioterek, *Media społecznościowe w służbie bibliotek*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, Białystok 2015, [online:] https://repozytorium.uwb.edu.pl/jspui/bitstream/11320/4519/1/23_Przybysz_Pioterek.pdf, [accessed: 17 June 2023]; U. Szybowska, 'Media społecznościowe a kształtowanie wizerunku biblioteki akademickiej', Main Library of the Military University of Technology. PolBiT Seminar 2019. the Main Library of the Military University of Technology in Warsaw. 26.03.2019 r. [Presentation] Retrieved, 23, [online:] https://bg.wat.edu.pl/images/pliki/polbit/urszula_szybowska_media_spolecznosciowe_a_ksztaltowanie_wizerunku_biblioteki_akademickiej.pdf, [accessed: 17 June 2023]; K. Machcińska, 'Media społecznościowe w bibliotece – rodzaje, funkcje, strategia działania', in: M. Odlanicka-Poczobutt, K. Zioło (eds.), *The academic library. Infrastructure-university-environment*, Gliwice 2013, pp. 24-25, [online:] http://delibra.bg.polsl.pl/Content/15554/Machcinska_Katarzyna_tekst.pdf, [accessed: 17 June 2023]; E. Rybka, *Media społecznościowe w bibliotekach uczelni medycznych – próba porównania*, Polish Platform of Medical Research.Repository of the Medical University of Gdańsk, [online:] https://ppm.gumed.edu.pl/docstore/download/GUM97742df794274051bb2d216c600d5744/0000099736.pdf, [accessed: 17 June 2023]. Google Scholar search results by criteria "[promotion and libraries and intitle:social]", [online:] https://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=pl&as_sdt=0%2C5&q=%E2%80%9E%5Bpromocja+and+libraries+and+intitle%3Aspo%C5%82social%C5%9Bciowe%5D&btnG=, [accessed: 9 June 2023].

ed picture of the development of this issue in Polish and foreign literature. According to the analysis, there was only one article in the Polish-language literature on the subject, the content of which referred directly to the presence of pedagogical libraries in social networking sites. It was a text by Bożena Boryczka, who in 2018 examined the accounts of pedagogical libraries established in the services: Facebook, Twitter, Pinterest, Google+ and Instagram; characterising the number of library profiles on the aforementioned social media. The author of the article also identified the categories of content present.[15]

Foreign literature on promoting pedagogical libraries in social networks was also searched for. For this purpose, the Google advanced search operators were used, among others. By using the "in title": operator, it was expected to find publications in Google Scholar whose titles contained the phrase "pedagogical library".[16] The search resulted in 52 records that contained the indicated phrase in the title. These included publications that dealt with the main national libraries that are centres of educational information of the state, e.g. V. O. Sukhomlinsky State Scientific Pedagogical Library of Ukraine in Kyiv.[17] The phrase in the title "pedagogical libraries" yielded 3 results, including bibliographic data on two citations and one full-text publication.[18] This article was

15 B. Boryczka, *op.cit.*

16 The search was conducted on 17.06.2023 via Google Scholar. Search results by phrase: intitle: "pedagogical library". Google Scholar, [online:] https://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=pl&as_sdt=0%2C5&q=intitle%3A%22pedagogical+library%22&btnG=, [accessed: 17 June 2023].

17 L. D. Berezivska, O.P. Pinchuk, N.V. Varaksina, (2020). 'The webportal of VO Sukhomlynsky State Scientific and Pedagogical Library of Ukraine as an information resource for implementation of research in education, pedagogy and psychology', *Information Technologies* and *Learning Tools*, 2020, 4(78), pp. 249-265; L. Berezivska, (2018). 'Study of VO Sukhomlynskyi's activity as a strategy of VO Sukhomlynskyi State Scientific and Pedagogical Library of Ukraine', *Education: Modern Discourses*, 2018(1), pp. 208-214; Cf. R., Samotyj, 'Zarys działalności metodycznej bibliotek ukraińskich', *Zarządzanie Biblioteką*, 2010, no. 1, pp. 117-126, [online:] https://bibliotekanauki.pl/articles/1374823.pdf, [accessed: 17 June 2023].

18 Google Scholar search results by intitle phrase: 'pedagogical libraries', [online:] https://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=pl&as_sdt=0%2C5&q=intitle%3A%22pedagogical+libraries%22&btnG=, [accessed: 18 June 2023].

on the social networks of 19 pedagogical higher education institutions in Ukraine. It established the number of libraries' social media accounts (Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, Twitter). By extracting the percentage of accounts with high, medium and low frequency of content updates, using data on the number of observers, number of likes, etc., the 5 most active universities that used social media to promote their resources and services were identified.[19] Foreign literature, although very interesting, was not directly related to the research issue undertaken by the authors of this article.

Summarising the search for scientific texts in the field in question, it should be noted that researchers have not addressed the topic of interest. The mentioned Polish text by Boryczko from the previous decade of the 21st century was written by a methodologist and practitioner. In light of the literature analysis on the subject, researching the use of social networking sites by educational libraries for promotion would thus fill the gap. The data obtained of during the research can be used by practising librarians, especially those in managerial positions, who run teams of educational institutions and provincial pedagogical libraries. They may also inspire library managers of all types of libraries and researchers working in this field as well as lecturers in Library and Information Science.

Conceptualisation of research

The research planned and carried out in April 2023,[20] used the findings previously made on the number and structure of provin-

19 A. Shelestova, A. Solianyk, N. Bachynska, T. Novalska, O. Kobieliev, 'Libraries of pedagogical institutions of higher education on social media', *Revista Amazonia Investiga*, 2021, 10(47), pp. 197-206.

20 It was assumed that the survey of each social network would be conducted in one day. This assumption was dictated by the dynamic changes in the number of accounts and content taking place on social networks and the desire to obtain comparable results. Due to the attention to detail of the measurement and the need to eliminate the risk of error, one day was devoted to each site. Searches of library accounts on each site were conducted sequentially on: Facebook (2 April 2023), YouTube (9 April 2023), Twitter (15 April 2023) and Instagram (24 April 2023).

cial pedagogical libraries, which were included in the authors' publication on the issue of the functioning of pedagogical libraries during the COVID-19 pandemic,[21] published in 2022. Subsequently, these findings were verified to consider the changes that occurred over the 2022-2023 period. This was possible thanks to a re-analysis of the records of the Register of Schools and Educational Establishments (hereinafter RSPO) concerning pedagogical libraries run by provincial governments,[22] websites of these libraries and information about them contained in the Public Information Bulletin. It was established that in April 2023, there were 47 provincial pedagogical libraries. Recently, the number of organisationally independent libraries with branches has decreased by 3 (from 23 to 20).[23] The number of autonomous units operating without branches (6) and the number of units operating within the structures of teams and without branches (4) did not change,[24] while the number of

21 It assumes that there are 45 voivodeship pedagogical libraries in Poland, of which 6 are stand-alone libraries without branches, 23 are stand-alone units with branches, among libraries operating within the structures of groups of institutions – 4 have no branches and 11 have them. In addition, there is one laboratory in a teacher training centre without a branch M. Antczak, M. Wachowicz. 'Assessment of the COVID-19 Pandemic Impact on the Changes in the Operation and Structure of Polish Voivodship Pedagogical Libraries', *Polish Libraries*, 2022, vol. 10, p. 218-223 [online:] https://polishlibraries.bn.org.pl/upload/pdf/06440_PL10_08antczak.pdf, [accessed: 19 February2023].

22 Search in the Register of Schools and Educational Institutions by criteria: "leading authority" – "provincial government"; "type of school/placement" – "pedagogical libraries", using the criterion: "include schools/places abolished" see Search results. RSPO, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/institutions?q=%7B%22page%22:0,%22pageSize%22:10,%22sort%22:%22%22,%22direction%22:%22%22,%22includeLiquidated%22:true,%22leadAuthorityInstitutionTypeIdList%22:%5B133%5D,%22institutionTypeIdList%22:%5B58%5D%7D [accessed: 16 April 2023].

23 As of 1.09.2022 the Pedagogical Provincial Library in Krosno and the Józef Gwalbert Pawlikowski Pedagogical Provincial Library in Przemyśl were incorporated into the Podkarpackie Complex of Provincial Facilities in Rzeszów. Pedagogical Provincial Library in Krosno, in: RSPO, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/institutions/92374, [accessed: 16 April 2023]; Pedagogical Provincial Library of Józef Gwalbert Pawlikowski in Przemyśl, in: RSPO, [online:] https://rspo.gov.pl/institutions/92386, [accessed: 16 April 2023]; Pedagogical Library in Zgierz as of 1.03.2022 has been incorporated into the structures of the Centre for Education Development of the Łódź Province in Zgierz.

24 *Ibid.*

units within the structures of teams with branches increased by 3 (from 11 to 14).[25] The study also decided to include libraries not included in the RSPO list: Zachodniopomorskie Centrum Doskonalenia Nauczycieli w Szczecinie – Dział Biblioteka Pedagogiczna im. H. Radlińskiej[26] and Centrum Edukacji Nauczycieli w Koszalinie Biblioteka Pedagogiczna CEN w Koszalinie – Dział Informacji Pedagogicznej – Biblioteka Pedagogiczna,[27] as well as the Pedagogical Library in Gorzów Wielkopolski, which has the status of a workshop of the Provincial Methodological Centre in Gorzów Wielkopolski. It should be emphasised that researching voivodeship pedagogical libraries is difficult due to their constantly changing number and continuous restructuring (e.g. formation of educational institution complexes, transformation of branches, liquidation of branches, etc.).

The second stage of the research was to find links on the websites of provincial pedagogical libraries to the social media accounts they have. This made it possible to identify the most popular social media used by them (Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, Twitter). In doing so, attention was paid to the location of the links to the sites on these pages, as this affected the readability of the information on them. The selected sites were then analysed for the presence of accounts of provincial pedagogical libraries on them. In this way, data was supplemented on the official profiles of libraries that did not include information on all their profiles on their main websites but maintained them.

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25 Data based on: M. Antczak, M. Wachowicz, *op.cit*.

26 Statute of ZCDN, in: Public Information Bulletin of the Zachodniopomorskie Centrum Doskonalenia Nauczycieli w Szczecinie, http://bip.zcdn.edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/uchwala.pdf, [accessed: 25.04.2022].

27 Statutes, in: Public Information Bulletin of the Centre for Teacher Education in Koszalin, http://www.cen.edu.pl/uploads/publiczne/cen_bip/Uchwala_nr_XIV-186-20_sejmiku_wojewodztwa_zachodniopomorskiego_statut_CEN.pdf, [accessed: 25 April 2022].

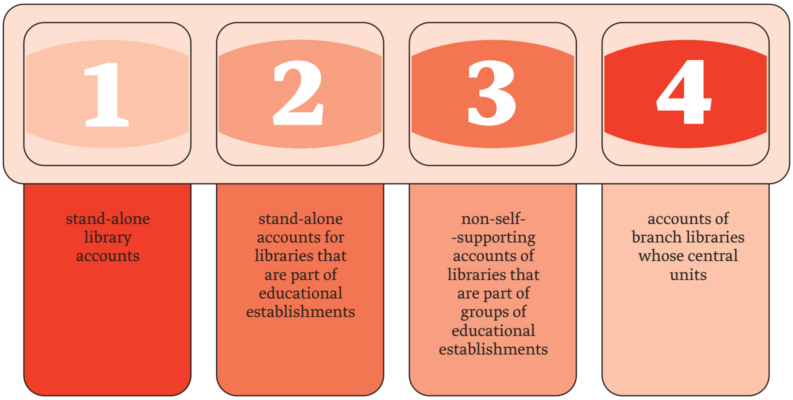

DIAGRAM. 1. Types of accounts set up in social networks of provincial pedagogical libraries in Poland, considering their independence
Source: own compilation based on collected data.

During data collection, it was noted that there were four types of library accounts set up on social networking sites, distinguished during the research by their place in the organisational structure:

1. stand-alone library accounts
2. stand-alone accounts for libraries that are part of educational establishments
3. non-self-supporting accounts of libraries that are part of groups of educational establishments
4. accounts of branch libraries whose central units (the main library or a set of educational establishments) do not have one. To organise and categorise the collected research material, an auxiliary diagram was developed (cf. Diagram 1).

The next decisions to be made concerned the classification of the account in situations where it was held by both the library and the set of educational establishments to which it belonged. The research considered the primacy of the accounts of the provincial educational libraries over the profiles set up by the 'teams'. In a situation where there was a team account next to the library account, only the account of the library was considered in the statistics, e.g. since 2010, there has been a Facebook account of the Pedagogical Library in Piotrków Trybunalski. In addition, since 2012, there has been a profile of the Provincial Teacher Training Centre, which was transformed into the profile of the Education Development Centre for the Łódź Province in Piotrków. As the article is dedicated to libraries, only the profile of the library is included in the statistics, as it can be assumed that it is the main channel of communication in this service. The Piotrkowska Pedagogical Library also has an account on Instagram. It is the profile *piotrkowska_pedagogiczna*. Although the profile of the whole team was created in 2022 (already after the institutions were merged into a team), the account of the library[28] was considered for the research. Branch accounts were only considered if the main library did not have a social profile, but had an account created for the branch.

A significant problem was locating library accounts in services to which no links were provided. In order to do so, their internal search engines were used by entering whole names of libraries, groups of educational institutions, and their abbreviated names (formed from the first letters of individual words) supplemented with the local name, e.g. Centrum Rozwoju Edukacji Województwa Łódzkiego w Łodzi – CREWŁ Łódź; phrases containing the term 'pedagogical library' or the word 'pedagogical' alone or the abbreviation 'bp' and the local name were created. At the research stage, it was noted that finding the library catalogue in the service, in some cases, was difficult and the search unintuitive.

The following methods were used for the research: website and social network analysis, statistical and comparative. The following specific research problems were formulated:

RQ1. What social networks do the provincial educational libraries inform users about on their websites/sites of their parent units?

RQ2. When did individual libraries set up their first accounts, and on which social networks?

28 Piotrkowska_pedagogiczna. Instagram, [online:] https://www.instagram.com/piotrkowska_pedagogiczna/, [accessed: 18 June 2023]; Crepiotrkow.edu.pl. Instagram, [online:] https://www.instagram.com/crepiotrkow.edu.pl/, [accessed: 18 June 2023].

RQ3. How many libraries today have accounts set up, and on which social networks?
RQ4. What is the percentage distribution of libraries with stand-alone accounts according to their place in the organisational structures?
RQ5. Which social network is most and least used by libraries?
RQ6. What percentage of libraries have accounts on all social networks?

Presentation and discussion of research results

The analysis of the collected data, presented in the following section of the argument, began with the presentation of numerical indicators concerning the presence of links to owned social networks on the libraries' websites. The remaining material was divided by service, starting with the most frequently used by individual libraries, i.e. Facebook, followed by YouTube, Instagram and Twitter. The discussion of the results of the individual services was preceded each time by a brief description of the service, followed by data on the change in the number of library accounts over the years, highlighting the date on which the first account was created and the number of profiles currently maintained. It was decided to consider the accounts of independent units and the profiles in the teams separately. Thus, in the presentation and discussion of the data collected, the answers to the first five research questions are included.

Information on owned social networks and the websites of provincial pedagogical libraries

The modern library website is no longer just a simple 'business card' for the library on the web. It is a platform through which users gain continuous access to library information and services from anywhere in the world and at any time. The only limitation in this respect is that they must have permanent access to the internet. According to Anna Walek:

A website can also be part of a more developed web promotion system, which also includes profiles on social networks, forums, blogs and other tools.[29]

The opportunity to promote their social networks on their official websites was taken up by almost all provincial teaching libraries. This means that each library (or team in which it is located) had at least one link to the social network[30] on its website.

It is worth noting that 11 provincial pedagogical libraries had accounts on all four services, but only almost half of them (5) informed about them on their websites (cf. Table 1). In this group, the presence on YouTube and Twitter was reported least frequently (8 links). This was followed by libraries with a presence on 3 social networks. Only 9 libraries among them reported their presence on all the services they had. Libraries in this category were most likely to report their Facebook presence (20) and least likely to report their presence on Twitter (1). In April 2023, when the survey was conducted, there were 13 libraries with 2 services. Among these,

29 A. Wałek, 'Strony www bibliotek jako narzędzie promocji i narzędzie komunikacji z użytkownikiem', *Fides. Biuletyn Bibliotek Kościelnych*, 2014, 38 (1), p. 109-118, [online:] https://mostwiedzy.pl/pl/publication/download/1/strony-www-bibliotek-jako-element-promocji-i-narzedzie-komunikacji-z-uzytkownikiem_11226.pdf, [accessed: 17 June 2023].

30 There are book libraries that function as part of teams of educational institutions, but have separate Facebook accounts, but do not have links on their websites (team pages) to library profiles, only to the accounts of the units of which they are part. These include: Public Pedagogical Library in Leszno and Pedagogical Library in Piotrków Trybunalski. There are also libraries that have facebook links to the profiles of the units they are part of, but do not have a separate library account, e.g. the Helena Radlińska Pedagogical Library of the West Pomeranian Teacher Training Centre in Szczecin.
Teacher Training Centre in Leszno [official website], [online:] https://cdn.leszno.pl/, [accessed: 18 June 2023]; Public Pedagogical Library in Leszno. Facebook, [online:] https://www.facebook.com/pbpleszno, [accessed: 18 June 2023]; Teacher Training Centre in Leszno. Facebook, [online:] https://www.facebook.com/CDNLeszno, [accessed: 18 June 2023]; Pedagogical Library in Piotrków Trybunalski [online:] http://pedagogiczna.edu.pl/, [accessed: 18 June 2023]; CREWŁ Pedagogical Library in Piotrków Trybunalski. Facebook, [online:] https://www.facebook.com/BPPiotrkow/, [accessed: 18 June 2023]; Zachodniopomorskie Centrum Doskonalenia Nauczycieli w Szczecinie [online:] https://zcdn.edu.pl/, [accessed: 18 June 2023]; Zachodniopomorskie Centrum Doskonalenia Nauczycieli w Szczecinie. Facebook, [online:] https://www.facebook.com/zcdn.zachodniopomorskie, [accessed: 18 June 2023].

12 links were found indicating that individual libraries belonged to Facebook. In this group of libraries, there were no libraries that had links to a Twitter account at the same time. The smallest category consisted of libraries with only one Facebook service, which they did not fail to inform about on their websites.

An interesting case to investigate was the Karol Wojtyła Warmia and Mazury Pedagogical Library in Elbląg, which did not have a link on its website to its YouTube account.[31] It did, however, include a link to a promotional video of the library on its channel,[32] The website did, however, include a link to the official channel of the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship 'Warmia and Mazury'.[33]

TABLE 1: RATIO OF VISIBILITY OF LINKS ON WEBSITES TO THE NUMBER OF SOCIAL NETWORK ACCOUNTS OWNED BY POLISH PROVINCIAL PEDAGOGICAL LIBRARIES; N=47. AS OF APRIL 2023.

Specification	Number of libraries, including the number of social networks run: Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, Twitter				
	4 services	3 services	2 services	1 service	Total
Number of libraries that have a given number of services	11	20	13	3	47
including a link to Facebook visible on the page	10	20	12	3	45
including a link to YouTube visible on the page	8	10	7	0	25
including a link to Instagram visible on the page	10	13	1	0	24
including a link to Twitter visible on the page	8	1	0	0	9
Number of libraries with links to all services on their site	5	9	7	3	24

Source: own compilation based on collected data.

31 The Karol Wojtyla Warmia and Mazury Pedagogical Library in Elbląg joined the YouTube community on 15 February 2023. Information, in: Warmińsko-Mazurska Biblioteka Pedagogiczna Elbląg, YouTube [online:] https://www.youtube.com/@wmbp.elblag/about, [accessed: 16 June 2023].

32 Warmia and Mazury Pedagogical Libraryin Elbląg, Warmińsko-Mazurska Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Elblągu – promotional video, YouTube [online:] https://youtu.be/8OGt_wMs5TA, [accessed: 16 June 2023].

33 Information, in: Warmia and Mazury, YouTube, [online:] https://www.youtube.com/@warmiaimazury7243/about, [accessed: 16 June 2023].

Facebook

The first version of the social networking site Facebook was launched on 4 February 2004. Its Polish language variant has been in operation since May 2008.[34] The service allows users to maintain friendships, follow users and the activities of companies, brands, and institutions, and share information, links, photos and films with other users.[35] According to Joanna Onakowska, having a fan page, i.e. a public profile on a portal, is nowadays an indispensable element of promotion, which is used

> not only by companies but also, among others, well-known people such as actors, musicians and politicians. [...] This provides an opportunity to keep in touch with existing customers (fans) but is also one way of attracting new potential buyers, users or followers.[36]

An important service is also the possibility of so-called 'checking in', i.e. tagging places visited, saving photos taken at a given location, adding anticipated routes and destinations and receiving friends' opinions about these places, etc.[37]

There are many tips in the literature for gaining the attention of an audience (fans) on Facebook. Above all, these include an interesting form of profile (e.g. storytelling), thoughtful content, invit-

34 Wikipedia editors, Facebook, in: Wikipedia. The free encyclopedia, [online:] //en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Facebook&oldid=70032198, [accessed: 25 April 2023].

35 J. Krawiec, J. Wyrwisz, 'Facebook.com jako efektywne narzędzie komunikacji marketingowej', *Problemy Zarządzania, finansów i marketingu*, 2013, 32, p. 377, [online:] https://bazhum.muzhp.pl/media/files/Problemy_Zarzadzania_Finansow_i_Marketingu/Problemy_Zarzadzania_Finansow_i_Marketingu-r2013-t32/Problemy_Zarzadzania_Finansow_i_Marketingu-r2013-t32-s375-388/Problemy_Zarzadzania_Finansow_i_Marketingu-r2013-t32-s375-388.pdf

36 J. Onakowska, 'Serwis Facebook jako narzędzie promocji bibliotek', *Folia Bibliologica*, 2013/2014, vol. 55/56, p. 162, [online:] https://cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.desklight-5421206c-1bfd-464a-a6ec-85579328f5bf/c/czas2913_55_56_2013_2014_11bb.pdf, [accessed: 12 June 2023].

37 I. Kozłowska, 'Zastosowanie geolokalizacji w działaniach marketingowych', *Rynek – Społeczeństwo – Kultura*, 2013, p. 38, [online:] https://bazhum.muzhp.pl/media/files/Rynek_Spoleczenstwo_Kultura/Rynek_Spoleczenstwo_Kultura-r2013-t-n2_(6)/Rynek_Spoleczenstwo_Kultura-r2013-t-n2_(6)-s36-40/Rynek_Spoleczenstwo_Kultura-r2013-t-n2_(6)-s36-40.pdf, [accessed: 13 June 2023].

ing friends (employees, family, friends), adding the social network to the email footer, gaining 'ambassadors' from among satisfied customers, contributing to other fan pages, inviting fans to tag themselves and others.[38]

As the authors found, Facebook is a social networking site currently used by all provincial pedagogical libraries in Poland. Of the 47 libraries surveyed, all had their accounts, although these were not always their individual profiles. In four cases, these were initiatives of the parent unit (2 libraries operating within the structures of teams without branches and 2 operating within the structures of larger units, but with branches).[39] The opposite situation can be observed in the case of the Public Pedagogical Library in Leszno, which did not have its own website, but only a bookmark within the website of the Teacher Training Centre in Leszno,[40] although has its own profile on Facebook.[41]

The first 8 profiles of provincial pedagogical libraries on Facebook were created in 2010 (cf. Chart 1). There were 2 independent libraries with no branches,[42] 4 independent libraries with branches[43], and

38 More: J. Krawiec, J. Wyrwisz, 'Facebook.com jako efektywne narzędzie komunikacji marketingowej', *Problemy Zarządzania, finansów i marketingu*, 2013, 32, p. 378-379, [online:] https://bazhum.muzhp.pl/media/files/Problemy_Zarzadzania_Finansow_i_Marketingu/Problemy_Zarzadzania_Finansow_i_Marketingu-r2013-t32/Problemy_Zarzadzania_Finansow_i_Marketingu-r2013-t32-s375-388/Problemy_Zarzadzania_Finansow_i_Marketingu-r2013-t32-s375-388.pdf, [accessed: 25 April 2023].

39 (Status as of 2.04.2023). These were: The Pedagogical Library in Suwałki and the Pedagogical Provincial Library in Rybnik (without branches), the Helena Radlinska Pedagogical Library and the CEN Pedagogical Library in Koszalin (with branches).

40 Teacher Training Centre in Leszno [official website] [online:] https://cdn.leszno.pl/ [accessed: 25.04.2023].

41 Public Pedagogical Library in Leszno [profile] Facebook [online:] https://m.facebook.com/pbpleszno/?locale=pl_PL&_rdr [accessed: 25.04.2023].

42 The Gen. bryg. Prof. Elżbieta Zawacka Pedagogical Library in Toruń [profile] Facebook [online:] https://www.facebook.com/bp.torun/ [accessed: 25.04.2023]; Karol Wojtyła Warmian-Masurian Pedagogical Library in Elbląg [profile] Facebook [online:] https://www.facebook.com/wmbpelblag/, [accessed: 25 April 2023].

43 Pedagogical Provincial Library named after the Commission of National Education in Warsaw [profile] Facebook [online:] https://www.facebook.com/pbwimkenwwarszawie/, https://www.facebook.com/wmbpelblag/, [accessed: 25 April

2 libraries working within the structure of teams of educational institutions with branches. A year later, 12 profiles were created, which accounted for almost half of all pedagogical voivodeship libraries in Poland (cf. Charts 1 and 2). In the 11 years since the first pedagogical library created its first Facebook account, all the libraries already had profiles on Facebook. This situation – 47 voivodeship pedagogical libraries present in the medium in question – has persisted from 2021 to the present day.

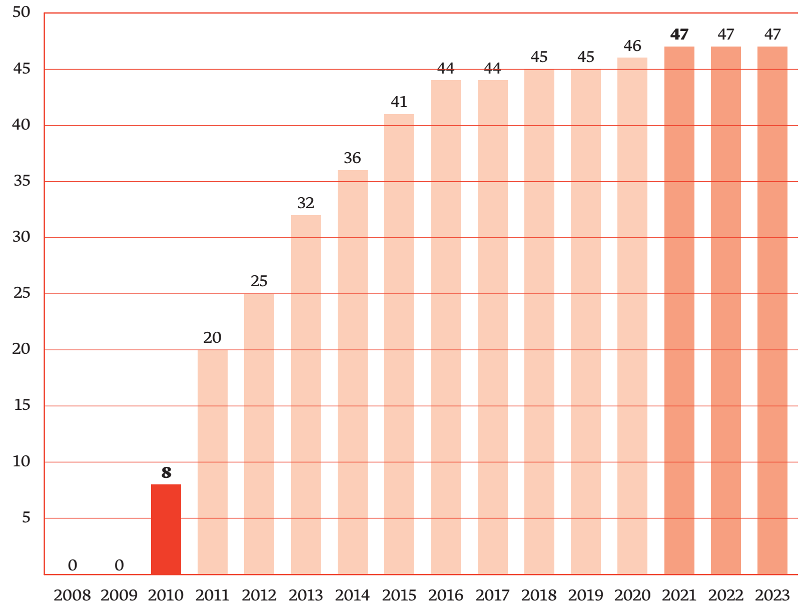

CHART 1. Facebook. Number of accounts of Polish provincial pedagogical libraries (2008-2023). Status as of April 2023.
Source: own compilation based on collected data.

2023]; Pedagogical Provincial Library named after the Commission of National Education in Lublin [profile] Facebook [online:] https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100064420792431, [accessed: 25 April 2023]; Lower Silesian Pedagogical Library in Wrocław [profile] Facebook [online:] https://www.facebook.com/DolnoslaskaBibliotekaPedagogiczna [accessed: 25 April 2023]; The Hugo Kołłątaj Provincial Pedagogical Library in Kraków [profile] Facebook [online:] https://www.facebook.com/pbwkrakow/ [accessed: 25 April 2023];

CHART 2. Facebook. Number of accounts of Polish voivodeship pedagogical libraries with respect to their independence (2008-2023); N=47. Status as of April 2023
Source: own compilation based on collected data.

YouTube

The origins of the YouTube website date back to February 2005, but its Polish language version became operational in mid-2007.[44] The website allows for free publishing, commenting, rating (the so-called 'likes', 'hands up'), broadcasting 'live' video materials.[45] As reported in Digital Report 2023, YouTube was used by 27.5 million users in Poland.[46]

44 Wikipedia editors, YouTube, in: Wikipedia. The free encyclopedia, [online:] //en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=YouTube&oldid=70150229, [accessed: 2 May 2023].

45 Wikipedia editors, YouTube, in: Wikipedia. The free encyclopedia, [online:] //en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=YouTube&oldid=69142846, [accessed: 13 June 2023].

46 A. Polewko, *Social media w Polsce i na świecie*. Raport Digital 2023.

The first channels of provincial pedagogical libraries on YouTube were created at the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century, in 2011[47] and 2012.[48] Only the channels of the central units of the individual libraries were considered in the study, not their branches. An exception was made only for libraries with a branch channel, i.e., the Pedagogical Library in Ciechanów, which only has a channel created for its branch in Pułtusk. In addition, channels belonging to the parent units for the libraries located in the groups were considered. An interesting example in this respect was the 'Podkarpackie Biblioteki Pedagogiczne' channel created in 2019, which is shared by the Pedagogical Library in Tarnobrzeg, the Pedagogical Provincial Library in Krosno, the Józef Gwalbert Pawlikowski Pedagogical Provincial Library in Przemyśl and the Pedagogical Provincial Library in Rzeszów. The Krosno and Przemyśl libraries also have their own YouTube accounts. The Krosno library has stopped publishing material on its individual YouTube channel, while the Przemyśl library continues to post its material on YouTube.[49]

In April 2023, there were 41 channels of provincial educational libraries on YouTube, representing 42 book libraries, which accounted for 89% (cf. Chart 3 and Table 2). These included 24 accounts of organisationally independent book libraries with or without branches and 8 channels of libraries which, although op-

47 The Tadeusz Kotarbiński Pedagogical Provincial Library in Łódź, [online:] https://www.youtube.com/@pedagogicznabibliotekawoje5978, [accessed: 3 May 2023], The Prof. Tadeusz Kotarbiński Pedagogical Library of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn. https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCtHPw7mGve8uZvZJZuMbTuA, [accessed: 3 May 2023].

48 The Hugon Kołłątaj Pedagogical Provincial Library in Kraków, [online:] https://www.youtube.com/@pbw_krakow, [accessed: 3 May 2023].

49 The last podcast on the Pedagogical Regional Library Krosno channel was published on 19 December 2018. It was Christmas wishes from library staff to readers and colleagues. VID 20181219 091330 [2018, 19 December] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dyjRoOtjKS4 [accessed: 4 May 2023]. The latest podcast on the Przemyśl Pedagogical Library channel 'International Day of the Deaf and Sign Language' was published on 26.09.2022. International Day of the Deaf and Sign Language. Pedagogical Library Przemyśl [2022, 26 September] YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FLJ2TEvtHaQ [accessed: 4 May 2023].

erating within the structure of teams of educational institutions, have separate YouTube accounts.[50] In addition, 7 accounts belong to teams of educational establishments in whose structure the libraries are located. To these should be added one library having only a branch account (Pedagogical Library in Ciechanów, branch in Pułtusk), and the 'Podkarpackie Pedagogical Libraries' channel, which is shared by the Pedagogical Library in Tarnobrzeg, the Pedagogical Provincial Library in Krosno, the Józef Gwalbert Pawlikowski Pedagogical Provincial Library in Przemyśl and the Pedagogical Provincial Library in Rzeszów. This number also includes the libraries in Krosno and Przemyśl, which have separate YouTube accounts.

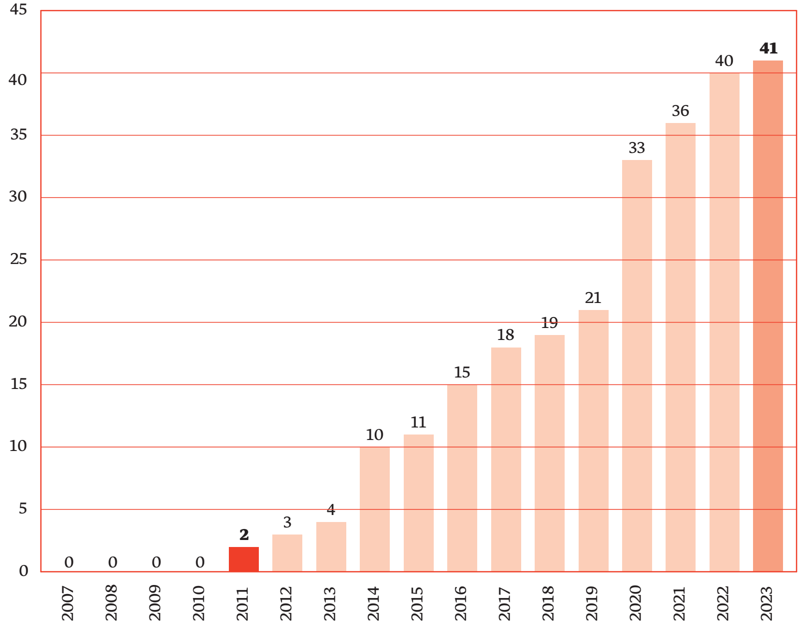

CHART 3. YouTube. Number of accounts of Polish provincial pedagogical libraries (2007-2023); N=47. Status as of April 2023.
Source: own compilation based on collected data.

50 Wikipedia editors, Instagram, in: Wikipedia. The free encyclopedia, [online:] //en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Instagram&oldid=70154839, [accessed: 3 May 2023].

TABLE 2: YOUTUBE. NUMBER OF ACCOUNTS OF POLISH PROVINCIAL PEDAGOGICAL LIBRARIES WITH RESPECT TO THEIR INDEPENDENCE (2008-2023); N=47. STATUS AS OF APRIL 2023

Year of account creation	Number of newly created accounts	Total operating accounts	Number of stand-alone library accounts	Number of stand-alone accounts of libraries in teams of educational institutions	Number of accounts of educational establishments containing libraries in their structure	Number of branch accounts of libraries whose central units do not have YouTube account, and other
2008	0	0	0	0	0	0
2009	0	0	0	0	0	0
2010	0	0	0	0	0	0
2011	2	2	1	1	0	0
2012	1	3	1	0	0	0
2013	1	4	0	1	0	0
2014	6	10	3	2	1	0
2015	1	11	1	0	0	0
2016	4	15	3	1	0	0
2017	3	18	1	1	1	0
2018	1	19	1	0	0	0
2019	2	21	0	0	1	1
2020	12	33	8	1	2	1
2021	3	36	0	1	2	0
2022	4	40	4	0	0	0
2023	1	41	1	0	0	0
Total	41	41	24	8	7	2

Source: own compilation based on collected data.

Instagram

The service was established in 2010, and two years later (2012), it was bought by Facebook.[51] The Polish language version of the ser-

51 Wikipedia editors, Instagram, in: Wikipedia. The free encyclopedia, [online:] //en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Instagram&oldid=70345463, [accessed: 20 May 2023].

vice has been available since 2012.[52] The study again took into account the profiles of the units that are organisationally superior to the libraries (if the libraries did not have a separate account) and the profiles of the library branches (if there were no accounts for the central units). For this reason, the profile of the Pomeranian Pedagogical Library in Słupsk, Lębork branch, which was created in 2021, was taken into account.[53]

In April 2023, there were 30 profiles of provincial educational libraries on Instagram. The first two accounts were created in 2015. In 2021, the Provincial Library in Krosno[54] registered its account on the service, and no posts have been published there since then. Despite this, it was included in the presentation of the results.

Analysing the data presented in Chart 4 and trying to explain the noticeable increase in libraries' interest in Instagram, one can consider a high probability of the influence of the COVID-19 pandemic on this state of affairs. The stimulus for such actions was most likely the recommendations of the National Library regarding the presence of libraries on social media and their activation through the Internet. During 2020, eight accounts were added. The following year was no less fruitful, with the number of accounts increasing by 6. Since the year of the outbreak of the pandemic in Poland, the number of accounts of pedagogical libraries on Instagram has increased by a total of 19.

Of the 30 library accounts in operation at the time of the survey, 20, i.e. the largest number, were set up by stand-alone libraries, 5 were stand-alone accounts of libraries operating in teams of educational establishments, 4 were non-self-contained accounts set

52 P. Tuszynska, [2012, 27 December], *Instagram. Nowy filtr i 25 wersji językowych.* Fotopolis, https://www.fotopolis.pl/newsy-sprzetowe/branza/14059-instagram-nowy-filtr-i-25-wersji-jezykowych, [accessed: 23 May 2023].

53 Pomeranian Pedagogical Library in Słupsk. Lębork Branch, [online:] https://www.instagram.com/p/CRGigN7BQtY/ [accessed: 20 May 2023].

54 As of 17.06.2023 Pedagogical Provincial Library in Krosno had not published any posts, had 18 followers and 4 observed. Pedagogical Provincial Library in Krosno. Instagram, [online:] https://www.instagram.com/pbwkrosno/, [accessed: 17 June 2023].

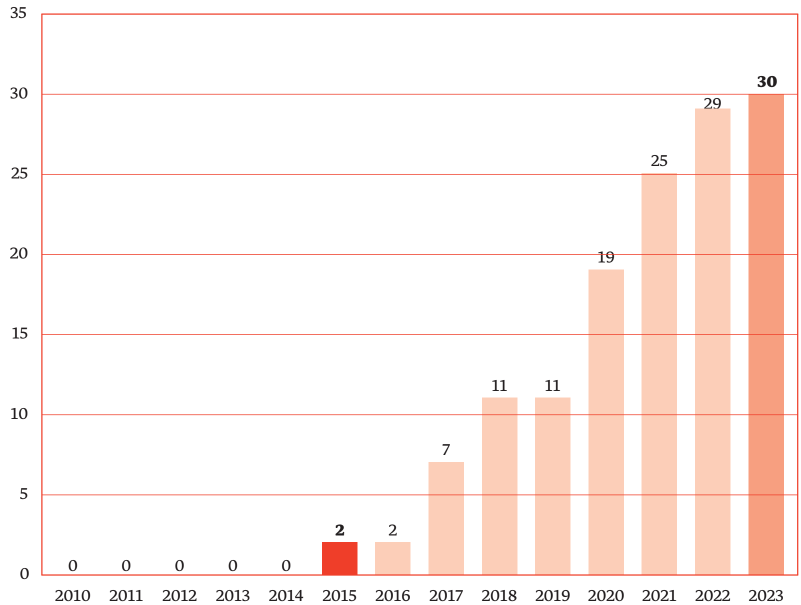

CHART 4. Instagram. Number of accounts of Polish provincial pedagogical libraries (2007-2023); N=47. As of April 2023.
Source: own compilation based on collected data.

up by the teams to which the libraries in question belonged and 1 account of a branch belonging to a stand-alone library that did not have such an account.

TABLE 3: INSTAGRAM. NUMBER OF ACCOUNTS OF POLISH VOIVODESHIP PEDAGOGICAL LIBRARIES WITH RESPECT TO THEIR INDEPENDENCE (2008-2023); N=47. STATUS AS OF APRIL 2023

Year of account creation	Number of newly created accounts	Total operating accounts	Number of stand-alone library accounts	Number of stand-alone accounts of libraries in teams of educational institutions	Number of accounts of educational establishments that include libraries in their structure	Number of branch accounts of libraries whose central units do not have such account
2010	0	0	0	0	0	0
2011	0	0	0	0	0	0
2012	0	0	0	0	0	0
2013	0	0	0	0	0	0
2014	0	0	0	0	0	0

Year of account creation	Number of newly created accounts	Total operating accounts	Number of stand-alone library accounts	Number of stand-alone accounts of libraries in teams of educational institutions	Number of accounts of educational establishments that include libraries in their structure	Number of branch accounts of libraries whose central units do not have such account
2015	2	2	2	0	0	0
2016	0	2	2	0	0	0
2017	5	7	5	2	0	0
2018	4	11	8	3	0	0
2019	0	11	8	3	0	0
2020	8	19	13	5	1	0
2021	6	25	17	5	2	1
2022	4	28	19	5	4	1
2023	1	30	20	5	4	1
Total	30	30	20	5	4	1

Source: own compilation based on collected data.
Note: The central unit is understood to be the main library or a group of educational establishments.

Twitter

The website was founded in 2006.[55] The Polish language version has been available since 2011.[56] The first account of a provincial pedagogical library on Twitter was created in 2010 and belonged to the Pedagogical Provincial Library in Kielce. More than half (8) of the profiles of pedagogical libraries were already present on the service in 2014. In April 2023, 13 pedagogical libraries at the provincial level had the possibility of posting tweets. 'The youngest'[57]

55 Twitter, in: Wikipedia.The free encyclopedia, [online:] //en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Twitter&oldid=70100992 [accessed: 21 May 2023].

56 Revanmj, *Twitter now available in Polish* [2011, 28 December], revanmj's tech blog, [online:] https://revanmj.pl/2011/12/twitter-juz-dostepny-w-jezyku-polskim/, [accessed: 23 May 2023].

57 A survey of the Twitter content of provincial pedagogical libraries' accounts was conducted on 15 April 2023.

profile taken into account in the Twitter research in terms of the presence of profiles of pedagogical libraries is the account of the KEN Pedagogical Provincial Library in Warsaw.[58]

Although the first account on Twitter was created in the same year as on Facebook, the growth of accounts on both services did not follow proportionally. While there were already 46 accounts on Facebook in 2020, there were more than three times less on Twitter at the same time (11). The service was also not used excessively by libraries during the pandemic. In 2020, only 1 account was added compared to the previous year, and a further 2 by 2023.

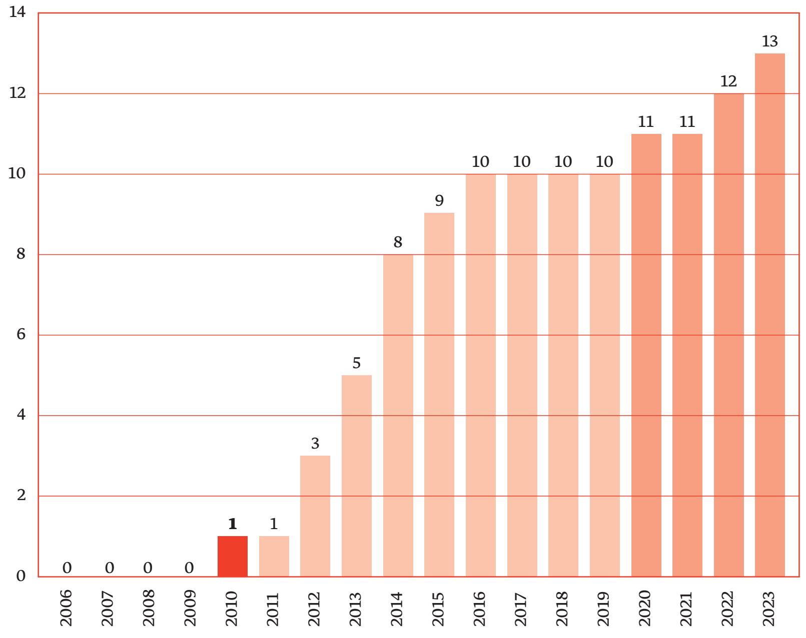

CHART 5. Twitter. Number of accounts of provincial pedagogical libraries by independence (2008-2023), N=47. As of April 2023.
Source: own compilation based on collected data.

58 The Warsaw Pedagogical Library published its first Twitter post on 11 April 2023, *Moda na czytanie* [2023, 11 April], Twiiter, [online:] https://twitter.com/pbw_goclawska4/status/1645743327189389316, [accessed 16 June 2023].

Of the 13 library accounts in operation, the largest number were set up by stand-alone book libraries (9), 2 accounts each were set up by libraries operating in teams of educational establishments, half of which were stand-alone.

TABLE 4: TWITTER. NUMBER OF ACCOUNTS OF POLISH VOIVODESHIP PEDAGOGICAL LIBRARIES WITH RESPECT TO THEIR INDEPENDENCE (2008-2023); N=47. STATUS AS OF APRIL 2023

Year of account creation	Number of newly created accounts	Total operating accounts	Number of stand-alone library accounts	Number of stand-alone accounts of libraries in teams of educational institutions	Number of accounts of educational establishments that include libraries in their structure	Number of branch accounts of libraries whose central units do not have such account
2006	0	0	0	0	0	0
2007	0	0	0	0	0	0
2008	0	0	0	0	0	0
2009	0	0	0	0	0	0
2010	1	1	1	0	0	0
2011	0	1	0	0	0	0
2012	2	3	1	0	1	0
2013	2	5	2	0	0	0
2014	3	8	1	2	0	0
2015	1	9	0	0	1	0
2016	1	10	1	0	0	0
2017	0	10	0	0	0	0
2018	0	10	0	0	0	0
2019	0	10	0	0	0	0
2020	1	11	1	0	0	0
2021	0	11	0	0	0	0
2022	1	12	1	0	0	0
2023	1	13	1	0	0	0
Total	13	13	9	2	2	0

Source: own compilation based on collected data.
Note: The central unit is understood to be the main library or a group of educational establishments.

Discussion of results and conclusions

It has been noted that libraries function in different structures: as stand-alone libraries, as part of teams of educational institutions, and some of them have branches. This causes several paradoxes, e.g. a branch has an account, and the main library does not. This makes it difficult to conduct research, particularly research that is comparative. Another problem encountered during the research was that not all establishments included links to each of the media they held. Searching for a library's social media account is not always intuitive. Finding accounts by library name is often impossible. The use of keywords, as discussed in the body of the

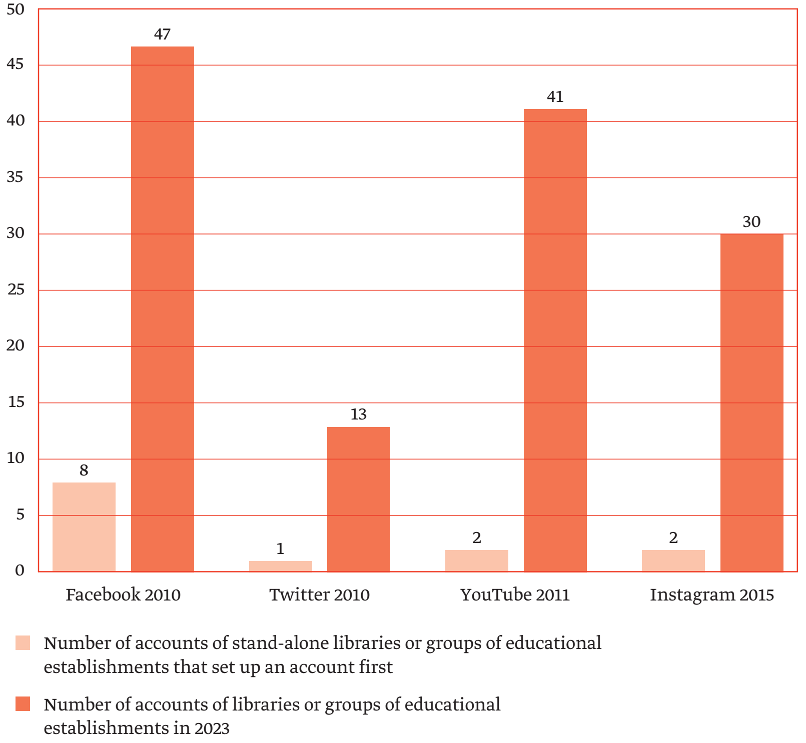

CHART 6. Number of social network accounts of Polish provincial pedagogical libraries (2010 vs 2023); N=47. As of April 2023.
Source: own compilation based on collected data.
Note: The dates of the first library accounts on a particular site are included next to the names of the social networks.

article, was unlikely to reach all libraries that have such accounts. Despite the great care taken in the searches and their time-consuming nature, the authors cannot have a 100 per cent guarantee that all institution accounts were reached. An additional problem was, for example, the lack of a link on the website to the library's account (even though the library has one or even though the group of establishments to which it belongs has one).

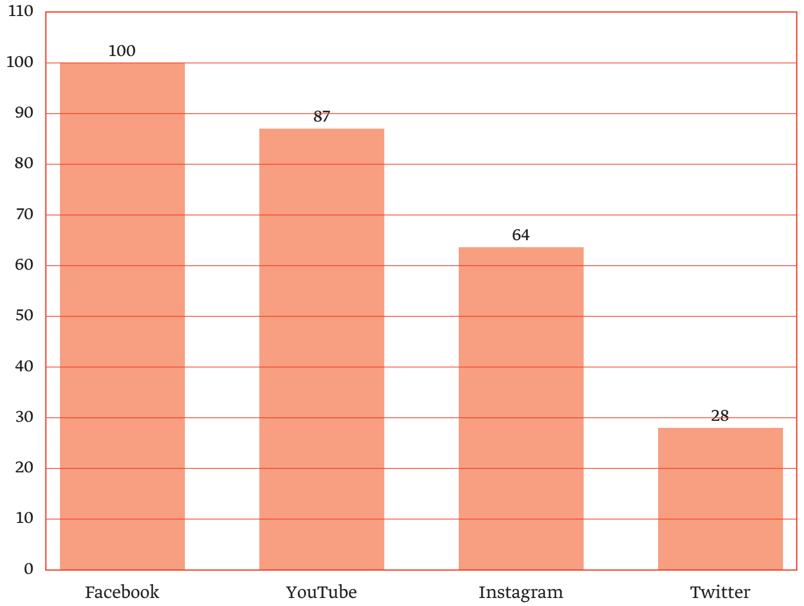

CHART 7. Percentage of Polish provincial pedagogical libraries' social media accounts in operation; N=47. As of April 2023.
Source: own compilation based on collected data.

It would be important for the promotion associated with the 'visibility' of the voivodship pedagogical libraries in the Internet space to sort out how they are named in the media. It seems that the absolute minimum should be that a group of educational institutions should have their own websites and that the associated library should participate in the content.

As presented in summary charts 6 and 7, Facebook is the most popular service among libraries. All libraries have set up accounts on it. The second, slightly less popular site is YouTube, where 41 accounts were found. More than half of the libraries were active on Instagram (30), while one in four was slightly more active on Twitter. Libraries were the earliest to start using Facebook and Twitter, having set up 8 and 1 accounts, respectively, as early as 2010. The latest to set up 2 profiles on Instagram was in 2015.

Accounts on 4 social networking sites (Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, Twitter) were held by 11 libraries, which accounted for 23% of the total (cf. Chart 8). Only 5 of them (11%) posted full information about their services on their websites (only organisationally independent book libraries were in this category).[59]

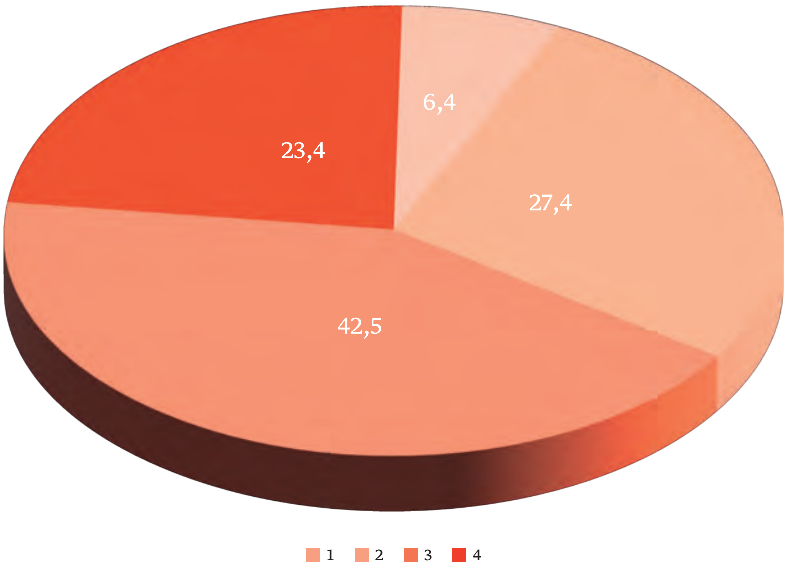

CHART 8. Percentage of Polish provincial pedagogical libraries by the number of social networks on which they have accounts; N=47. As of April 2023. Source: own compilation based on collected data.

59 These were (in alphabetical order): The Lower Silesian Pedagogical Library in Wrocław, the Hugo Kołłątaj Pedagogical Provincial Library in Kraków, the Józef Lompa Pedagogical Provincial Library in Katowice, the Commission of National Education Pedagogical Library in Warsaw, and the Public Pedagogical Library in Poznań.

The largest group of libraries were those with 3 accounts on different social networks. There were 20 of them (43%). All provincial educational libraries (100%) had accounts on the social networking site Facebook (cf. Chart 8). Slightly fewer, 41 accounts (87%) allowed posting videos on YouTube. Instagram users had access to 30 profiles (64%) of provincial pedagogical libraries. Only 13 libraries (28%) were using Twitter to publish. It appears that the increased demand for setting up social media accounts may have correlated with the recommendations formulated by the National Library, present during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Recommendations

1. The aim should be for all libraries to have accounts on the basic four services.
2. It would be beneficial for librarians responsible for managing these services to be informed of the most common mistakes made and to receive guidance on how to conduct promotional activities in a professional manner.
3. There should be at least one person responsible for marketing communications in the library to ensure that information is systematic and to receive training in this area.

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REVIEWS AND MATERIALS

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REGINE DEHNEL, *ÜBERNOMMEN, WEITERVERTEILT, ZERSTREUT. DIE ZENTRALSTELLE FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ALTBESTÄNDE UND NS-RAUBGUT NACH 1945*. UNTER VERWENDUNG VON VORARBEITEN VON HANNAH NEUMANN, MIT EINEM GELEITWORT VON ACHIM BONTE, FRANKFURT AM MAIN, KLOSTERMANN, 2024, 1022 S., ISBN 978-3-465-04633-2

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Regina Dehnel, a researcher affiliated with the State Library in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin), who has been dealing with provenance issues for years, presented the history of the Central Repository for Older Scientific Resources (Zentralstelle für wissenschaftliche Altbestände), an institution operating in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) from 1953 to 1990. The author described the tasks and functions of the repository and the system of (re)distribution of books and periodicals. She based her investigations on the extensive collection of sources, including official documentation, correspondence, accession books and catalogues. Dehnel presented the activities of the repository in four consecutive chapters, each covering a period of about ten years. The text was supplemented by a list of sources and literature used, indexes of persons, local names, libraries, public and private collections, and a subject index. The publication was also accompanied by statistical summaries showing, among other things, the repository's budget and the number of volumes stored and processed each year. The whole is supplemented with reproductions of selected archival materials.

In the first chapter, Dehnel detailed the circumstances of the establishment of the repository, set up in January 1953 in the former premises of the princely library in Gotha, from which almost all the collections were taken to the Soviet Union after 1945. She also described the objectives set for the institution and its first years of operation. The establishment of the repository was a response to the need to manage the growing number of uncollected manuscripts, books and periodicals, comprising materials seized by the German state and its agencies between 1933 and 1953.

Resources included:

- book collections of university, academic and specialist libraries whose activities were interrupted or curtailed during and after the war;
- the book collections of municipal and regional bookshops;
- collections taken over as a result of the land reform and confiscation of estates after 1945;
- private libraries belonging to German intellectual and political elites;
- materials looted from occupied countries, including book collections from Poland, France and the Soviet Union;
- material seized by German special forces;
- the resources of educational and cultural institutions, such as grammar school libraries and teachers' seminaries;
- collections of decommissioned schools, museums and archives that have been dissolved or reorganised;
- abandoned or stray collections left unattended during war, displacement or escape of owners;
- collections acquired as part of the clean-up of abandoned libraries and institutions;
- duplicates from libraries.

This initiative was part of wider organisational reforms in the GDR aimed at centralising the management of cultural and scientific resources. A key aspect of the repository's activities was the standardisation of the processes of cataloguing and redistribution of books and journals. In the initial segregation process, materials were classified according to their scientific relevance, physical condition and subject matter. Materials that were incomplete, damaged or deemed unsuitable for academic libraries were eliminated at this stage. The redistribution of books and journals followed priorities set by central institutions such as the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek[1]. Preferences were given to establishments with a specialised profile or those facing shortages in specific areas. Several mechanisms were developed to improve redistribution. A key element was an offer system based on the so-called yellow cards (*gelbe Angebotszettel*), which enabled libraries to request specific resources. At the same time, a surveillance system was implemented to ensure that books rejected by an institution were not offered to it again, thus increasing the efficiency of resource allocation. A central transport organisation supported the logistics process, minimising costs and ensuring continuity of supply. When there was no interest in certain resources, decisions were taken to withdraw them from circulation. These books were either destined for waste paper or directed to be sold in state-owned antiquarian bookshops such as Koehler&Volckmar in Leipzig. The income generated from

1 The library operated under various names over the centuries. It was first established as the Electoral Library in Cölln on the Spree (Churfürstliche Bibliothek zu Cölln an der Spree, 1659–1701) and later became the Royal Library of Berlin (Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin, 1701–1918). Following the abolition of the monarchy, it was renamed the Prussian State Library (Preußische Staatsbibliothek, 1918–1945). After World War II, the library split into two separate institutions. In East Berlin, it was known as the Public Scientific Library (Öffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, 1946–1954) and subsequently the German State Library (Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, 1954–1992). In West Germany, it was initially called the West German Library (Westdeutsche Bibliothek, 1949–1961) and later the State Library of the Prussian Cultural Heritage (Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1978–1992).
Since 1992, following German reunification, the library has been officially known as the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).

the transactions fed the budgets of the library institutions, supporting further compilation and redistribution activities.

In the next part of the study, Dehnel described the process of relocating the repository to Berlin in 1959 and the changes that occurred in its functioning after its incorporation into the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek. The decision to relocate was motivated by the Gotha Library's recovery of some of the collections exported by the Red Army and the need to centralise the management of older library collections in the GDR. This process was part of a broader reorganisation of academic libraries aimed at increasing the efficiency of cultural resource management. One of the key tasks of the repository in the 1960s was to organise the exchange of duplicates with international institutions. Cooperation with the Central Antiquarian Bookshop of the GDR (Zentralantiquariat der DDR) made it possible to sell books on foreign markets, which provided the inflow of foreign currency necessary for the planned economy. These activities also had a propaganda dimension in the competition with West Germany in the antiquarian market. The author drew attention to the challenges the repository faced: the lack of uniform criteria for assessing the scientific and historical value of the collections complicated their cataloguing and redistribution. Organisational problems were compounded by difficulties arising from a shortage of storage space and insufficient technical infrastructure, leading to the destruction of some of the holdings. Limited financial resources, resulting from the priorities of the GDR's planned economy, further hampered the achievement of long-term goals. An important element of the repository's operations was the introduction of working regulations: the first in 1959 and revised in 1964. These regulations clarified the procedures for storing, cataloguing and redistributing collections; special emphasis was placed on international exchange and cooperation with the Central Antiquarian Bookshop of the GDR.

In the following section, the author presents the activities of the repository in the 1970s, with a special focus on the organisational challenges and its role in the cultural and economic policy of the

GDR. After the third reform of higher education (1969-1970), which involved the abolition of the libraries of academic departments and institutes, the repository was faced with an influx of numerous duplicates. An analysis carried out in 1970 showed that 55% of the repository's collection consisted of pre-1945 prints; 36% of post-war books and journals were published in the GDR, and 9% of publications were published in print outside East Germany. Only 7% of the material was considered useful for libraries, while nearly 100,000 volumes were sent to waste paper every year. In 1973, the repository was moved to a much smaller room, resulting in the loss of 90% of the storage space. In response, new procedures were implemented, such as the pre-selection of books at the donating libraries. Activities were focused on compiling the resources of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek. Cooperation with the Central Antiquarian Bookshop of the GDR played a key role in the repository's activities. Book exports remained an important source of foreign exchange for the GDR economy. As part of the GDR's economic and propaganda strategy, the book trade strengthened the state's position on the international antiquarian market. Despite numerous difficulties, some 4.4 million books passed through the repository in the 1970s.

In the next chapter, Dehnel characterised the activities of the repository in the 1980s, analysing its functioning in the context of the 1980 Law on the Protection of Cultural Property of the GDR (Gesetz zum Schutz des Kulturgutes der DDR – Kulturgutschutzgesetz – vom 3. Juli 1980). It covered a wide range of monuments, including library collections, archives, museum and private collections, dividing them into three categories according to historical, scientific and cultural value. The export of cultural artefacts, especially those classified in categories I and II, was subject to strict regulations, requiring the approval of the Ministry of Culture. In addition, the law made it compulsory for owners to register valuable collections to prevent their illegal export.

The repository faced several difficulties: the lack of prior selection at the level of regional and institute libraries, the introduction of which had been called for in the 1970s, resulted in an influx of numerous low-value publications; limited storage space prevented the efficient organisation of the collection; staff shortages caused delays in cataloguing, selection and distribution. The operation of the repository was also complicated by increasing competition between institutions involved in the book trade, especially between the Central Antiquarian Bookshop of the GDR and the Kunst- und Antiquitäten GmbH. The conflicts concerned both the acquisition of stock from libraries and institutions and the sale of books abroad. Kunst- und Antiquitäten GmbH, having more freedom to manage the acquired resources (e.g. foreign exchange), could offer more favourable cooperation conditions, which put the Central Antiquarian Bookshop of the GDR in a more difficult situation. The author emphasised that the differences in the regulations of the two institutions significantly affected their efficiency and position in the market.

In the final section, the author summarises four decades of the repository's activities, through whose warehouses more than 8 million volumes passed. Although some of these collections may have come from holdings seized between 1933 and 1945, systematic research into their provenance was the exception rather than the rule. The author pointed out that ownership issues were usually overlooked in the process of compiling and distributing books and periodicals. She stressed that the issue of the return of cultural property appropriated by the German state was marginalised in the GDR. In all the activities of the repository, priority was given to the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, which enjoyed the right of first refusal. The role of the repository in the GDR went beyond purely library activities, acting as a political and economic tool.

It is worth mentioning the Polish motifs appearing on the pages of Regina Dehnel's book. The author described the RüBePol (Rückführung der Bestände aus Polen) action, under which, in the 1960s, fragments of the Prussian State Library's collection, which found its way to Poland after 1945, were returned to the GDR. The repository played a key role in the process of their acquisition, classification and redistribution. Dehnel also presented the *Slavica* action, carried out by the repository in the 1980s. It focused on the compilation of literature in Slavic languages. The collection went to the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, the libraries in Dresden, Leipzig and Halle, and the Central Antiquarian Bookshop of the GDR. Dehnel mentioned books from Polish diplomatic missions in Berlin, Hamburg, Munich and Prague, which were closed after the German invasion of Poland in September 1939. In 1981, two books stamped with the mark of the library of the Polish Legation in Prague[2] and one bearing the seal of the library of the Polish Consulate General in Munich were incorporated into the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek.[3]

Running more than a thousand pages, Regina Dehnel's meticulously documented study brings a detailed analysis of the activities of the Central Repository for Old Scientific Resources and, against this backdrop, presents interesting conclusions about the cultural policy of the GDR. Despite its undoubted merits, the study reveals some shortcomings. The excessive detail of the information weakens the clarity of the narrative, making it difficult to follow the main thread. The author hinted at the problem of the ideological framework within which GDR institutions functioned but did not analyse it in the context of the repository's activities. She did not address the structural and personnel links between the repository and the analogous institution of the Third Reich, the Central Book Exchange (Reichstauschstelle) embedded in the Prussian State Library.[4] Relationships concerned centralisation, the standardisation of the process of cataloguing and (re)distribution of books and periodicals, and ideological control over content (in the GDR, this was a more complex problem as a result of the need to take into account the needs of a planned economy and international politics).

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2 T. Sawicki, *Warszawa w obrazach Canaletta*, Warsaw 1927 (36 MB 1812); S. Żeromski, *Puszcza jodłowa*, Warsaw 1926 (2" Zo 22321<a>).

3 *Gabrjel Narutowicz: pierwszy prezydent Rzeczypospolitej. Księga pamiątkowa*, Warsaw 1925 (4" Ud 4560<a>).

4 C. Briel, *Die Bücherlager der Reichstauschstelle*, mit einem Vorw. von G. Ruppelt, Frankfurt am Main 2016.

The analysis of the repository's cooperation with other institutions, although based on solid documentation, is dominated by the perspective of the repository itself. A major limitation of the work is the lack of a comparative perspective. Such an approach would have made it possible to better grasp the specificity of the activities undertaken in the GDR or to indicate their universal character (e.g. in the Eastern Bloc countries). The indicated shortcomings set directions for future research, for which Regina Dehnel's book will provide a solid foundation and an inspiring starting point.

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LITERARY CANON FORMATION AS NATION-BUILDING IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE BALTICS. 19TH TO EARLY 20TH CENTURY, ED. BY AISTĖ KUČINSKIENĖ, VIKTORIJA ŠEINA, AND BRIGITA SPEIČYTĖ, LEIDEN – BOSTON 2021*

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The volume's aim, which consists of articles by 17 researchers from, among others, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Estonia and Slovakia,[1] is to show the correlation between nation-building processes and the formation of literary canons in the long nineteenth century. As the authors emphasise, this phenomenon was closely related to the reception of Johann Gottfried Herder's concept of the nation in the universities and academies of science of Central and Eastern Europe. The scholars in their midst, wishing to forge links with 'their' nations, made efforts to codify national languages and to create (often from scratch) literary canons treated as the basic carrier of national values.

* Revised and supplemented version of the paper Review of the collective work 'Literary canon formation as nation-building in Central Europe and the Baltics, 19th to early 20th century', ed. by Aistė Kučinskienė, Viktorija Šeina, and Brigita Speičytė, Leiden – Boston 2021 delivered on 7 May 2024 at the National Library Open Seminar.

1 Viktorija Šeina, Helena Markowska-Fulara, Brigita Speičytė, Radosław Okulicz-Kozaryn, Jurga Sadauskienė, Krystyna Zabawa, Jagoda Wierzejska, Olga Bartosiewicz-Nikolaev, Judit Dobry, Gergely Fórizs, Katre Kikas, Anna R. Burzyńska, Paweł Bukowiec, Vaidas Šeferis, Aistė Kučinskienė, Ramunė Bleizgienė, Renata Beličová.

The work makes it possible, on the one hand, to draw attention to the phenomenon of the gradual 'nationalisation' of literature, i.e. its recognition as a basic tool of nation-building, and, on the other hand, to show the role of the intelligentsia itself in the task of disseminating 'national' literature among the people's strata.

The most important sources of inspiration here are three treatises to which I would like to devote some attention. The first is Anthony Smith's book *The Cultural Basis of Nations.*[2] The British sociologist defined a nation as a 'self-defined human community whose members cultivate common myths, memories, symbols, conditions and traditions, [...] and observe common customs and universally accepted laws'. All these elements passed down from generation to generation within the symbolic communities thus defined comprised, in his view, national identity. For Smith, the nation had primarily a cultural dimension. As such, it had to be based on a consensus between the preservation of old sacralised traditions and the introduction of changes necessary for the survival of the community.[3] Along with emphasising the importance of intergenerational ties for the formation of the foundations of national identity, Smith agreed with Benedict Anderson – author of the concept of imagined communities[4] – that nationalism was a modern socio-political movement. In doing so, he assumed that it did not arise 'out of thin air' as the end product of the economic and social transformations taking place in Europe from the late 18th century onwards but stood for the formative role of earlier, pre-modern ethnic and religious symbols and imaginaries. The second work is Miroslav Hroch's book *Malé národy Evropy* (2003) (*Small Nations of*

2 A. D. Smith, *Kulturowe podstawy narodów: hierarchia, przymierze i republika*, trans. W. Usakiewicz, Krakow 2009 (orig. *The cultural foundations of nations*, Oxford 2008).

3 Ibid, pp. 36-37, M. Wódka, *Naród według A. D. Smitha i jego znaczenie dla katolickiej nauki społecznej*, 'Rozprawy Społeczne' 2020, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 3-5 - https://rozprawyspoleczne.edu.pl/pdf-119123-51403?filename=Narod%20w%20rozumieniu%20A.D..pdf [accessed 24.05.2024].

4 B. Anderson, *Wspólnoty wyobrażone: rozważania o źródłach i rozprzestrzenianiu się nacjonalizmu*, trans. S. Amsterdamski, Krakow 1997 (orig. *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, London – New York 1983).

Europe).[5] The main merit of the Czech historian was to undermine the dualism of the genesis of nations, which would be divided into 'political nations' and 'ethnic nations'. Such a simplistic division failed to consider that every national movement used cultural arguments, which primarily included the national language and (real or invented) collective memory. In this respect, every nationalism was both 'political' (civic and territorial) and culturally-ethnic and, therefore, appealing both to the myth of common descent and the historical community of destiny. Another book systematically referred to here is *La République mondiale des lettres* (1999) (*The World Republic of Literature*).[6] Its author, Pascale Casanova, introduced the 'Herderian revolution' concept into scholarly circulation. It refers to the shift at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries away from the categorisation of literature into 'ancient' and 'modern' (which presupposed the recognition of the former as a model for the writing of the 'civilised world') and towards a classification based on national criteria. This change, linked to the Romantic fascination with popular culture and the beginnings of research into the oldest sources for the history of states, marked not only the disintegration of literary universalism of fundamental importance in the Age of Enlightenment but, above all, the rise in importance of literature hitherto considered peripheral. As Casanova emphasised, the sources of national culture were no longer found in the imitation of ancient works but in indigenous folklore, in songs and fairy tales, which were to become the main source of inspiration for newer literature. The latter, by presenting itself as 'national literature', began to be seen as a representation of the nation as a whole. By reflecting its artistry and originality, it was to testify to the prestige and new aspirations of the nation.

As can be seen from the above overview, the editors of the volume distanced themselves somewhat from the belief in the mod-

5 M. Hroch, *Małe narody Europy: perspektywa historyczna*, transl. G. Pańko, Wrocław 2003.

6 P. Casanova, *Światowa republika literatury*, trans. E. Galuszka, A. Turczyn, Krakow 2017 (orig. *La République mondiale des lettres*, Paris 1999).

ern genesis of nations, which (according to Hroch) often amounted to repeatedly quoting Ernest Gellner's words about the 'creation of nations by nationalism'. In the footsteps of Anthony Smith, it emphasised the importance of earlier, pre-modern identities and the significance of local cultures and languages for the formation of modern nations. Such an assumption, however, does not imply a critique of national constructivism. The authors rightly point out that the codification of individual dialects, or even the mere recording of hitherto functioning only in oral transmission, completely changed their meaning. On the other hand, the intellectuals who undertook this task reinterpreted them, creating *de facto* a new literature – a literature emblematic of the nation.

The reviewed volume opens with Viktoria Šeina's text, which is a methodological introduction to the consideration of the formation (emergence) of national canons.[7] The starting point here is the need to treat canon studies as an integral part of social history. Instead of considering the phenomenon of their emergence and development as a strictly literary one, she proposed to look at the behind-the-scenes discovery of popular culture as a response to the new social and political needs of the intellectuals of the peripheral areas. In her view, the latter saw themselves as co-creators of national identity. By portraying folk culture as the 'sacred essence' of the nation, they 'imbued it with new emotional content and symbolic capital' by creating its idealised model. An example of this was the writing down and publication of folk songs, which were to function as written texts through which the nation 'speaks'. This lofty goal, however, required control by those intellectuals able to decide which songs (or fragments thereof) corresponded to national needs and which could not fulfil such a function. In the following decades of the nineteenth century, a new 'conception of national literature [...] radically transformed the hitherto existing conception of literature'. The essence of these changes was the nation's identification

7 V. Šeina, *Nation-building canons: historical and methodological considerations*, in: *Literary canon formation...*, pp. 1-24.

with the linguistic community and the recognition of folk creativity (especially song and epic) as the basis of national literature. The close relationship between literature and the nation was thus formed. As the author points out, the literary canon, reflecting the 'national spirit', henceforth had the task of shaping 'images of national communities', depicting the typical national landscape and its places of remembrance (*lieux de mémoire*), representing the nation's past, and convincing readers of the purposefulness of the nation's existence – its historical and axiological mission.

Johann Gottfried Herder's ethno-cultural concept of the nation was of great interest in the former Polish-Lithuanian state, especially in its eastern part within the Russian Empire. A specific 'laboratory' for its practical application turned out to be the Imperial University of Vilnius – the university that drew extensively on the achievements of the Jesuit academy and the Main School of Lithuania, which had existed since 1579. As Helena Markowska-Fulara points out, in the first decades of the 19th century, there was a dispute at the university over two interpretations of the literary canon. The first one – represented by Jan Śniadecki – referred to the idea of Enlightenment universalism and treated the canon as a collection of literature based on the works of ancient and modern (mainly French) classics and those Polish authors who used the model literary language.[8] The fundamental purpose of reading was, on the one hand, to 'improve oneself in speech and writing', and on the other hand, the sheer pleasure of reading. The second interpretation of the canon belonged to Feliks Bentkowski. Inspired by the work of the Brothers Grimm and James Macpherson, he was convinced that the canon should reflect first and foremost the oldest texts (*monumenta*) of a given nation, represent all areas of native writing as widely as possible and turn towards popular culture.

With the consolidation of the link between the nation and literature, awareness of the importance of the literary canon grew in

8 H. Markowska-Fulara, *Classicists and the classics. The Polish literary canon in Academia (1800-1830)*, in: *Literary canon formation…*, pp. 27-38.

the circle of Vilnius intellectuals. In the text by Brigita Speičytė, various views on the understanding of the Lithuanian canon before 1863 are described.[9] Tadeusz Czacki believed that it mainly included the *Statutes of Lithuania,* considered as documents reflecting the old Lithuanian customary law. In this way, Czacki made a turn towards the unknown and 'exotic' Lithuanian culture for the elites of the time, treating it as a source of local identity. Ksawery Bohusz, although he distanced himself from such interpretations and advocated a civic and historical definition of Lithuanianness, was convinced that the University of Vilnius should undertake the study of the Lithuanian language and the study of its 'monuments of antiquity'. He regarded the lack of knowledge of the latter as a historical 'misfortune' preventing a thorough study of the most ancient history of the Lithuanian state and an understanding of one of the languages of the Commonwealth. Ludwig Rhesa, who originated from the so-called 'little Lithuania' (the Lithuanian-speaking area of Prussia), described Lithuanian literature in an even different way. As a professor at the University of Königsberg, he found himself in the orbit of German philological concepts, according to which Lithuanianness was expressed primarily in language and especially in folk songs. They were to be expressed primarily by the composer of *The Seasons* (*Metai*) – Kristijonas Donelaitis, considered the Lithuanian national bard. Adam Mickiewicz essentially agreed with the 'ethnographic' (cultural) definition of Lithuanian literature but described the Lithuanian nation in terms of the heterogeneous multilingual historical nation of the eastern part of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In this understanding, Lithuanian literature was a noteworthy element of its culture but remained inaccessible to the author of *Pan Tadeusz* for linguistic reasons. Ludwik Adam Jucewicz, a Samogitian priest, folklorist and historian, saw the question of Lithuanian literature in an even different light. According to him, Lithuanian literature was, in its essence, bilingual, and the basic role in

9 B. Speičytė, *The concept of Lithuanian literature in the 19th century*, in: ibidem, pp. 39-63.

learning about it was to be played by translations from Polish into Lithuanian and vice versa. As the researcher points out, Jucewicz thus created a Polish-Lithuanian model of literature, which theoretically could have been similar with Swedish-Finnish model in Finland, in which 'the historically dominant writing in Swedish was transformed into a linguistic minority in the Finnish literary system'. Other interpretations belonged to Michal Balinski and Eustachy Tyszkiewicz. The former, like Czacki, treated Lithuanian literature as a regional exoticism but placed it exclusively in the context of Polish culture and literature. The latter, on the other hand, while criticising this approach, was convinced that both ancient and contemporary Lithuanian literature in both languages were of crucial importance for the intellectual life of the country.

The figure and work of Eustachy Tyszkiewicz, an activist of the Vilnius Provisional Archaeological Commission and the Vilnius Museum of Antiquities, was the subject of Radosław Okulicz-Kozaryn's research. In an article devoted to the creation of an unofficial canon in the North Western Land of the Russian Empire in the inter-war period, the author considers his activities in the light of Friedrich Nietzsche's early views.[10] As interpreted by the German philosopher, the unofficial canon (as opposed to the imperial canon) represented the aspirations of indigenous elites interested in the survival and revival of endangered values through a 'reverent' approach to the past. He referred to this reverence and respect for the past as pietism. In addition to its colloquial meaning, the term denoted a specific religious emotionality formed based on German Protestantism in the late 17th century. Its basic characteristics were religious fervour and intensive study of the Scriptures. At the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, religious pietism was gradually secularised, which meant a kind of sacralisation of non-religious literary works. 'Thus,' the author pointed out, 'the canon, as a term referring to biblical texts, acquired a new mean-

10 R. Okulicz-Kozaryn, *Towards an unofficial canon: striving to strengthen the Lithuanian cultural community under Russian domination in the mid-19th century*, in: ibidem, pp. 64-85.

ing and began to include secular literary works as well, which were considered equally significant […]. The only thing that was subject to change was the notion of inspiration. Its authenticity was no longer to be verified by the Church (inspired by the Holy Spirit) but by secular authorities: academies, schools, theatres, or the editors' of periodicals.'

The opening in 1856, on the initiative of Count Tyszkiewicz, of the Vilnius Museum of Antiquities, bringing together not only numismatic collections, collections of medals, engravings and woodcuts, but also an impressive library of some 3,000 volumes, was undoubtedly an attempt to create a material image of Lithuanianness, to be expressed in the artefacts found in the ground and in the books placed on the shelves. As the researcher points out, referring to the notes of Adam Honory Kirkor, 'if it had not been for the liquidation of this institution, looting and the fragmentation of the collection, the Museum would have helped to draw up a list of compulsory reading for every Lithuanian'. Its task was to shape a specific Polish-Lithuanian identity as part of the Polish national and civic community. The most important items in the museum's library were the *Statutes of Lithuania*, a two-volume monograph on the subject by Tadeusz Czacki (*On Lithuanian and Polish Laws*) first published in Warsaw in 1800, and Maciej Stryjkowski's *Chronicle of Poland, Lithuania and Samogitia*. The remaining readings mostly represented Romantic poetry permitted by the censorship (poems by Antoni E. Odyniec; *Pan Tadeusz*), historical studies by Wincenty Korotyński, novels by Józef Ignacy Kraszewski and Ignacy Chodźko, and above all the poetry of Władysław Syrokomla. Although the figure and works of Adam Mickiewicz – acknowledged as the undisputed national bard and emblematic expression of Polishness – could not be found there for censorship reasons, they were universally revered, placed (as Aleksander Tyszyński put it) 'as if beyond the horizon of the real world, in the sphere of superior values and unknowns'. In addition to the influence of the museum book collection, the Polish unofficial literary canon was formed through the circulation of books among the Lithuanian landed gentry. Books circulated within the family, among friends, and in the parish, 'constituting cultural centres that successfully avoided state control without being exposed to terror'. Private libraries thus became the foundation of Polishness expressed through literature. In this way, Polishness worshipped in an almost religious manner became the basis for a new cultural understanding of the national community.

Alongside the formation of the Polish literary canon in the libraries of the Lithuanian landed gentry, the (ethnic) 'Lithuanian canon' was increasingly prominent. These canons emerged in parallel in the first half of the 19th century and were treated as complementary until 1863. In them, Polishness represented historical continuity and cultural coherence, while Lithuanianness expressed admiration for the indigenous culture and its unusual language. Over time, these canons began to diverge from each other and eventually diverged completely. The founders of the Lithuanian national revival of the second half of the 19th century adopted an exclusively ethno-cultural definition of Lithuanianness, rejecting its connection with Polish culture. As Vaidas Šeferis points out, this tendency had its source in the activity of, already mentioned, Ludwik Rhesa.[11] The latter, understood Lithuanian literature in close relation to the Lithuanian language and folklore and considered Kristijonas Donelaitis to be its exponent. His poetry, analysed from a linguistic perspective from the mid-19th century onwards, was gaining popularity among Lithuanian intellectuals. They drew their pride, which gradually took on an identity character, from their claims about the archaic nature of the Lithuanian language. As the author formulated it, 'the emotional connection with the mother tongue became the cornerstone of contemporary Lithuanian identity'. Its second foundation, was folk songs. According to Jurga Sadauskienė, the founders of Lithuanian national identity adopted the view of Johann Gottfried Herder, who saw in

11 V. Šeferis, *The borderland between conflicting canons: Kristijonas Donelaitis*, in: ibidem, pp. 230-255.

these songs 'the archive of a nation, the treasure of its science and religion, its theogony and cosmology'. Songs were thus to play the role of a depository of national values and the foundation myth of national culture.[12] Paradoxically, along with the idealisation of folk songs, there was, at the same time, a growing belief that they could be used *en masse* to more effectively 'nationalise' the Lithuanian folk strata. For this reason, attempts were made to 'correct' the content of folk songs to 'cleanse' them from a layer of alleged 'foreign influence' and then – in printed form – distribute them to the rural population learning to read. Placing folksongs next to lyric poetry gave them a new rank, 'putting them on a par with high literature'. With the publication of folk songs, attempts were also made to arrange them for choirs – in this way, their sound was more attractive and modernised, and they could be performed on stage. There is no doubt that the entry of folk songs into the Lithuanian literary canon completely changed both their original character and their traditional social function.

Another example of the formation of the Lithuanian literary canon is shown by Aistė Kučinskienė in her article on the concept of the 'national poet'.[13] The author interprets the reception of Maironis' work among Lithuanian literary critics as an ideologically motivated attempt to use the Lithuanian poet as a symbol of nation-building. At the end of the nineteenth century, there was no doubt that every nation should have 'its' poet, constituting 'an obligatory element of national identity'. On the other hand, the reception of the work of Žemaitė, a writer from a peasant background, as described by Ramune Bleizgienė, was somewhat different.[14] Through the growing group of 'new readers', a social group emerged in Lithuania that began to see itself as part of modern Lithuanian society. The reading of the novels of the 'peasant writ-

12 J. Sadauskienė, *The concept of Lithuanian folk song in Lithuanian folklore 1800-1940*, in: ibidem, pp. 86-106.

13 A. Kučinskienė, *The making of the Lithuanian national poet: Maironis*, in: ibidem, pp. 256-272.

14 R. Bleizgienė, *Cultivation of new readers in the early criticism of Žemaitė›s works (1895-1915)*, in: ibidem, pp. 273-294.

er' was grassroots and spontaneous, shattering the common belief that the creation of the canon was a top-down process and that 'unenlightened' peasants – like children – should be excluded from it.

Gergely Fórizs' text on the manner of nation-building in nineteenth-century Hungary[15] should be considered as a summary of the examples of literary canon formation cited here. Analysing Hungarian nationalism, the author rejects the categorically accepted notion of 'nation-building' in Anglo-Saxon discourse and proposes to replace it with the notion of *nation-bricolage*, which can be translated as slow (artisanal) nation building. Referring to the views of Pierre Bourdieu, Jacques Derrida and Gerard Genette, the Hungarian researcher is convinced that there is a continuity between the national ideas of the past and efforts at national self-identification. Indeed, Hungarian intellectuals did not see their role as 'engineers' who 'built' a new society from scratch but as craftsmen who gradually formed a nation out of individual elements from the past, which was 'composed of both organic aspects' rooted in the past and volitional aspects. A particular tool in their hands was literature, which was to be seen as compensation for the non-existent state. As the author points out, 'in this way, the narrative of the "awakening" of the (always) existing nation became a common pattern [...] of Eastern European stateless literary cultures'.

The Hungarian researcher, like most of the other contributors to the volume, therefore agreed with the editors' position on the specificity of the formation of the canon in the eastern part of the European continent as having its origins in the folk turn brought about by the 'Herder revolution'. It was expressed in the 'discovery' of ancient, forgotten cultures and languages, and then through a kind of 'mystification', recontextualisation and concealment of that part of the cultural heritage which seemed 'irrelevant or controversial from a national point of view'. Although this process

15 G. Fórizs, *Nation-building or nation-bricolage? The making of a national poet in 19th-century Hungary*, in: ibidem, pp. 165-182, https://real.mtak.hu/121153/1/F%C3%B3rizs_Nation%20Building%20or%20Nation%20Bricolage.pdf [accessed 24.05.2024].

was initially top-down (from the elite to the popular strata), over time, the roles could be reversed so that the readers could shape the national canon assimilated and recognised as their own.

While this picture adequately describes the creation of 'new' canons, it fails to take into account that there were already 'historical' literary traditions in Central and Eastern Europe, which, although considered peripheral in Western European countries, had their own formed literary canons. These certainly included Polish literature, which was dominant throughout the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and (to a lesser extent) German, Ruthenian and Jewish literature. Despite the disagreements between 'classicists' and 'romantics' at Vilnius University, there was no doubt that the matrix of local Lithuanian identity, therefore, remained, at least in the mid-nineteenth century, Polish literature, which (depending on the views of individual intellectuals) could be enriched by Lithuanian literature just being 'discovered'. The formation of literary canons in this area was not, therefore, subject only to processes that amounted to their 'elaboration' through the painstaking work of national 'craftsmen'. On the contrary, it was (as Vaidas Šeferis points out) a process full of tension and conflict, amounting to competition between individual literary canons, often for the same readers. For this reason, in my view, a 'regional' approach to the history of the canon(s) may hinder rather than explain the understanding of the latter. Irrespective of these remarks, I am convinced that the work edited by the three Lithuanian researchers is a very valuable position, which enriches our knowledge of the nineteenth-century fate of literary canons, partially fills the gap concerning the formation of the Polish literary canon and presents the literary canons of Central and Eastern Europe, which are poorly known in Poland, providing very interesting comparative material for further research.

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COAT OF ARMS BOOKPLATE OF JOHANN PHILIPP BREYNE FROM THE GDAŃSK COLLECTION. COMMUNICATION

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ABSTRACT

The article examines an unpublished coat of arms bookplate of Johann Philipp Breyne, which appears in three books from the collection of the Naturforschende Gesellschaft in Gdańsk. These books are currently housed in the collections at the Library of the Gdańsk University of Technology. The version of the coat of arms featured on the bookplate was compared with the version known from J. Ph. Breyne's collection of Forschungsbibliothek Gotha.

KEYWORDS: Johann Philipp Breyne, coat of arms bookplate, Bibliotheca Breyniana, modern Gdańsk

In a letter to Albrecht Haller dated July 15, 1744, Johann Philipp Breyne (1680-1764) expressed sadness and anxiety about the future of his library: *"Ich weiß also nicht in was vor Händen, die von meinem sel. Vater und von mir so lange Jahre mit grosser Mühe und Kosten gesammlete Biblio-*

* The author expresses his gratitude to Dr. Katarzyna Pękacka-Falkowska from the Department of History and Philosophy of Medical Sciences at the Karol Marcinkowski University of Medical Sciences in Poznań for information about the Breynian collection in the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha and valuable guidance regarding the life and activities of the Breyns.

theck Herbaria viva und andere schöne Naturalia, nach meinem Tode dermaleins kommen werden" ["I do not know in whose hands, after my death, the library, herbaria viva, and other beautiful naturalia, created with great effort and expense by my late father and myself over so many years, will end up"].[1] This pessimism primarily stemmed from the death of both Johann Philippe's sons, leaving him without heirs to inherit his life's work. Despite this, Breyne lived another 20 years, during which he consistently expanded the collection, known in accordance with the conventions of the time as the *Musaeum Breynianum,* a legacy initiated by his father, Jacob Breyne (1637-1697). From the perspective of botany and natural science, the library assembled both; Breyne family was remarkably comprehensive,[2] encompassing a wide array of works in these fields. Additionally, it included important materials from disciplines, reflecting the breadth and depth of their intellectual and scientific pursuits.[3]

Thanks to the efforts of Jacob and Johann Philipp Breyne, Gdańsk became a significant center for botanical studies, and, more broadly, for research in natural history in pre-partition Poland. The Breyne family's wealth enabled them to pursue scientific research, and Johann Philipp was even able to resign from professional work thanks to his inheritance.[4] Both father and son undertook scholarly journeys, actively participated in scientific life, and engaged in exchange networks with European scholars. However, only Johann Philipp, who earned a doctorate in medicine at the University of Leiden in 1702, received a formal university education.

Johann Philipp was a member of two of the most prestigious scientific societies in Western Europe: the Royal Society and Leo-

1 *Einiger gelehrter Freunde deutsche Briefe an den Herrn von Haller, Erstes Hundert von 1725 bis 1751*, Typographische Gesellschaft, Bern 1777, pp. 82-83.

2 Reyger, 'Vita Joannis Philippi Breynii', in: idem, *Tentamen florae Gedanensis methodo sexuali adcommodatae*, vol. 2, Daniel Ludwig Wedel, Dantisci 1766, p. 14.

3 K. Pękacka-Falkowska, B. Siek, 'Czytanie świata – zbieranie świata: Bibliotheca Breyniana jako biblioteka uniwersalna', in: *Biblioteki–Archiwa–Miasto. Dziedzictwo kultury w zwierciadle cywilizacji*, ed. A. Baliński, PAN Biblioteka Gdańska, Gdańsk 2025 [in press].

4 K. Pękacka-Falkowska, 'Wykład inauguracyjny Johanna Philippa Breyne'a w gdańskiej Societas Litteraria', *Gdański Notatnik Historyczny*", 2023, vol. 2, p. 105.

poldina, which operated under royal and imperial patronage, respectively. In Gdańsk, the gardens established by the Breynes facilitated their work on acclimatizing plants, through international contacts, imported seeds, tubers and/or onions of exotic plants, while also conducting research on local flora.

To support their publishing efforts, Jacob established a home printing press, and after his father's death, Johann Philipp ensured the publication of some of Jacob's works. The botanical generic name *Breynia* honors Jacob Breyne, while Johann Philipp is recognized as pioneer of paleontology for his groundbreaking studies on fossils found in Poland. Additionally, he was the first to describe the developmental cycle of Polish June beetle.

Musaeum Breynianum was one of the most prominent natural history collections established in Gdańsk, alongside the *Musaeum Gottwaldianum* and *Musaeum Kleinianum.* These significant collections were dispersed after the death of their creators, contributing to the collections of European monarchs such as Peter the Great, Augustus III of Poland, and Catherine the Great.[5] Separate auctions were held for individual parts of these collections, including *naturalia*, *artificialia*, and book collections.

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5 Due to the dispersal of these collections and their partial destruction, studies dedicated to them focus on selected parts or related documents. Among recent publications, those concerning the Gottwalds should be mentioned: D. D. Nowgorodowa, 'Musaeum Gottwaldianum i jego losy w Rosji', *Klio*, 2018, vol. 46, no. 3, pp. 109-137 and K. Pękacka-Falkowska, 'Wokół kolekcji przyrodniczych w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów. Cz. I: Christoph i Johann Christoph Gottwaldowie oraz ich gdańskie muzeum', *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, 2018, vol. 63, no. 2, pp. 51-97; on the Breyne family: K. Pękacka-Falkowska, 'Flora rodzima w badaniach Jacoba Breyne'a', in: *Kolekcje przyrodnicze i gospodarcze innowacje – tradycja i nowoczesność. Pamięci księżnej Anny z Sapiehów Jabłonowskiej (1728-1800)*, eds. I. Arabas, R. Księżopolski, Instytut Historii Nauki im. L. i A. Birkenmajerów PAN; Muzeum Rolnictwa im. ks. K. Kluka, Warszawa-Ciechanowiec 2021, pp. 129-145; eadem, 'Jacob Breyne, jego przyjaciele i rośliny. Uwagi na marginesie Breyne'owskich exsiccatae z kolekcji Jamesa Petivera', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, 2022, vol. 70, no. 3, pp. 287-331; on the J. Th. Klein: J. Jakubowski, 'Jacob Theodor Klein (1685-1759) jako kolekcjoner rysunku przyrodniczego oraz współpracownik rysowników i rytowników', *Analecta. Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki*, 2022, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 59-84, as well as, idem, 'Wkład Jacoba Theodora Kleina (1685-1759) w kolekcję Towarzystwa Przyrodniczego w Gdańsku w świetle inwentarzy i opisów Friedricha Augusta Zorna von Plombsheim (1711–1789)', *Analecta. Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki*, 2022, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 11-50.

Unfortunately, the auction catalogs detailing the sale of Christoph and Johann Christoph Gottwald's library have not survived. However, two volumes of the Breyne catalog document the *Musaeum Breynianum* library,[6] while a publication entitled *Bibliotheca Kleinio-Gralathiana* provides information about the natural history part of the Johann Theodor Klein's library.[7]

Individual volumes from large natural history collections have been preserved in Gdańsk collections either as gifts from their authors or through purchases and subsequent donations to libraries. These include the Library of the City Council (currently PAN Biblioteka Gdańska, hereinafter referred to as PAN BG) and the book collection of the Natural History Society (*Naturforschende Gesellschaft*, hereinafter referred to as NFG). The portion of the NFG collection that survived World War II is currently housed in the Main Library of the Gdańsk University of Technology, with one volume held in the collection of the University Library in Toruń.

Occasionally, books from the *Bibliotheca Breyniana* appear at antique auctions. For example, during an auction organized by Auktionshaus Reiss & Sohn in 2018, a *Breynian* copy of *Plantarum seu stirpium icones by* Matthias Lobellius, published in 1581, was sold.[8] The identification of such items is possible through ownership marks or distinctive features of individual copies. Jacob Breyne typically placed simple proprietary inscriptions in the books from his collection, whereas Johann Philipp used both a *superexlibris* and

6 *Bibliothecae Breynianae pars prior sive catalogus librorum philologico-philosophico-historicorum, itinerariorum, imprimis autem medicorum, botanicorum et historiae naturalis scriptorum etc., rariorum, quam magno studio et sumptu sibi comparavit D. Johan. Philipp Breynius*, Gedani 1765 (hereinafter referred to as: BB I) oraz *Bibliothecae Breynianae pars posterior sive catalogus librorum philologico-philosophico-historicorum, itinerariorum, imprimis autem medicorum, botanicorum et historiae naturalis scriptorum etc., rariorum, quam magno studio et sumptu sibi comparavit D. Johan. Philipp Breynius*, Gedani 1766 (hereinafter referred to as: BB II).

7 *Pars Bibliothecae Kleinio-Gralathianae, quae complectitur apparatum librorum ad historiam naturalem spectantium, philosophicorum et mathematicorum juncta collectione itinerariorum studio historiae naturalis praecipue inservientium*, typis Schreiberianis, Gedani 1772.

8 Aus der Bibliothek von Johann Philipp Breyne [auction advertisement] Reiss & Sohn Buch- und Kunstantiquariat [on-line] https://www.reiss-sohn.de/de/lose/9454-A190-660/ [access: 10.08.2024].

a bookplate (*exlibris*), sometimes combining the two. While the *superexlibris* has been described and reproduced in the literature,[9] the *Breynian* bookplate from the Gdańsk collections has not yet been widely presented.[10] The bookplate from the Toruń collection, however, was already mentioned in 1999 by Maria Strutyńska[11] and was reproduced in 2024 by Katarzyna Pękacka-Falkowska.[12]

The collection of PAN BG contains four volumes bearing the inscription "*Jacobi Breynii*" on the title page or beneath the front page, as well as five volumes featuring the *superexlibris* of Johann Philipp Breyne.[13] Within the NFG collection, 10 titles in 15 volumes originating from the Breyne's collections have been identified. These include seven volumes with *superexlibrises*, three with bookplates (two of which also feature *superexlibrises*), one volume with an author's dedication to Jacob Breyne, and one containing a handwritten note by Johann Philip Breyne.[14]

Both ownership marks used by Johann Philipp Breyne incorporate the motif of the family coat of arms. The coat of arms is embossed in

9 H. Dzienis, *Książkowe znaki własnościowe XV-XVIII wieku: katalog wystawy ze zbiorów Biblioteki Gdańskiej Polskiej Akademii Nauk*, Muzeum Zamkowe, Malbork 1998; eadem, 'Superekslibrisy heraldyczne gdańszczan w XVI-XVIII wieku', *Libri Gedanenses*, 2017, vol. 34, pp. 23-55.

10 All catalogues of Gdańsk bookplates remain silent about Breyne family's coat of arms: K. Reychman, *Ex-librisy gdańskie*, nakładem autora, Warszawa 1929; A. Kurkowa, *Gdański ekslibris XV-XVIII wieku: katalog wystawy*, Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna w Gdańsku, Gdańsk 1978; H. Dzienis, *Książkowe znaki...*; E. Bojaruniec, *Herby mieszczan gdańskich od XV do XVIII wieku. [Katalog wystawy: Dom Uphagena (Gdańsk), 25 września – 15 października 2014 r.]*, Towarzystwo „Dom Uphagena", Gdańsk 2014.

11 M. Strutyńska, *Struktura proweniencyjna zbioru starych druków Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Toruniu: przewodnik po zespołach: problemy badawcze i metodologiczne*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 1999, p. 51; the information is subsequently repeated in the article: eadem, 'Stare druki proweniencji gdańskiej w zbiorach Biblioteki UMK w Toruniu (Komunikat)', *Libri Gedanenses*, 1995/1996, vol. 13/14, p. 221.

12 K. Pękacka-Falkowska, 'Z dziejów kolekcji bursztynu w Polsce przedrozbiorowej. Cz. I: Okazy bursztynu z kolekcji Nathanaela Sendela w zbiorach drezdeńskich Augusta II Mocnego – edycja źródłowa elbląskiego inwentarza ofertowego z 1724 r.', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, 2024, vol. 72, no. 1, p. 82.

13 A. Kurkowa, *Jakub i Jan Filip Breynowie. Studium z dziejów kultury książki XVII i XVIII wieku*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1989, pp. 94-96.

14 B. Siek, K. Pękacka-Falkowska, '*Breyniana* z biblioteki Towarzystwa Przyrodniczego w Gdańsku (Naturforschende Gesellschaft) w zbiorach Biblioteki Głównej Politechniki Gdańskiej', *Libri Gedanenses*, 2025, vol. 42 [in press].

gold on the *superexlibris* and printed and then painted on the *exlibris*. The use of coats of arms by bourgeois families stemmed from various reasons, including instances where some families attained nobility. However, it should be noted that many bourgeois coats of arms were created independently of traditional heraldic rules.[15]

Previous descriptions of the Breyne coat of arms were based on monochromatic versions, such as those found on the *superexslibris* or the family tombstone.[16] As a result, earlier accounts did not include details about the colors or specify the number of wings in the crest.[17] It was not until 2022 that a detailed depiction of the coat of arms, as seen on Breyne's *album amicorum* preserved in Gotha, was published.[18]

The method of placing the bookplate in books known from the NFG collections is unusual. Rather than being affixed to the typical location inside the cover, the bookplate is attached to an additional leaf inserted during the bookbinding process. In the traditional position, some books from the *Bibliotheca Breyniana* instead feature the *exlibris* of later owners.

Johann Philipp's bookplates are carefully applied and printed on paper that closely matches the texture and color of the leaf they are mounted on, making them appear seamlessly integrated at first glance. However, in three Gdańsk copies,[19] variations in the shade

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15 E. Lichnerowicz, 'Podstawowe materiały rękopiśmienne Z XVI-XX wieku dotyczące genealogii rodzin gdańskich w zbiorach PAN Biblioteki Gdańskiej', *Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica*, 2016, vol. 23, pp. 55-72.

16 Reprinted, for example, in: J. Ph. Breynius, *Prace o czerwcu polskim: 1731–1733–1750*, życiorysem J. F. Breyne'a i komentarzem opatrzyli Z. Kawecki, H. Wernerówna, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1970, pp. 9 & 29.

17 M. Gizowski, *Herby patrycjatu gdańskiego*, Gdańska Fundacja Książki, Gdańsk 1999/2000, p. 102.

18 D. Hakelberg, 'Das Stammbuch und die Reisetagebuecher von Johann Philipp Breyne', in: *Bücher bewegen. 375 Jahre Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, ed. K. Paasch, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha*, Gotha 2022, p. 48. The book available also on-line: https://www.db-thueringen.de/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/dbt_derivate_00059698/B%C3%BCcher%20bewegen%20Final%20pdfA.pdf [dostęp: 10.08.2024].

19 All three books are available on-line in the Pomeranian Digital Library (the numbers of the items in the PDL are provided in parentheses after the bibliographic descriptions): Eleazar Albin, *A natural history of spiders, and other curious insects*, John Tilly, London 1736 (PBC: BG BR 503027-00-00/01); Niccolo Gualtieri, *Index testarum conchyliorum quae adservantur in museo Nicolai Gualtieri [...] et methodice distrib-*

and intensity of the colors are noticeable. The differences are likely due to changes in the dyeing substances used, which may have altered over time (Fig. 1-3).

Fig. 1. A colorful coat of arms bookplate of the Breyne family, affixed to the reverse of the first leaf of the volume: Eleazar Albin, *A natural history of spiders, and other curious insects*, John Tilly, London 1736. This copy originated from the Breyne family's book collection (*BB II quarto 617*), later became part of the Rosenberg Library, and subsequently entered the collection of the *Naturforschende Gesellschaft* Library. It is now housed in the Library of the Gdańsk University of Technology, cataloged under reference number III 503027 (*photo by Tytus Caban*)

The extent of these changes seems to have been influenced by the amount of coloring substance applied. For instance, the bookplate from van Sterbeeck's work (Fig. 3), shows red coloring on the odd-numbered fields of the shield and the upper wing in the crest,

utae exhibentur tabulis CX, typographia Caietani Albizzini, Florentiae 1742 (PBC: BG BR 503064-00-00/01); Franciscus van Sterbeeck: *Theatrum fungorum oft het tooneel der campernoelien*, Ioseph Jacobs, T'Antverpen 1675 (PBC: BG TP 500011-00-00/01).

Fig. 2. A colorful coat of arms bookplate of the Breyne family, affixed to the reverse of the first leaf of the volume: Niccolo Gualtieri, *Index testarum conchyliorum quae adservantur in museo Nicolai Gualtieri [...] et methodice distributae exhibentur tabulis CX*, Typographia Caietani Albizzini, Florentiae 1742. This copy originated from the Breyne family's book collection (*BB I folio 26*), later became part of the *Naturforschende Gesellschaft* Library, and is housed in the Library of the Gdańsk University of Technology, cataloged under reference number IV 503064 (*photo by Tytus Caban*)

while the *labra* (mantling) are pink. Upon closer examination, traces of the pink shade from the *labra* can also be seen on the edges of the wing's feathers in the crest. It is likely that the *labra* were coated with a thinner layer of paint compared to other parts of the design, such as the crest.

The dimensions of the bookplates are nearly identical: in the work of: E. Albin 56×79 mm, in the work of N. Gualtieri 57×78 mm, in the work of F. van Steerbeck 57×79 mm. The section beneath the coat of arms containing the ownership inscription varies slightly in height: 11 mm, 10 mm, and 13 mm, respectively.

Fig. 3. A colorful coat of arms bookplate of the Breyne family, affixed to the reverse of the first leaf of the volume: Franciscus van Sterbeeck*: Theatrum fungorum oft het tooneel der*campernoelien, Ioseph Jacobs, T'Antverpen 1675. This copy originated from the Breyne family's book collection (*BB I folio 26*), later entered the *Naturforschende Gesellschaft* Library, and is housed in the Library of the Gdańsk University of Technology, cataloged under reference number II 500011 (*photo by Tytus Caban*)

The layout of the bookplates is consistent. The coat of arms is framed within a rectangular border, and beneath it, in a pale green background styled to resemble a decorative plaque, is the inscription: *Ex Bibliotheca || Io. Phil. Breynii.*

The coat of arms features a shield with oblique fields arranged in alternating colors. The odd-numbered fields (first, third, fifth, seventh, and ninth) are red or pink and contain three blue crosses, while the even-numbered fields (second, fourth, sixth, eighth, and tenth) are gold and empty. Above the silver helmet, two folded wings are depicted: the lower wing is gold, while the upper wing is red (or pink) with feathers facing left and adorned with three blue crosses, matching the design of the odd-numbered shield fields. The *labra* (mantling) are red (or pink) with gold highlights.

There are several minor differences between the version of the coat of arms depicted on the bookplate and the one known from the *album amicorum*. First, the helmet in the *album amicorum* version is not directly resting on the shield. Second, it is depicted *en trois quarts* and turned to the right, unlike the frontal orientation on the bookplate. Third, the *album amicorum* version is rendered with greater detail. Fourth, it is painted in gold and silver, whereas the bookplate features only silver. Fifth, the *labra* are gold with red highlights, differing from the bookplate version.

Ownership marks not only serve as invaluable tools for identifying documents from the *Bibliotheca Breyniana*, but they also provide inspiration and a foundation for further research. The quantitative disparity between *superexlibris* and *exlibris* in the Gdańsk collections raises intriguing questions. Of the 24 volumes attributed to the Breynes in the PAN BG and NFG collections, the *exlibris* appears on only three, whereas the *superexlibris* is present on 12, including two volumes that also feature an *exlibris*. The *Torun* copy is likely marked with both types of ownership marks.[20] This discrepancy is notable since the use of a *superexlibris* was significantly more expensive than affixing an *exlibris*.

Due to the limited number of known copies, it is difficult to determine the criteria for assigning ownership marks. It is unclear whether the choice was influenced by the material value of the book (the illustrated volumes were often expensive) or its scientific significance (e.g., the fungi discussed in F. van Sterbeeck's work were a research interest of both Jacob and Johann Philipp Breyne). The described bookplates not only reinforce Johann Philipp's bibliophilic passion, evident in his willingness to invest significantly in his library, but they also contribute to our understanding of variations in the Breyne coat of arms.

20 M. Strutyńska, op. cit., p. 51-52.

The different publication dates of the books featuring the bookplate (1736, 1742, 1675) do not allow for conclusive insights into changes in the coat of arms' coloring over time, as it remains uncertain when the bookplate was affixed to each volume. Notably, the *album amicorum* version of the coat of arms is dated to 1702, corresponding to Johann Philipp's early youth.

Further research into the dyes used in these bookplates is hindered by the invasive nature of such studies, which would require sampling from the artifacts, and the necessity of collaboration with experts from various fields. Despite these challenges, the ownership marks offer a wealth of potential for advancing our understanding of bibliophilic practices and heraldic variations in the Breyne family legacy.

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