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*perspectives* on culture

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**The Independence Announced /  
Ogłaszanie niepodległości**

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## Od redakcji

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Głosić niepodległość, ogłaszać wyniki badań – podwójna satysfakcja!

Do dziś nie milknie dyskusja, którą datę należałoby przyjąć dla obchodzenia rocznicy odzyskania przez Polskę niepodległości. Obok obecnej: 11 listopada, utrwalonej od chwili ustanowienia święta niepodległości w 1937 r., pojawiają się inne propozycje. Istotne przy tym jest, iż niezależnie od zajmowanego stanowiska wszystkich biorących udział w tej dyskusji łączy przekonanie, że niepodległość trzeba ogłaszać, że musi być wyrażana jasno i przedstawiana szeroko. A wolność przejawia się także w tym, że o niepodległości ojczyzny mówi się bez obaw i z radością.

Po numerze „Perspektyw Kultury” przedstawiającym myśli o niepodległości proponujemy więc konsekwentnie taki, w którym to jej ogłaszanie będzie tematem wiodącym. Jolanta Załączny przywoła utrwalone piśmiennicze wspomnienia polskich kobiet o chwili przybycia Józefa Piłsudskiego z magdeburskiej twierdzy do Warszawy, pokazując, że już wówczas odbierano to wydarzenie jako wyraz powrotu ojczyzny do suwerenności. Na przeciwnym biegunie leży niepodległościowa powieść Donaty Dominik-Stawickiej, wydana w setną rocznicę polskiego wyzwolenia. Jej analizę pióra Marii Jolanty Olszewskiej zestawiamy w tym miejscu ze świadectwami sprzed stu lat, by pozwolić sobie na narracyjną klamrę, uwypuklającą głoszenie niepodległości w chwili, gdy jest jeszcze niepewna i już z czasowego dystansu. Zupełnie inną perspektywę daje Arkadiusz S. Więch w swoim szkicu o Erazmie Jerzmanowskim – tu głoszenie niepodległości odbywa się przez działalność wynalazczą i społeczną, jest jej realizowaniem w praktyce. Przyglądając się działalności Jerzmanowskiego od czasu walki po okres tworzenia podstaw materialnych niezbędnych do funkcjonowania każdej wolnej społeczności, przyjmujemy

artykuł A.S. Więcha jako zapowiedź jego monografii o tym wybitnym Polaku, pozostając z nadziejami na film biograficzny. Zamykamy blok tematyczny symbolicznie – głoszeniem niepodległości polskiej w przededniu jej utraty – na Wystawie Światowej w Nowym Jorku w kwietniu 1939 r. Jej hasło „World of Tomorrow” – „Świat jutra” stało się motywem przewodnim dla Apolonii Filonik, która przybliżyła to wydarzenie. Dla Polski świat jutra, a nawet późniejszy miał się okazać pozbawionym niepodległości, tak dotąd cenionej i podkreślanej. Wytrwale głoszenie niepodległości odbijało się jednak szczęśliwie echem w dalekiej przyszłości, możemy je wciąż słyszeć i podchwytować po dekadach ucisku.

Dział „Zarządzanie międzykulturowe” przenosi nas ze sfery ducha wyrażonej w temacie numeru do twardych reguł utrzymania stabilności finansowej. Michał Tuszyński omawia koncepcję makronadzoru, która w tej sferze ma na celu kontrolę podmiotów gospodarczych, ale i różnych powiązań występujących w samych podmiotach. Z punktu widzenia zarządzania jest to istotna myśl, która wymaga skupienia uwagi nie tylko finansistów, ale i humanistów, szukających równowagi między wolnością a przejrzystością reguł w działaniach finansowych. Zupełnie inną perspektywę w dziale „Przestrzenie cyberkultury” przynosi tekst Danuty Smołuchy o pozbawionym kontroli Internecie – który będąc oazą wolności, staje się czasem jej zaprzeczeniem, wciągając w manipulacyjną matnię i pułapki dezinformacji. W poszukiwaniu źródeł duchowych kultury europejskiej zwracamy się ku Węgrom wraz z tekstem Gábor Horvátha o autorze *Gesta Hungarorum*, jednego z najważniejszych kronikarskich dzieł węgierskiego średniowiecza.

Dział „Varia” obfituje we właściwe dla niego zróżnicowanie tematyczne, ale i geograficzne. Lorenzo Mascheretti przedstawia kopię dzieła Rafaela z krakowskiej kolekcji Czartoryskich, Aldona Snitkuienë pieczołowicie rekonstruuje dzieje zabytków z kolekcji Johanna Friedricha Böttgera. Paletę międzynarodową dopełnia Leonard Zissi, wskazując na zainteresowanie polską literaturą w Albanii – kwestię mało znaną także w Polsce. Wracając na polskie podwórko, lecz wciąż w literackiej atmosferze, nie zapominamy o analizie rodzimego rynku wydawniczego w ostatnim dziesięcioleciu. Michał Rogoż umiejętnie pokazuje trendy i zjawiska w literaturze dla młodzieży. Numer zamykają artykuły recenzyjne autorstwa Magdaleny Grabias i Leszka Zinkowa, którzy przybliżają odpowiednio: nowe perspektywy w studiach gotyckich i taktyki w wykorzystywaniu mediów społecznościowych.

Cieszymy się, że tak bogaty w rozmaite wątki i goszczący autorów z wielu różnych ośrodków krajowych i zagranicznych numer wpisuje się w czas wspominania i głoszenia polskiej niepodległości. Niech przy tej okazji nie pozostanie dla nikogo niezauważonym, że Włosi, Węgrzy,

Litwini i Albańczycy znają cenę niepodległości i niezależności równie dobrze. Jest prawdziwą satysfakcją móc dziś prezentować w swobodnej wymianie myśli na naszych łamach wyniki badań przedstawicieli tych wolnych narodów. Chcielibyśmy, by ta satysfakcja udzieliła się także naszym Czytelnikom. Zapraszamy do lektury!



**Paweł F. Nowakowski** – dr, historyk i teolog, adiunkt w Akademii Ignatianum w Krakowie, autor m.in. książek *Maryja. Biografia Matki Bożej* (Znak, 2014) i *Maria Magdalena* (Znak, 2019). Prowadzi programy telewizyjne o tematyce historycznej w TVP Historia. Redaktor naczelny „Perspektyw Kultury”.





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## From the Editors

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To proclaim independence and announce the results of research is a double satisfaction.

To this day, there is a debate what date should be adopted as the anniversary of Poland's independence. In addition to the present one of 11 November, which has been established since the declaration of the Independence Day in 1937, there have been other proposals. What is important here is that, regardless of their positions, all those taking part in this discussion share the conviction that independence must be proclaimed, and that it must be expressed clearly and widely. Freedom also manifests itself in the fact that the independence of the homeland is spoken about without fear but with joy.

After the issue of our magazine depicting the independence thought, we consistently put forward one that makes its main theme the proclamation of independence. Jolanta Załączny recalls written accounts of the arrival of Józef Piłsudski from the Magdeburg citadel to Warsaw by Polish women, showing that even then, this event was seen as an expression of the homeland's return to sovereignty. At the chronological opposite there is the independence novel by Donata Dominik-Stawicka, published on the centenary of the Polish liberation. Its analysis by Maria Jolanta Olaszewska is juxtaposed here with the testimonies from a hundred years ago to afford the narrative frame that emphasizes the proclamation of independence at a time when it was still uncertain – and then looking back. A completely different perspective is provided by Arkadiusz S. Więch in his sketch about Erazm Jerzmanowski. Here the proclamation of independence takes place through the practice of inventive and social activity. Looking at Jerzmanowski's activism, from armed struggle to building the

material foundations necessary for the functioning of every free society, we view A.S. Więch's article as an announcement of his monograph about this outstanding Pole, remaining hopeful to see a cinematic biography of Jerzmanowski. This thematic block is closed symbolically with the proclamation of Polish independence on the eve of its loss at the New York World's Fair in April 1939. Its slogan, "The World of Tomorrow," became the leitmotif for Apolonia Filonik who recollects this event. For Poland, the world of tomorrow, and even after tomorrow, was to be deprived of independence, so valued and emphasized. Persistent proclamation of independence, however, echoed happily in the distant future, and we can still hear and repeat it after decades of oppression.

The Cross-cultural Management section takes us from the realm of the spirit expressed in the issue to the hard rules of maintaining financial stability. Michał Tuszyński discusses the concept of macro-management to control economic entities and to ensure interconnectedness of the different entities themselves. From the managerial point of view, this is a crucial idea which requires the focus from financiers and humanists alike, seeking a balance between freedom and transparency of rules in the financial activities. Quite a different perspective is provided in the Spaces of Cyberculture section by Danuta Smołucha, who writes about uncontrolled Internet, which, being an oasis of freedom, sometimes also becomes its contradiction, pulling us in the snare of manipulation and misinformation. In search of spiritual sources of European culture, we turn to Hungary together with Gábor Horváth discussing the author of *Gesta Hungarorum*, one of the most important works of Hungarian medieval chronicles.

The Varia section abounds in relevant thematic, but also geographical diversity. Lorenzo Mascheretti presents a copy of Raphael's work from the Krakow Czartoryski collection, Aldona Snitkuvienė painstakingly reconstructs the history of the artifacts from the collection of Johann Friedrich Böttger, and Leonard Zissi completes this international authorship indicating the Albanian interest in Polish, which is a little-known issue in Poland. Returning to the Polish ground, but still not forgetting the literary atmosphere, we analyze the domestic publishing market in the last decade. Michał Rogoż skillfully shows the trends and phenomena in literature for young readers. The issue closes with the reviews by Magdalena Grabias and Leszek Zinkow who approximate the issues of the new perspectives in the Gothic studies, and the tactics in the use of social media, respectively.

We are pleased that such varied and rich material from a large host of authors from many different domestic and foreign research centers is well inscribed in the time of remembrance and proclamation of Polish independence. Let this be an opportunity to note for anyone that Italians, Hungarians, Lithuanians and Albanians also do know the price of independence

and autonomy. It is a real pleasure to be able to present today in our magazine the free exchange of ideas and research results from these representatives of free nations. We would like to share this satisfaction with our readers. Enjoy the reading!



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# Circumstances of Poland's Independence in Women's Accounts. Participants and Witnesses

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## ABSTRACT

Women have always played an important, though not always fully perceived and properly exposed, role in the history of our nation. They were active participants in many significant events, engaged in armed struggle and took part in political and social life. They supported soldiers and political activists. This has given them an important place in the public consciousness. It is hard to imagine discussing any event today without taking into account the participation of women and the female perspective on the event. This also applies to Poland's regaining of independence in 1918. It is worth looking at these events through the prism of not only famous writers, but also other women (among others: Zofia Romanowicz, Countess Maria Lubomirska), who, by taking part or observing, recorded them as written accounts.

**KEY WORDS:** independence, women, 1918, diaries, Piłsudski

## STRESZCZENIE

*Okoliczności odzyskania niepodległości w relacjach kobiet – uczestniczek i świadków wydarzeń*

W dziejach naszego narodu i państwa kobiety odgrywały bardzo ważną rolę, choć nie zawsze należycie dostrzeganą i eksponowaną. Były aktywnymi uczestniczkami wielu znaczących wydarzeń, angażowały się w walkę zbrojną, brały udział w życiu politycznym i społecznym. Wspierały żołnierzy, działaczy politycznych. Dzięki temu zapewniły sobie istotne miejsce w świadomości społecznej. Trudno dziś wyobrazić sobie omawianie jakiegokolwiek wydarzenia bez uwzględnienia zarówno udziału kobiet, jak i kobiecego spojrzenia na nie. Dotyczy to również odzyskania przez Polskę niepodległości w roku 1918. Warto spojrzeć na te wydarzenia z punktu widzenia nie tylko znanych pisarek, lecz również innych kobiet (m.in.: Zofia Romanowiczówna, księżna Maria Lubomirska), które – uczestnicząc lub obserwując – pozostawiły ich ślad w swoich relacjach.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: niepodległość, kobiety, rok 1918, pamiętniki, Piłsudski

The subject of this analysis are personal documents – written accounts by women from the years 1914-1918. According to Roman Zimand, personal document as a genre

consists of two cosmoi: the world of writing about oneself and the world of the eye witness. Except that what one writes about oneself and how the personal nature of an account is understood are properties designated by both the author's personality, and the cultural patterns of an era.<sup>1</sup>

The authors-narrators-heroines at the same time reported on their experience, describing the events which they witnessed. The functioning of this triad has a significant impact on the nature of the personal documents discussed here. Anna Pekańiec believes that

1 R. Zimand, *Diarysta Stefan Ż. Z dziejów formy artystycznej w literaturze polskiej*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1990, pp. 17-18.

emphasizing the name of the author implies increasing the visibility of the female genealogy, it is a reminder of a matrilineal narrative, emphasizing the importance of written maternal history, invisible or under-exposed in textbooks and scientific studies.<sup>2</sup>

This phenomenon was characterized by Barbara Skarga in these words: “Experience is a relational structure of a self-experiencing other. This another may be near and far, immanent to the Self...”<sup>3</sup> Women’s experiences were quite different than men’s, as they resulted from a different perception of the world, a different sensitivity, and finally from another mental construction, on top of their specific place in the world. This perception of reality by women is extremely important for both autobiographic writing and for considerations of femininity and its cultural conditions in the present reality. In the genre of personal documents by women one can observe the authors’ dilemmas between reporting public affairs over personal ones, a desire to provide a precise account of events they were participants in or witnesses of, and documenting personal experiences creating the image of a woman, heroine, and author of the account. On top of this is the opposition between striving to maintain individuality which is so typical for women and melting of individual existence into the fate of a social group or an entire nation. It should be emphatically stressed that Polish women transformed into active participants of the events, and that they saw the service for the homeland as their duty and command resulting from patriotic education. They were aware of the importance of their time and aware of their historical role. There were also attentive observers and commentators of events. Their accounts concerning the same situations often differed greatly, because they viewed the reality in various ways, and above all, they were highly involved emotionally. Their way of describing and analyzing the surrounding world was influenced by many factors, primarily the social background of the authors, their educational conditioning, and their position in society, as “the story of my life is always woven into the history of these communities, of which I derive my personal identity.”<sup>4</sup>

The authors of memoirs include women fighters, wives of statesmen and independence activists, writers, and social activist. Their diaries and journals that were often written on an ongoing basis, often had the form of reports. Undoubtedly, the journal is the best kind of personal document,

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2 A. Pekaniec, *I wojna światowa w kobiecej literaturze dokumentu osobistego. O czym, jak, dlaczego (nie) pisano?*, “Ruch Literacki,” Vol. LVIII, 2017, Iss. 1, 340, p. 34.

3 B. Skarga, *Doświadczenie*, in: eadem, *Kwintet metafizyczny*, Kraków 2005, p. 119.

4 A. MacIntyre, *Dziedzictwo cnoty. Studium z teorii moralności*, transl., introduction and footnotes by A. Chmielewski, Warszawa 1996, p. 394.

written systematically, almost day by day, for private purposes, often without awareness that it would be made public one day. However, it is worth recalling, as Antonina Kłosowska had, that the “spontaneity of such materials may be subjected to certain social conventions ...”<sup>5</sup> Another type of text are memoirs written after years of hindsight, which often made the authors aware how difficult it is to deal with memory and emotions.

The text analysis applies to fragments of several authors’ accounts of the return of Józef Piłsudski from Magdeburg on 10 November 1918 and the events that unfolded in these special November days on the streets of Warsaw. These events are part of the process of Poland’s regaining independence, and describe the atmosphere in Warsaw of the time. Focus around the foreground character illustrates the way of perceiving the reality of November 1918. Selected excerpts come from the memoirs of: Maria Lubomirska, Zofia Nałkowska, Maria Dąbrowska, Anna Minkowska, Aleksandra Piłsudska, and Zofia Romanowiczówna.

A look of the elites on the events of the Great War are presented in the diary of Countess Maria Lubomirska née Branicka. The wife of Count Zdzisław Lubomirski, a landowner, lawyer, politician, social activist, and member of the Regency Council was comprehensively educated, well-read and frequented in the world. She described the period of 1914-1918 from a personal perspective, but through the prism of the wife of a man having an impact on the course of events. She wrote down the events which she witnessed, also recording her impressions and emotions.

The chronological framework of her diary is set within the dates of July 26, 1914 and November 14, 1918. The notes were prepared daily. The author applied a first-person narrative and did not intend to print the text. She wrote for her children. The specificity of the diary was noted by Monika Wąs, who stressed that the author “did not explain her aspirations, did not justify her conduct, did not think about publication, but rather she wrote down her impressions of the events which she witnessed. This has given her memories of a unique research value.”<sup>6</sup>

Lubomirska’s notes are both descriptions of events and a show of literary skill, which confirms the words of Szymon Askenazy, who claimed that “the art of writing diaries centers itself somewhat between historical art and poetics with a certain separateness from both.”<sup>7</sup> The author tried to be meticulous; she placed details, portrayed people, and added

5 A. Kłosowska, *Kulturotwórcza analiza biograficzna*, “Kultura i Społeczeństwo,” 1985, Vol. 29, 3, p. 16.

6 M. Wąs, *Obraz bezpieczeństwa społecznego w I wojnie światowej – spojrzenie elit na przykładzie księżnej Marii Zdzisławowej Lubomirskiej*, “Security, Economy & Law,” 2015, 4, p. 161.

7 S. Askenazy, *Wczasy historyczne*, Warszawa 1902, p. 54.



comments on military and political issues. She described reality from her own perspective, but remained heavily influenced by her husband. It was his activity that she paid particular attention to, and Zdzisław Lubomirski's involvement in the matters of great politics was put bluntly into words recorded on 14 August 1914: "Zdziś ceased to be my husband, he married the Nation!"<sup>8</sup>

She also paid a lot of attention to other persons of importance from the point of view of Poland's aspirations for independence. She mentioned Piłsudski several times, presenting him in various ways. In 1915, she called him "the vile Piłsudski."<sup>9</sup> She described his visit to Warsaw in December 1916 in detail:

This morning Piłsudski came to Warsaw for the first time since the occupation; for the first time openly and not for conspiracy. University youth unharnessed horses from a carriage and dragged the hero who behaved with dignity and met the enthusiastic reception with a serious face, rather inhibiting the fervors and not seeking applause. I was terribly curious to meet Piłsudski, as he is an uncommon character, of this kind of spark which attracted [people] to Napoleon.<sup>10</sup>

Realization of the greatness of her husband made her say with a sneer: "Piłsudski will ride on Zdzisio's back."<sup>11</sup> She was convinced that "Piłsudski is uncertain, dangerous, acting by fair means or foul"<sup>12</sup> however, she admitted: "There is no doubt that Piłsudski is a hot-headed Pole. ... During the battles he never hid in the trenches, but stayed on the surface, giving orders to soldiers under a hail of bullets."<sup>13</sup>

Her description of reality was dominated by the perception of her husband as the most important person in the political arena of his time. Understandably, then, she believed that Piłsudski a supporting role. Piłsudski came to Warsaw "at the request of the Regency Council," so that the Council (according to Lubomirska) was the host in Warsaw. On behalf of the Council, Zdzisław Lubomirski planned to welcome Piłsudski at the train station, although

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8 *Pamiętnik księżnej Marii Zdzisławowej Lubomirskiej 1914-1918*, print by J. Pajewski, Poznań 2002, p. 22.

9 *Ibidem*, p. 200.

10 *Ibidem*, p. 443.

11 *Ibidem*, p. 444.

12 *Ibidem*, p. 445.

13 *Ibidem*, p. 444.

some criticize plan to meet Piłsudski at the train for the reasons of etiquette; as for me, I think that the experience of a moment in which a lifeless form cannot be taken into consideration ... This is about the living matter of the time, when every move counts, every minute.<sup>14</sup>

Under the date of November 10, Lubomirska reported on the course of the meeting the two gentlemen. Let us add that the course of the meeting was known to solely, and understandably so, from what was said to her by her husband. She emphasized particularly strongly that Piłsudski rejected the invitation of the head of the POW, Adam Koc, who “welcomed him, provided the report, said that the carriage was waiting, and [announced] that breakfast was ready in the house.”<sup>15</sup> However, he accepted the proposal from Lubomirski, who “imposes his own invitation, asking the commander to the car, promises tea at Frascati’s and asks for a conversation.”<sup>16</sup> The verbs used here are significant: “asking,” but also “imposes” when compared to Koc’s behavior, described by the words: “welcomed, said, provided.”

Her commentary on Piłsudski’s behavior is clear: “LUCKILY, he does not hesitate in choosing and gets in the Regency car.”<sup>17</sup> At the same time, she did not spare virulent comments on the reaction of the opposite side: “Members of the POW throw scathing looks at Zdzisio.”<sup>18</sup>

In Lubomirska, we will also find mention of the situation at the train station: “There are no crowds at the station due to the hour early, and the arrival of the hero is unexpected. Here and there, groups exclaim in recognition.”<sup>19</sup> Although generally skeptical towards Piłsudski, Lubomirska could see his role and seemed to have high hopes in him: “So, Piłsudski arrives in Poland five minutes before the hour strikes! May he be able to grab the helm of the national boat and take it to the harbor between the reefs.”<sup>20</sup> However, these were her expectations of Piłsudski, without any guarantee for effectiveness at the time.

14 Ibidem, p. 706.

15 In opposition to this description there is the account from Adam Koc. Cf. *Relacja Adama Koca z przyjazdu Józefa Piłsudskiego do Warszawy 10 listopada 1918 roku*, in: *Listopad 1918 we wspomnieniach i relacjach*, selection and introduction by P. Łossowski, P. Stawecki, Warszawa 1988, pp. 93-103.

16 *Pamiętnik księżnej Marii Zdzisławowej Lubomirskiej 1914-1918*, op. cit., p. 706.

17 Ibidem, p. 706.

18 Ibidem.

19 Ibidem. It is not true, however, because Piłsudski’s arrival was expected for a long time.

20 Ibidem.

Lubomirska further described in detail her husband's conversation with Piłsudski. She did it so minutely, and in places she was more accurate than Lubomirski was in his memoirs.<sup>21</sup> We learn that

Zdziś long conferred with Piłsudski over a cup of tea ... he painted the situation and spoke hot words: a Pole to a Pole; he excited his ambition, expressing firm belief that he alone can save Poland at this historic moment, the most important moment of all; himself belonging to the generation of the fallen, with confidence he was ready to give power to Piłsudski, who had to be a winner.<sup>22</sup>

Lubomirska knew the course of the meeting from her husband, but she seems to have been there, seen and heard everything: "Piłsudski listened – he said little ..." <sup>23</sup> She even guessed that he probably would not express his opinion before he realized what the situation was. She knew that her husband did quite a good impression, but after that she added in a womanly manner: "he appeared haggard and tired of prison."<sup>24</sup> She also made a high-flying statement, though not without sarcasm: "A smaller measure Samson after SLAVEDOM cut his hair."<sup>25</sup> However, she was a fierce critic of Piłsudski, too. She reproached him for his egocentricity and a visible tendency to create his own legend. She doubted his suitability to meet the contemporary situation. In her opinion, he was "unable to cope with real, harsh tasks."<sup>26</sup> Not only that, she openly stated that she did not trust him, even though she would really like to: "I so want to believe! because we in the fierce need there is so much necessity for a guide."<sup>27</sup> She was so aware of Piłsudski's rank and his place in the Polish reality of November 1918.

Lubomirska's diary makes one clearly sense her bitterness arising from the facts that the time of the Regency Council was coming to an end, which "hosts of the reluctant ones would wish to drive out like miserable pest."<sup>28</sup> Also the time of her husband's political domination was ending, which she wrote about that

not thinking about myself at all, but caring for the fate of the Fatherland as a loving son, impotent with sorrow as if crucified. He looks for a solution

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21 *Relacja* ks. *Zdzisława Lubomirskiego*, "Niepodległość," 1937, 15, pp. 235-240.

22 *Pamiętnik księżnej Marii Zdzisławowej Lubomirskiej 1914-1918*, op. cit., p. 707.

23 *Ibidem*.

24 *Ibidem*.

25 *Ibidem*.

26 *Ibidem*.

27 *Ibidem*.

28 *Ibidem*, p. 708.

in vain, reconsidering the past, grasping at the future through the black shrouds of premonitions.<sup>29</sup>

These were bitter words for Piłsudski entering the political scene, as the vision of the Polish future with his participation did not fill her with optimism.

However, positive experiences took over these gloomy thoughts. The atmosphere on November 11 made Lubomirska enjoy the nascent independence. She wrote:

Today belongs to the historical, unforgettable, the happier, the triumphant [days]! We are free! We are masters in our own home. This happened in such unexpected circumstances. When today I was going to town, the city street seemed to be singing, young, rocking with the sense of freedom!<sup>30</sup>

This enthusiasm of the usually quite restrained Countess Lubomirska corresponds with the words of Maria Dąbrowska, who wrote under the date of 11 November 1918: "In all this, Poland rises. And no one sees how beautiful it is. Among this hustle and bustle, nobody notices."<sup>31</sup> Only the writer's sensitive soul noticed. Dąbrowska is known to us as a champion of the pen, who was able to make extensive descriptions of events, landscapes, and human behavior very vividly. The brevity of her accounts may therefore seem surprising.

She also noted Piłsudski's arrival to Warsaw just casually. Under the date of November 10, she wrote: "Today, Piłsudski arrived. Now really, he is all hope we have. Today is a time of trial for him. In his previous activities, could only be the plaything of incidents, but now he could, in fact, take their course in his hands."<sup>32</sup> Thus Dąbrowska placed great hopes in the Commandant, but she was also aware – like Lubomirska – that it was a time of trial, to face a difficult situation. If he is strong and manages to control various groups, to control political emotions, to join the often-fighting groups together, he will manage to lead Poland to victory, to rebirth.

Although restrained in descriptions and comments, in this case, she saw the role of Piłsudski. She was convinced that now was a special time, time for action. However, the brevity, and even the enigmatic tone of her account may be surprising. The more so that previously, under the date of 28 November 1916, we find a detailed account of Piłsudski's stay in the capital.

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29 Ibidem, p. 709.

30 Ibidem, p. 708.

31 M. Dąbrowska, *Dzienniki 1914-1932*, selection, introduction and footnotes by T. Drewnowski, Vol. I, Warszawa 1988, p. 124.

32 Ibidem, p. 122.

In addition to a faithful description of the event, the writer allowed herself to reflect on a more personal note. Commenting on Piłsudski's perfunctory thanks to the crowd greeting him, she let herself to say: "And it seemed to me that he should have said that he did not take all this personally, but that he applied it to the idea which he served ... I wished he did."<sup>33</sup>

Dąbrowska remained under the spell of Piłsudski. She wrote of him that he was "socially graceful, simple and witty. When he lights up, he tells beautiful stories ... Looking at and listening to him, I thought, this is not a statesman, but a poet, romantic and actor, who threw his artistic vision of the world at the stake of events."<sup>34</sup> This admiration for the Commandant was in stark contrast to her later evaluation of him. Under the date of November 11, she noted: "Piłsudski disappointed me."<sup>35</sup> But it was not an assessment of his activities, but only a comment on his response to the welcome by the cheering crowd at the guest house. He said then that his throat was sore, about which Dąbrowska commented: "Why, at this moment, should anyone care?"<sup>36</sup>

Questions arise here: Should a hero could not ever be sick? Should he be statuesque, perfect, superhuman strong, is disease not fitting for him? This commentator was demanding and harsh. She expected a strong, decisive, active leader. As we can see, the sore throat did not fit this image at all, as did the admission of a health condition. Dąbrowska then stressed sharply that at a time like that, no one cared if he was sick or not. She would look at this even from a perspective differently only in 1943 and append: "But now that's what I like."<sup>37</sup>

Further opinions formulated by Dąbrowska were much more favorable than those of November 11. Three days later, she noted that

the Regency Council handed power to Piłsudski, who has become the *de facto* dictator of the nation. ... So far, Piłsudski's every step and proclamation has been extremely clever, full of moderation and at the same time worthy of any measure of the moment. Please God, let him turn out to be not only a fetish of the nation, but in fact its great helmsman.<sup>38</sup>

The writer praised his political wisdom, his balanced attitude towards his opponents, but she stressed that the fact he was glorified did not imply full

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33 Ibidem, p. 62.

34 Ibidem, p. 64.

35 Ibidem, p. 124.

36 Ibidem.

37 Ibidem.

38 Ibidem.

leadership of the nation. She pointed out another issue, expressing a probably fairly common opinion:

By the way it is characteristic that Piłsudski had [the nation's] "absolute confidence" while he was serving time in Magdeburg, but as soon as he appeared and moved his finger, people who had "surrendered without reservations," are already against him.<sup>39</sup>

And immediately she added: "While I did not understand this fetishism for Piłsudski, his position was equally strange to me."<sup>40</sup> This shows that her attitude is more balanced, without being euphoric, but also without rash and unjustified criticism.

Zofia Nalkowska recounted the events of 10 November 1918 from a slightly different perspective. She was in Górkki, when Jan Jur-Gorzechowski told her about Piłsudski's arrival, and she learned about the atmosphere on the streets from her servant. In her *Diaries*, there is no comprehensive description. Under the date of November 13, there was a note that "Poland is crazy and joyful due to freedom regained."<sup>41</sup> The writer was critical of this reality, saying:

this general crisis of Europe is, in a way, binding on Poland. And here things go wrong. The Lublin government's decree sounded so strong, and its program was entirely acceptable – and yet Piłsudski's arrival did not save it from this bizarre, unintelligible break-down. The sight of the proclamation, signed by the Regency Council, already allegedly dismissed by the Lublin decree, together with Piłsudski, was a terrible surprise for me, although the command of the entire armed forces was finally given to him. Altogether it was not necessary right now, the last days in Warsaw gave him the power of the people anyway.<sup>42</sup>

Nalkowska was critical of Piłsudski's government's future (if he managed to create it). She knew that due to his having stayed outside the capital, his information was inaccurate and delayed. Regardless of these dilemmas, then and in subsequent months she was aware that she was participating in the great historical moments.

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39 Ibidem, p. 125.

40 Ibidem.

41 Z. Nalkowska, *Dzienniki, vol. III 1918-1929*, ed., introduction and commentary by H. Kirchner, Warszawa 1980, p. 42.

42 Ibidem.

Aleksandra Piłsudska's<sup>43</sup> notes are of a special character, focusing primarily on reporting on her husband's actions. Her casual narrative is devoid of emotion. It is even difficult to find more personal comments on current events there. She only recorded that she was informed about her husband's return by Janina Prystor, who also reported on the course of the welcome at the train station. It may come as a surprise, because we are dealing here with the person who was closest to Piłsudski and knew him well. The big question is: Why such casualness? It is due to the fact that Aleksandra Piłsudska was not present at the station and did not want to repeat hearsay opinions? Could it be that this event was not as important to her as to the other Poles? It is difficult to conclude that she only looked at him as her husband, because they shared their independence activism. Perhaps it should suffice as an explanation that when Piłsudski visited her and their daughter she did not leave the house. She waited in the apartment, because – as she wrote – she did not like to show affection in front of people.<sup>44</sup>

Zofia Romanowicz, a Lviv teacher and independence activist, who knew the events only from the press comments, described the November events in the capital from a very different, distant perspective. She did not hesitate, however, to relate to the news. Besides, she wrote about Piłsudski in her diary several times before and did not hide her admiration for the Commandant. Describing national character of the legions in 1916, emphasizing that it was “sort of Piłsudski's work. One just can't not admire him!”<sup>45</sup> She was desperate to hear about the oath crisis and Piłsudski's arrest. “What He has to suffer! An eagle, tethered.”<sup>46</sup> Information about the events of 10 November 1918 in Warsaw reached Lviv with a delay. Miss Romanowicz only got the November 12th issue of the *Pobudka* news magazine on November 13, where she read there about the release of Piłsudski and arrival in the capital. It was good news, which raised her spirits. “Above all, it is important and pleasing that Piłsudski is free! From Saturday, already in Warsaw ...”<sup>47</sup> Focused on the current situation in Lviv, she only returned to the subject on 8 December, recalling that she had not written more about the release of Piłsudski, “which I was so excited about.”<sup>48</sup>

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43 A. Piłsudska, *Wspomnienia*, Warszawa 1989.

44 *Ibidem*, p. 170.

45 Z. Romanowiczówna, *Dziennik lwowski 1842-1930, vol. 2. 1888-1930*, transcribed with commentary and introduction by Z. Sudolski, Warszawa 2005, p. 275.

46 *Ibidem*, p. 284.

47 *Ibidem*, p. 303. The text contains an error: November 10 was a Sunday.

48 *Ibidem*, p. 306.

It turns out those who write about the course of events the most extensively are those who have not played a leading role in them. A detailed description of Piłsudski's arrival to Warsaw is found in the account of Anna Minkowska.<sup>49</sup> She probably was on the station in the group of POW female members, who are mentioned in Lubomirski's report: "At the station, there were about 15 women, members of that organization [POW-JZ]."<sup>50</sup>

Minkowska began her notes with a grandiose statement:

The memory of it, about which I have written, is overshadowed in my memory by the image of the Commandant in person, when he left the train and walked down the stairs. Stuck in my memory is the sight of the Chief, in which the prison fatigue was already fading, and the sense of concrete power and direct was being reborn.<sup>51</sup>

The style is typical for this period and characteristic for texts full of ardent feelings for the beloved Commandant, then the Chief. We can find also such exalted sentence: "For this moment, we have pined immeasurably, all those who love him and for whom the fight for Poland and her freedom is linked to his person!"<sup>52</sup> Next, we can find information about Piłsudski's earlier expected times of arrival to Poland and crowds of Varsovians gathering multiple times to await him. The author did not report how she knew about it. She could not even specify how long this situation lasted: "maybe a week, maybe just two days. These were continuous, joyful alarms ... How many flowers that were to be offered to the Commandant or thrown under his feet faded in the anticipation!"<sup>53</sup>

Then, unfortunately, the author is not very precise, not to say outright that far from the truth. She wrote that "The Commandant arrived early in the morning of November 11," when it is known that the arrival took place on November 10. There are more inconsistencies. According to Minkowska, news of Piłsudski's release and his return reached Warsaw accidentally and at four in the morning it was Czarski who informed her about this. It is known from Adam Koc's account that the young journalist Waclaw Czarski was a liaison between the POW staff and the Regency

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49 A. Minkowska, *Powrót Komendanta z Magdeburga*, in: *Wierna służba. Uczestniczki walk o niepodległość 1910-1915*, eds. A. Piłsudska, M. Rychterówna, Warszawa 1929, pp. 220-222.

50 Z. Lubomirski, *Położenie Rady Regencyjnej. Sprawa rządu ogólnonarodowego i pertraktacje z przedstawicielami obozu piłsudczyńskiego. Powrót Piłsudskiego z Magdeburga i oddanie mu władzy*, in: *Rok 1918 we wspomnieniach mężów stanu, polityków i wojskowych*, selected and edited by J. Borkowski, Warszawa 1987, p. 202.

51 A. Minkowska, *Powrót Komendanta z Magdeburga*, op. cit., p. 220.

52 Ibidem.

53 Ibidem, p. 221.



Council office. It was he who informed Koc about the arrival of a telegram from Berlin to the Regency Council confirming Piłsudski's release and his planned arrival on 10 November around 6 am.<sup>54</sup>

Minkowska also imprecisely stated the date on which the Regency Council handed over power to Piłsudski ("About three days passed before the Regency Council relinquished its authority"). On the other hand, she meticulously described Piłsudski's appearance ("pale, gray complexion"), his outfit ("he was dressed in a legions' coat and a *maciejówka* cap and was girded with a German belt, on which a short, also German dagger was hung"). She was concerned, being aware that too little attention was paid to Piłsudski's health. "How little was thought of the Commandant in those days as a man who was coming back from prison and had the right to catch a breath and rest. It was not thought about how much he had suffered." With a typically feminine sensitivity, she described the emotions of the people of Warsaw: "hearts pounding with emotion. Eyes of joy that see the tale of freedom become a reality." The gray dawn, cloudy and rainy – typical of Polish November – was contrasted with the mood: "The memories of these cloudy days of November seem now joyful, full of spring sunshine!"<sup>55</sup> Although we are not dealing with a master of the pen to measure Dąbrowska or Nałkowska, this verbosity brings associations with the art of literature.

The entire statement – written in retrospect – was dominated by reverence for Piłsudski. Each word was proof of deep reverence and great expectations. Because, as earlier in the legions, so now people "waited again for his thought and deed". Minkowska was convinced that "even opponents breathed a sigh of relief that there is a Józef Piłsudski, who takes responsibility for everything and everyone." She was aware that a "true tale of freedom" was unfolding.<sup>56</sup>

## Conclusions

The accounts quoted here show different images of Piłsudski's return from Magdeburg. Sometimes may seem as if we are dealing with descriptions of not one but several different events. The authors of the accounts approached what took place in Warsaw on 10 November in very different

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54 *Relacja Adama Koca z przyjazdu Józefa Piłsudskiego do Warszawy 10 listopada 1918 roku*, op. cit., p. 96.

55 All quotations in this passage of the text: A. Minkowska, *Powrót Komendanta z Magdeburga*, op. cit., p. 222.

56 *Ibidem*.

ways. They drew definitely different pictures and conveyed different emotions. They described the events in detail, but were often silent on some issues. Regardless of that, however, they gave proof of their personal attitudes towards Piłsudski, which was usually admiration and respect.

The analysis of diaries proves that the way of describing events and documenting reality depends on an author's position and sensitivity and, of course, his or her literary skill. This is not at all determined by whether the author is a professional writer or just loosely connected with literature.

However, regardless of the differences indicated above, the above descriptions are a valuable historical and literary source, so they deserve the attention of researchers. Analyzing them, it is worth to remember that the choice of content is subjective, because it is the author who decides what will be written and what will remain unspoken. "Both what was written and what was omitted becomes a component of history. It is needed to fill blank spots on the map history, which was also created by women."<sup>57</sup>

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57 A. Pekaniec, *I wojna światowa w kobiecej literaturze dokumentu osobistego*, op. cit., p. 44.

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From the January Uprising of 1863  
to Regaining Independence  
in 1918 – a Synthesis of Polish  
History in the *Blue uniform*  
[Błękitny mundur] by Donata  
Dominik-Stawicka

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ABSTRACT

The novel of Donata Dominik-Stawicka entitled *The Blue uniform* [Błękitny mundur] treats about Poles' way to regaining independence by Poland, starting from the January Uprising in 1863 to November 1918. The way to freedom consisted of the armed struggle of Poles from various partitions, the tragic that in time World War I, fighting on different fronts under foreign command, they had to stand against each other. The title blue uniform is a reference to the biography of one of the heroes of the novel – the soldier of the Blue Army of General Józef Haller. He is, next to the gray uniform of soldiers of Józef Piłsudski, a symbol of dreams about the Polish army and the free homeland. *The Blue Uniform* is a family saga based on the stories of ancestors, photographs and other souvenirs. Family history on the basis of pars pro toto becomes a story about a nation struggling for survival, its own identity and dignity. The memory of the past of an individual and collective character passed from one generation to the next turns out to be the superior value. Intergenerational communication

builds historical, cultural and community identity. The intergenerational relationship is ethical and the memory of the past is the same as pride. The author writes her narrative about the family and the nation into the post-memory discourse. Thanks to the testimonies of our ancestors, history becomes an important source of identity.

KEY WORDS: freedom, slavery, fight, uniform, homeland

## STRESZCZENIE

*Od powstania styczniowego 1863 r. do odzyskania niepodległości 1918 r. – synteza polskich dziejów w Błękitnym mundurze Donaty Dominik-Stawickiej*

Powieść Donaty Dominik-Stawickiej pt. *Błękitny mundur* traktuje o drodze Polaków do odzyskania niepodległości, poczynając od powstania styczniowego w roku 1863 do listopada roku 1918. Na tę drogę ku wolności złożyła się walka zbrojna Polaków z różnych zaborów, tym tragiczniejsza, że w czasie I wojny światowej, walcząc na różnych frontach, pod obcym dowództwem, musieli oni stanąć przeciw sobie. Tytułowy błękitny mundur jest nawiązaniem do biografii jednego z bohaterów powieści – żołnierza Błękitnej Armii generała Józefa Hallera. Mundur ten, obok szarego munduru żołnierzy Józefa Piłsudskiego, to symbol marzeń o polskim wojsku i wolnej ojczyźnie. *Błękitny mundur* jest sagą rodzinną opartą na relacjach przodków, fotografiach i innych pamiątkach. Historia rodzinna na zasadzie *pars pro toto* staje się historią o narodzie walczącym o przetrwanie, własną tożsamość i godność. Wartością nadrzędną okazuje się pamięć przeszłości o charakterze indywidualnym, jak i zbiorowym przekazywana z pokolenia na pokolenia. Komunikacja międzypokoleniowa buduje ciągłość historyczną, kulturową i tożsamość wspólnoty. Relacja międzygeneracyjna ma charakter etyczny, a pamięć przeszłości jest tożsama z dumą. Autorka swą narrację o rodzinie i narodzie wpisuje w ramy dyskursu postpamięciowego. Historia dzięki świadectwom naszych przodków staje się ważnym źródłem tożsamości.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: wolność, niewola, walka, mundur, ojczyzna

Return to us the free Homeland, o Lord<sup>1</sup>

*Błękitny mundur, czyli drogi do wolności* [The Blue Uniform, or the roads to freedom] by Donata Dominik-Stawicka is a family saga. It tells the story of two families, the Paneks from Greater Poland and the Stawickis from Volyn, whose fate has become part of the difficult Polish history of the last 150 years. In her novel, the author returns to the times of the January Uprising, when Franciszek Ksawery Stawicki set off to fight from his manor house in Volyn, and Augustyn Panek – from his home village of Lutogniewy near Krotoszyn. The nobleman and the peasant fought bravely in different formations: the first under the command of General Edmund Różycki, and the latter along with Adam Chmielowski, the later Brother Albert [Saint Albert Chmielowski – transl.], under the command of Marian Langiewicz. They took part in several bloody battles of Salicha, Grochowiska and Pansówka. They fought heroically in defense of their land, freedom and honor. They met, however, not on the battlefield, but in a field hospital. Miraculously, they managed to save themselves from a Russian attack on the hospital, when all the other wounded insurgents were killed. They were saved first by the inhabitants of a nearby mansion, and then helped out by Stefan Perz, the parish priest of the local church, and protected from being arrested and deported to Siberia.

After the Uprising, they parted ways. Augustyn returned home, having served one year in a citadel prison for participating in the Uprising. In the case of Franciszek, it turned out that his beloved home, salvaged with a great effort, was confiscated. He emigrated to Greater Poland with his wife and son. Under a changed name of Franciszek Ksawery, he began a new life. He purchased a piece of land in the Odolany district and he began work as a blacksmith. He never met with Augustyn again. “Years passed, filled with daily toil.”<sup>2</sup> Fate did not spare either family sorrow and trouble. After the death of his beloved wife, Franciszek succumbed to melancholy, and then developed a heart condition. His son, Józef, got married, but soon widowed, his wife having died in childbirth. Immediately after that he lost his father. Józef remarried soon and in the times of heightened prowess of the Hakata, he had to leave the Grand Duchy of Poznań and live in North Rhine-Westphalia in Hamborn. Augustyn’s son, Mikołaj, did not become a farmer like his father. Instead, he graduated from a school and started working on the railway. At the beginning of the twentieth century, when anti-Polish activities

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1 A. Feliński, Antoni Gorecki, *Boże coś Polskę*, [www.wolnelektury.pl](http://www.wolnelektury.pl) (access: 20.11.2018).

2 D. Dominik-Stawicka, *Błękitny mundur, czyli drogi do wolności*, Kraków 2018, p. 70. All quotes are from this edition. After this quotation, I provide the page numbers in brackets.

intensified, the family was transferred deep into Germany to Giessen in Hesse. Mikołaj lived to see several children, including a daughter named Marianna, the grandmother of the novel's author. In the end, the fates of these two families came together again. Marianna Panek, granddaughter of Franciszek, and Augustyn Stawicki, grandson of Franciszek Ksawery met and started a family. They were married in February 1914. Soon, on 28 June 1914, World War I broke out. On the one hand, the war, for which Mickiewicz had prayed in his poem *Litania pielgrzymńska* [Pilgrim's litany], was expected by Poles, and on the other hand, it turned to be total war, and for Poles, it was a fratricide. Poles found themselves in direct combat against each other in the foreign armies of the three partitioning powers. Franciszek Stawicki and his wife's brothers were conscripted into the German army and forced to fight against their compatriots in the opposing army. After Franciszek was injured, he surrendered to the British when returned to the front and found himself in a POW camp in Scotland, where he spent three years. In 1917, upon the news of the appointment of the Polish Army in alliance with the Entente, he decided to join it. His dream came true only on 3 December 1918, when he was a soldier of the Blue Army under the command of the "blue" General Józef Haller. He put on the blue uniform, a dream of many generations.

Blue uniforms, Polish flags and symbols were a very important sign for people who were so long in captivity that here finally they have their own army, fighting for their own great cause: a homeland (159).

Now was the time to return home and rebuild it. Franciszek stood up to fight for the defense of the Polish borders. Then, the family of Franciszek and Marianna settled in Ostrów Wielkopolski. There, Franciszek died during the German occupation [during WWII – transl.] and was buried in the local cemetery. The inscription on his tombstone proclaims proudly that he was Haller's soldier and remained faithful to the homeland. The story of two families – the Paneks and the Stawickis – reconstructed in *Błękitny mundur*, as Donata Dominik-Stawicka states in its end, is a homage to all those generations who stood up to fight for independent Poland, and who considered the matters of the Homeland superior.

Two ancestors – one from a country mansion in Volyn, and the other from a village in Greater Poland – a noble and a peasant, consciously joined the insurgent ranks, facing a battle for Poland's independence. This gesture has a deeply symbolic importance, as it allowed to build ties across the boundaries of partition and social class. It was an event to which successive generations could refer to as a specific model of patriotic attitudes



to identify with. “Generationality happens only to some”<sup>3</sup> and generates a sense of separateness from other generations. What is important is not what is individual, separate, but what is common and what leads to the birth of a generational legend and “refers to those characteristics which, over and above individual differences, are meant to bind the group together into a spiritual whole.”<sup>4</sup> The insurgent tradition permanently inscribed itself in the memory space of both families, and it was this tradition that significantly influenced the formation of their thinking about the national past. The January Uprising was an event that “illuminates life, ... opens ... the world of reflection and forces one to make an internal inventory.”<sup>5</sup> Already then a conviction emerged that on the one hand the insurgence was a fight doomed to failure, associated with pain, suffering and disillusionment, and an emerging sense of tragedy, but on the other hand it stimulated activity, taught heroism and sacrifice. The January Uprising forged the identity of successive generations both personally and socially. Both the nobleman from Volyn and the peasant from Greater Poland proved their moral sensitivity and did what they believed was the only one possible right thing to do. They confirmed their right to defend their dignity, inherent on the one hand from disagreement to the existing political and ethical *status quo*, and on the other with the pride of being Poles and of Polish history, which they believed gave them a basis to take up the fight for Polish independence. In their opinion, this was the most important gesture of opposition to the political and ethical death of the nation. They joined in building an emotional community around the notion of the homeland they considered to be the highest value, which made the Polish problem sacred, based on the awareness of living the past together in a heroic and martyrological spirit. They associated Polishness with a necessary, purposeful sacrifice, the right to rebellion in the name of freedom, fidelity, honor and the duty to fulfill the will of those who already gave their lives to the great cause of the fatherland according to the thinking inscribed in the romantic paradigm that sacrifice for the community should be considered an overriding value. These experiences built up their patriotic knowledge, boldly passed on to subsequent generations. As a teaching and a value, they became a source of energy for the national life and its indestructible power.

The role that patriotic heritage played in the fate of the Stawicki and Panek families is undeniable. The subsequent generations living in the

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3 J. Garewicz, *Pokolenie jako kategoria socjofilozoficzna*, in: *Na krawędzi epoki. Rozwój duchowy i działanie człowieka*, eds. J. Rudniański, K. Murawski, Warszawa 1985, p. 140.

4 K. Wyka, *Pokolenia literackie*, Kraków 1977, p. 101.

5 M. Sprusiński, *Juliusz Kaden-Bandrowski. Życie i twórczość*, Kraków 1971, pp. 106-107.

Prussian partition had to take up a difficult, arduous, not very impressive struggle to preserve Polishness and national identity not anymore on the battlefield, but in everyday life. They became participants in “the longest war in modern Europe.” They fought against forced Germanization, against the Kulturkampf and the Hakata, for the Polish language, Polish books, and the Polish catechism. The adjective “Polish” was of particular importance. It became an axiological category. The nation “without a state,” condemned to perpetual struggle to preserve its identity, was able to focus around the ethical ideas, which allowed it to get involved in spiritual self-organization. Thanks to this, the national community took on ethical dimensions. Parents were left to take care “that the children knew the Polish language and were aware where their roots” (86). Only Polish was to be spoken at home. Polish books and newspapers were bought and read, despite often being banned under Prussian rule, and focus was put on the knowledge of Polish history or learning Polish patriotic songs. A book that was especially appreciated was *Mickiewicz* by a well-known bookseller, Witold Leitgeber. Besides, *Lives of the saints* [Żywoty świętych] by Piotr Skarga was read, along with the writings of Boleslaw Prus, Eliza Orzeszkowa and Henryk Sienkiewicz. The Krakow *Czas* and the Poznan *Orędownik* were important newspapers. The greater part of the books was brought secretly from Congress Poland and Galicia. Polish books taught people fortitude and pride in their own history and language. Humiliation, which enslavement carried with it, demoralizing and promoting attitudes of servility and meekness was opposed with spiritual heroism and bravery.

Although the Paneks and Stawickis, like other Polish families, came to face various insults and harm, they persevered to the end despite the dangers of denationalization. None of the members of these two families succumbed to fear and they all heroically defended their national identity. Even children fought courageously for their right to preserve their Polishness. Raised in a patriotic spirit, they declared war on the German school and the forced Germanization. Despite beatings and harassment from teachers, the pupils boldly demonstrated their Polishness, an example of which was the school strike in Września, when the students refused to recite prayers in German.

The times were hard and Prussian injustice flooded Greater Poland. Sentences of arrest or fines for the rebels, increasing school taxes, and finally the worst punishment – leaving students for several years in the same class to hamper their education – were to be the brakes of the fight for the Polish language at school (109).

Poles were denied the right to land ownership and employment in the Grand Duchy of Poznan, which was why both families had to go deep into Germany. As one of the people said: “There is one thing that the Prussian and the Muscovite did not take away from us – dignity and belonging to the Polish nation” (86).

The foundation for the narrative in *Błękitny mundur* became the authentic accounts of the author’s ancestors narrated by her grandmother and mother, that accompanied her childhood and youth. As she puts it in the introduction: “I listened to them willingly and diligently collected in them in *memory*. Now I want to tell you about them [stress by M.J.O.] (6). The narrative here takes the form of “oral history.” It is based on personal experiences and opinions of the narrator, also containing elements passed down from generation to generation, arousing very different emotions in the reader.<sup>6</sup> The interest in the family past, however, is of a special character. Dominik-Stawicka’s saga is not merely a colorful story about what happened once, so that the memories gain substantiality, multidimensionality, texture and color. The family history reconstructed by the author has two dimensions: private and public. They are closely interlinked and mutually determined. The author, reconstructing the history of her family, at the same time builds her own version of the history of Poles that has permeated through the filters of her ancestors’ memory. According to Dominik-Stawicka:

history is a continuity of events, values, knowledge, and legends. One generation educates the other. Knowledge of the ancestors is priceless, and if you have a unique national history as we do, you should know about it (178).

In the case of *Błękitny mundur*, recovery of the past is devoid, as we can see, of a dramatic sense of irrevocable loss so characteristic of post-memorial perspectives.<sup>7</sup> In Dominik-Stawicka’s memorial narrative, there is no

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6 It is a variant of “oral history,” whose founder was Paul Thompson.

7 At this point, reference should be made to the concept of “postmemory” by Marianne Hirsch, i.e. inherited memory, the memory of the second generation, descendants of the generation who experienced a collective trauma. M. Hirsz (*Żaloba i postpamięć*, transl. K. Bojarska, in: *Teoria wiedzy o przeszłości na tle współczesnej humanistyki*, ed. E. Domańska, Poznań 2010, p. 254) says that, as she understands it, postmemory is distinguished from memory by a generational distance, and from history by a deep personal bond. Post-memory is a strong and very special form of memory precisely because its relation to the object or source is mediated not by memories, but by imagination and creativity. Postmemory is characterized by the experience of those who grew up in an environment dominated by narratives originating from before their birth. Their own, belated stories are being replaced by the stories of the previous generation shaped by a traumatic experience that cannot be understood or processed.” This memory refers to events

attempt to cut herself off from the past as in the case of events that give rise to trauma, where the story is pushed into the subconscious. Remembrance is then combined with suffering and mental discomfort. The author of *Błękitny mundur* is a person for whom the knowledge of the past is an element of “group pride” and therefore she willingly returns to the difficult past of her parents, grandparents and great-grandparents. In this perspective, history ceases to be a chaos, a tangle of facts, something opaque, unreadable, a traumatic experience. Memory of the past is not a kind of trauma but pride, which translates into consent to its inheritance, because, as Dominik-Stawicka claims: “history is also a source of identity: through the testimonies of our ancestors we know who we are” (177). The transfer of intergenerational knowledge is the basis for building national awareness and self-knowledge, both in the individual and the community, which confirms the author’s conviction of the inalienable value of historical cognition.

The question how Poles could regain independence is closely connected with the one of the national *ethos* and shape of the national history. In *Błękitny mundur* the ethical dimension of the narrative concerning the Poles way to freedom has been restored to a high value. According to family stories, this way leads from the painful events of the January Uprising of 1863 to the end of World War I and the Bolshevik invasion [of 1919-1920 – transl.]. It covers the difficult time of the successive generations of Poles fighting for independence, to which, in the words of Zygmunt Kisielewski, they followed along “bloody roads.” According to Dominik-Stawicka:

The way to freedom combined the armed struggle of Poles from the three partitions, the more tragic that in time of World War I they had to stand against each other fighting in different uniforms, on foreign ships, under foreign command. They gave rise to the gray and blue uniformed troops. The title blue uniform is a reference to the biography of one of the characters, the Blue Army soldier of general Haller. It is also a symbol of dreams about a Polish army, sabers with the inscription “God, Honor, Homeland,” and the crowned eagle on the soldier’s caps (5).

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that were not the object of direct experience. Rather, these events grow with such force into the consciousness of subsequent generations that they are felt by their representatives as their own. The relationship of post-memory to the past is, to a greater extent than in the case of “ordinary” memory, mediated by artifacts (e.g. photographs, memorabilia), and also by the message of others – those who “really remember.” The concept of “postmemory” refers primarily to the experiences of the children of Holocaust victims, however, according to Hirsch, *it can also be used to refer to societies that have been affected by collective trauma at some point in history – that is, any societies that have been deprived of their subjectivity by an extremely oppressive system* [underline by M.J.O.]. After all, the partitions, the civil nonexistence, the destruction of the nation, and the subsequent defeats suffered during the national uprisings were such a trauma for the Poles the partitions.

For the author of the novel, the sacrificial trait of Polish history testifies to the uniqueness of its national history and in this version, it becomes – according to her – the basic source of its identity.

The family narrative in *Błękitny mundur* has, as has been mentioned, a para-documentary form, because, as the author stresses, it is “a very personal look at a morsel of the history of the pursuit of independence through the prism of family stories, preserved family memorabilia, photographs and memories” (177). This is a special kind of return to the past. The source of regaining the memory as a restitution of the past world in this case are not academic textbooks, but family stories, preserved photographs and various types of family memorabilia such as the porcelain figurine of Our Lady of Berdychiv, which is one of the main sources of communication with the past for subsequent generations. Among the preserved objects, a special place was taken by the blue uniform of the author’s grandfather, who “became a family myth, a sacrum, a legend, just like General Józef Haller, Franciszek’s commander” (176). These objects, which form a special kind of family archive, act as visual signs of the heroic past, refer to specific people and events, and at the same time to the affective sensitivity of the observer. They confirm the authenticity of the personal, individual dimension of the account which takes on the value of a testimony. According to Paul Ricoeur, memory can also be manifested and disseminated by means of cultural artifacts linked to specific relationships that are appropriately valorized.<sup>8</sup> It is thanks to them that the past, especially when the witnesses of given events are already dead, is made present through a sign and symbol. Collective memory does not only include events that have taken place over a generation, only through processes of direct communication or by means of “memory carriers” (Marcin Kula’s term), knowledge of the past is passed on to successive generations.<sup>9</sup> A significant role in this intergenerational transmission is played by memorial activity recorded in customs, letters, diaries, various objects or artifacts. These serve as a medium of the past; they carry certain assigned emotions and meanings, and most importantly they create an entity at the same time revealing the truth about it (Bjørnar Olsen).<sup>10</sup>

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8 P. Ricoeur, *Pamięć – zapomnienie – historia*, in: *Tożsamość w czasach zmiany. Rozmowy w Castel Gandolfo*, introduction and ed. K. Michalski, Warszawa–Kraków 1995, p. 27.

9 M. Kula, *Nośniki pamięci historycznej*, Warszawa 2002. The researcher writes on this topic: “The past is reflected ... in virtually every object and phenomenon that exists to this day. Consequently, literally everything is, at least potentially, a past memory carrier” (pp. 7-8).

10 B. Olsen, *W obronie rzeczy. Archeologia i ontologia przedmiotów*, transl. B. Shallcross, Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, Warszawa 2013.

Therefore, we can talk about a special “biography of things” present in Dominik-Stawicka’s family tale; about “cultural descriptives of what an object means, what are its relations to other items, what can be communicated by means of it, what we express by means of such and no other object, what we can say about the person who uses it.”<sup>11</sup> The method of description used in *Błękitny mundur*, close to the “dense description” method, makes it possible to extract the emblematicity of these objects. The insurgent jacket and the blue uniform reveal the truth about the Polish biographies, both individual and collective. In shaping national consciousness and patriotic attitudes, the category of “heredity” turns out to be the primary one: it is a way of mediating the past and building a narrative about the past from an appropriately chosen and accepted axiological perspective.

Thus, *Błękitny mundur* confirms that according to the principles of collective memory, certain groups build their own variants of the national narrative. This knowledge remains in line with current feelings, values systems and ways of seeing the world. Jan Prokop claims that the determination of national identity is made by an individual’s recognition of the universe of signs “constituting a *sui generis* mythology or *legendarium* – the matrix of archetypes-toposes.”<sup>12</sup> The decisions of the protagonists – as the author emphasizes – were primarily due to their inner convictions. They were fully conscious of their choice to fight for the freedom of their Homeland. Thus, the history of the Polish nation in *Błękitny mundur* has a dimension of a personal matter, which at the same time becomes more important than one’s own life, beyond this intimacy. This is what Franciszek’s son, Józef, says to him:

“Daddy! Me too, when I grow up, I will fight for Poland!” ... Franciszek’s heart sank painfully. When will this hecatomb made by every generation for the homeland finally end? How much more blood, victims, fires and ruins in places once teeming with life? How many times will we have to abandon the family nests and go into the uncertain world? And for what? That you’re defending your property, your family, your loved ones, your homeland? How does one bend to the fate of a slave, how does one bear the humiliation? (63).

Love for the Homeland and the choice of such a patriotic attitude, identified with the armed struggle as well as the struggle for honor, became a moral imperative for them. In the consciousness of *Błękitny mundur*’s

11 M. Krajewski, *Ludzie i przedmioty – relacje i motywy przewodnie*, in: *Rzeczy i ludzie. Humanistyką wobec materialności*, eds. J. Kowalewski et al., Olsztyn 2008, p. 137.

12 J. Prokop, *Uniwersum polskie. Literatura, wyobrażenia zbiorowa, mity polityczne*, Kraków 1993, p. 11.

characters, the boundary between the private and the community lives was ultimately blurred. These people, entangled in the struggle against the political, social and moral reality, were united by a common idea of independence, transmitted in their families from generation to generation, which allowed them to build a multi-generational community. Common values such as: God, honor, and homeland entered the realm of the sacred. They became the subject of multi-generational pride and a source of identification. The history of Poland is not seen by Dominik-Stawicka in her family tale in the categories of a slave complex, backwardness, madness and meaninglessness, unnecessary sacrifice and eternal mourning, self-condemnation to life among graves, or self-flagellation. In the case of the two families, Polishness was associated with independence, with a necessary, purposeful sacrifice, the right to rebellion in the name of freedom, fidelity, honor and the duty to fulfill the will of those who already gave their lives to the great cause of the Fatherland according to the thinking inscribed in the romantic paradigm that sacrifice for the community should be considered an overriding value.

In building her family narrative, Dominik-Stawicka did not focus, as we can see, on official history, on the history of the state, but on the history of the nation, affected by a string of disasters and suffering, experiencing the cruelty of history, unbreakably struggling for survival and despite many bad experiences, persistently building its identity and individuality. This transmission described in *Błękitny mundur* involved the ennoblement of privacy and family values recognized as a fully-fledged cultural category. In this case, memory is not a simple recording of events that go through human life and are recorded as on film.<sup>13</sup> It has become a kind of interpretation of the surrounding personalistic and phenomenistic world. Thus,

it is memory, not history, that makes the past concern us, it is our past, in which a fragment of the truth about ourselves marked with emotion is imprinted. It is memory, not history that transcends the boundaries of representation.<sup>14</sup>

The fate of the Paneks and Stawickis confirms that societies last thanks to the memory of the past passed on from generation to generation. In this sense, history is the continuity of events, knowledge and values. One

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13 According to modern definition in psychology, “memory is the ability to store information and its later use. From another point of view, memory is a set of cognitive processes involved in the acquisition, storage and subsequent reproduction of information” (E. Nęcka, J. Orzechowski, B. Szymura, *Psychologia poznawcza*, Warszawa 2006, p. 320).

14 K. Trybuś, *Pamięć romantyzmu. Studia nie tylko z przeszłości*, Poznań 2011, p. 64.

generation passes knowledge and moral principles to the other. History turns into an endless relay of generations. Therefore, as the fate of the two families shows, knowledge about one's ancestors turns out to be invaluable for building the Polish universe, which is connected with the belief, derived from Romanticism, that the primary goal of the actions of a nation plunged into political non-existence should be to save the memory of the past.<sup>15</sup> Without it, the nation will not exist and will be doomed.

In *Błękitny mundur* we are dealing with building a space of collective and cultural memory – the memory of the past in certain social groups, i.e. “a set of images of this past, whose knowledge is considered a condition for full participation in it and which are commemorated in a variety of ways, on top of the forms of this commemoration.”<sup>16</sup> This way of thinking is close to the concepts of the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945), as well as John and Aleida Assmann, who treated memory processes as a socio-cultural phenomenon passed on from generation to generation without disruption, which formulates a tradition that binds a community together and creates a group identity. According to Halbwachs, recollection of what happened is not simply recalling facts from the past, only the reconstruction of the memory of the community. What is significant is that, according to the French thinker, collective and cultural memory are not the sum of individual experiences of the members of a community, but are the result of interactions between them.<sup>17</sup> In this way, communities form “a collective framework of memory,” as an image of the past consistent with the ideals prevailing in society in each era.<sup>18</sup> In the case of *Błękitny mundur*, the narrative is imbued with the conviction of the repetitiveness of Polish history, and the belief that the overriding duty of all Poles is to fight for independence.<sup>19</sup> Dominik-Stawicka's story shows that the attitude characterized as romantic – heroic and sacrifice-making – has become the dominant paradigm regulating Polish collective life. The great heritage of Romanticism has been the basis for patriotic thinking of the community until the present day.<sup>20</sup> The fates of the two families in the novel confirm that the romantic heritage has been the primary determinant of Polish culture for so many years. With such an attitude, Polish

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15 Ibidem, p. 34.

16 B. Szacka, *Pamięć zbiorowa i wojna*, “Przegląd Socjologiczny” 2000, 49, p. 14.

17 M. Halbwachs, *Spoleczne ramy pamięci*, transl. M. Król, Warszawa 1969, p. 839.

18 Ibidem.

19 Cf. J. Prokop, *Szczególna przygoda żyć nad Wisłą*, Londyn 1985, pp. 9-11.

20 M. Janion, *Placz generała. Eseje o wojnie*, Warszawa 2007, p. 68.



modern history begins not with despair but with hope, not with a sense of the end and a fall, but with a call for courage and victory ... The external abolition of the state was not able to cross out the [homeland's] inner being. It is this feature that formed the type of modern Polish patriotism, emotional identification with the homeland, the spiritual style of the nation's existence.<sup>21</sup>

This attitude grew from the traumatic experiences of successive national uprisings and wars. Despite the frequent traumas, the author's ancestors remained faithful to the choices they had made. And they stayed with that conviction for the rest of their lives. That is why the gesture of burying her grandfather in the blue uniform of Haller's brigade was so significant in its pronunciation, so contrary to the occupation regulations. The conviction of the rightness of the choice of freedom attitudes is confirmed by the fate of successive generations described in *Błękitny mundur*. The attitudes of great-grandfathers, grandfathers, and fathers become a model for posterity. The portrait of the author's Grandfather hanging on the wall in her apartment reminds her of this today.

Dominik-Stawicka tells the story of her nation according to Homi Bhabha's statement that "nation is narration." She wanted to explain national forms of expression in her family tale that may seem incomprehensible on the surface. *Błękitny mundur*, written from a patriotic perspective is, however, just one of the possible narratives about the nation. The memory of the past in national discourse is based on facts, each of which can be interpreted differently in different historical periods by different national groups. The Polish fate can be read in terms of choice and ennoblement or as a curse and a yoke. The story breaks down into a series of alternative micro-histories. There is no single, binding patriotic and historical narrative, although such a macro-history is attempted to be imposed on recipients by historical policies promoted by various state institutions. A state organization usurps the exclusive right to exercise power over the past, over what is to be remembered and how it is to be remembered. In addition to official knowledge, there are two more polar models between which different representations of history are situated: history as a science based on verifiable facts and collective memory based on "heart knowledge." Scientific findings, i.e., the "illuminating memory" postulated by Jacques le Goff, provide knowledge, prevent manipulation and mystification, but do not explain everything in the life of the community. That is why non-scientific forms of conveying knowledge about the past of

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21 M. Janion, *Wstęp*, in: *Reduta. Romantyczna poezja niepodległościowa*, ed. M. Janion, Kraków 1979, pp. 8-9.

symbolic significance turn out to be so important in building the historical consciousness of the nation. A special role in building national identity is undoubtedly played by collective memory, using different criteria than historical science based on verifiable facts or official state propaganda.<sup>22</sup> Collective and cultural memory will usually not be identical to documented, historical, and official knowledge.

The common consciousness, as it is confirmed by reading *Błękitny mundur*, includes only some historical themes, characters and events, chosen by those interested, and appropriately illuminated that are best suited to the present day at a given moment.<sup>23</sup> It can be said that in the case of collective memory, the past adapts to the present, because we look at it with the same eyes as we look at our contemporary times. That is why “the momentous roles that collective memory plays in social life make disputes about its content not about the past, but makes them momentous problems of the present.”<sup>24</sup> Accordingly, it follows that:

For this double view of the world in prospect and in retrospect the historian must select his point of departure. He cannot find it except in his own time ... Historical knowledge is the answer to definite questions, an answer which must be given by the past; but the questions themselves are put and dictated by the present-by our present intellectual interests and our present moral and social needs.<sup>25</sup>

The lack of a constructive discussion about the national past leads to a lack of ability to determine one's own place in the present. The dispute over Polish national past, especially the one from the period of partitions, despite the fact that it has been repeatedly and comprehensively described scientifically, based on the verification of events, turns out to be extremely difficult to resolve and unequivocally assess from the political, social, economic, as well as, perhaps above all, moral side. Responsibly conducted, this debate turns into a dispute about national identity, which contains an awareness of the past, ultimately turning into a discussion about the choice of a model of national culture.

Thus, summing up these reflections after reading *Błękitny mundur*, it must be stated that collective memory, shaping the community consciousness of individual groups, is of subjective and emotional character, using

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22 M. Halbwachs, *Spoleczne ramy pamięci*, transl. and introduction by M. Król, Warszawa 1969, p. 422.

23 B. Szacka, *Pamięć zbiorowa i wojna*, op. cit., p. 13.

24 Ibidem, p. 17.

25 E. Cassirer, *An Essay on Man. An Introduction to a Philosophy of Human Culture*, New York 1962, p. 226.

the only known criterion of truth, is subject to specific transformations and ideologies. In this approach, history, as evidenced by *Błękitny mundur*, takes on the shape of a subjective story, saturated with emotions, which is a special way of carrying meanings and building national myths. Using symbolic language, it provides categories and codes that influence the way past events are interpreted. Within the narratives within the sphere of collective memory that uses symbolic language, the process of transforming characters and events into one-dimensional symbols (“memorials”) takes place, which brings them down to archetypes. Such an archetype of Polishness becomes the afore-mentioned insurgent jacket, the gray or blue uniform, the saber, the rosary, the prayer book, and even any book in Polish, and eventually, the protagonists of these patriotic stories. Collective memory allows for the location of events and characters in the timeless antiquity, because one of the consequences of such an approach to the past is its sacralization, which in turn allows for mythologization of events, dangerously leading to their mystification and their functioning within a certain “timelessness.” The element of authenticity contained in intimate, subjective stories defends them from flattening and oversimplification. Their realism destroys falsehood and makes the accounts true and in their own way “alive,” just as the myth that unites the nation into one community is “alive” and immortal.<sup>26</sup>

Thus, memory and identity – the historical, memory and identity discourse – both in the individual and social dimension, are mutually dependent. Memory processed by emotions allowed building the patriotic or national myth of a leading character, shaping the national imagination and “Polish imponderabilia” based on Mickiewicz’s concept of a sense of collective responsibility for the historical evil that Poles were supposed to have committed in the past. Myth thus becomes a special kind of social communication. It is an important *medium* of knowledge about ideas and values, building and uniting the community, indispensable in building national and state awareness. It makes people aware of the other, nonempirical side of human existence. According to Norman Davies, myths do not have to be based on facts, but they provide us with a sense of belonging: they give

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26 John A. Armstrong, an American historian of ideas and researcher of nationalisms, supporter of the long duration of national identity, creator of the notion of *mythomoteurs*, which are the guiding myths that have given a lasting foundation to many countries and today condition their national or state identity, repeatedly asked questions about what, apart from the territorial bond, can build a group identity of people, e.g. in *Nations Before Nationalism* (1982). His findings seem significant to our deliberations. In his opinion, the basic building block that unites the group is myth. The issue of its truthfulness or falsity is of little importance to the researcher. What is important, however, is that the guiding myth determines the beginning of a nation, state, civilization, and even a group.

us an awareness of our origins, a sense of identity and purpose, and therefore, in his opinion, nations create their mythologies that live in them so that they can feel and experience their cultural identity. With myths, a nation can take root in history with its own distinct history, its own traditions handed down from generation to generation. In a difficult time for the nation it is its mythology that provides the source from which it draws the strength to fight, its pride and sense of dignity.<sup>27</sup>

The leading myths of a nation allow it to discover a deeper truth about its history, tradition, culture of the country, about the recognized system of values and preferred models to which they ascribe a special, inclusive power. They become the affirmation of certain values. All national defeats and sufferings, although they were traumatic experiences, seen from such a perspective, can undoubtedly become the victory of the idea of freedom; that freedom which, as Dominik-Stawicka proved in her story about “the roads to freedom,” Poles have loved so much – according to the version of national history she adopted. Above all it became a distinguishing feature of their identity.

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## Polishness as a Superior Value in the Social Activism of Erazm Józef Jerzmanowski

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### ABSTRACT

The “Polish Nobel,” “Polish baron,” and “the one that illuminated America,” are just some of the nicknames given to Erazm Jerzmanowski (1844-1909), participant of the January Uprising, a Polish migrant, inventor, businessman and philanthropist. Jerzmanowski obtained a high position in the world of American business of the 1880s and 1890s. He was the only Pole on the list of the top American millionaires of the time. He realized positivist ideals of grassroots work and devoted himself to a wide array of social and philanthropic activities addressed both to the American Polonia and the Poles under occupation. His crowning achievement was the establishment of the awards which were compared to the Alfred Nobel Foundation (the laureates included Henryk Sienkiewicz and Ignacy Jan Paderewski). The overriding value in his activities was his work for the economic, cultural and scientific improvement of the Polish society which was intended to lead to the restoration of Poland’s independence.

**KEY WORDS:** Erazm Jerzmanowski, Polonia, businessman, philanthropist, United States

## STRESZCZENIE

*Polskość jako wartość nadrzędna w działalności społecznej Erazma Józefa Jerzmanowskiego*

„Polski Nobel”, „polski baron”, „ten, który oświecił Amerykę”, to tylko niektóre z przydomków nadawanych Erazmowi Jerzmanowskiemu (1844-1909) – uczestnikowi powstania styczniowego, polskiemu emigrantowi, wynalazcy, biznesmenowi i filantropowi. Jerzmanowski, uzyskując wysoką pozycję w świecie amerykańskiego biznesu lat 80. i 90. XIX stulecia (jedyne Polak na ówczesnej liście największych milionerów amerykańskich), realizował ideały pozytywistycznej pracy u podstaw i poświęcił się szerokiej działalności filantropijnej oraz społecznej skierowanej zarówno do amerykańskiej Polonii, jak i pozostałych pod zaborami rodaków. Jej ukoronowaniem stała się fundacja nagrody porównywanej z fundacją Alfreda Nobla (laureatami byli m.in. Henryk Sienkiewicz, Ignacy Jan Paderewski). Wartością nadrzędną w prowadzonych przez niego działaniach była praca na rzecz podniesienia poziomu ekonomicznego, kulturalnego i naukowego polskiego społeczeństwa, a poprzez to doprowadzenie w przyszłości do odzyskania przez Polskę niepodległości.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Erazm Jerzmanowski, Polonia, biznesmen, filantrop, Stany Zjednoczone

The January Uprising affected the lives of many thousands of Poles. It formed their characters and world views, and began the period of repressions that affected the Polish society of the 1860s. It contributed to the emergence of the positivist approach to the so-called Polish problem. An example of a person not only proclaiming such an approach, but also implementing it in his daily activities was Erazm Jerzmanowski.

Born in 1844, Jerzmanowski came from impoverished gentry. His family leased landed estates. Little is known about his childhood. In 1862 he graduated from the Provincial Gymnasium in Warsaw and began studying at the Faculty of Civil Engineering of the Polytechnic Institute of Agriculture and Forestry in Nowa Aleksandria (Puławy). However, his studies were interrupted by the outbreak of the January Uprising at the beginning of 1863. Jerzmanowski enlisted in the insurgent army and, in the spring, he found himself in Marian Langiewicz's units stationed in the Świętokrzyskie Mountains, and after his defeat, he made his way to



Galicia and took part in Józef Miniewski's Olkusz expedition.<sup>1</sup> Arrested by the Austrians, he was imprisoned in the citadel in Olomouc.<sup>2</sup> Released after a few months he left for France. He devoted the years of his French emigration to acquire an education that would give him the opportunity to earn income. In contrast to the masses of Polish emigrants he did not join the Polish School in Batignolles, but he chose a more practical way to fill the gaps in his education at the Polish School in Paris. Then, he studied engineering at the School of Engineering and Military Artillery in Metz, where he graduated in 1868.<sup>3</sup> Working for French gas companies in 1871, he went to the United States to deploy a technology developed by chemist Cyprien Tessié du Motay for obtaining liquid gas, which was used to fuel street lamps. Working as an engineer in the New York Municipal Gas-light Company, Jerzmanowski worked hard on improving the du Motay's method, which he was ultimately successful in. He modified it so extensively, that it generally came to be called the "Jerzmanowski method." In 1882, he was one of the founders (vice-president and then president) of the Equitable Gas Light Company of New York, which quickly began to expand and operated throughout the eastern part of the United States. Not only a talented inventor, but also a manager, Jerzmanowski was called by the American press the "Polish baron."<sup>4</sup> He was known for taking care of the financial profitability of the work he conducted. He patented each of his innovations, so that in the future he could derive appropriate returns from their use in the gas industry. In total, he was the author of 22 patents (including 3 as co-author), which contributed to his financial success.<sup>5</sup> He belonged to the elite of the US business.<sup>6</sup> In 1894, he was mentioned on the 96th position in a press list of male American millionaires (and the 117th position on a list that also included women millionaires) with a fortune estimated at 2,000,000 US dollars.<sup>7</sup> In 1896, Jerzmanowski decided

1 A.S. Więch, *Rola powstania styczniowego w drodze życiowej Erazma Józefa Jerzmanowskiego*, in: *Erazm Józef Jerzmanowski (1844-1909). Życie w służbie idei*, eds. O.J. Biernat, A.S. Więch, Kraków-Prokocim 2013, pp. 41-48.

2 J. Hulewicz, *Jerzmanowski Erazm Józef Dołęga*, "Polski Słownik Biograficzny," 1964, Vol. XI, pp. 178-179.

3 Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU w Krakowie (further: AN PAN i PAU), ref. K III-22, *Erazm Józef Jerzmanowski, Świadectwo Ukończenia Szkoły Inżynierii i Artylerii Wojskowej w Metz*.

4 "New York Daily Tribune," 30 January 1896.

5 A. Radecki-Pawlik, *Patenty inżynierskie „polskiego Nobla” Erazma Jerzmanowskiego*, in: *Erazm Józef Jerzmanowski (1844-1909). Życie w służbie idei*, op. cit., p. 66; S. Łotysz, *Wynalazczość Polska w Stanach Zjednoczonych*, Warszawa 2013, pp. 152-166.

6 Since 1877 he was a US citizen; The National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, *New York Naturalization Index is in New York 1792-1906*, M1674 roll 124.

7 "The Evening World," 10 January 1894.

on the final completion of his US enterprises. Having sold his shares in the American gas companies, he and his wife Anna decided to settle in a property they purchased in Prokocim near Krakow, where he died in 1909.

Erazm Jerzmanowski, as a member of the generation of the Polish positivists, defined his goal very precisely:

When I grabbed the pilgrim stick of a Polish wanderer, there was one thought that guided me. To earn a fortune ... I wanted a fortune, because I felt that it is such a power which we need if indeed we are going to re-build Poland in the first place.<sup>8</sup>

Jerzmanowski was unyielding in his views and unwilling to make concessions and compromises, which undoubtedly contributed to the lack of major successes in his efforts to gain leadership in Polish organizations (he ran in the elections as a candidate for the Censor of the Polish National Union in America in 1886),<sup>9</sup> and it led to his resignation in 1894 as President of the newly established Polish League after just a few months of its operation.<sup>10</sup> Among Jerzmanowski's speeches, it is worth noting three of them that perfectly reflect his goals and are an excellent interpretation of the ideas behind his Polish activism. These are: an appeal addressed to the participants of the convention of delegates of the Polish National Association in 1886;<sup>11</sup> a speech given during the anniversary of the January Uprising in New York City in 1887;<sup>12</sup> and the appeal of the Polish National Treasury Commissioner to the United States of America on 1 November 1894 in New York City.<sup>13</sup>

The primary objective of Jerzmanowski's work was the idea of restoring Poland's independence. However, this idea was not understood as efforts to support the armed struggle, and organizing another uprising, but carrying out activities for the development of Polish society under occupation. He certainly was not alone with this perspective. The January

8 Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie [further: BJ], ref. 384254 III RARA, *Wycinki z gazet polskich i obcych dotyczące działalności (głównie filantropijnej) E. J. Jerzmanowskiego w latach 1886-1894*.

9 "Wiarus", 15 July 1886.

10 Cf. D. Kiper, *Wzorce zachowań politycznych przywódców polonijnych na przykładzie biografii Henryka Kalusowskiego i Erazma Józefa Jerzmanowskiego*, in: *Mędrzec, filozof, humanista... czyli uczonej poprzez wieki*, eds. E.L. Polańska, P.M. Siewierska, T. Siewierski, Lublin 2013, pp. 82-100.

11 Distributed to the Congress participants and published in the press in partitioned Poland; "Nowa Reforma," 1886, No. 156.

12 "Nowa Reforma," 1887, Iss. 45.

13 BJ, ref. 222564 III RARA, *Zbiór druków Polonii amerykańskiej*. The contents of all three appeals has been presented as the Annex to this article.

Uprising was assessed in various ways, both by its participants and by the next generation that grew up in the veneration of its memory. The following 1903 excerpt comes from “Gazeta Narodowa” issued in Galicia’s Lviv:

There are sincere Polish patriots who condemn the January uprising. There are sincere Polish patriots who elevate it triumphantly. They are all wrong, both kinds go astray. The January Uprising is a fact that did come to pass, and that had to come to pass.<sup>14</sup>

A firm believer in the first opinion was Jerzmanowski who, at the same time, did not deny the importance of that insurgence, especially at the moral and spiritual levels. During one of the anniversaries of the Uprising, he said:

Fortunately, the year 1863, having drenched the Polish soil in our blood, was a proof that patriotism and great ideals of the past were not yet extinct in our souls. This manifestation was a victory by itself ... As long as these ideals live in us, we have the right to call out “Poland is not dead yet!”<sup>15</sup>

Jerzmanowski’s thinking about the future of Poland changed, which was characteristic for many former insurgents. It was not the armed struggle that was to decide about Poland, but the economic, cultural, scientific and, consequently, social development of the country. Being one of those who managed to achieve financial success he did not forget about the crowds of insurgent veterans, whose fate was not as gracious. He supported Brother Albert’s aid initiatives in Krakow and the Home Society of the Participants of the January Uprising 1863/1864, for which he constantly donated in-kind gifts<sup>16</sup> and significant amounts of money.<sup>17</sup> He was also a benefactor and member of the board<sup>18</sup> of the Mutual Aid Society for Participants of the 1863-1864 Uprising<sup>19</sup> and one of the founders of the January Uprising monument in Rzeszow.<sup>20</sup>

Knowing the difficult fate of the emigrants, he warned his compatriots living under the partitions against leaving in search of a better fate in the

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14 “Gazeta Narodowa,” Iss. 18, 22 Jan 1893.

15 BJ, Ref. 384254 RARA, *Wycinki z gazet polskich i obcych*, op. cit.

16 In 1901, he handed over 10 bushels of potatoes; “Nowa Reforma,” 1901, Iss. 205.

17 “Głos Narodu,” 1901, Iss. 245; 1902, Iss. 51, iss. 87; “Nowa Reforma,” 1894, Iss. 279; 1901, Iss. 246; 1903, Iss. 187; 1907, Iss. 297.

18 “Słowo Polskie,” 1897, Iss. 18.

19 “Gazeta Narodowa,” 1894, Iss. 142.

20 BJ, Ref. 384254 RARA, *Wycinki z gazet polskich i obcych*, op. cit.

United States. In his appeals, which were sent out to Polish newspapers, he strongly urged them to give up such ideas:

Contributing to the care of Polish emigration in America, as long as the strength of an individual may suffice, and being compassionate towards the misery of the unfortunate victims of Poland's foes, I cannot fail to present a picture of the terrible disenchantment that the migrants experience, having no national language, be it German, or Polish. This category especially includes emigrants from the provinces of Vilnius, Kaunas, Suwałki, and even Galicia. They come here to America in much greater numbers than they do from other parts of the country, having no competencies at all to settle in a country that stands infinitely higher in its culture than theirs. However, when you consider that this happens in winter, the time least suitable for an outward journey, of which a modest number has even more modest means, looking at the misery of these people is heart-breaking. It is hard to find a job in the winter, and only in coal mining and chopping ice. The strength of a single man makes me unable to remedy the evil, so I again speak to the respectable press and local authorities to try to stop this storm of Polish migration, which, by stripping the country of labor force, is flowing to America, perhaps only for its own destruction.<sup>21</sup>

Another issue he raised was credulity, the lack of language skills and qualifications of the migrants.<sup>22</sup> Concerns expressed by Jerzmanowski were not unfounded. The American continent, especially the United States, was flooded by crowds of completely unprepared immigrants. Between 1871 and 1880, this migration amounted to 12,970 people, to reach 51,806 in the next decade, and by the end of the 19th century it was already 96,720 people.<sup>23</sup> Wanting to provide at least minimal help to the incoming Poles, Erazm Jerzmanowski was successful in organizing the New York Central Committee of Charity in 1886.<sup>24</sup> The main objective of this organization was support for immigrants coming to New York, providing them with a roof over their heads and a place of employment.<sup>25</sup> Throughout the lifetime of the Committee, until the mid-1890s, Erazm Jerzmanowski financed its activities.

21 "Gazeta Lwowska," 1887, Iss. 22; "Strażnica Polska," 1887, Iss. 5; "Gwiazdka Cieszyńska," 1887, Iss. 6; "Katolik," 1887, Iss. 9.

22 *Ostrzeżenie przed emigracją do Ameryki*, "Nafta," 1894, Iss. 8-12.

23 M. Borys, *Polską emigracją do Stanów Zjednoczonych do 1914 roku*, Toruń 2011, p. 85.

24 The board consisted of: Wincenty Żołnowski (Chairman), Erazm Jerzmanowski (Vice-Chairman), Ignacy Pawłowski (Secretary) on top of board members: Karol Chłapowski and Fr. Henryk Klimecki.

25 "Gazeta Narodowa," 1886, Iss. 156.

Poland under occupation was, according to the “Polish baron,” to constitute a unifying point of reference for the whole Polish emigration, who, through their joint work, were to prepare the ground for the country’s revival. In 1886, he wrote:

Poles, though miles and miles away, always breathe one spirit for Poland and on a foreign land, from the heights at which the goddess of freedom is gazing, bringing the torch of Europe’s progress to the disempowered, a field of work is being prepared for the rebirth of our Homeland.<sup>26</sup>

As a model of joint national action for the Poles, he set the American Jewish and Irish communities, who were known for their commitment and mutual support through their members and for building a capital base:

the sons of Israel went into disarray, but their national spirit was not snatched from them. They have a common weapon for their ailments, which forces the mighty of this world to reckon with them. The same weapon is wielded by Ireland today. Their power is the generosity of the nation, the money that every one of them, rich and poor, places on the altar of the Fatherland, according to his ability.<sup>27</sup>

It is worth noting here that by making such a comparison, he went against the current of the Polish antipathies, directed strongly against Jews and the Irish. Irish emigrants in some respects resembled Polish emigration. Despite the use of English, as Catholics, they felt alienated in the heavily Protestant American society. There were Irish associations, and dynamic press.<sup>28</sup> Like the Poles, the Irish did not have their own, independent state, however, they managed to create business relationships based on equity and a strong network lobbying on behalf of their national interests, and therefore something the bickering Polish communities could not do. Jerzmanowski also noted the attachment of the Polish Jews to the Polish language. This was important due to the fact that watching the life of the American Polonia, he could see a rapidly progressing Americanization of it, both in terms of language and culture. In his press statements, moreover, he warned against this:

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26 “Nowa Reforma,” 1886, Iss. 156.

27 “Nowa Reforma,” 1887, Iss. 45.

28 M. Borys, *Polską emigracją do Stanów Zjednoczonych*, op. cit., p. 88; H. Kubiak, *Rodowód narodu amerykańskiego*, Kraków 1975, pp. 76-77.

I do not believe in our future in America ... Those who come, may stay ...  
But the next generation will die out, because they be sucked into the whirl  
of practical life that must materialize and Americanize them.<sup>29</sup>

Erazm Jerzmanowski's thinking was strongly influenced by his devotion to the Catholic Church. He repeatedly stressed the great role ancestral faith played in his life and he encouraged immigrants to the United States to persist in it: "Show that most of you were raised in the holy Catholic faith, you know how to live according to its principles, as your fathers and forefathers did."<sup>30</sup> Through his philanthropic activities, he became part of the 1880s model of a modern, active Christian social action, which became an expression of Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* Encyclical of 1891 and *Graves de Communi* of 1901.<sup>31</sup> It must be admitted that the activities carried out by Jerzmanowski included extremely broad circles. In addition to the aforementioned work for emigrants, he supported numerous Polish associations and initiatives in the United States (such as the Polish reading room in New York, the church he founded in Jersey City and the one he helped build in New York City), in Europe, and especially on Polish soil. Among others, he organized aid for flood victims in Galicia, he initiated the work of People's Reading Society in Poznan, the construction of dormitory for female students in Krakow, the Mianowski Bank, the Land Bank in Poznan, the Galician Savings Bank in Lviv, on top of the organization of the National Exhibition in Lviv in 1894. He took care of the Polish Museum of Rapperswil (in the years 1890-1903 he remained a member of the Council of the Museum), the Summer Cano Society, and the Society of Stanisław Staszic in Lviv. He financed the stained-glass windows for the Wawel Cathedral designed by Józef Mehoffer.<sup>32</sup> Realizing the importance of education, he tried to support various initiatives aimed at the dissemination of knowledge, especially among the peasant population. Thanks to his acquaintance of Adam Asnyk and Karol Lewakowski, he joined in the activities conducted by them, aimed at the awakening and preservation of patriotic attitudes among the rural population in Galicia. In 1890

29 BJ, Ref. 384254 RARA, *Wycinki z gazet polskich i obcych*, op. cit.

30 "Nowa Reforma," 1886, Iss. 156.

31 Cf. A.S. Więch, *Realizacja chrześcijańskiej idei miłości bliźniego – wokół katolicyzmu Erazma Józefa Jerzmanowskiego*, in: *Erazm Józef Jerzmanowski (1844-1909). Życie w służbie idei*, op. cit., pp. 49-55.

32 BJ, Ref. 384254 RARA, *Wycinki z gazet polskich i obcych*, op. cit.; J. Hulewicz, *Jerzmanowski Erazm Józef Dołęga*, op. cit., p. 179; Cf. G. Fijałkowska, *Tyle życia ile w czynie. Rzecz o Erazmie Jerzmanowskim*, Kraków 2009; I. Wodzińska, *Obraz działalności Erazma Jerzmanowskiego w polskiej publicystyce prasowej przelomu XIX i XX wieku*, in: *Erazm Józef Jerzmanowski (1844-1909). Życie w służbie idei*, op. cit., pp. 56-65.

he became financially involved in the “Lud Polski” magazine about which he said:

it can be honestly and impartially stated that this youngest swordsman in the field of our people’s education presents himself at the very beginning beautifully, appropriately up to his lofty task. He speaks to the people in a tongue that is understandable, because he speaks from the heart, honestly and fraternally, he entertains and teaches at the same time; how can one fail to trust and believe that the seed he throws on his native soil will yield graceful and abundant crops ...<sup>33</sup>

In 1891, he became the financial founder of Adam Asnyk’s Folk School Society<sup>34</sup> whose activities he supported with numerous donations. He also founded elementary schools in his estates in Prokocim and Krzyszkowice.<sup>35</sup>

Erazm Jerzmanowski very decisively opposed any activity of socialists. He warned against the slogans they proclaimed, extremely popular in the working-class circles, which were fed by Polish immigrants arriving in search of work. He wrote in his address to the participants of the Congress of the Polish National Association:

Establish laws to prevent the extravagances of the socialists because such do not agree with the spirit of our nation. Show the world that Poles are men of peace, that they want to work and have the right to independent existence and that they can provide it for themselves.<sup>36</sup>

He called to organize self-help cooperatives and to help those in a difficult situation. However, the active implementation of the already mentioned ideas of Christian social activity did not prevent Jerzmanowski from decisively speaking out against the excessive clericalization of Polish organizations, for which he received a great deal of criticism, especially from the circles around *Gazeta Katolicka*. The answer to this was Jerzmanowski being awarded the Commander cross of the Order of St. Sylvester in 1889 by Pope Leo XIII for his merits to the Church, Homeland and Humanity.<sup>37</sup>

For Jerzmanowski it was extremely important that the Polish organizations emerging in the United States aimed their activities primarily at the Polish territory under occupation, which aroused resistance from a large

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33 BJ, ref. 384254 RARA, *Wycinki z gazet polskich i obcych*, op. cit.

34 At the time of its foundation he donated the amount of 10,000 zlotys; BJ, Ref. 384254 RARA, *Wycinki z gazet polskich i obcych*, op. cit.

35 “Dziennik Chicagowski,” 15 September 1895.

36 “Nowa Reforma,” 1886, Iss. 156.

37 BJ, Ref. 384254 RARA, *Wycinki z gazet polskich i obcych*, op. cit.

part of the Polish community, which tended rather to organize *ad hoc* assistance to its poorer members. This led to numerous misunderstandings, the result of which was that Jerzmanowski became more and more discouraged to any activity among the American Polonia. In the mid-1880s, Erazm Jerzmanowski became heavily involved in promoting the idea of the National Treasury. It was a matter dividing the American Polonia strongly into two opposing camps. One advocated the need to establish a Polish-American national treasure, the funds from which would be used to support numerous Polish-American initiatives in the United States, while the other assumed the operation of a single treasure in the Swiss Rapperswil, which would provide financial support for the reconstruction of the reborn Polish state. Erazm Jerzmanowski was definitely closer to the second of these views. He stood in line with his proclaimed need for a united work to rebuild Poland, which he often expressed. In his 1894 speech, he argued:

Your help, dear Compatriots, should aim at sustaining the national movement in all districts of the former Republic of Poland. We live in the age in which every project needs a lot of money. In order to prepare ourselves with dignity for a resolute solving of our political issue, we need to create a powerful National Treasury that could help European Poles as much as the American Irish support the emancipation movement of their European confreres.<sup>38</sup>

As Treasury Commissioner for the United States, Jerzmanowski set himself the main goal not only to conduct a broad collection campaign, which he successfully did, but above all to unite the numerous American collections into one capital, which would be transferred to the headquarters at Rapperswil:

In conclusion, I call on you all without distinction of beliefs, Countrymen, to support the momentous institution of the Polish National Treasury in Rapperswil; gather contributions, even cents, but gather all of you, and tirelessly, always remembering about the final goal underpinning our work.<sup>39</sup>

The most striking evidence of the subordination of his entire life to the work for the benefit of Polish society can be found in the testamentary provision established by Erazm Jerzmanowski, which established the Erazm

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38 BJ, Ref. 222564 III RARA, *Zbiór druków Polonii amerykańskiej*.

39 Ibidem.



and Anna Jerzmanowski Awards Foundation,<sup>40</sup> which was intended to exceed all previously existing scholarship funds with its momentum. Jerzmanowski's well thought-out decision can be proved by the precision of the foundation act, which at the same time perfectly reflects the values he expressed: love for his homeland and work for its good, attachment to the Catholic religion, but also a reminder of equal rights of men and women:

One prize is to be paid each year ... A Pole or a Poland-born person, or possibly born within the borders of Poland in 1772 and of the Roman Catholic religion, who has obtained an outstanding position in Polish society through his or her literary, scientific or humanitarian work for the benefit of the home country. The choice of the person to be awarded belongs to the Academy of Learning in Kraków ...<sup>41</sup>

The Foundation, whose material basis was the amount of 1,200,000 Austro-Hungarian kronas was very quickly hailed the "Polish Nobel," to which it was compared by Stanisław Tarnowski, President of the Krakow Academy of Arts and Sciences:

Education, love of one's neighbor, the enhancement of welfare and national wealth, all those directions of life and forms of work in which the love of public good, sacrifice for it, civic and Christian virtue is expressed, are entitled to a reward. It is therefore on a smaller scale, in smaller numbers (because the funds are smaller), similar to the world-famous Nobel Foundation award.<sup>42</sup>

In the years 1915-1938, the winners of the award included Bp. Adam Sapieha, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Ignacy Jan Paderewski, Jan Kasprówicz, Oswald Balzer, Napoleon Cybulski, Stanisław Zaremba, Władysław Abraham, and Aleksander Brückner.

Erazm Józef Jerzmanowski is primarily remembered as the founder of the prize, but it is worth remembering that belonging to the generation of participants in the January Uprising, a generation of emigrants who had to face numerous adversities, he was a man who, having achieved significant financial success, considered it most important to use it to work for the modernization of Polish society, and thus for the rebirth of the Polish state in the future.

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40 Cf. T. Skrzyński, *Fundacja Nagród imienia Erazma i Anny małżonków Jerzmanowskich. Założenia i rzeczywistość*, in: *Prokocim dawniej i dziś*, ed. T. Ściężor, Kraków 2018, pp. 91-106.

41 AN PAN i PAU, KSG 366/1913, *Odpis testamentu Erazma Jerzmanowskiego z dnia 29 kwietnia 1908 roku*.

42 *Rocznik Akademii Umiejętności*, 1908/1909, p. 66.

## Annex

**The appeal addressed by Erazm Jerzmanowski to the delegates to the Congress of the Polish National Alliance in 1886. Distributed to the participants and published in the Polish press (*Nowa Reforma*, Iss. 156, July 13, 1886).**

Compatriots!

Leaving the shores of this great country in order to see my beloved family after so many years of separation, yearning to breathe the air of the part of Poland, where so-far being a Pole is not considered to be a crime after so many years of hard work, I would like to say *goodbye* to you. But in doing so, and being aware of the fact that at a time when I am away from you, the delegates presented by yourselves will be meeting at the convention in Bay-City called by the Association's Censor, I take the liberty of making a few remarks which come from a deep love for the Homeland, as a man who, with his persistent work, was able to gain respect for himself among his own and in others, who, needing nothing from others, wants only your good, your exaltation and improvement of your material being, as well as raising patriotism, which every Pole should be animated by. I hope that not only will they not be pushed away, but that they will be received with the same feeling as that with which I utter them.

Respect everyone during your debates, because although opinions differ, they will be guided by a common sense of duty to work for the good of the Homeland and the public.

Work out the Constitution in such a way that the elected board has the right to put into practice the institutions necessary for your moral and material well-being, so that it can support young people in higher education or crafts to prepare them for useful citizenship.

Authorize it to create loan cash registers in order to support the craftsmen and give by way of a loan more opportunities for the development of industry between Poles, always with the condition that such supported industry will not employ others than Poles.

Do not forget about old people, widows and orphans, for it is everyone's duty to remember those who are unable to cope on their own.

Make up your Board of Directors of impeccable people meritorious to the Homeland, who have a position in this country, because only those can influence the improvement of the material existence of their countrymen with their influence and relations.

Establish laws to prevent the extravagances of the socialists because such do not agree with the spirit of our nation. Show the world that Poles

are men of peace, that they want to work and have the right to independent existence and that they can provide it for themselves.

Show that, knowing how to respect the laws of this great country, you deserve to have its free institutions, seek and encourage others to try to take with you the place in this country which you are entitled to along with other nationalities.

Give your government a regulation, so that every person, every association entering into the tracks of socialist principles, as incompatible with the Polish spirit as these are, can be removed from your circles.

Show that most of you were raised in the holy Catholic faith, you know how to live according to its principles, as your fathers and forefathers did.

Away from you, I will think of you and I will say there, on the banks of the Vistula River, in this ancient city next to the Mound of Krak, that Poles, though miles and miles away, always breathe one spirit for Poland and on a foreign land, from the heights of which the goddess of freedom is gazing, bringing the torch of Europe's progress to the disempowered, a field of work is being prepared for the rebirth of our Homeland.

I, on my part, warmed up by the heat of my homeland, having looked at those parts of the country from afar, where, although I was born, I am not allowed to come, I will return to you again and with new enthusiasm I will work with you for the good of the Homeland and yours.

Goodbye, then, Dear Compatriots! May the Most High have you in His care, may He guide your steps, may this desired moment of our beloved Homeland's rebirth come to pass.

My ending words: Long live Poland! Fraternal greetings to you, from

Erazm J. Jerzmanowski

**Speech delivered by Erazm Jerzmanowski during the anniversary of the January Uprising in New York in 1887 (*Nowa Reforma*, 1887, Iss. 45, 25 February).**

Compatriots!

We are gathered today to celebrate the anniversary of the Polish Nation's uprising in 1863. On this day 24 years ago, we Poles, to whom the Homeland was more precious than our personal existence, raised our weapons, defending the undying rights of our Nation and its ideals, which humanity should cherish in its womb in order not to descend to the level of animality. Slavery, even if the links of its handcuffs were adorned with most beautiful flowers, is still slavery, as it destroys the body like gangrene, pulls

the whole organism of society into corruption, and knocks down the nation from the pedestal of the sublime, with the love of the Homeland of the cherished principles, into the realm of often base motives and a wicked life of calculation, so that it finally bursts apart and falls. Slavery has changed the Roman legions into gangs of street troubadours, and the proud sons of Athens and Sparta it made into slow tools of tyranny. Fortunately, the year 1863, having drenched the Polish soil with our blood, was a proof that patriotism and great ideals of the past were not yet extinct in our souls. This manifestation was a victory by itself, because the generosity and the long living nature of these ideals in us give us the right to call out "Poland is not dead yet!" Caring for these ideals in ourselves and in our children, instilling a sense of sacrificial duty into the future generation is one of those sacred obligations which a Pole should observe always and everywhere in his homeland and abroad. Year after year, with our hearts full of grief, we come together on this day, reminding ourselves how Poland was defeated and trampled on, how everything was taken away, the freedom of national, social and economic development, and even what man's heart should be most precious to: language and religion, have been threatened. The enemy reached out like a vulture with his claws to the heart of the nation, to rip it out of our living bodies and finally end the fight once started, with complete demoralization and degeneration. Shall I remind you of all the harshness of exile to Siberia and the Irkutsk mines, the piles of the burnt bodies of our brothers fallen in the uprising, the insults to our mothers, our wives, to Polish virgins? Should I remind you of the ruins of our burnt cities and home villages, and of all the horror of this oppression, of the mockery that cries out for vengeance to Heaven! Would it be possible to forget, even miles away, this image of the nation's misery even in a lifetime? Is there anyone between us who cannot feel the excess of misery, the humiliation!? Now, Compatriots, we are being asked the involuntary question of whether we are to give up, to give up morally as we have given up physically? Is it befitting for a man to stand indifferently with his hands folded, and to idly make grievances on the shore of the water in which his mother is drowning?

So, are we to give ourselves and our nation to be trampled on due to our own smallness and given up for eternal contempt? History points out similar facts: the sons of Israel went into disarray, but their national sense was not snatched from them. They have a common weapon for their ailments, which forces the mighty of this world to reckon with them. The same weapon is wielded by Ireland today. Their power is the generosity of the nation, the money that every one of them, rich and poor places on the altar of the Fatherland, according to his ability. And we Poles, the descendants of the victorious army from Vienna, would stand below the Jews, below the Irish? For this our hearts, our national pride would never allow. If we are

to die, let us die in armor, with our breast turned to the enemy. Die, but the death of heroes. You will say: after all, we have it all, but for us, for our own protection. We collect the money in order to give it back by way of post-humous capital or charitable institutions. And what about the Fatherland?

Starting with yourselves, as befits you, having built a fortress of your own use, let us go a step further. Let us give a hand to our homeland from this national fortress. Let us follow in the footsteps of the noble sons of Ire, let us erect, as they did, a great altar for our mother, our Poland who is held in shackles. Let us not let other nations surpass us in the ability to sacrifice ourselves for such a sacred cause.

When I was an adolescent, I clenched my fists, seeing our enemies handling us so disdainfully. When I became a man, I reached for arms. And I fought in the ranks of the insurgents of 1863, [saying] prayerfully: “Freedom give us, o Lord,” but God has ordered otherwise. When I grabbed the pilgrim stick of a Polish wanderer, there was one thought that guided me. To earn a fortune.

And why did this desire arise in my heart? ... I wanted a fortune, because I felt that it is such a power which we need if indeed we are going to rebuild Poland in the first place.

Well, let’s all join together on this journey today. We are working to create a great national treasure for the benefit of the Homeland with our diligence and perseverance. In this way, we will build a permanent monument to the patriotism of Polish emigration in America. I was happy to choose this day to mark the anniversary of the centuries-old struggle for the freedom and independence of Poland, to make you aware of the fact that some action in this direction has been started among the noble members of the patriotic, generally well known Society for the Union of Poles in New York City, which took the aim of building a Polish home. The Society, believing that the Homeland for the Pole is the Polish House, which should be the most important enterprise for each of us to build, decided on a night meeting on 13<sup>th</sup> of this month, under the signature at 228 E, at 30th Street, that the Society’s money, amounting to 1,270 dollars in pledge letters in nominal value, and 230 dollars in bank and cash, shall constitute the foundation of the National Treasury for Polish use; around this treasure, other societies should group together for its multiplication. The Society has further enacted, that the treasure is subject to the administration of the Union of Poles, and that I was elected as President of the Board. The Polish Club in New York City, giving an example of encouragement, donated 2/5 of its treasury, with 25 cents per month from each of its members to pay for it.

The resolution of the Union of Poles was welcomed with enthusiasm at a meeting I deliberately convened for this purpose by the Presidents of Polish Societies in New York City and the surrounding area, on 18th of

this month, at 228 E. 30th Street. The above meeting also resolved to send this appeal to all Polish Societies, asking them for:

1. voluntary taxation of 5, 10 cents, or more, from each member.
2. sending their taxable member lists for writing down their names in the golden book of the National Treasury.
3. encouraging private contributions and creating patriotic clubs to collect contributions or voluntary taxation.
4. The Presidents accepted my request that the \$1,000 I donated to the Polish people (which had not yet been used in the Safe Deposit) should be added to the National Treasury.
5. All correspondence should be addressed to: Erazm Jerzmanowski, 340, Third Avenue New York.

Citizens!

In addition to making you aware of the above program, I would like to add that I am increasing this fund by a further 1,000 dollars, and I think that you will approve of this action and in the shortest time you will provide the lists of contributors capable of proving our love and generosity for our beloved Poland.

Long live Poland!

**Appeal of the Commissioner of the Polish National Treasury of the United States of North America Erazm Jerzmanowski delivered on November 1, 1894 in New York City (Jagiellonian Library in Krakow, ref. 222564 III RARA).**

Compatriots!

When, after the last Polish armed movement, aiming at regaining the lost political independence, the enemy victors raised a great cry of triumph on all front lines, it may have seemed for the moment that a great nation had fallen once and for all, and that it could be crossed out of the list of the living.

But the history of the last thirty years has proven that the national spirit not only was not extinguished in the restrained body, but on the contrary, it began a new era of its existence.

With the exception of a large crowd of people of small heart, who easily agreed with the new order, the whole nation, after a momentary lethargy that followed the general pogrom, quickly woke up from numbness and with all its strength began to think about a fundamental revival. And the thought soon went into action and the symptoms of our vitality began to appear everywhere. In Congress Poland, the era of positivism, in the

Duchy of Poznan, the years of the “Kulturkampf,” and in Galicia a long and yet infinite struggle for our autonomy – these are undeniable signs of the progress of rebirth.

The Kingdom, deprived of all freedom, was forced to work mainly on increasing trade and industries. Galicia boasts the creation and development of institutions such as national banks, financing societies, the Gymnastics Society (Sokół), the Folk Education Association, and finally the Lviv exhibition, which turned the eyes of the whole of Europe on our poor country. The Duchy of Poznan, moaning under the blows of Bismarckian policy, multiplied the national wealth by the creation and development of institutions such as the Marcinkowski Association, folk reading rooms, raising awareness at the national folk rallies, and the land bank whose aim is to keep the land in the hands of native Poles.

Last year was Kosciuszko’s Year, which resulted in so many conventions and excursions to Lviv and proved spiritual solidarity in all the partitions, which is undoubtedly a breakthrough in our post-partition life. Today we know for certain that we are alive, not only physically but also morally, and spiritually, and this adds us strength to continue to fight even though it is so burdensome.

When our affairs in Europe took a relatively successful turn, a new symptom of our national vitality appeared in the second hemisphere of the world, an overseas exile was created, which has been working on securing material prosperity here for thirty years, i.e. since the first larger Polish settlements were established in the United States.

To you, Compatriots, creating the Polish colonies in America, I address these words today.

For thirty years you have been working on yourselves, setting up churches, schools, and various patriotic institutions that keep the national spirit in you and protect the lives of your families.

This work was successfully crowned by the result: today in the free land of America, we speak of a New Poland.

But with the best of intentions you have forgotten one thing, Compatriots, namely, that the love of the Fatherland is not founded only on singing patriotic songs, wearing bright uniforms and celebrating national anniversaries, so dear to every Pole’s heart, but on fulfilling patriotic duties.

We need deeds, Compatriots, because faith without deed is dead.

We must admit that you did what you could, but you forgot about one thing, Compatriots: that Poland should be rebuilt not in America, but in Europe.

In this respect, you have not done everything that the Fatherland demands of you, and rightly so, because here on American soil the conditions are in a hundred times better than for our brothers in Europe.

To help the Motherland is a sacred duty of the Polish colonies in America, counting a half million heads.

Your help, dear Compatriots, should aim at sustaining the national movement in all districts of the former Republic of Poland. We live in the age in which every project needs a lot of money.

In order to prepare ourselves with dignity for a resolute resolution of our political issue, we need to create a powerful National Treasure that could help European Poles as much as the American Irish support the emancipation movement of their European confreres.

Many of you, Countrymen, have understood this need, therefore, such National Treasures emerged in America, but their organization rested on an incorrect basis.

Having been trusted the office of the Commissioner of the Treasury of the United States of North America from the Board of the National Treasury under the supervision of the Polish museum in Rapperswil council, I decided at the outset to speak to you, my Confreres, to turn your attention to what is wrong and what should be improved.

Having left your Homeland a longer or shorter time ago, you no longer have that knowledge of Polish affairs which is necessary for their management. Polish emigration was born out of economic motivation, it was recruited from elements that did not take political stances in the old country, hence not having a precise knowledge of our national situation and not being able to create plans of action, hence all Polish National Treasures in America today do not have the importance they should and will not have until you limit yourselves. Compatriots, to collect funds only, leaving the management thereof in the hands of enlightened people, with sophisticated characters will ensure a financial guarantee and keep your hands, so to speak, on the pulse of national life.

The National Polish Treasure under the supervision of the Board of the Museum in Rapperswil is already known to everyone well from the articles and proclamations hundredfold repeated by the local press, therefore I will not repeat these details, and I will say only that accepting the office of the Commissioner of the Treasury, I decided and promised to strive to confluence the Treasure existing on American soil in one piece with the Treasury Europe, all based on strong fundamentals, resting in blameless hands, and what is the most important, managed by people standing at the helm of the national movement, thoroughly familiar with the needs of the country and living in the Homeland.

I hope that the above cited reasons motivate you, Countrymen, to recognize that the national work carried out here in America, in its previous form, will not produce such results, which – I am convinced – we wholeheartedly desire, since it is based on the erroneous belief that you are almost



entitled to the old country governance and deciding on historic, groundbreaking matters in the political existence of our Matrix. Convinced that my words will reach your enlightened minds and patriotic hearts, I urge you, Compatriots, drop this belief, work not for satisfying your own vanity, but for the good of primary importance, our unhappy Fatherland! I have said what my conscience dictated – the rest belongs to you.

In conclusion, I call on you all without distinction of beliefs, Countrymen, to support the momentous institution of the Polish National Treasury in Rapperswil; gather contributions, even cents, but gather all of you, tirelessly, always remembering about the final goal underpinning our work.

To you Polish women, I make an urgent call to support national projects. The patriotism and sacrifice of Polish women have never disappointed our nation. As wives, sisters and mothers, instill the need to work for the good of the Homeland and encourage contributions to the National Treasury. Not great contributions, but constant ones produce serious results.

Let those be reckoned as the indifferent to the national cause who are oblivious of the sad fate of our Country and put selfishness and self-centeredness as the guard of their hearts and pockets!

Let Kosciuszko's Year lay the foundations for building a happy future.

Erazm J. Jerzmanowski

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# “The World of Tomorrow” or “The World of Yesterday”? The Image of an Independent Nation at the 1939 New York World’s Fair

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## ABSTRACT

Poland’s presence at World’s Fairs between the World Wars is a special issue in that, after a long absence on the map of Europe, the country had the opportunity to show its industrial and cultural achievements in the international arena as an independent exhibitor for the first time. Thus, this event always had a very important political dimension. Its symbol was the Polish pavilion presented in Paris in 1925, but no less important was the pavilion at the New York World’s Fair in 1939. Although it was a success at the world expo, it was overshadowed by the tragic consequences of the outbreak of World War II almost from the beginning. From today’s perspective, it is worth looking at this object, to evaluate its foundation and ultimate significance, as well as to reflect on the difficult concept of national art, in addition to tracing the fate of the pavilion.

**KEY WORDS:** world’s fair, world’s expo, New York World’s Fair, Polish pavilion, Brotherhood of St. Luke, Jan Cybulski

## STRESZCZENIE

*„The World of Tomorrow” czy „The World of Yesterday”? Wizerunek niepodległego narodu na Wystawie Światowej w Nowym Jorku w 1939 r.*

Obecność Polski na wystawach światowych w dwudziestolecu międzywojennym to zagadnienie o tyle szczególne, że po długiej nieobecności na mapie Europy po raz pierwszy kraj ten miał szansę pokazać swoje osiągnięcia przemysłu i kultury na arenie międzynarodowej jako niezależny wystawca. Wydarzenie to miało więc bardzo istotny wymiar polityczny. Jego symbolem jest pawilon polski zaprezentowany w Paryżu w 1925 r., nie mniej ważny jednak okazał się pawilon na wystawie nowojorskiej w 1939 r. Choć na światowej ekspozycji odniósł sukces, niemal od początku znalazł się w cieniu tragicznych następstw wybuchu II wojny światowej. Z dzisiejszej perspektywy warto przyjrzeć się temu obiektowi, by ocenić jego założenia i ostateczną wymowę oraz zastanowić się nad trudnym pojęciem sztuki narodowej, a także przedśledzić dalsze losy pawilonu.

**SŁOWA KLUCZE:** wystawy światowe, Wystawa Światowa w Nowym Jorku, pawilon polski, Bractwo św. Łukasza, Jan Cybulski

The 1939 New York World's Fair was the last event of this kind before the outbreak of World War II. It was part of a series of international exhibitions, traditionally opened on 1 May, initiated in 1851 by the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in London.<sup>1</sup> Poland was among the countries invited to participate. After the previous successes (and controversies) at the world exhibitions in Paris in 1925 and 1937, the country was once again given the opportunity to present its achievements and proposals in various fields of industry, science, and art. With regard to the problem of national independence as a project and experience, the analysis of the Polish pavilion's exhibition at the World Exhibition in New York, as opposed to the Parisian world fairs, will lead us more towards the concept of "experience" than "project." This article provides a summary of the Polish exhibition, in particular the section on visual arts, its ideological aspect and an evaluation from today's perspective.

1 K. Nowakowska, *Pawilon polski na nowojorskiej wystawie światowej (1939-1940)*, Warszawa 2013, p. 34.

The New York World’s Fair was fueled by the slogan “The World of Tomorrow,” which indicated a future-oriented direction, optimism and an opportunity for change, for the first time so strongly expressed at such an event. The United States had just risen from the economic crisis that had started with the famous “Black Thursday” of 1929. The New Deal, launched in 1933 by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a program of economic and social reforms aimed at counteracting the effects of the crisis, had already brought the first results, which could be presented in the context of the extremely ambitious expo project.<sup>2</sup> At that time, New York City was seeing the effects of both the crisis and Roosevelt’s reforms, therefore seeming both poor and rich.<sup>3</sup> Americans needed a strong incentive for recovery and delineation of new roads to progress. The initiators of the event, Joseph F. Shagden and Edward F. Roosevelt, responded to this stimulus by proclaimed the slogan of the World’s Fair for “happiness, hope and profit.”<sup>4</sup>

The leading creators of the exhibition were the architect Norman Bel Geddes, Donald Deskey, the architect Stefan Voorhees and industrial designers: Walter Darwin Teague, Henry Dreyfuss, and Raymond Loewy. Grover Aloysius Whalen was Chairman of the committee.<sup>5</sup> The exhibition was attended by many outstanding artists of international renown, as evidenced by the presence of such names as Alvar Aalto, Salvador Dali, or Oscar Niemeyer.

Nearly 60 countries presented themselves at the Fair. The first to accept the invitation was the Soviet Union, whose pavilion went down in history as one of the largest and most expensive. The Third Reich refused to participate in the project on the grounds of lack of sufficient financial resources, in fact preparing for the war that was about to begin.<sup>6</sup> In fact, as it soon turned out, the New York World’s Fair, full of optimism, hope for development and a better tomorrow in its assumptions, was marked by the stigma of growing political conflict, which ultimately put an end to all the ambitious plans.

Americans invested over 27 million dollars in the project. Queens district and its Flushing Meadows, an uninteresting, wet, polluted area on

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2 Ibidem, p. 38.

3 J. Winiewicz, *Co pamiętam z długiej drogi życia*, Poznań 1985, p. 108, cited in: K. Nowakowska, *Pawilon polski*, op. cit., p. 38.

4 K. Nowakowska, *Pawilon polski*, op. cit., p. 39.

5 A.M. Drexlerowa, A. Olszewski, *Polską i Polacy na powszechnych wystawach światowych 1851-2000*, Warszawa 2005, p. 248.

6 K. Nowakowska, *Pawilon polski*, op. cit., p. 40.

the Flushing River was chosen as the location for the event.<sup>7</sup> Thanks to the World Trade Organization, this unattractive area turned into a center of the latest technologies. The designed space was based on a system of radial aisles spreading from the theme center. The area was decorated with diverse vegetation on top of modern water and light installations. In addition, the whole event was to be accompanied by music.<sup>8</sup>

The grand opening of the World's Fair, which took place on 30 April, attracted crowds. It was attended by members of the US government, President Roosevelt, representatives of the Congress, House of Representatives, state governors, state dignitaries, and a representation of foreign countries. Roosevelt and Whalen came up with speeches. There was also a US Army and Navy parade accompanied by groups of representatives of individual countries dressed in their national costumes.<sup>9</sup>

The architecture of the exhibition pavilions was characterized, as it was the case at the World's Fairs in Brussels in 1935 and Paris in 1937, by a great variety of forms, typical of the 1930s. The style carried reminiscences of classicism through monumentality of forms or art déco, but at the same time it presented many modern solutions, above all the American streamlined shapes, which dominated industrial design for decades to come.<sup>10</sup>

The division into geographical and thematic exhibition zones was a novelty. The zones were entitled: Amusement Area, Communication and Trade, Social Affairs, the Food Zone, Government Zone, Production and Distribution Zone, and Transportation Zone. In the center there were two major structures: a three-sided obelisk dubbed the Trylon and the Perisphere, a huge rounded structure bringing obvious associations with the globe. They were designed by architects Wallace K. Harrison and J. Andre Fouilhoux.<sup>11</sup> It is noteworthy that the two exhibitions, which presented futuristic visions of cities, were named *Democracity* and *Futurama*. The first of these was located in the Perisphere and presented the image of a 2039 city by Dreyfus. The second one, designed by Geddes, was part of the exhibition of the popular General Motors pavilion and was an image of a 1960s city accompanied by a presentation of American technological innovations.<sup>12</sup>

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7 Ibidem, p. 41.

8 Ibidem, p. 42.

9 Ibidem, p. 49.

10 A.K. Olszewski, *Wystawa nowojorska w 1939 roku. Program i realizacja*, in: *Wystawa nowojorska 1939* [Conference papers], Materiały z sesji naukowej Instytutu Sztuki PAN Warszawa, 23-24 November 2009, ed. J.M. Sosnowska, Warszawa 2009, p. 16.

11 Ibidem, p. 16.

12 K. Nowakowska, *Pawilon polski*, op. cit., p. 56-57.

The Second Polish Republic was to present itself against all these impressive modern wonders of technology, architecture and industry. Although very young, it already had positive experiences with world exhibitions. Poland's situation was not the easiest one. Its only 20-year history had been turbulent enough. In addition, Poland was in an extremely difficult geopolitical position, and due to certain controversial political decisions, it had a weakened reputation in the eyes of other countries. Nevertheless, participation in such a prestigious event gave Poland a chance to improve its international image.<sup>13</sup> After the last exhibition in Paris there were rumors of particular interest in Polish architecture among Americans.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, participation in the Fair organized by such an industrially and technologically developed country as the United States was associated with prestige, which would be difficult to give up for the ambitious Second Republic. In connection with the acceptance of the invitation, a number of institutions were established to be responsible for the preparation of the Polish pavilion.

The key person was Commissioner General Stefan Ropp, Director of the Poznań International Fair. Unlike the organizers of Paris exhibitions, Jerzy Warchałowski and Lech Niemojewski, he was in no way connected with the world of art, but his greatest and irreplaceable asset was his vast experience in organizing such projects.<sup>15</sup> The design of the Polish pavilion envisaged two main objectives. The first of them was to show that Poland, despite many opinions, was not a country that was founded in 1918, but one that regained independence then. It was therefore necessary, despite the guiding slogan of the American Exhibition, refer to the pre-partition Polish history, with an emphasis not on martyrdom, but in historical moments of glory, the events that allowed Poland to play a significant role in the history of Europe, and which accentuated the deep-rooted democratic traditions of our country.<sup>16</sup> The opinions of that time clearly expressed a need for the pavilion to fulfill its propaganda mission.<sup>17</sup> The second objective was to present not so much the industrial achievements of the Second Republic as its trade offer, hoping for new trends and products exports and a chance for obtaining new loans.<sup>18</sup> The first goal was achieved

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13 Ibidem, p. 60.

14 L. Niemojewski, *Polska na wystawie w Nowym Yorku*, “Architektura i Budownictwo,” 1938, Iss. 3, p. 75.

15 P. Korduba, *Stefan Ropp – komisarz generalny polskiej wystawy i elementy jej organizacji*, in: *Wystawa nowojorska*, op. cit., pp. 81-82.

16 K. Nowakowska, *Pawilon polski*, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

17 S. Zamecznik, *W antrakcie*, “Architektura i Budownictwo,” 1938, Iss. 3, pp. 85-86.

18 K. Nowakowska, *Pawilon polski*, op. cit., p. 71.

primarily through the visual setting of the Polish pavilion and the art presented there.

One may wonder if the assumptions of the Polish pavilion chosen by the organizers were indeed successful. The exhibition committee were well aware of who would be the main recipient of the Polish exhibition: in the case of the United States, it was necessary to focus primarily on the expectations of the American Polonia. It was undoubtedly easier for Polish emigrants to find a point of reference in the historical concept of the exhibition, which had no signs of nostalgia, but hopes to regain the former power. For many representatives of the American Polish community, it was the first opportunity to see their country's representation at an international event after the restoration of independence.<sup>19</sup> In a short text for the *Architektura i Budownictwo* magazine, Commissioner General of the exhibition of 1937, Lech Niemojewski, wonders: "Can Poles show something more than memorabilia that would move the emigrants longing for the old country on the other hemisphere?"<sup>20</sup> and he thinks that the answer seems to be yes. Although Polish achievements in industry and technology could not in any way compete with what the Americans had in store, we could show "this tradition, this culture, this poetry of a good, true quality"<sup>21</sup> across the ocean, which countries with shorter histories lacked. The aspect of the centuries-old tradition, which the United States and many European countries may envy us in various fields, was repeatedly emphasized in the opinions about the Polish exhibition, and it was clearly what its makers emphasized the most.

At the New York World's Fair, the Polish pavilion was assigned a quite satisfactory location, opposite Italy, and away from the dominant USSR pavilion, so it was not threatened by strong competition from other representations. The requirements were as follows: the pavilions could occupy a maximum of 75% of the allocated area, the exhibition spaces should have one storey and a height not exceeding 21 meters, a tower could reach a maximum of 36 meters (but eventually the Polish one was higher), and the rooms had to be illuminated only with artificial light. The pavilion was to include: the representative part, the science and art department, the tourism department, the top Polish production department, the export trade fair department, a Raclawice Panorama (an idea which was eventually abandoned, rightly so in the opinion of some, as it would be naive to believe that this panoramic painting could dazzle the American public),<sup>22</sup>

19 Ibidem, p. 72.

20 L. Niemojewski, *Poland at the exhibition*, op. cit., p. 75.

21 Ibidem, p. 76.

22 S. Zamecznik, *W antrakcie*, op. cit., p. 87.



a restaurant, utility rooms and a three wagon railway train. The project also include the surrounding greenery and water.<sup>23</sup>

In 1937, tenders for the design of the Polish pavilion started. The jury awarded individual candidates points from 1 to 5 in various categories assessing, among others, the architecture, interiors, concept, entrance and exit solutions and compatibility with the environment. As a result of the competition four cash prizes were awarded, and one project was accepted for purchase. The first award was received by Stefan Osiecki, Lucjan Piętka, Jerzy Skolimowski, and Eugeniusz Szparkowski in collaboration with Waclaw Hryniewicz. The third place was awarded to the project by Jan Cybulski, Jan Galinowski, and Feliks Szczęśny-Kowarski. Although the sum of points awarded to them was lower than the projects that won the first and second prizes, it was the only proposal that received the maximum 5 points in the “Architecture” category.<sup>24</sup> It is difficult to indicate why the winning design was not implemented. The lack of sufficient information suggests that the visual attractiveness of the pavilion was decisive, and probably, economic and technical considerations prevailed, the former in particular due to the relatively small budget allocated to the construction of the pavilion.<sup>25</sup>

The winning design was changed many times, but in the final version there was a single-storey rectangular building, 10 meters high, raised in the central part, with side wings with loggias, with a façade finished in smooth, elegant sandstone and the most important element – the golden tower at the entrance, thanks to which the pavilion was long remembered by the visitors. The 18-storey tower was an openwork truss reminiscent (as an historical allusion) of a medieval tower, covered with gilded shields in a shape similar to rectangles with truncated corners and concave sides and decorative bumps. The interior of the pavilion had two entrances, and the main gate was stylized as a Gothic city gate, above which the Polish national emblem was placed.<sup>26</sup> As usually happens in such cases, the choice of design of the pavilion also met with harsh criticism. At the stage of preparation, there were voices of doubt whether the Polish pavilion will be able to impress anyone at all.<sup>27</sup> As it turned out, its simple, smooth form with distinct accents making reference to medieval architecture gained

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23 Konkurs powszechny nr 95 na projekt szkicowy Pawilonu Polskiego na Światowej Wystawie w Nowym Yorku w 1939 r., “Architektura i Budownictwo,” 1938, Iss. 3, p. 77.

24 Ibidem, pp. 77-80.

25 K. Nowakowska, *Pawilon polski*, op. cit., p. 67.

26 Ibidem, p. 84.

27 D. Konstanyńów, *Polska w „Świecie Jutra”. O wymowie ideowej pawilonu polskiego na wystawie światowej w Nowym Yorku*, in: *Polskie zaplecze*, op. cit., p. 92.

recognition from the audience and distinguished itself from the other buildings.<sup>28</sup>

Originally, the pavilion was complemented by a statue depicting Tadeusz Kościuszko, but eventually it was opted for an equestrian statue of King Władysław Jagiełło harmonizing with the character of the tower.<sup>29</sup> It was designed by sculptor Stanisław Ostrowski much earlier, in 1909, on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Grunwald, but remained in design phase since. After 30 years, the work on the monument was resumed, and the artist proceeded to it enthusiastically. The Jagiełło statue was cast in bronze in Italy, using the traditional lost wax method. Also, the figure of the king was presented in a very traditional way, with attention to detail, with faithfully rendered armor and facial features. The three-meter statue stood in front of the entrance on a four-meter tall pedestal with an inscription saying "Poland," but devoid of information that the person depicted is King Jagiełło. The signature was abandoned since, as it was thought, the king who defeated the Teutonic Knights and victoriously held two crossed enemy swords over his head could unnecessarily provoke and exacerbate the already strained Polish-German relations. When the work was about to end, Ostrowski was even pressured to convert the sculpture into an image of Bolesław the Brave, but the artist refused, claiming that even Michelangelo himself would not have been able to do it.<sup>30</sup> Ultimately, however, due to the fact that in April 1939, Adolf Hitler broke the non-aggression treaty with Poland, Polish Ambassador Józef Potocki explained the meaning of the Jagiełło monument at the official opening and, although it was not said directly, the audience felt the analogy between the Battle of Grunwald and the contemporary political situation.<sup>31</sup>

The Polish Pavilion was opened on May 3, 1939, three days after the official opening of the Fair, which was naturally related to the celebration of the anniversary of the Constitution of May 3. It presented 11,000 items that came to America on the "Batory" ship.<sup>32</sup> The central room of the pavilion was the Hall of Honor, where the exhibition entitled *The Past and the Future of Poland* was presented. The Hall of Honor, according to Szczęsny-Kowarski's plan, was a stylistically integral whole with the gold tower. Its authors were architect Stefan Listowski, painter Jan Sokołowski, and sculptor Józef Klukowski. The decoration of the Hall, according to

28 A. Chmielewska, *Przeszłość, teraźniejszość i przyszłość Polski według twórców działu polskiego*, in: *Polskie zaplecze*, op. cit., p. 67.

29 D. Konstantynów, *Polska w „Świecie Jutra”*, op. cit., p. 93.

30 K. Nowakowska, *Pawilon polski*, op. cit., pp. 103-105.

31 D. Konstantynów, *Polska w „Świecie Jutra”*, op. cit., p. 94.

32 K. Nowakowska, *Pawilon polski*, op. cit., pp. 113-115.

the organizers’ wishes, was supposed to refer to the Wawel renaissance, so it was decided to use a coffered ceiling. The Hall was divided into three parts. The right side represented Poland of the past, the middle part – the present one, and the left side – its future.<sup>33</sup>

On the left, there were pseudo-ancient cartograms designed by Stanisław and Maciej Nowicki and Tadeusz Piotrowski, that proudly (and rather exaggeratedly) illustrated the contemporary significance of Poland on the map of Europe and the world (the themes of the representations were: the geopolitical axis of Poland, industry in Poland, Poles in Central Europe, Poles in the world, and the role of Poles in the world). Above the cartograms there was a fresco by Bolesław Cybis depicting the Central Industrial District and Gdynia<sup>34</sup> – obvious achievements of the Second Polish Republic, which should not have been omitted.

In the middle, the most dignified part, separated by a balustrade designed by Henryk Grunwald, there was a stained-glass window by Mieczysław Jurgielewicz entitled *Risen Poland*, showing the personification of the Risen Poland with a sheaf and a sword accompanied by personifications of professions, and in the upper part – Mary the Gate of Dawn, in the lower part – a white eagle and two groups of soldiers. In front of the stained-glass window there was a sculpture, also by Ostrowski, depicting Józef Piłsudski leaning on a saber,<sup>35</sup> well known for its later version found in the Belvedere in Warsaw. At the foot of the Piłsudski monument, a replica of St. Maurice spear was placed in a showcase, along with the marshal’s baton donated to the Commandant by the army after the victory over the Bolsheviks.<sup>36</sup> These artifacts, as well as historical documents presented in the showcases in the right-hand part of the room, were supposed to be tangible proofs of the glorious events presented in the exhibition<sup>37</sup> so that no one would have any doubt that it conveyed facts and not a poetic vision.

On the right-hand side wall, there were seven paintings by artists from the Brotherhood of St. Luke, an art group which referred to the tradition of the old masters, and cared greatly about the quality of the works, using traditional techniques. For this reason, they seemed to be the most suitable for the depiction of historical themes. The order was entrusted to 11 painters of the group. Arbitrarily, the following topics were provided to them to work on: Bolesław the Brave, Christianization of Lithuania,

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33 Ibidem, p. 128.

34 A. Chmielewska, *Przeszłość, teraźniejszość i przyszłość Polski*, op. cit., p. 69.

35 Ibidem.

36 D. Konstantynów, *Polska w „Świecie Jutra”*, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

37 K. Nowakowska, *Pawilon polski*, op. cit., p. 144.

the Jedlna Charter, the Union of Lublin, the Warsaw Confederation, the Battle of Vienna, and the Constitution of the 3rd of May. The representations had to be clear and readable, visually attractive, and tailored to a mass audience. The artists presented preliminary sketches, but they did not meet with enthusiasm. They were accused, above all, of a lack of uniform character, which was due to the fact that they were created by various painters whose styles, although similar, were nevertheless individual. In order of the works to be accepted, they needed to be harmonized in terms of style. This requirement led to a rather unusual painting experiment, which was the joint work on all seven paintings signed by all the 11 artists (Bolesław Cybis, Bernard Frydrysiak, Jan Gotard, Aleksander Jędrzejewski, Elias Kanarek, Jeremi Kubicki, Antoni Michalak, Stefan Płużański, Janusz Podoski, Tadeusz Pruszkowski, and Jan Zamoyski), each of them in fact made a part using his best skills.<sup>38</sup> The paintings were made in a traditional tempera technique on board or canvas, which allowed the artists to obtain bright, vivid colors. The paintings were certainly legible or understandable for both Polish and foreign viewers. They showed the most important events in the history of Poland, as testimonies not only to its victories and power (after all, only the *Battle of Vienna* referred to fighting – and that was for the sake of defending Christianity), but also to the modern system of centuries-long democracy, the adherence to the values which, although traditional, have not lost their relevance. However, the works were not accepted without a word of criticism. The St. Lukas painters' works were accused of rigidity, conservatism and stylistic reference to the early Italian Renaissance, not having much in common with the theme of the images.<sup>39</sup> In addition to the paintings, also tapestries by Mieczysław Szymański were displayed. They depicted the history associated with King John III Sobieski, and had previously found recognition at the exhibition in Paris in 1937.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, the general reception was positive in most cases and the Polish pavilion was not accused of focusing too much on history at the event directed at progress and modernization.<sup>41</sup>

Visitors walked from the Hall of Honor into the Hall of Arts and the Hall of Applied Arts. The Hall of Arts, designed by Konstanty Danko and Stanisław Kucharski, contained mainly paintings representing various artistic circles. The fresco by Jan Henryk Rosen entitled *Great figures of the Polish past* was exhibited there, bringing the same message as the Hall of Honor. There were individual works from the Brotherhood

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38 Ibidem, pp. 95-100.

39 K. Nowakowska, *Pawilon polski*, op. cit., p. 100.

40 Ibidem, p. 145.

41 Ibidem, p. 149.

of St. Luke, artists of the previous generation such as Jacek Malczewski or Olga Boznańska, Wojciech Weiss from Krakow, in addition to the representatives of the *Rytm* circles and the Formists – for example, Tymon Niesiołowski and Andrzej Pronaszko.<sup>42</sup> Its overview of Polish art was very conservative, opting for the traditional means of expression, omitting the constructivist avant-garde as associated with communist circles, but also international enough that it was devoid of originality that would identify it as a modern Polish art, as a national art, determinants of which were really still sought after. This choice was dictated by the pavilion’s concept that referred to the history and traditions, but also partly by the expectations of the recipients (the Americans were not devotees of the new European trends).<sup>43</sup>

The next room, devoted to applied arts, was designed by Jerzy Hryniewiecki, Jan Kurzątkowski and Andrzej Stypiński. It comprised mainly interior design by Jan Bogusławski (*MP Room* and *Lady’s Room*), Barbara Brukalska (*Dining Room*), Kazimierz Prószyński, Włodzimierz Padlewski, and Tadeusz Piotrowski (*Hall*) along with Stanisław and Zofia Dziewulski (*Child’s Room*).<sup>44</sup> A competition was announced for the interior design, just like for the design of the pavilion, and although it was difficult to imagine the final effects of the implementations on the basis of the sketches, Bogusławski’s particularly interesting proposal was noticed already at this stage.<sup>45</sup> The other elements of the exposition hall were numerous products of contemporary artistic craftsmanship, such as furniture, ceramics, glass, textiles, metal products, book bindings or examples of regional craftsmanship. Their authors were mainly artists from the circles of the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts.<sup>46</sup>

The next rooms of the pavilion were devoted to individual sectors of science and industry. The Hall of Science yet returned to the topic importance of Poles in the world, this time focusing on the Poles in America. The exhibition included a series of portraits by Artur Szyk depicting the first Poles in America, a relief by Józef Klukowski *The First Polish Emigrants in America* and a fresco by Cybis, *The Polish Arms in the History of the United States*. Next, there was the Communications Room, opened by another fresco by Rosen, entitled *Poland of the future*. Its exhibition was not only about means of transport, but also aimed at promoting Polish tourist attractions. The following rooms were devoted to Poland’s achievements

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42 Ibidem, pp. 150-155, 160.

43 A. Chmielewska, *Przeszłość, teraźniejszość i przyszłość Polski*, op. cit., p. 78.

44 Ibidem, p. 72.

45 S. Zamecznik, *W antrakcie*, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

46 A. Chmielewska, *Przeszłość, teraźniejszość i przyszłość Polski*, op. cit., p. 71.

at sea, issues related to social welfare, education, architecture and urban planning (here again, many examples of old architecture, such as the settlement in Biskupin, were shown as proof of the centuries-old tradition of Polish construction<sup>47</sup>), Polish production, fabrics (designed by Irena Pokrzywnicka, where women's outfits inspired by Sarmatian fashion were presented), folk art (designed by Anna Pawlikowska and Lucjan Kintopf), and finally, forestry (a rotunda by Bogusławski with Elias Kanarek's frieze).<sup>48</sup>

The pavilion was accompanied by a separate building in the form of a glass rotunda, which contained catering facilities: a restaurant, inn, bar, and café. The interiors and furniture were designed by Henryk Nowina-Czerny, and a plafond symbolizing *Poland's overseas export* was painted by Felicjan Szczyński-Kowarski.<sup>49</sup> The inn aroused special curiosity. It was an exact replica of an authentic 16th century tavern – both in terms of decor, staff costumes and traditional, old Polish menu. Antoni Gordon, a steward from the ORP Batory, managed the premises. The restaurants were very popular, and they were open for a longer period than the pavilion itself.<sup>50</sup> And after the outbreak of WWII, when the fate of the Polish exhibition became uncertain for economic reasons, it was the restaurant that was able to support itself.<sup>51</sup>

The first season of the exhibition lasted until 31 October 1939, i.e. already after the outbreak of World War II. A break was made for the winter period, after which it was not expected to resume. However, it turned out otherwise. Not only was the exhibition in the Polish pavilion not closed, but it also gained additional space in the Palace of Nations, after the Soviet Union withdrew from the event. The Polish exhibition, entitled *The Republic of Poland. Exhibition. War Ruins!*, was complemented with photographs of the occupied country (thus, against the organizers' will, the exhibition gained an angle of martyrdom). It attracted not only the Polish community, but also other patrons, who expressed sympathy and solidarity with our country by visiting.<sup>52</sup>

The Polish Pavilion was one of the most frequently commented works at the New York World's Fair. It enjoyed great acclaim primarily for its architecture. After the end of the exhibition, there was a motion to keep

47 *Architektura i urbanistyka w Nowym Jorku*, "Architektura i Budownictwo," 1939, Iss. 1, p. 38.

48 A. Chmielewska, *Przeszłość, teraźniejszość i przyszłość Polski*, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

49 Ibidem, p. 74.

50 K. Nowakowska, *Pawilon polski*, op. cit., p. 87.

51 K. Nowakowska, *Losy polskich ekspozycji na wystawie światowej w Nowym Jorku po wybuchu wojny*, in: *Polskie zaplecze*, op. cit., p. 142.

52 Ibidem, p. 143.

the gold tower as part of the park, which, according to the New York City Parks Commissioner, Robert Moses, was planned to be built in the post-war period. After the outbreak of the war, Ropp established the American-Polish Memorial Committee, which was to organize the redemption of the Jagiełło Tower and Monument from the Polish government. The Committee managed to put up 1200 copper shields covering the tower for sale (the price of each of them was \$50), out of which only 300 were purchased. Finally, in May 1941, the tower was officially offered to the city of New York. However, the ongoing war and the United States joining it a few months later led to the abandonment of the park project and thus to the demolition of the golden tower. Similar plans concerned the fate of the Jagiełło monument, which was also to remain a sign of the presence of the Polish pavilion in the Flushing Meadows. The statue, however, was more lucky than the tower, because it was placed on a new pedestal and moved to Central Park, a place where it could be better exposed, and where it is still located today.<sup>53</sup>

The items from the exhibition could not return to Poland for obvious reasons. On the other hand, the exhibition committee, heavily indebted, did not have the means to maintain the pavilion, so it was decided to put the objects up for auction. The first one was held in cooperation with Polish Art Service in New York. A catalog was prepared by painter and graphic artist Maria Werten, who did her best in the introduction to advertise the Polish exhibits as effectively as possible. The catalog was divided into three sections: fine arts (including painting, sculpture and graphics), decorative art and folk art. At the auction, also the series of the Brotherhood of St. Luke paintings were offered. The next auction was organized by Croydon Galleries in New York. According to the title page of the catalog, items of furniture, equipment, silver, bronze, porcelain, books, folk art, textiles, electronic and industrial machinery, on top of optical and surgical equipment were put up for auction.<sup>54</sup> A large part of the exhibits was allocated to the collection of the Polish Museum in Chicago. Paintings by the Brotherhood of St. Luke and the tapestries went to the Le Moyne College in Syracuse.

The issue of the Polish pavilion exhibits and their legal status was raised long after the war ended. The long-lived nature of the issue can be proved by the fact that in April 2018 the Museum of Polish History in Warsaw, which is under construction, received artifacts from the Polish exhibition at the New York World's Fair. The donor was Maria Starczewska-Lambasa, whose uncle, filmmaker Jerzy Starczewski, purchased the

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53 Ibidem, pp. 142-144.

54 Ibidem, pp. 145-146.

artifacts at these auctions and kept them at his home in New York City, and then bequeathed his niece.<sup>55</sup> The largest exhibit purchased by Starczewski was one of three bells designed by Aleksander Borawski, made by the Ludwik Felczyński Foundry in Przemyśl, the so-called *Bell of the Fallen in the Fight for Independence 1914-1920* from the Hall of Honor, which the purchaser donated in 1948 to the Carmelite Church in Warsaw.<sup>56</sup> Starczewski's collections also included: Jan Bogusławski's table which is an element of equipment in the *Lady's Room*, ceramic dishes made by such artists as Julia Kotarbińska, Julian Mickun, Lucy Brzezińska, or Mieczysław Pawełko, regional crafts, mainly Podhale and Hutsul, fabrics, jewelry, utility items such as hunting shoes or binoculars, and book publications, including Jan Brzechwa's *Kaczka Dziwaczka* [A strange, strange duck] published by Jakub Mortkowicz and illustrated by Franciszka Themerson.<sup>57</sup>

In the assessment of the Polish pavilion at the New York World's Fair, a comparison with the earlier world exhibitions in Paris in 1925 and 1937 seems inevitable. This task was undertaken, among others, by Agnieszka Chmielewska in the article *Przeszłość, teraźniejszość i przyszłość Polski według twórców działu polskiego* [The past, present and future of Poland according to the creators of the Polish section] included in the materials from the scientific session of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, *Wystawa nowojorska 1939* [New York 1939 exhibition]. According to the author, the main idea of all three exhibitions was the same. Indeed, it is hard to imagine that the Second Republic, after more than a hundred years of absence on the map of Europe, could set itself other goals at events such as world exhibitions than showing that Poland was a country that had recently regained its independence, but had a long tradition preserved in the consciousness of the nation despite the partitions. That is why all exhibitions of the Polish pavilions focused on showing, above all, such art and crafts, which would be clearly distinguished by their original character against the European background. This was probably the main reason why the more avant-garde artists whose work reflected international trends were never represented at the world exhibitions. Nevertheless, it seems that at the exhibitions of the 1930s, art did not occupy such an important place as at the World Exhibition in Paris in 1925. On

55 D. Porycka, *Obiekty z polskiego pawilonu Wystawy Światowej 1939 trafiły do Muzeum Historii Polski*, <https://dzieje.pl/aktualnosci/obiekty-z-polskiego-pawilonu-wystawy-swiatowej-w-nowym-jorku-1939-trafily-do-kolekcji> (access: 30.01.2019).

56 K. Nowakowska, *Losy polskich eksponatów*, op. cit., p. 147.

57 *Eksponaty z Pawilonu Polskiego Wystawy Światowej w Nowym Jorku z 1939 roku wzbogaciły kolekcję Muzeum Historii Polski*, <http://muzhp.pl/pl/c/1945/eksponaty-z-pawilonu-polskiego-wystawy-wiatowej-w-nowym-jorku-z-1939-roku-wzbogacy-kolekcji-muzeum-historii-polski> (access: 30.01.2019).



the other hand, the state’s powerful ambitions, built on its glorious history and justified by its former greatness, were felt more strongly.<sup>58</sup> Perhaps that is why art itself ceased to present Poland’s artistic achievements, but became more of a tool for depicting political ideas. It follows that in this case we can speak of national art only in terms of the content conveyed, not the artistic means used. Such a solution was probably less risky, adapted to the mass audience, who, through the traditional forms of art, received a clear message, according to the authors’ assumptions. Nevertheless, from today’s perspective, it is primarily the 1925 Paris exhibition that is seen as the most successful in artistic terms, while the exhibition presented in New York, although it may come as a surprise, is rarely delightful.

Paradoxically, the motto of the world exhibition, “The World of Tomorrow,” ultimately had no optimistic overtones for Poland or for the rest of the world. For Poland, the “World of Tomorrow” meant occupation, renewed loss of freedom, and the greatest tragedy in its history. The plans for the future presented at the World’s Fair were buried in an instant. The fate of the World Exhibition in New York was mainly determined by politics. The Polish pavilion from 1939, by concentrating on showing the values connected with the centuries-old history of Poland, which was perceived as our greatest asset, became even more significant, since only a few months after the opening of the exhibition it turned out that the future of these values uncertain.

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58 A. Chmielewska, *Przeszłość, teraźniejszość i przyszłość Polski*, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

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# Macro-prudential Policy and its Impact on the Reduction of Systemic Risk

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## ABSTRACT

The main objective of this paper is a holistic representation of the idea of macro-supervision, pointing to the need for its implementation and demonstration based on research and historical data that macro-prudential policy can significantly prevent the materialization of systemic risk in the banking business. This means that it will be able to counteract this risk in both temporal and structural terms, translating into better functioning of the real economy, which the financial system primarily serves. The article will present the history of the idea of macro-supervision and its concept in the light of different economic schools. Next, the characteristics of the financial system, sources of systemic risk and macro-prudential policy objectives will be shown. Attention will also be given to the other objectives of this idea. In the next stage of work, a range of policy instruments will be presented.

**KEY WORDS:** European Union, financial system, macroprudential supervision

## STRESZCZENIE

### *Polityka makroostrożnościowa i jej wpływ na zmniejszanie ryzyka systemowego*

Głównym celem artykułu jest holistyczne przedstawienie idei makronadzoru, wskazanie na potrzeby jej implementacji oraz wykazanie na podstawie danych historycznych i badań, że polityka makroostrożnościowa może istotnie przeciwdziałać materializacji ryzyka systemowego w działalności bankowej. Oznacza to, że będzie ona w stanie przeciwdziałać temu ryzyku w wymiarze zarówno czasowym, jak i strukturalnym, przekładając się na lepsze funkcjonowanie gospodarki realnej, której system finansowy przede wszystkim służy. W pracy została przedstawiona historia idei makronadzoru oraz opisana charakterystyka systemu finansowego, źródła ryzyka systemowego, a także cele i instrumenty polityki makroostrożnościowej.

**SŁOWA KLUCZE:** Unia Europejska, system finansowy, nadzór makroostrożnościowy

## Introduction

Macro-supervision is a concept that assumes to become an important binder between micro-prudential and macroeconomic policies. As an idea, its main objective is to maintain the stability of the financial system, and as a policy it will use both its own instruments and the already existing ones. Together with existing prudential policies, macro-supervision has the opportunity to create a robust system to monitor the activities of economic system operators, with particular attention also being paid to the links between the relevant operators within this system.

This is an extremely important topic from the point of view of the financial system, which is nowadays highly correlated with the real economy, and its instability can be a major threat to the development of economies in terms of individual countries, organizations of several countries with varying degrees of integration, or global development. Appropriate measures to preserve such macro-stability of the financial system may be necessary nowadays.

The paper will verify the hypothesis that a properly introduced macro-prudential policy can effectively reduce the probability of materializing systemic risk, as historically introduced in individual countries, it has

already provided tangible benefits in terms of maintaining macro-stability of the financial system.

## History and characteristics of macro-supervision

In general, the objective of a macro-prudential policy is to manage factors that may jeopardize the stability of the financial system as a whole, even if these factors do not appear to be dangerous when viewed from the perspective of individual activity.

In the financial system, the following risks can be distinguished:<sup>1</sup> liquidity risk; counterparty risk; market risk; credit risk; interest rate risk; currency risk; operational risk; strategic risk; and systemic risk. Naturally, any sharing of risks is quite arbitrary and seems to escape the standard framework within which it could be exactly closed, so defining risk is quite ambiguous. Nevertheless, the above segmentation provides an opportunity to take a closer look at the risks in the financial system.

The concept of macro-supervision, which refers to keeping structural (systemic) risks in check, is aimed at threats that are always present in the economy to some extent, while the concept of cyclical risk draws attention to the catastrophic banking activity, which intensifies both a bull (overheating of the economy) and bear market (deepening of recession). Macro-prudential policy, in its applied nature, is a policy of relatively short duration, however, even as an idea it appeared much earlier than the date of the collapse of the US mortgage market would indicate.

Currently, the main functions of the entire banking system are considered to be mainly:

- creating mechanisms for gathering funds and investing them in various undertakings,
- providing effective banking risk management solutions,
- providing price information
- creating conditions for transformation of investment means.<sup>2</sup>

These points are the core of the banking system. Generally speaking, the more effectively they are filled by the banking sector, the more stable the sector operates, and vice versa, the further away the system goes away from these guidelines for various reasons, the more fluctuations it is exposed to. The main task of macro-prudential policy is therefore to influence the banking sector (or, more broadly, the financial sector) in such

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1 M. Iwonicz-Drozdowska, *Bankowość zagadnienia podstawowe*, Poltext, Warszawa 2010, p. 231.

2 W. Jaworski, *Współczesny bank*, 2nd ed., Poltext, Warszawa 2000.

a way as to prevent significant deviations from this set of rules even in the preventive phase.

Interestingly, depending on the approach, the role of the financial system in the transmission of crises has been differently emphasized. British economist and representative of the post-Keynes school, Joan Robinson, said in one of her works<sup>3</sup> that the development of this sector follows more directly with the development of the whole country, rather than develop independently of it. In a similar vein also spoke Nobel Prize winner, American economist Robert Lucas.<sup>4</sup> He considered excessive concern about the role of the financial sector (in the transmission of crises) to be unnecessary. Today it is known that both Robinson and Lucas did not formulate their ideas entirely accurately.

One of the first scientists to draw attention to the important role of feedback between the financial system and the real economy was an American economist, Irving Fisher. Just as the real beginning of the implementation of the macro-supervision policy was the outbreak of the crisis of 2007, so the beginning of the idea itself was the crisis of 1929. Four years after the beginning of the greatest downfall of the 20th century, Fisher presented his concept of debt deflation,<sup>5</sup> which can be presented as a cause and effect chain in 9 steps:

1. The necessity of debt liquidation leads to a sudden and frantic fire sell of assets.<sup>6</sup>
2. Shrinkage of deposits with the repayment of bank loans and slowing down the pace of money circulation
3. Decreasing aggregated deposits and reduced speed of money circulation due to sudden asset sales
4. A fall in the general price level, which (if undisturbed by deflation) contributes to a further decline in the net worth of businesses and an increased number of bankruptcies
5. Decrease in corporate profits
6. Social anxiety about the future of companies whose profit dynamics are significantly decreasing which results in a reduction in overall production, a decrease in the value of trade and an increase in unemployment
7. Increased overall pessimism and decreased investor confidence

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3 J. Robinson, *The Rate of Interest and Other Essays*, Macmillan, London 1952.

4 R. Lucas, *On the Mechanics of Economic Development*, "Journal of Monetary Economics," 1998, No. 1.

5 I. Fisher, *The Debt-Deflation Theory of Great Depressions*, "Econometrica," 1933, No. 4, p. 342.

6 Fisher here uses the term *distress selling*, currently used, however, the term *fire sells*, meaning a sudden sale of assets will be used herein.

8. Hoarding money and slowing down its circulation

9. Nominal declines and increases in real interest rates, due to deflation.

Although the 20th century economy was much more affected by inflation than by deflation, this does not mean that Fisher's pattern is not correct. In fact, less than 80 years later, the pattern repeated itself, and a fire sale which initiates the pattern, occurred again. In this sense, the banking sector, through its pro-cyclical activities, contributed to the exacerbation of the crisis, causing a significant drop in property prices through massive property sales.

One of the numerous effects of the financial crisis was the development of a set of recommended market practices for financial risk management in the financial sector. The Basel Committee on Banking Supervision was established at the end of 1974 at the Bank for International Settlements in Basel, created by central bank directors belonging to the G10. Its first meeting was held in February 1975.<sup>7</sup> The Committee's intention was to provide a platform for regular cooperation on the broader issue of supervision of the financial system, with the aim of highlighting the role of monitoring the activities of financial actors in maintaining the stability of the sector.<sup>8</sup>

Members of the Committee are currently CEOs of monetary policy institutions, in 60 different countries, mainly from the EU, North America and Asia (but also from South America and Africa). The most important documents issued by the Basel Committee are the 1988 Capital Accord (UK) (colloquially called Basel I), the 2004 New Capital Accord (NUK) (colloquially called Basel II) and the latest agreement known as Basel III, of 2010.

The arrangements of the Basel Committee under the III Capital Agreement are the crowning achievement of the development of the macro supervision concept. In Poland, this concept is materialized under the "Act on macro-prudential supervision of the financial system and crisis management in the financial system" of 15 August 2015. It provides a framework for the implementation of this policy in the Republic of Poland.

## Systemic risk characteristics and place of macro supervision in the financial system

Given the specific risks that may arise in the financial system, there is a need to manage these risks properly and to prevent them from escalating.

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7 *Basel Committee on Banking Supervision chronology*, <http://www.bis.org/about/chronology.htm?m=1%7C4%7C550> (access: 09.12.2018).

8 *Basel Committee on Banking Supervision*, <http://www.bis.org/bcb/index.htm> (access: 09.12.2018).

The set of rules and principles that relate to preventive actions before systemic risk materializes is called macro-prudential policy.

Macro-supervision policy is explained comprehensively by Claudio Borio,<sup>9</sup> juxtaposing its direct and indirect targets with micro-prudential policy objectives. An additional comparison is made between the risks these policies manage and how their instruments are calibrated. The comparison is shown in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Comparison of macro- and micro-prudential policies

Categories	Macro-supervision	Micro-supervision
Indirect objective	Limiting risk across the financial system	Limiting the risk of the individual units in the financial system
Direct objective	Avoiding recession as measured by a fall in real GDP	Protection of the client/bank's depositary
Risk model	Partly endogenous	Exogenous
Correlation and common exposures between institutions	Significant	Non-significant
Calibration of instruments	In the sense of influencing the system as an integral whole, "top down"	In the sense of individual entities in the system, "bottom up"

Source: C. Borio, *Towards a macro-prudential framework for financial supervision and regulation?* BIS, Iss. 128, 2003, p. 2, <http://www.bis.org/publ/work128.pdf> (access: 09.12.2018).

Borio points to three main elements in favor of the implementation of macro-prudential policy:<sup>10</sup>

1. high costs of materializing systemic risk for the whole economy,
2. the need to maintain a balance between state surveillance and market self-regulation,
3. the nature of financial instability and its sources.

In this dimension, macro-supervision also becomes responsible for the proper functioning of non-financial sectors, i.e. not allowing too much fluctuation of real GDP in relation to potential, both upward (overdraft) and downward (sub-optimal flow of credit to the economy).

A special type of risk, which is systemic risk, is worth our attention for at least two reasons. Firstly, it tends to accumulate in good times, when

9 Claudio Borio is a doctor of economics at Oxford University; since November 2013 he is President of the financial and economic department at the Bank for International Settlements.

10 C. Borio, *Towards a macro-prudential framework for financial supervision and regulation?*, "BIS," 2003, Iss. 128, p. 2, <http://www.bis.org/publ/work128.pdf> (access: 09.12.2018).



the tendency to estimate it is significantly lower, and secondly, it may lead to the collapse of the entire financial system, even if the particular actors of a market act in accordance with a policy of correct and fully logical risk management from a micro perspective. The systemic risk sharing proposed by the International Monetary Fund is presented in Table 2.

**Table 2.** The dimensions of systemic risk, according to the IMF

Time dimension	Cross-sectional dimension
<p>The mechanism is based on the belief that in good and bad times, the risk estimated by financial market agents and other markets is underestimated and overestimated, respectively. What in the former case aggravates the process of risk accumulation, in the latter case makes it difficult to recover from recession caused by the materialization of that risk.</p> <p>Pro-cyclicality in the financial system is most often an expression of the volatility in the size of banks' aggregate lending and changes in their overall liquidity levels caused by their excessive leverage and maturity mismatches in their balance sheets.</p>	<p>It refers to the risk already accumulated at the moment. If the mechanism of risk accumulation over time as a result of pro-cyclical activity of the financial system is dynamic and is a process, then the occurring risk in the structural dimension may additionally drive the materialization of systemic risk, with its simultaneous occurrence of risk in the temporal dimension.</p> <p>In certain situations, however, the structural dimension of risk may also exist in isolation from the temporal dimension. Such situations may certainly include exposures of financial sector entities to the same assets, or very close interconnectedness; if, in addition, there is a single parent entity in such a financial system that is systemically important for the sector as a whole, the so-called SIFI, its failure, or even liquidity problems, may affect other entities in the network. Otherwise, materializing risk in this very large entity may be risky not only for the entity itself, but also for other institutions in this sector, through transmissions of this materialized risk, through contagion effect channels.</p>

Source: the author's own development based on: *Macroprudential Policy – An Organizing Framework*, International Monetary Fund, 2011.

## Macro-prudential policy instruments

Macro-prudential policy instruments may be adapted to the appropriate risks. The most important risks in the financial system are liquidity and credit risk. Liquidity risk is the likelihood of a change in the desired degree of liquidity held by a financial institution. The state in which liquidity is too low may occur in some cases. As a result of changes in interest rates or sudden withdrawals of deposits by customers during panic (so-called run on banks), the value of such deposits may decrease dramatically, causing short-term or long-term liquidity problems. Additional risk factors may also include an increase in the number of deposits withdrawn before maturity, unforeseen costs of banking activities (e.g. related to the introduction of a banking tax) or, above all, a change in customers' risk preferences.

The instruments that can limit the probability of materialization of liquidity risk include, first of all:

- LCR (liquidity coverage ratio) indicators,
- NSFR (net stable funding ratio) indicators,
- liquidity buffers,
- mandatory reserve rate.

LCR and the NSFR indicators provide a measure of operating liquidity, recommended for implementing by the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision (Basel III). The main aim of the LCR<sup>11</sup> is to promote the materialization of banks' resilience to short-term liquidity risk. The bank must therefore have an adequate stock of unencumbered, liquid, high-quality assets (HQLAs) which can be instantly transformed into cash, and which should provide 30-day operations of the bank, as part of the fulfillment of the liquidity shortage scenario. The greater the liquidity of the assets, the greater weight suited to them.

LCR is calculated as the quotient of high-quality assets (HQLA) by Net Cash Outflows over a 30-day time period (NCO).

$$\text{LCR} = \frac{\text{AQLA}}{\text{NCO}}$$

If the liability item within the NCO is very stable, its weight is quite small (to a lesser extent the liability is to be covered by liquid funds from the HQLA inventory).<sup>12</sup> According to the Basel Committee, the proper

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11 "Basel III: The Liquidity Coverage Ratio and liquidity risk monitoring tools," Bank for International Settlements, 2013, p. 7, <http://www.bis.org/publ/bcbst38.pdf> (access: 21.03.2016).

12 P. Niedziółka, *Analiza potencjalnych korzyści oraz negatywnych konsekwencji wdrożenia norm LCR oraz NSFR w bankach europejskich*, SGH, p. 2, <http://kolegia.sgh.waw.pl/pl/KES/kwartalnik/Documents/PN231.pdf> (access: 21.03.2016).

functioning of the LCR measure aims to improve the banking sector's ability to absorb economic and financial shocks, regardless of their source, as well as reduce the incidence of adverse spillover effects that could adversely affect the entire economy. The standard promoting financial stability in the sense of liquidity has also been extended by the Committee to include longer-term liquidity requirements.

A complementary measure of the LCR is therefore the NSFR, which is to provide liquidity to banks for up to 1 year (365 days). Its main task for institutions is to go from unstable long-term projects financing (e.g. to grant mortgage loans) with short-term resources (e.g. short-term deposits). This phenomenon, commonly known as the maturity mismatch between assets and liabilities, can pose a serious risk of creating negative externalities for the system as a whole if financial institutions were suddenly forced to sell off assets as liquidity buffers. Financing banks from short-term roll-over deposits on the interbank market is to replace the acquisition of funds from medium and long-term deposits and/or long-term debt securities.

NSFR<sup>13</sup> is calculated by dividing the available amounts of AASF (Amount of Available Stable Funding) and the sum of RASF (Required Amount of Stable Funding).

$$\text{NSFR} = \frac{\text{AASF}}{\text{RASF}}$$

Similarly, to the LCR, the more stable the type of financing (AASF), the higher its weight. Since RASF is the sum of weighted assets that need to be covered by liabilities of an appropriate quality, the more liquid these assets are, the lower their weight.<sup>14</sup>

The most characteristic type of risk to be managed by a bank is credit risk, understood as the possibility of deterioration of the situation of a financial entity with which we have a contract.

Expansionary credit action can fuel the creation of a speculative bubble and thus lead to an increase in the value of assets. If the revaluation of these assets is precisely due to the easy availability of credit, the use of the macro-prudential policy instrument known as the LTV (Loan-To-Value)<sup>15</sup> indicator may be a good solution.

13 "Basel III: the net stable funding ratio", Bank for International Settlements, 2014, <http://www.bis.org/bcbs/publ/d295.pdf> (access: 21.03.2016).

14 P. Niedziółka, *Analiza potencjalnych korzyści oraz negatywnych konsekwencji wdrożenia norm LCR oraz NSRF w bankach europejskich*, SGH, p. 5, <http://kolegia.sgh.waw.pl/pl/KES/kwartalnik/Documents/PN231.pdf> (access: 01.02.2018).

15 If, for example, the value of a property is 1,000,000 PLN, and the mortgage granted for it is 800,000 PLN, the LTV ratio = 800,000 PLN/1,000,000 PLN = 80%. The lower the LTV, the greater the down payment required from the borrower.

$$\text{LTV} = \frac{\text{Lending value}}{\text{Value of collateral}}$$

Research<sup>16</sup> shows that adequate regulation of LTV may have a significant impact on changes in real estate prices. The correlation between this measure and real estate prices is positive (an increase in LTV by 10 percentage points is accompanied by an increase in nominal real estate prices by approx. 13%) this indicator should be variable over time, higher in the time of a downward trend and lower in the time of a boom. It is complementary to another indicator that could affect the size of aggregate lending, known as DTI (Debt-To-Income).

$$\text{DTI} = \frac{\text{Loan service charge}}{\text{Income}}$$

DTI is a measure of how much the lending institution burdens the debtor with the loan and the need to service its interest. Most often, therefore, the meter is the sum of the installment and the interest on the loan in a given period, compared to the amount of the debtor's income in the corresponding period. It is worth noting that we are talking about net income (after tax), however, the measure of such income may also be the amount of money that the borrower will have at his disposal after deducting not only tax but also some other fixed payments such as repayment of other loans, or the need to pay other than income taxes (e.g. on real estate). It is worth noting that the DTI that is constant in time can have a pro-cyclical effect,<sup>17</sup> just as the LTV should be variable in time, and just as it should be higher in time of downhill and lower in time of boom.

It is estimated<sup>18</sup> that prudent lending practices in Hong Kong resulting, among other things, from the introduction of LTV and DTI limits as complementary macro-prudential policy instruments, stopped the 1994 real estate boom, protecting Hong Kong from the 1997 crisis. For example, the LTV index was also reduced in China after the 2008 crisis – in 2010-2011 from 80% to 70% for the purchase of the first home and to 50% (in 2010) and then 40% (in 2011) for the purchase of the second home.<sup>19</sup>

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16 C. Crowe, G. Dell'Ariccia, D. Igan, P. Rabanal, *Policies for macrofinancial stability: options to deal with real estate booms*, International Monetary Fund, Staff Discussion Note, SDN/11/02, 2011, pp. 20-21.

17 Pro-cyclicality of constant DTI results, among others, from faster price growth than the income security.

18 C. Crowe, G. Dell'Ariccia, D. Igan, P. Rabanal, *Policies for macrofinancial stability*, op. cit., p. 21.

19 F. Columba, A. Costa, P. Kongsamut, C. Lim, A. Otani, M. Saiyid, T. Wezel, X. Wu, *Macroprudential Policy: What Instruments and How to Use Them? Lessons from Country Experiences*, MFW 2011, p. 74.

The DTI<sup>20</sup> was implemented in a large number of countries around the world.<sup>21</sup> In South Korea it was introduced in 2005, and since then it has been counter-cyclically modified six times by October 2011 (reduced and doubled four times).

Among the tools for credit risk management, particular attention should also be paid to the possibility of reducing the amount of credit not only for the economy as a whole, but also for certain sectors of the economy that are suspected to have a speculative bubble. In this way, unlike interest rate regulation, the inflow of low-interest money is limited not to the whole economic system, but only to its elements, on which local bubbles caused by cheap credit may appear.

## Conclusions

Macro-prudential policy is a relatively new concept for building a stable global financial system. Although the importance of financial institutions and markets was already recognized at the beginning of the 20th century, it was only in recent years that the possible negative impact of a collapse of the financial system on the whole economy was empirically confirmed. The idea that the stability of the system equals the stability of the individual entities that make it up was denied by the outbreak of the crisis. Macro-prudential policy can therefore be the answer to how to protect the financial system from its costly destabilization by becoming the link between micro-prudential policy and the economy of the whole country.

With a set of appropriately calibrated instruments, it can ensure that the functions carried out by the financial sector are not subject to shocks in view of the overall health of the economy. In addition, addressing these instruments to the relevant risks faced by the economy, i.e. differentiating between liquidity, counterparty, credit, interest rate, currency volatility, market fluctuations and ultimately general system risks, may allow the policy to operate more effectively and optimize its functions.

Examples confirming that macro-prudential policy can significantly counteract the materialization of systemic risk in banking operations include stopping the growing housing loan bubble in the mid-1990s, but also the use of unremunerated reserve requirements (URR), the mechanism of which acts as a tax without a fiscal function on capital inflows. An

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20 Ibidem, pp. 74-80.

21 Among others, Colombia, Croatia, Greece, Hong Kong, Hungary, South Korea, Norway, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia and Thailand.

URR of 20% was introduced, among others, in Chile<sup>22</sup> in June 1991. In August 1992, it was increased to 30%. In June 1998, the URR was lowered to 10%, and in September of that year it was abolished. As a result of the application of the URR from 1990 to 1997, short-term revenues (up to 1 year) as a percentage of total revenues decreased from 90.7% to 2.8%, and long-term revenues increased from 9.7% to as much as 97.2%.

An appropriate justification of the need to implement macro-prudential policy, its precise objectives, the identification and allocation of risks and appropriate instruments, and the creation of an appropriate functional and legal environment in which the policy can operate, can contribute to more stable global economic growth, by maintaining a balanced financial environment.

Despite the benefits that macro-prudential policy can bring when properly implemented, there is also a need to clearly identify the research gaps that would need to be filled by carrying out appropriate research, implicitly calibrated for the relevant economies which macro-prudential policy is to be applied to. The main question to be considered is whether one or more of these policy instruments should be introduced. The decision should in principle depend on what area of risk we address, but it should also be important in this case to examine whether the decision-making system should be automated or allow for more arbitrary decisions, and if so, to what extent? Furthermore, it would also be worth considering the stability of instruments over time, i.e. whether their range and calibration should change from period to period, and whether they should change in an anti- or pro-cyclical manner. Another important element is the impact of macro-prudential rules on fiscal, monetary and micro-prudential policies and on cross-border capital flows. It would be useful to examine which rules are complementary to each other and which are contradictory.

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## Internet – the First Source of (dis)Information

### ABSTRACT

The Internet is the first medium in which controlling the content has become difficult or even impossible. One of its reasons is the fact that the Internet users – who so far were only passive recipients of media messages – have gained the possibility to create and distribute their own messages. Thus, they have become active participants of the participatory culture, in which it is difficult to distinguish between professional and amateur content. The boundaries between private and public domains have become blurred. The distribution of forces shaping public opinion has changed, because the content comes from large media corporations and non-professional creators alike.

The Internet message is characterized by instantaneous distribution, the ease of editing and modifying its content, and vagueness of authorship. These features make the Internet particularly susceptible to disinformation purposefully aimed at manipulating its users. The fact that every activity undertaken by the Internet users is recorded and analysed is also conducive to manipulation attempts, as the data obtained this way are used to shape their opinions and influence their decisions.

The aim of the article is to undertake a discourse on information and disinformation on the Internet in the context of the development of new digital communication tools. The article provides the examples of information manipulation, which could happen only in such an interactive and multimedia medium as the Internet.

**KEY WORDS:** Internet, media, manipulation

## STRESZCZENIE

*Internet – pierwsze źródło (dez)informacji*

Internet jest pierwszym medium, w którym kontrola treści stała się trudna lub wręcz niemożliwa. Wynika to m.in. z faktu, że dotychczasowy odbiorca zyskał możliwość tworzenia własnych przekazów i ich natychmiastowego rozpowszechniania. Tym samym stał się aktywnym uczestnikiem kultury partycypacji, w której obecnie trudno jest odróżnić treści profesjonalne od amatorskich. Zatarły się granice pomiędzy przenikającymi się domenami prywatnymi i publicznymi. Zmienił się rozkład sił kształtujących opinię publiczną, bo rozpowszechniane treści pochodzą zarówno od dużych korporacji medialnych, jak i od twórców nieprofesjonalnych.

Przekaz internetowy charakteryzuje natychmiastowość dystrybucji, łatwa edycja i modyfikacja treści oraz niedookreśloność autorstwa. Cechy te decydują o tym, że internet w szczególny sposób podatny jest na działania dezinformacyjne i mające na celu manipulację odbiorcą. Działaniom manipulacyjnym sprzyja dodatkowo fakt, że każda aktywność podejmowana przez użytkowników internetu jest rejestrowana i analizowana. W ten sposób uzyskane dane wykorzystywane są do kształtowania ich opinii i decyzji.

Celem artykułu jest podjęcie dyskursu na temat informacji i dezinformacji w sieci internetowej w kontekście rozwoju ciągle nowych cyfrowych narzędzi komunikacji. W artykule zostaną wskazane przykłady manipulacji informacją, które mogły zaistnieć dopiero w interaktywnym i multimedialnym internecie.

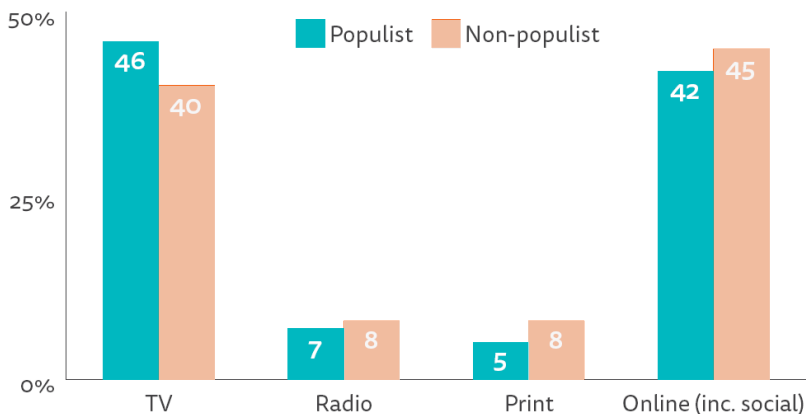
SŁOWA KLUCZE: internet, media, manipulacja

*Information society – surveillance society*

It has been known for some time now that the media have enormous power at their disposal. Called the fourth power, they both create the reality and shape the identity of recipients. According to a popular opinion, news media do not so much report on events as create them by masking, distorting or over-interpreting their sense and meaning. The media are a battlefield in which the winners are the ones which can effectively acquire a trusting community of their recipients.

Until a few years ago, television was the most popular news medium. Nowadays the Internet, which has become an indispensable part of the life of a contemporary man, indispensable in his everyday activity, is gaining an advantage. The Internet is a medium of immediate access, and – being an interactive medium – it enables its users to instantaneously react to its content.

Figure 1. Main source of news by attitudes – Europe and the USA



Source: N. Newman et al., *Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2019*, p. 43, [https://reuters-institute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2019-06/DNR\\_2019\\_FINAL\\_1.pdf](https://reuters-institute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2019-06/DNR_2019_FINAL_1.pdf)

The Internet is the first medium in history that has given the users the right to create their own content and distribute it. However, the consequence of this new role is the loss of privacy. Every Internet user, regardless of the extent of his online activity, leaves a digital footprint. Every website visited, every online purchase made or the number of logins to the bank's website are recorded. Further data about users are provided by the IP address from which they gain access to the Internet, the type of software used and, in case of mobile applications, the location of the device through which they log on to the network. This way a lot of information about their preferences, interests and income is obtained. In addition, their detailed profile is built, which contains information regarding their personality traits, habits and lifestyle.<sup>1</sup> The value of information collected this way is

1 K. Szymielewicz, K. Iwańska, *Śledzenie i profilowanie w sieci. Jak z klienta stajesz się towarem*, 2019, p. 6, [https://panoptykon.org/sites/default/files/publikacje/panoptykon\\_raport\\_o sledzeniu\\_final.pdf](https://panoptykon.org/sites/default/files/publikacje/panoptykon_raport_o sledzeniu_final.pdf) (access: 29.07.2019). See also: D. Susser, B. Roessler, H.F. Nissenbaum, *Online Manipulation: Hidden Influences in a Digital World*, 2018, p. 1, <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3306006> (access: 28.07.2019).

enormous and difficult to overestimate, because it becomes a tool for influencing the Internet users. In 2016 a scandalous practice was revealed in which *Cambridge Analytica*, a company dealing with political consulting, was a disgraceful hero. Using advanced algorithms, the company obtained data from eighty-seven million Facebook accounts and then used them to predict their owners' voting decisions with a view to influencing their choices in the US presidential election.<sup>2</sup>

Collecting information about users is often explained by a common tendency to personalize products and services. The concept of personalization is most easily translated as "giving products and services a personal character."<sup>3</sup> In recent years, the Internet has become such an individual and personal phenomenon. Artificial intelligence algorithms adjust the content displayed to particular users to their preferences, and a list of responses returned by search engines is created on the basis of their previous activity in the virtual space.<sup>4</sup> The results of the search influence users' subsequent activity. This way a personalized path of activity on the web is continued, providing more and more information about each user, which facilitates manipulative practices.

Undoubtedly, the once popular opinion about anonymity on the Internet is an old wives tale. And the lack of anonymity is conducive to influencing and manipulating the Internet users. The Internet dictates not only what they should think about a given topic, but also what they should think about and what should arouse their interest. It is commonly known that "the Internet does not forget:" it is a space where nothing disappears, and every information that is published in it remains there forever. It is also a reservoir of the content the distribution of which through the traditional media is over. It is a place where shocking and controversial advertisements withdrawn from circulation gain their second life. It is where the photographs that people captured in them would like to forget about remain forever. Even those entries that were deleted almost immediately after their publication remain in the eternal memory of the Internet space: one day, sooner or later, their duplicated copies will be available to all interested parties.

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2 L. Koczanowicz, *Lęk intymności, czyli mówienie prawdy w dobie internetu*, "Kultura Współczesna," 2(101), 2018, p. 45.

3 M. Jabłońska, *Personalizacja internetu – zagrożenie czy naturalny proces rozwoju sieci?*, "Com. press," 2(1), 2019, p. 58.

4 *Ibidem*, p. 59.

## Characteristics of online content

In most cases the speed with which online content is transmitted does not go hand in hand with its credibility. It is very easy to post and modify messages on the net, and it takes no time at all. The quality and credibility of online news is questionable and unstable, as it can be changed at any time and with any frequency. Large portals update their websites several times a day or even several dozen times a day. The hurry to publish the most up-to-date news is revealed by the number of grammatical and stylistic errors found in texts published online.

Information about such embarrassing mistakes posted on social networks by institutions, politicians and other well-known persons appears on the Internet regularly. Most of these incidents happen on Twitter, and although administrators and profile owners quickly delete unfortunate entries and correct their errors, the screens containing them circulate on the web, compromising their authors or at least putting them in an awkward position.

The non-linear layout of news, characteristic of electronic media, offers limitless opportunities to manipulate information. The layout of the elements on the website, the font, the colour scheme, and the shapes on the website influence the perception of its content. One of the most important parameters defining success of the portal is clickability, therefore, it is important to manage its content aiming at generating as many clicks within the website as possible. The fight for clicks begins with teasers of articles on homepages. A controversial, shocking title carries a large emotional load and increases the chances that users will click on it to read the whole article. However, very suggestive titles can be very misleading, although it is hard to accuse them of lying. For example, the article “Priests behind bars” discusses the work of prison chaplains, although its title leads readers to expect completely different content.<sup>5</sup>

When it comes to using misleading and perverse headlines and titles, the Internet is in the lead among all mass media. People who prepare news for publication use the method of placing intriguing and ambiguous fragments of titles in the teasers of articles, which in their full version have a completely different meaning. It is easy to manipulate the place, time and seriousness of information in the title. The headline which reads “Aircraft crash. Nobody survived” is undoubtedly a powerful impulse to click and read the full article. Here, however, the user learns that the disaster occurred 30 years ago in the other hemisphere, and the accident involved a light aircraft with two people on board.

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5 S. Sobkowiak, *Prawda w Internecie. Czy katolickie portale internetowe manipulują informacją-  
mi?*, “Teologia i Moralność,” Vol. 13, No. 2(24), 2018, p. 215.

News websites are filled with photographs. The functioning of the most popular social networks is based on the publication of photographs. There is no doubt that the image rules on the Internet. It is a form of message of almost instantaneous perception which affects emotions. It is worth recalling that in the past, in societies with a high illiteracy rate, images were the main means of communication. Nowadays, when media consumption takes place via small-screen smartphones, there is no room for long narrations. This way history has come full circle. Priority is given to images, which offers enormous opportunities for manipulation. With just a few clicks you can make changes in the appearance of the photographed person. On 19th July 2019 the homepage of wp.pl included a photo showing a wrinkled face of a well-known Polish politician signed "They have aged beyond recognition! You may have a problem already on the 2nd question." The photo was a far cry from the actual appearance of the politician, because it was processed by the now extremely popular *FaceApp* application. One of its functions allows you to age the face of the person in the photo with a single click. The article explained it, but most probably a large number of readers did not read it, and an old, unattractive face of this person remained in their memory.

Following Piotr Zawojski, we should ask ourselves a fundamental question whether contemporary images published in electronic media can still be treated as the ones reflecting reality, or whether they are the results of algorithmic processes that created them.<sup>6</sup> The possibilities of new technologies allow for far-reaching modifications, both in static and moving images. However, in times when photographs are available in such great abundance there is no need to resort to manipulation of the image. Having hundreds of photographs taken to report on a particular event at our disposal, it is easy to choose the one that shows a completely different picture of reality. On the basis of photographs of the same object taken from different perspectives, one can build diametrically different stories.

The enormous potential of image manipulation has been known for a long time. It is worth recalling a story which happened over a century ago. In 1897, the American press magnate William Hearst sent his reporter Frederic Remington to Cuba to report on the revolution that was about to begin. Remington, however, informed him of relative calm there, writing: "Everything quiet. There is no trouble here. There will be no war. Wish to return." Hearst's answer is still quoted today: "Please remain. You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war."<sup>7</sup>

6 P. Zawojski, *Sztuka obrazu i obrazowania w epoce nowych mediów*, Warszawa 2012, p. 11.

7 The truth of this story has not been confirmed and therefore it is most often referred to as an anecdote. W. J. Campbell, *Not Likely Sent: The Remington – Hearst Telegrams*, "Journalism

## The informational function of the Internet

Millions of people around the world start their day by checking out new social media entries. Social media have become an integral part of human life today; they are not only a medium of interpersonal communication, but also an increasingly important source of the latest news about what is happening in the world, the main provider of news from one's country and abroad. A lot of content is created by network users who are direct witnesses of events, which they then report in social media, where they also publish their own photos and videos. A survey conducted by McKinsey & Company revealed that for 72% of Polish Internet users, social media were an everyday source of information, and 65% considered them to be the most important source of information.<sup>8</sup> According to the results of Eurobarometer surveys, more than half of Poles consider the content published on Facebook and Twitter to be true, and this number is growing steadily.<sup>9</sup> On the one hand, easy access, timeliness of news, and the speed of information dissemination encourage people to use social media as a source of information. On the other hand, however, due to the same reasons, they enable dissemination of false information on a massive scale.<sup>10</sup>

In June 2008, the American journalist Tim Russert died of a heart attack during the preparation of a program in the NBC's studio. In accordance with the standard procedure, all TV stations abstained from reporting his death until his family was informed of this tragic event. However, it was only 11 minutes after Russert's death that this information appeared in the journalist's biography on Wikipedia. The NBC employee who placed it there was fired, but there is still the question of ethics and whether the time when people will learn about the deaths of their loved ones through the media is approaching.<sup>11</sup>

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& Mass Communication Quarterly," 77, 2, 2000, pp. 405-422, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/107769900007700212> (access: 27.07.2019). See more: W.J. Campbell, *The Year That Defined American Journalism: 1897 and the Clash of Paradigm*, New York 2006.

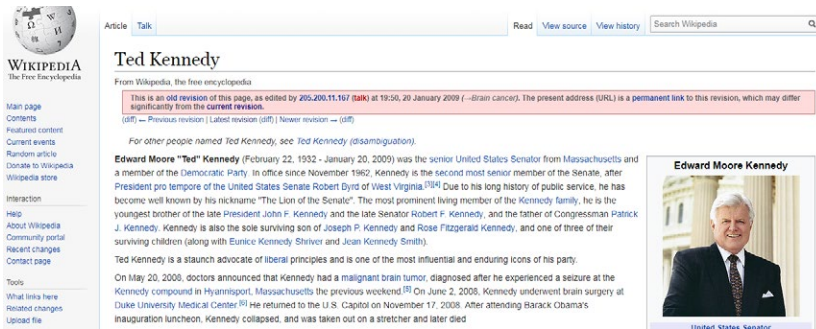
8 W. Bogdan et al., *Cyfrowi Polacy – przyspieszenie e-rewolucji*, p. 39, <https://mckinsey.pl/publikacje/raport-cyfrowi-polacy-przyspieszenie-e-rewolucji/> (access: 30.07.2019).

9 See more: <https://www.wirtualnemedi.pl/artykul/polacy-traca-zaufanie-do-mediow-liderami-tvn-i-onet-pl> (access: 30.07.2019).

10 Read more: K. Shu et al., *False News Detection on Social Media. A Data Mining Perspective*, <https://arxiv.org/pdf/1708.01967.pdf> (access: 04.08.2019).

11 S. Greenstein, *Soccer Mom Messaging Is the Poetry of our Age*, "IEEE Computer Society", 29(4), 2009, [https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Shane\\_Greenstein/publication/228495581\\_Soccer\\_Mom\\_Messaging\\_Is\\_the\\_Poetry\\_of\\_Our\\_Age/links/0c9605383505f9ba70000000.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Shane_Greenstein/publication/228495581_Soccer_Mom_Messaging_Is_the_Poetry_of_Our_Age/links/0c9605383505f9ba70000000.pdf) (access: 27.07.2019).

Figure 2. Wikipedia screenshot of Ted Kennedy's biography



Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ted\\_Kennedy&oldid=265340417](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ted_Kennedy&oldid=265340417).

Only six months later, on 20th January 2009 Wikipedia 'killed' a well-known American politician, Senator Ted Kennedy. His biography on Wikipedia reported his death after he left President Obama's inaugural lunch due to his indisposition. Senator Robert Byrd, who was concerned about Kennedy's health and left the lunch with him, was also 'killed.'<sup>12</sup> The horrible mistake was quickly corrected: the media 'death' of Kennedy and Byrd lasted only a minute, after which both politicians came back to life.<sup>13</sup> This case, however, makes us realize how fast news spreads on the Internet, even if it is placed there even for a very short period of time.

Fake news is very often posted on Wikipedia deliberately. Events that have never happened and people that have never existed are described there. A well-known Polish example is a case of fictional Henryk Batuta, whose biography was prepared by several anonymous authors, most likely with the aim of demonstrating the credulity of the Internet users and the lack of credibility of Wikipedia. According to his fake biography, Henryk Batuta, born in 1898, was a Polish communist, prisoner of the Bereza Kartuska camp, and one of the founders of the Communist Party of Poland. He participated in the civil war in Spain, after which he left for the Soviet Union, and died in 1947 in Ustrzyki Górne in a clash with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). To make the mystification credible, the authors wrote that, to commemorate Henryk Batuta, one of the streets in Warsaw received his name. In fact, the name of the street referred to the baton

12 R. Hatcher-Gallop, Z. Fazal, M. Oluseyi, *Quest for Excellence in a Wiki-based World*, 2009 *IEEE International Professional Communication Conference*, Waikiki, 2009, [https://www.academia.edu/10021988/Quest\\_for\\_excellence\\_in\\_a\\_wiki-based\\_world](https://www.academia.edu/10021988/Quest_for_excellence_in_a_wiki-based_world) (access: 23.07.2019).

13 The website from Wikipedia with fake information about Ted Kennedy's death [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ted\\_Kennedy&oldid=265340417](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ted_Kennedy&oldid=265340417) (access: 04.08.2019).



(*batuta* in Polish) used by conductors and not to the name of the person. As a result, Henryk Batuta, although never born, survived 15 months on Wikipedia.<sup>14</sup>

## Actors, trolls and bots

Internet 2.0 technology has transformed a one-way medium into a platform shared by both creators and recipients of its content. Those who previously were mere recipients of content have now started to create their own texts and publish them on the Internet, which has given rise to prosumer culture.<sup>15</sup>

Social media are a phenomenon born on the basis of participatory culture. The Oxford dictionary explains the term *social media* as “websites and applications that enable users to create and share content or to participate in social networking.”<sup>16</sup> However, this definition does not cover the whole phenomenon. The original idea behind social networking was to facilitate establishing contact between people and to enable their communication within groups of friends. Nowadays, however, social .media have gone far beyond the socialisation function. They are used for marketing purposes to shape the image of companies and other institutions. Political groups, representatives of the state and church authorities also use social media. Additionally, they are the space in which people can become famous as a result of their activity in social media; such persons, capitalizing on their online fame, can effectively influence the opinions of other network users. Influencers aim at gaining a group of loyal followers who trust their opinions. The list of the most influential people on the Internet in 2019 compiled by *Time* magazine included politicians, social activists, musicians, celebrities, and people who, in principle, are not exceptional as such, but in their online activity deal with issues that earn them a huge number of observers.<sup>17</sup>

In 2005 the YouTube platform was created on which the Internet users can post, watch, evaluate and comment on films. Making and posting online short amateur films in which the creators share stories about their lives

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14 J. Hofmokl, A. Tarkowski, *Wikipedia – pospolite ruszenie encykłopedystów. Największa encyklopedia na świecie*, [http://www.ebib.pl/2006/73/hofmokl\\_tarkowski.php](http://www.ebib.pl/2006/73/hofmokl_tarkowski.php) (access: 04.08.2019).

15 *Prosumer* – a word that originated from the combination of *producer* and *consumer* words.

16 Term explanation from Oxford Dictionary, [https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/social\\_media](https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/social_media) (access: 23.07.2019).

17 *The 25 Most Influential People on the Internet*, <https://time.com/5626827/the-25-most-influential-people-on-the-internet/> (access: 30.07.2019).

and interests became all the rage. The most popular channels attracted the attention of hundreds of thousands of the Internet users. This was the case with Bree, a 15-year-old American girl, who started publishing her video blog on *lonelygirl15* shortly after the creation of the platform. The girl quickly acquired a large group of observers. However, each new film she published aroused doubts as to the authenticity of the stories presented by her, including the place where the films were made, which did not resemble a teenage girl's room, and the suspiciously professional way in which they were produced. After a few months, the story turned out to be great mystification, and the video blog turned out to be a well-organized enterprise. The role of the protagonist, 15-year-old Bree, was played by the little-known actress Jessica Rose.<sup>18</sup> The case of *lonelygirl15* and similar ones demonstrate how important the problem of authenticity on the Internet is in the context of manipulating the emotions of its users.

There are many techniques through which recipients of the message can be influenced. One of the most popular classifications was presented by the American psychologist Robert Cialdini. One of them, the social proof principle, seems to be of great importance on the interactive level of the Internet. It says the credibility of information is conditioned by its acceptance by a large group of people. In other words, Cialdini's principle is based on the conviction that if other people consider particular information to be true, reliable and valuable, it is most likely just such information.<sup>19</sup>

The social proof principle is frequently applied in advertising. Numerous advertisements support the promotion of a given product with information about a large number of people who have already verified its value, and the advertised product has met their expectations. In 2013 Santander Bank prepared an advertisement with the slogan "10 million Poles have already trusted us."<sup>20</sup> The number of customers was supposed to be a proof of the bank's credibility, but some people questioned the accuracy of the data: if it were to be true, every third Pole would have to be a customer of this bank, which leads to the conclusion that the advertisement gave a strongly exaggerated number of satisfied customers.<sup>21</sup>

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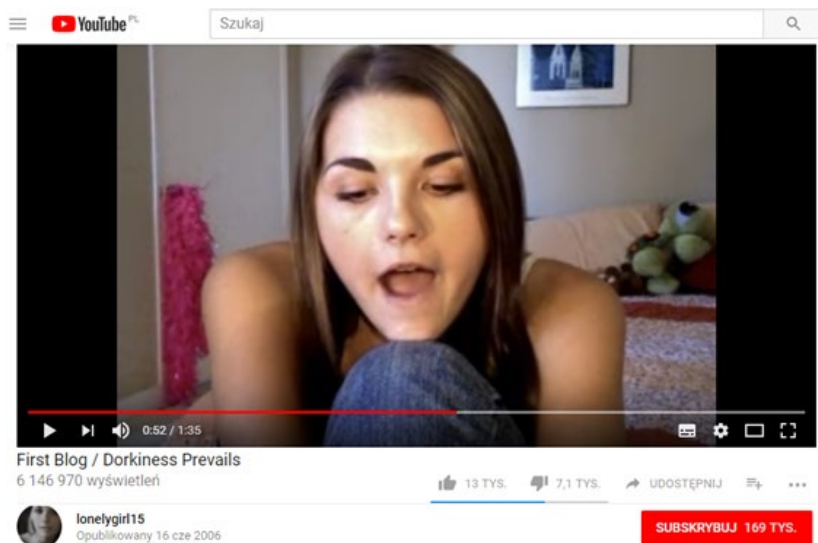
18 See more: K.A. Hall, *The authenticity of social-media performance: lonelygirl15 and the amateur brand of Young-Girlhood*, "Women & Performance: a journal of feminist theory," Vol. 25, No. 2, 2015.

19 M. Antosik, *Człowiek współczesny w obliczu manipulacji*, "Warmińsko-Mazurski Kwartalnik Naukowy," 1, 2014, p. 42.

20 <https://www.santanderconsumer.pl/serwis-prasowy/aktualnosci/10-milionow-polakow-w-nowej-reklamie,89,1.html> (access: 23.07.2019).

21 <https://www.facebook.com/samcik.blox/posts/1015182491838564/> (access: 23.07.2019).

Figure 3. A frame from the first video posted on the *lonelygirl15* channel on YouTube



Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-goXKtd6cPo>.

Advertising is not the only area that supports its credibility by applying the unanimity rule. Convincing a large number of people to an idea or concept is easier when they believe that a lot of people are convinced that it is a good one. On the Internet this is the area of trolls' activity, that is people who intentionally use aggressive, offensive posts to antagonize the Internet community, spread disinformation by publishing fake news, and undertake other forms of harmful online activity.<sup>22</sup>

Trolling is not a new phenomenon. The first cases of trolling were described in the subject literature already in 1999.<sup>23</sup> Initially this concept referred to intentional actions aimed at triggering the recipient's emotional reaction. Early trolls acted in the area of Usenet groups, in a destructive way influencing the discussions there and aiming at provoking conflicts.<sup>24</sup>

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22 D. Jachyra, *Trollowanie – antyspołeczne zachowania w internecie, sposoby wykrywania i obrony*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego," 655, 2011, p. 253.

23 Ibidem, p. 254.

24 J. Donath, *Identity and Deception in the Virtual Community in Communities in Cyberspace*, in: *Communities in Cyberspace*, eds. P. Kollock, M. Smith, London 1999, from A. Marwick, R. Lewis, *Media Manipulation and Disinformation Online*, 2017, p. 4, <https://datasociety.net/output/media-manipulation-and-disinfo-online/> (access: 23.07.2019).

Currently, trolling is not limited to malicious and destructive actions aimed at evoking negative emotions within groups of Internet users, but it is also a thriving business, which brings trolls measurable financial benefits. Paid trolls write several dozen comments commissioned by their clients a day and place them on news websites, discussion forums and social networking sites. These statements are the result of professionally organized marketing strategies. Trolls' various activities include building a positive image of companies on the Internet, advertising products and discrediting competitors. Another area of their activity is politics, where their task is to shape political beliefs and opinions, which is done by writing opinions favourable to a given political option or their particular representatives.<sup>25</sup> Political parties use paid trolls to ridicule their opponents, while in crisis situations trolls save the reputation of their own politicians. A large number of social media accounts have been set up for the sole purpose of political trolling. It should be mentioned here that Poland has not introduced any legal regulations addressing trolling on the Internet yet.

However, dissemination of a huge amount of content is not always man-made. In many cases trolls' activity was taken over by artificial intelligence in the form of social robots, in short bots, defined in the following way: "Social bots are automated accounts impersonating humans,"<sup>26</sup> that is they are computer algorithms that create and distribute content in social media. Bots try to imitate human behaviour and change people's behaviour and opinions. Some bots have been programmed to replace people in their marketing and informational activities by providing online services to customers of companies and online shops.

The area of bots' activity which triggers particularly emotional reactions is politics. Bots are able to influence political discourse, create public opinion and spread propaganda content. Through such activity, based on a large number of generated messages, they control the level of support of the Internet community to a chosen political option or a specific politician.<sup>27</sup> Bots' activity can be restricted to generating likes of posts or profiles only, but it can also be expanded to disseminating specific content on a massive scale. Bots play a key role in spreading false messages. But people also contribute to forwarding such messages in a viral way, because the

25 P. Pawlak, *Charakter dyskusji politycznej na portalach informacyjnych. Studium przypadku*, "Studia Europaea Gnesnensia," 13/2016, pp. 204-205. See also: E. Musiał, *Trolling jako przykład zagrożeń informacyjnych w cyberprzestrzeni*, in: *Bezpieczeństwo informacyjne w dyskursie naukowym*, eds. H. Batorowska, E. Musiał, Kraków 2017, p. 232.

26 K. Yang, O. Varol et al., *Arming the public with artificial intelligence to counter social bots*, "Human Behavior and Emerging Technologies," 1, 1, 2019, p. 48.

27 A. Marwick, R. Lewis, *Media Manipulation and Disinformation Online*, 2017, p. 38, <https://data-society.net/output/media-manipulation-and-disinfo-online/> (access: 23.07.2019).

network users who are susceptible to manipulation pass them on to other recipients.<sup>28</sup>

The issue of bots' activity on the Internet hits the headlines at a time of important political events, such as elections or politically important referendums. It is estimated that at the time of the presidential election in the USA in 2016 the reception of the first presidential debate between Hilary Clinton and Donald Trump was heavily influenced by the posts generated by the army of Internet bots; they generated 20% of the posts on Twitter at that period, representing only 0.5% of users.<sup>29</sup> According to the estimates, up to 15% of active Twitter accounts are operated by bots, and Facebook is attacked by 60 million bots. They were behind a significant amount of political content disseminated during the presidential campaign in the USA in 2016, and some of the same bots were used in the following year to try to influence the election in France.<sup>30</sup>

The Internet is the first medium which makes the question of who manipulates its users an acute one. The first versions of social bots were easy to identify through the analysis of the content of their posts. A bot could be unmasked by observing its activity and behaviour, such as the continuous publication of tweets 24 hours a day, without any break for sleep, which would be a natural human behaviour. Currently, these errors have been eliminated and the activity of bots has been adjusted to the daily rhythm of human activity. As a result of introducing more and more advanced improvements, it is no longer possible to be 100% sure whether a profile is operated by a human or a bot.<sup>31</sup>

## A subliminal message – mind programming

A subliminal (subconscious) message is information that reaches recipients without the participation of their consciousness. This happens when the stimuli are too short or too weak to be consciously recorded by

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28 D.M.J. Lazer et al., *The science of fake news. Addressing fake news requires a multidisciplinary effort*, "Science," 359, 6380, 2018, p. 1095. More: C. Shao et al., *The spread of fake news by social bots*, 2017, <https://www.andy.blackassociates.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/fakenewsbots.pdf> (access: 23.07.2019).

29 A. Marwick, R. Lewis, *Media Manipulation and Disinformation Online*, op. cit.

30 D.M.J. Lazer et al., *The science of fake news. Addressing fake news requires a multidisciplinary effort*, op. cit.

31 K. Kupferschmidt, *Social media 'bots' tried to influence the U.S. election. Germany may be next*, <https://www.sciencemag.org/news/2017/09/social-media-bots-tried-influence-us-election-germany-may-be-next> (access: 01.08.2019).

the human mind. The brain does not receive them consciously, but the messages contained in them influence recipients' decisions and choices, because images, words or sounds are recorded by their subconscious. Subliminal messages are sent as texts, images or sounds. They can be placed in films, in single frames mounted in films, in music, and in images in which the arrangement of elements represents the content intended by the sender of the message. Subliminal messages can influence the way the reality is perceived, bring negative results, and even introduce their recipient into extremely negative, depressive mental states.<sup>32</sup> However, stimuli introduced into a person's subconscious may also help him to change bad habits and create new, beneficial ones.

Subliminal manipulation of the mind has been used since the middle of the 20th century, causing emotional and cognitive changes in unaware recipients.<sup>33</sup> Subliminal messages are most frequently used in advertising, in films and in static images; it has been argued that subliminal messages were even placed in Disney's animated fairy tales.<sup>34</sup>

The beginnings of the phenomenon are connected with an experiment conducted in 1957 by the American market researcher James Vicary in the cinema in Fort Lee, New Jersey. He added single frames which read: "Hungry? Eat Popcorn" and "Drink CocaCola" to the film being shown. The exposure time for the frames that had nothing to do with the film was too short to be noticed by the audience, but their subconscious recorded them. According to the author of the experiment, after the screening the sales of Coca Cola increased by 18.1% and the sales of popcorn by 57.5%. Since the experiment was not carried out under controlled conditions, which made it impossible to confirm the results, its results are sometimes questioned.<sup>35</sup>

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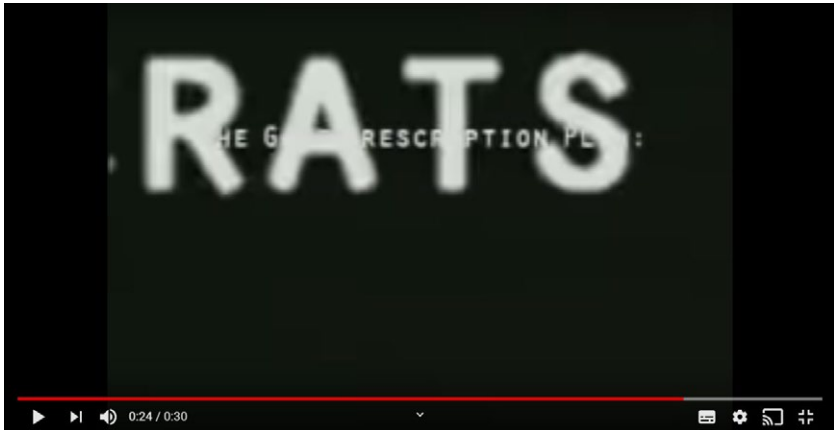
32 L.R. Salpeter, J.I. Swirsky, *Historical and Legal Implications of Subliminal Messaging in the Multimedia: Unconscious Subjects*, "Nova Law Review," 36, 3, 2012, pp. 504-505.

33 M. Sulej, *Reklama podprogowa jako forma manipulacji*, "Warszawskie Studia Pastoralne," 12, 2010, p. 50.

34 More: M. Singh, R. Nayyar, *Psychology of Brand Creation and Management: Subliminal Advertising*, "International Journal of Science and Research," 6, 11, 2017, pp. 852-853.

35 *Ibidem*, s. 51.

Figure 4. Bush Campaign ‘Rats’ Subliminal Message



Source: <https://youtu.be/2NPKxhfQMs?t=24>.

One of the best known examples of the use of subliminal messages is the infamous episode of the presidential campaign in the United States, where in a TV spot issued by the Republicans, for a moment Al Gore was linked with the word “rats” coming from the sentence appearing in the spot: “The Gore Prescription Plan: Bureaucrats decide.” This word appeared at the time when they were talking about Bush’s rival.<sup>36</sup> It is difficult to assess how much influence this message had on the audience, as the opinions on its impact were strongly divided. This incident caused an avalanche of indignation among Bush’s opponents. On the other hand, his supporters argued that the appearance of huge letters that formed the word RATS on the screen which lasted for a fraction of a second was totally accidental. Advertising specialists approached the matter sceptically, comparing subliminal effects to a “belief in astrology and alien abduction.”<sup>37</sup>

This example is by no means the only event in the world of big politics in which subliminal messages were mentioned. Similar attempts, supposed to stimulate recipients’ subconscious, have been frequently made in political games. In the following years the effectiveness of subliminal messages was repeatedly studied, however, no conclusive results were found. Some studies revealed that subliminal stimuli influence the assessment of politicians, both known and unknown to recipients, as well as the results

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36 S. Dehaene, L. Naccache, *Can One Suppress Subliminal Words?*, “Neuron,” 52(3), 2006, p. 397.

37 J. Weinberger, D. Westen, *RATS, We Should Have Used Clinton: Subliminal Priming in Political Campaigns*, “Political Psychology,” Vol. 29, No. 5, 2008, p. 635.

of polls and the distribution of votes in political elections, if their transmission took place in real time during voting.<sup>38</sup>

In the 1970s, great popularity and interest in issues related to the use and effectiveness of subliminal messages was reflected in popular culture. For example, in 1973, in an episode of the then popular crime series *Columbo*, the killer lured his victim to the crime scene by means of a subliminal message.<sup>39</sup> Although in subsequent years the researchers' opinions on the effectiveness of this technique of influencing people were strongly divided, in 1999 a subliminal transmission generator was patented in the United States, enabling the creation and placement of such messages in television programmes.<sup>40</sup>

Already in 1970s, the United States banned subconscious broadcasts from television programs. These practices were later declared to be illegal in other countries, including Poland. However, no such regulations exist when it comes to the Internet. In addition, this technique of influencing users on the net has a much greater potential due to its interactive nature. Subconscious messages can be programmed at the level of computer applications as options embedded in their functioning.<sup>41</sup> Currently, a large number of free applications for generating and placing subliminal messages in audio and video files as well as in static images is available, which is possible thanks to their modularity and automation of editing.

Although the effectiveness of subliminal communication has not been proven so far, it is still used today as one of the methods of manipulation. It is difficult to determine how many subliminal messages have been placed in cyberspace, because no data on this subject exist, and most studies conducted so far have focused on messages aimed at changing the perception of a brand or a product. In the context of cyber violence, one of the greatest threats of the Internet, it is important to consider whether subliminal messages can become a tool for cyber attacks able to encourage people to take specific actions.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, the issue of political and ideological choices made using web-based propaganda content and materials remains open.

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38 Ibidem, p. 631.

39 *Double Exposure*, 1973 r.

40 Patent of Subliminal Message Generator, <https://patentimages.storage.googleapis.com/cf/6b/aa/00b2a938571414/US5270800.pdf> (access: 23.07.2019).

41 E. Olszewska, *Przekaz podprogowy w reklamie jako manipulacja i zagrożenie dla poczucia bezpieczeństwa konsumenta*, "Zeszyty Naukowe WSOWL," 2 (168), 2013, p. 50.

42 D.I. Sriendra, K.Y. Abeywardena, *The Use of Subliminal and Supraliminal Messages in Phishing and Spear Phishing based Social Engineering Attacks; Feasibility Study*, The 13th International Conference on Computer Science & Education (ICCSE 2018), p. 56, <https://ieeexplore.ieee.org/document/8468681> (access: 07.08.2019).



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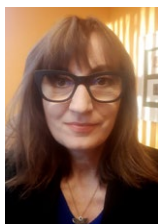
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# Anonymus in Hungary. P dictus Magister's *Gesta*, Age and Pusztaszer – About the Truth of Writing History

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## ABSTRACT

One of the most frequently quoted and examined topic of the historiography of the Hungarian Middle Ages is P dictus magister and his work, *Gesta Hungarorum*. Throughout the many hundred years of research, there had been several occasions when the author of the *Gesta* was thought to be identified. Unfortunately, he was not, as there is no consensus on his identity until this day. The starting point for almost all the experts on the topic was the same, which meant two alternatives. Firstly, that “P” was in most cases supposed to stand for the Latin “prae” preposition, and secondly, that it was the initial letter of the author’s name (eg. Petrus, Paulus, or Pósa). We can say that research was determined by these two hypotheses.

I based my research on the fact that P dictus magister was a learned, educated man of the Middle Ages, who was a scholar of literature, a key figure, whose ideas were characterised by spiritual, biblical, theological way of thinking – all of them typical of the age.

According to my conclusions, the *Gesta* must have been written after 1206 and before 1217, when Kalán, the bishop of Pécs, who was the author of the *Gesta* in my opinion, took the sign of the cross between 1214 and 1217. We can see that the *Gesta* reflects the crusaders’ ideals. Bishop Kalán must have had the knowledge to write the work, he must

have known the places, and his service at the chancellery, as a governor, and as the bishop of Pécs made him absolutely suitable for it.

KEY WORDS: Anonymus, historiography, Pope Innocent III, *Gesta Hungarorum*, Hugh of Saint Victor, literacy, Kalán

## STRESZCZENIE

*Węgierski Anonim. P dictus magister – Gesta, epoka i Pustaszter. O prawdziwie historiograficznej*

Jednym z najczęściej cytowanych i badanych zagadnień w dziedzinie historiografii węgierskiego średniowiecza jest P dictus magister i jego dzieło, *Gesta Hungarorum*. Przez setki lat wielokrotnie wydawało się, że udało się zidentyfikować autora *Gesta Hungarorum*. Niestety, nie było tak, ponieważ nie ma zgody co do jego tożsamości aż do dzisiaj. Punktem wyjścia dla niemal wszystkich badaczy było to samo założenie, co oznaczało dwie alternatywy. Po pierwsze, „P” w większości przypadków oznaczało łaciński przyimek „prae”; po drugie, mogła to być pierwsza litera imienia autora (np. Petrus, Paulus czy Pósa). Można powiedzieć, że badania były prowadzone pod kątem tych dwóch hipotez.

Swoje badania oparłem na fakcie, że P dictus magister był uczonym, wykształconym człowiekiem średniowiecza, badaczem literatury, ważną postacią, której idee charakteryzował duchowy, biblijny, teologiczny sposób myślenia typowy dla epoki. Wnioskuje, iż *Gesta* musiały zostać napisane po 1206, a przed 1217 r., kiedy Kalán, biskup Péczu, który moim zdaniem był ich autorem, przyjął znak krzyża (między 1214 i 1217 r.). Widzimy, że *Gesta* odzwierciedlają ideały krzyżowców. Biskup Kalán musiał posiadać określoną wiedzę, aby napisać takie dzieło, znać pewne miejsca, a jego praca w kancelarii dworskiej oraz stanowiska namiestnika i biskupa Peczu czynią go w pełni nadającym się do tego kandydatem.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Anonim, historiografia, papież Innocenty III, *Gesta Hungarorum*, Hugon od św. Wiktora, alfabetyzacja, Kalán

One of the most frequently quoted and examined topic of the Hungarian Middle Ages is P dictus magister and his work, *Gesta Hungarorum*. Throughout the many hundred years of research, there had been several

occasions when the author of the *Gesta* was thought to have been identified. Unfortunately, he was not, as there is no consensus on his identity until this day. The starting point for almost all the experts on the topic was the same, which meant two alternatives. “P” was in most cases supposed to stand for the Latin “prae” preposition, or the initial letter of the author’s name. We can say that research was determined by these two hypotheses. In opposition to this, I based my research on the fact that P dictus magister was a learned, educated man of the Middle Ages, who was a scholar of literature, and a key figure, whose ideas were characterised by a spiritual, biblical, theological way of thinking – all of them typical of the age. I started to study the *Gesta* itself – at first focusing on its 40th chapter – then on its author.

If you read *Gesta Hungarorum* carefully, you can see that its sequence of events focuses on two important actions. The first is the Blood Oath, which was taken in Scythia when the chieftains elected Álmos, the second was the “diet” (assembly) of Szer, following the battle of Alpár, where Árpád, the conqueror of the homeland with his chieftains settled all the issues of the country. These events are missing from the later chronicles.

I received the greatest help in the discovery of the European context of the examined historical age, regarding the connections between the papacy and the *Gesta*, from the works of Giulio Cipollone, a Trinitarian monk, expert in Medieval history at the Roman Pontifical Gregorian University (Pontificia Università Gregoriana).<sup>1</sup> He drew my attention to the fact that the work – contents-wise – shows close connections to the most influential figure of the age, Pope Innocent III, his theology, politics, and intentions. He discusses this issue in detail in his book *Cristianità – Islam. Cattività e liberazione in nome di Dio. Il tempo di Innocenzo III dopo 'il 1187'*. I consider the presentation of the results of the Italian professor’s research important because the Hungarian historiography had not really considered papal relationships when examining *Gesta Hungarorum*. However, the work becomes more comprehensible this way. Professor Cipollone was not interested in the events of the age in Hungary or the *Gesta*, and consequently, these research results have not been compared.

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1 G. Cipollone, *Cristianità – Islam. Cattività e liberazione in nome di Dio. Il tempo di Innocenzo III dopo 'il 1187'*, “Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae edita a Facultate Historiae Ecclesiasticae in Pontificia Universitate Gregoriana,” Vol. 60, Edizione Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Roma 1996; G. Cipollone, *Il mosaico di S. Tommaso in Formis a Roma (ca. 1210). Contributo di iconografia e iconologia*, Ordinis Trinitatis Institutum Historicum, Series Miscellanea – I, Roma 1997; G. Cipollone, *La redenzione e la liberazione dei captivi. Lettura cristiana e modello di redenzione e liberazione secondo la regola dei Trinitari*, in: *La liberazione dei 'captivi' tra Cristianità e Islam oltre la crociata e il Ġihād: tolleranza e servizio umanitario*, ed. G. Cipollone, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 46, Città del Vaticano 2007, pp. 345-416.

The morality of the 12th century is illustrated by Hugh of Saint Victor (†1141), a theologian from Paris, alter Augustinus, a mystical writer.<sup>2</sup> He considers history as development in learning the mystery of Christ, who is the sacrament of the invisible reality.<sup>3</sup> In his main work, *De sacramentis christianae fidei*, he divided history into three eras – called *tempus* – kingdoms, and almost exactly the same way as St. Augustinus, six *aetas*: 1. of the natural law from creation, from Adam to Moses, 2. of the written law from Moses to Christ and 3. the kingdom of grace from Christ to the end of the world. The central event is Incarnation, Christ's coming to the Earth. Consequently, everything on Earth refers to heavenly reality, so we all live in an allegorical universe.<sup>4</sup> According to Hugh, history is like a building, in which historical meaning is the foundation, allegory is the structure, and tropology is the colouring. The clue of reading is the sentence from the letter to the Corinthians: "He has made us competent as ministers of a new covenant – not of the letter but of the Spirit; for the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life" (2 Cor 3,6).<sup>5</sup>

Hugh's Augustinian canon had three students and followers, Petrus Lombardus, Petrus Comestor claiming the principle that "historia fundamentum est," and Stephen Langton, the latter archbishop of Canterbury, a schoolmate of Pope Innocent III. This principle will – among others – penetrate the speeches of Lotario dei Conti di Segni, Pope Innocent III.<sup>6</sup>

The school of Saint Victor Abbey was the place to open the way to a new approach to the Bible to make it the object of study and teaching, in other words, the Bible became part of preaching and theological education.<sup>7</sup> The Holy Scripture is considered to be *P dictus magister's* pri-

2 D. Söveges, *Fejezetek a lelkiiség történetéből. Első kötet – Keresztény ókor, romanika, gótika*, Panonhalma, Bencés Kiadó 2007, p. 211. Different sources mention different names: *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, *Magister Hugo* or simply *Hugo*, *Domnus Hugo*, *Venerabilis Hugo*, *canonicus*, *presbyter*, *Pater* or *frater Hugo*, *praepositus sancti Victoris*. He was also called *philosophus*, *theologus*, and *theosophus*, *beatus*, *sanctus*, *Hugo magnus*, or *Hugo parisiensis*, in: M. Fiorini, *Ugo di San Vitore De arra anime. L'inizio del dono*, Glossa, Milano 2000, XI.

3 J. Janssens, *Storiografia – Filosofia della storia*, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Roma 2002-2003, p. 109.

4 *Ibidem*, p. 111.

5 O. Pasquato, *Innocenzo III e la predicazione nel suo contesto storico*, in: *Innocenzo III. Sermoni (Sermones)*, ed. S. Fioramonti, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 2006, XII-XIV; *Hugh of Saint Victor* also wrote about history in his work *De Arca Noe morali: Historia enim longitudinem arcae metitur, quia in serie rerum gestarum ordo temporis invenitur. Allegoria latitudine arcae metitur, quia in participatione sacramentorum constat collectio populorum fidelium. Tropologia altitudinem arcae metitur, quia in profectu virtutum crescit dignitas meritorum*, in: *Patrologia cursus completus. Series Latina*. CLXXVI, eds. J.-P. Migne, Hugo de S. Victore, Parisii 1854, p. 678.

6 O. Pasquato, *Innocenzo III e la predicazione nel suo contesto storico*, op. cit., XLIX.

7 *Ibidem*, XIV.



mary source as well. Though among others, Ede Mészáros presented the relationship of the Vulgate and *Gesta* in detail,<sup>8</sup> researchers' attention was rather focused on the other sources! We might assume that it was not the king's chronicler who invented and used this method on his own. It had probably something to do with his studies abroad. There are several signs supporting the hypothesis that P dictus magister had studied in Paris,<sup>9</sup> perhaps in the Saint Victor school of Augustinian canons. Thus history, as it was thought in the 12th century, began with Creation, and its pivot was Incarnation, the birth of Christ, while the end is Parousia, His second coming. In medieval mentality *res gestae* are still *gesta Dei*, which means that theologians hold the clue to the comprehension of history!<sup>10</sup> P dictus magister, who was a theologian judging from his title and his obvious biblical knowledge, writes in his book's *prologus*: "Following the example of numerous chroniclers, trusting in God's helping grace, I thought it is better not to forget about these events until the last generation of descendants."<sup>11</sup> Until the last generation, that is, the second coming of Christ, Parousia.

There is outstanding parallelism between Hungarian history and the story of the chosen people, the Jews of the Bible. The work constructed on the basis of this typology pivots around the wandering, the exodus, arrival to the Carpathian Basin, and the kingdom. From wandering to kingdom there is a parallelism between the stories and the figures of the Bible and *Gesta Hungarorum*, which influenced P dictus magister as well, so he did not want to only write down the Hungarian version of the Trojan story.<sup>12</sup> So, P dictus magister was a chronicler of a king, who belonged to the old nobility of the country, and who was aware of the countrywide importance, role, and interests of the families originating from Scythia. Of course, he Hungarian author writes about Scythia as something positive,

8 E. Mészáros, *Qua ratione Anonymus Hungarus in conscribendis Gestis suis Sacra Scriptura usus sit*, Quinqueecclesiis 1936; B. Déri, *P. magister gestájának bibliai-liturgikus idézetei*. – I, II, III, "Magyar Egyházzene," 2011/2012, p. 35.

9 A. Szerb, *Magyar irodalomtörténet*, Magvető, Budapest 2005, p. 38; L. Veszprémy, *Az Anonymus-kutatás ma*, in: *Csodaszarvas. Östörténet, vallás és néphagyomány*. II. kötet, ed. A. Molnár, Molnár Kiadó, Budapest 2006, p. 130; I. Kapitánffy, *Anonymus és Bizánc*, in: *Philologia Nostra II. Kapitánffy István válogatott tanulmányai*, eds. Z. Farkas, T. Mészáros, ELTE Eötvös József Collegium 2017, p. 437; P. Langó, *Turulok és Árpádok. Nemzeti emlékezet és a koratörténeti emlékek*, Typotex, Budapest 2017, p. 217.

10 J. Janssens, *Storiografia – Filosofia della storia*, op. cit., p. 121.

11 "... et secundum traditiones diversorum hystoriographorum divine gratie fultus auxilio optimum estimans, ut ne posteris in ultimam generationem oblivioni tradatur," in: I. Szentpétery, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, Budapest 1937, I. 3.

12 J. Győry, *Gesta regum – gesta nobilium: tanulmány Anonymus krónikájáról*, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest 1948, p. 80.

however, it is a land of servility, which is why it has to be abandoned, and the Christian land is the land of Promise, therefore Hungarians get an invitation to flee from servility to freedom. These ideas are closely related to the theology of Pope Innocent III. After 1187 – in a wider sense, during the era of Innocent III – the Pope initiated the re-conquest of the Holy Land, and he enhanced the Christian ideal, therefore in 1198 he issued the document beginning with the words “Post miserabile Jerosolimitane.”<sup>13</sup> He spread the notions of servitude and freedom based on Old Testament prefigurations.

We can see that the chancery of Innocent III used the words *guerra* or *discordia* and *bellum* in different meanings. The words *guerra/discordia* refer to the wars and hostilities among Christian monarchs, while *bellum* refers to the war against infidels. As a consequence, the Pope had a special “dictionary” for expressing the ideas of servility – *captivitas* – and liberty – *libertas*.<sup>14</sup> If you compare P dictus magister’s *Gesta* to the ideas of Pope Innocent III, you can see a major correspondence, one might assume that he may have been acquainted with the Pope’s way of thinking and word usage! He supports his message with quotations from the Bible, mostly from the Old Testament. The *Gesta* is about *bellum*. The reader can see that P dictus magister may have known the Pope’s word usage encouraging and calling for an armed pilgrimage. His work is penetrated by the spirituality of the fight for Jerusalem. To support that, he used the history of the Hungarians, as we also experienced similar events to those that are recorded in the Old Testament. Our rightful heritage was reconquered by Árpád. It was king Béla III and then, following his death, his son Imre who took the cross, and eventually it was Andrew II, who headed for the Holy Land in 1217. Accordingly, leaving Scythia signifies endurance and release, while Christianity signifies eternal life, and allegorically, salvation. God set Hungarians free from servility, that is, from the state of being pagan. Therefore, the word “Scythian” in his work refers not only to the fact that Hungarians were a *nomadic* people,<sup>15</sup> but also to their being *pagan*, not Christian, which he mentions several times. Thus, they could not achieve salvation in

13 A. Borosy, J. Laszlovszky, *Magyarország, a Szentföld és a korai kereszties hadjáratok*, in: *Magyarország és a kereszties háborúk. Lovagrendek és emlékeik*, eds. J. Laszlovszky, J. Majorossy, J. Zsengellér, Attraktor 2006, Máriabesnyő–Gödöllő, p. 87.

14 G. Cipollone, *Cristianità – Islam. Cattività e liberazione in nome di Dio*, op. cit., pp. 352-354.

15 J. Deér, *Szkítia leírása a Gesta Ungarorumban*, “Magyar Könyvszemle,” 1930, p. 244; G. Kristó, F. Makk, E. Marosi, III. *Béla emlékezete*, Magyar Helikon, Budapest 1981, p. 194; I. Fodor, *Rokonaink-e a szkíták?*, in: *Szkíta aranykincsek. Kiállítási vezető*, Időszaki kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban 2009. március 25 – május 31, ed. T. Dr. Kovács, Budapest 2009, p. 120, 128; I. Fodor, *Rokonaink-e a szkíták?*, in: *BBC History*, 2015, December, V. évf. 12. szám, p. 30; I. Fodor, *Rokonaink-e a szkíták?*, “Határtalan Régészet,” 2019. IV. évf. 3. szám, p. 38.

Scythia, because they lived as pagans, in other words, in servility, in the servility of their pagan state. Thus, the work is not incomplete, as it presents the history of Hungarians from servility to liberty, to the age of Saint Stephen, who proclaimed the words of Life.<sup>16</sup> The message of the *Gesta* is close to these ideas, and that determines the time of its creation.

At the beginning of the *Gesta*, in chapter 6, it is mentioned that the Kalán and the Kölcse families stemmed from Ond. The name Kalán is especially interesting, as there was a person called Kalán at that time, so it is very likely that Kalán and P dictus magister knew each other. Regarding the education and acquaintances of Kalán, though there is no proof of that, it seems likely that he had studied in France with the support of archbishop Luke and the kings Stephen III and Béla III.<sup>17</sup> However, it is a fact that he mentions in his governor's diploma dated in 1193 in Spalato (Split, in Croatia), regarding his education, that: "knowing the New and Old Testaments", he ensures a tenth of the duchy's income to be paid for the Zagreb bishopric.<sup>18</sup> It is also a fact, that Pope Innocent III in his diploma in 1206 called the bishop "vir predictus sciencie litterarum,"<sup>19</sup> which is a recognition of his *magister, litteratus* education, meaning skills in theological and secular sciences that time. Kalán was a highly educated clergyman, whose life is relatively well-known.<sup>20</sup> It is probable that Kalán took part in the foundation of the chapter of Pozsegaszentpéter (Kaptol, in Croatia). Actually, he was the initiator of literacy there.<sup>21</sup> Being a bishop,

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- 16 J. Bollók, *A Thonuzoba-legenda történelmi hitele*, "Századok," 1979/1, p. 107; I. Bertényi, *A középkori művelődés*, in: *Magyar művelődéstörténet*, ed. L. Kósa, Osiris Kiadó, Budapest 2006, p. 109.
- 17 L. Veszprémy, *Az Anonymus- kutatás ma*, op. cit., p. 126; L. Koszta, *A pécsi egyházmegye története I. A középkor évszázadai (1009-1543)*, eds. T. Fedele, G. Sarbak, J. Sümegi 2009, p. 70; G. Kiss, *11-13. századi magyar főpapok francia kapcsolatai*, in: *Francia-magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban*, eds. A. Györkös, G. Kiss, Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, Debrecen 2013, p. 345.
- 18 "... ego non ignarus noui et ueteris testament," in: T. Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, Zagreb, 1904, II, p. 259.
- 19 G. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, Budae 1829, III/1, pp. 38-42.
- 20 K. Némäti, *Nagy-Magyarország ismeretlen történelmi okmánya*, Budapest 1911, pp. 25-29; G. Szeberényi, *Hatalmi struktúrák a 12. századi Dalmáciában*, in: *Hatalmi ideológiák a szláv népek körében: történetészkonferencia*, ed. G. Bebesi, Pécs 2001 (Kelet-Európa és Balkán tanulmányok; 1), pp. 42-52; G. Szeberényi, "Kalán, Isten kegyelméből palliumos pécsi püspök, egész Dalmácia és Horvátország kormányzója". *Újabb szempont a horvát-magyar perszonálunió 12. századi történetének kérdéséhez*, in: *Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből*, Pécs 2002, pp. 229-239; *Esztergomi érsekek 1001-2003*, ed. M. Beke, Szent István Társulat, Budapest 2003, pp. 83-88; L. Koszta, *A pécsi egyházmegye története I.*, op. cit., pp. 69-74; G. Kiss, *11-13. századi magyar főpapok francia kapcsolatai*, op. cit., p. 345.
- 21 L. Koszta, *A pozsegai társaskáptalan tagjai a XIV. század közepéig*, "Aetas," 1991, pp. 40-57; L. Koszta, *A pécsi székeskáptalan hiteleshelyi pecséthasználata a XIV. század közepéig*, "Levéltári Közlemények," 1996, pp. 51-60; L. Koszta, *Írásbeliség a pécsi egyházmegyében 1335-ig*.

he could be interested in the organization of the region's literacy, and as a governor – on his way to Spalato – he could pay visits to this place as a bishop. Knowing and mentioning Pozsega is understandable if Kalán is the author of the *Gesta*. In my opinion, this is a slip, which reveals the person of P dictus magister, because bishop Kalán must have travelled through Zagreb on the road leading to the Dalmatian coast, just like the land obtainers, according to the author of the *Gesta*. It is obvious, that when he was the governor of the region, he frequently visited Spalato, far from his bishopric. Two original, sealed diplomas remained from the time of bishop Kalán's governorship. These two diplomas stayed out of researchers' interest, although the first can be regarded as a summary of the *Gesta*. The diplomas' slant is the same as the *Gesta's*, which implies a series of grants.

**The diploma of bishop Kalán**

**P dictus magister**

[...] *hec presens pagina* [...]

42. [...] *presentis pagine non vultis* [...]

[...] *viri tamen summates, quos diuina gratia pre ceteris extulit in hoc mundo* [...]

Prologus: [...] *et secundum tradiciones diuersorum hystoriographorum diuine gratie fultus auxilio optimum estimans* [...]

33. *Et quia diuina gratia in eis erat, timuit eos omnis homo* [...]

44. *et, sicut diuina gratia erat eis preuia, leuem habuit transitum.*

55. *Sed diuina gratia adiuuante* [...]

[...] *preceptis dominicis* [...]

52. [...] *preceptis domini sui* [...]

[...] *quod ego non ignarus noui et ueteris testamenti, in quo tuba clara canitur et aperte* [...]

8. [...] *sonuerunt tubas bellicas* [...]

39. [...] *tuba cecinit* [...]

41. [...] *tubas bellicas sonando* [...]

44. [...] *tubas bellicas sonuerunt* [...]

[...] *de omnibus uictualibus* [...]

1. [...] *habentes animalia multa et victualia sufficienter.*

12. [...] *et omnia iumenta eorum*

*victualibus et aliis necessariis oneravit* [...]

*A hiteleshelyek*, in: *Hermann Egyed emlékkönyv*, Budapest 1998, p. 172; L. Koszta, *Članovi Požeškog kaptola do sredine 14. stoljeća*, in: *Scrinia Slavonica*, 2007, pp. 65-87; L. Koszta, *A pécsi egyházmegye története I.*, op. cit., pp. 235-246.

[...] *de omnibus uictualibus, que vulgo  
cazun nuncupantur [...]*

11. [...] *quod castrum nunc Sunad  
nuncupatur.*<sup>22</sup>

1. [...] *homines vero, qui habitant eam,  
vulgariter Dentumoger dicuntur usque in  
hodiernum diem [...]*

47. [...] *edificauit castrum, quod nominavit  
vulgariter Zecuseu [...]*

*Et vt hoc perpetua stabilitate reniteat, huius  
antique constitutionis [...]*

57. *De constitutione regni.*

[...] *anno dominice incarnationis [...]*

1. [...] *rex Athila, qui anno dominice  
incarnationis [...]*

3. *Anno dominice incarnationis DCCC-o  
XVIII-o [...]*

7. *Anno dominice incarnationis D. CCC.  
L. XXXIII [...]*

14. *Anno domine incarnationis D. CCCC-o  
III-o [...]*

52. *Post hec anno dominice incarnations  
DCCCXVII. [...]*

55. [...] *dux Zulta anno dominice  
incarnationis DCCCXXI. [...]*

We know a diploma from 1217, in which he is called “Domino ac patre nostro” by the members of the chapter of Pécs, which is where the provost of Pozsega, Tyburcius is first mentioned.<sup>23</sup> The honorable bishop was

22 We see the word “idioma” repeatedly: “per ydioma alienigenarum Hungarii et in sua lingua propria Mogerii vocantur, tibi scriberem, 5. que per ydioma suum proprium Dentumoger dicitur, 12. Tunc VII principales persone, qui Hetumoger dicuntur, 40. Hungarii secundum suum idioma nominauerunt Scerii, 40. quod nominauerunt Sclaui secundum ydioma suum Surungrad, id est nigrum castrum. P dictus magister’s most common expression is nuncupatur: 15. quod Camarum nuncupavit, 17. terreum, quod nunc in presenti Hymusuduor nuncupatur, 21. quod nunc castrum Zobolsu nuncupatur, 21. cui etiam foro nomen suum imposuit, quod usque nunc forum Thosu nuncupatur, 27. et a die illo locus ille nuncupatus est Esculeu eo, quod ibi iuraverunt, 32. quod nunc castrum Ursuur nuncupatur, 34. castellum terreum, quod nuncupatur Uarod, 34. cui nomen suum imposuit proprium, ut castrum Borsu nuncupatur, 37. unde mons ille a die ille usque nunc mons Zubur nuncupatur, 39. Unde locus ille, ubi Greci mortui fuerunt, a die illo usque nunc portus Grecorum nuncupatur, 47. Et Boyte eodem modo dedit terram magnam versus Saru cum populo non numerato, que usque modo nuncupatur Boyta.”

23 “Actum est hoc anno Dominice Incarnationis M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup> decimo septimo, indiccione quinta, epacta XI. concurrente sexto. Domino ac patre nostro Calano Quinqueecclesiensi kathedre feliciter presidente; Tyburcio Preposito de Posoga existente, Lodomerico Preposito Sancti Johannis Archydiacono de Baranya, Michaelae Hospitali Magistro, Laurencio Cantore, Johanne Archydiacono de Tolna, Paska Archydiacono de Ozyuagh, Garino Archydiacono de Marchia, Jacobo

a keen believer in the Crusade, as he collected money for the armed pilgrimage of Andrew II. He died in 1218. He is likely to be buried in Pécs as bishops are usually buried in cathedrals, though the location of his body in the monastery of Szer cannot be excluded, although the place had been in the attention of Kalán.<sup>24</sup> It is assumed that he was the one to reconstruct the monastery of Szer, as the owner of the site.

From our point of view, the composition of *Descent from the Cross* by Benedetto Antelami, one of the most significant sculptors of the 12th century, is interesting. The work is signed with the name Antelami: *anno milieno centeno septuageno octavo sculptor patrauit mense secundo – antelami dictus sculptor fuit hic benedictus*.<sup>25</sup> The pattern is the same as in the case of the *Gesta*'s author: "A(ntelami) dictus sculptor... Benedictus" – "P(...) dictus magister..." Benedetto Antelami's work is additionally dated. Since we know that the relief was made in 1178, so this expression, as the only one known which is similar, suggests that P dictus magister served king Béla III as his chronicler! Thus, the expression "Antelami dictus sculptor" provides a dating, as it is unlikely that this manner of wording came to Italy from Hungary! The question is the meaning of the word *dictus*, and how it modifies our earlier ideas regarding the letter "P." In my opinion, it may rather be a title, an invocation, or appreciation. Taking into consideration Kalán's life, we can find an example for all the three opportunities:

1. Kalán had numerous special titles, as he was the only bishop with a pallium in his era. In this case, the letter "P" refers to *Palleatus dictus magister*, that is, "the master called pallium owner" or "master with a pallium"! In the latter case, the attribute *palleatus* belongs to the noun *magister*, so *dictus* refers to the word *magister*. Kalán often mentioned this papal honour, which was exclusively awarded to him.<sup>26</sup>

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Archidiacono de Wathy, Petro Archidiacono de Walko, Johanne Archidiacono de Regun, Georgio Custode," in: G. Wenzel, *Árpádkori új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*, Pest 1873, XI, pp. 153-154.

24 According to archaeologist Ottó Trogmayer, the grave, uncovered at the central site of the church, may be the grave of Bishop Kalán. In: O. Trogmayer, *Fecerunt magnum aldumas – Gondolatók Szer monostorának építéstörténetéhez*, in: *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer*, ed. T. Kollár, Szeged 2000, pp. 81-105.

25 G. Marrucchi, R. Belcari, *Az ókereszténységtől a román korig*, Corvina Kiadó, Budapest 2008, p. 280; C. Frugoni, *La voce delle immagini. Pillole iconografiche dal Medioevo*, Einaudi, Torino 2010, pp. 167-178.

26 L. Koszta, *A pécsi egyházmegye története I.*, op. cit., p. 70. His diplomas from 1193 include the term *palleatus*: *Calanus dei gratia Quinqueecclesienis episcopus palleatus et totius Dalmatie atque Chroatie gubernator*. In: G. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, op. cit., II, pp. 294-295; T. Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae*, op. cit., II, pp. 259-260, 265.

2. We can also find an example for invocation from Kalán's life as well, which is also a rarity, just like the title: bishop with a pallium. The other alternative is *Pater dictus magister*, that means “master called Pater (Father)”! In this case, the title can be understood as: “Pater (Father) called master,” so *dictus* might refer to the word following it, *magister*, as researchers had previously always assumed! Kalán was called “Father” by his priests at the beginning of the 13th century!<sup>27</sup> This information can be dated. It comes from 1217, which was the year just before his death. Although we, unfortunately, do not have any earlier data like that, it seems probable that he could have been called this way not only from 1217 on but from earlier on. This name could be well-known then.

3. What could have established bishop Kalán's prestige besides his education and family background? In our opinion, the highest validation of bishop Kalán in his life is the one from Pope Innocent III.<sup>28</sup> He described the bishop as skilled in the science of literature, “*vir preditus scientia litterarum*”, in his diploma in 1206.<sup>29</sup> As the attribute *preditus* does not mean anything in itself, and there is always another word to which it belongs, so it is unlikely to have been used as a cognomen. In this case, it is the attribute of *preditus* or *magister*, that is “called a skilled master,” or *Preditus (scientia litterarum) dictus magister* is the solution of the siglum. The pallium given by the pope is explained with Kalán's special talent, and the word *preditus* refers to the same. Pope Innocent III mentions the bishop as “*Ecclesia Dei columpnam immobilem nouimus*” in this diploma, that is “known as the steadfast column of God's church.” It is also notable, that the royal chronicler used an expression in the prologue of the *Gesta*, that has a similar structure to the one in the papal diploma: “*N. suo dilectissimo amico uiro uenerabili et arte litteralis scientie inbuto*”

27 “Actum est hoc anno Dominice Incarnationis M° CC° decimo septimo, indictione quinta, epacta XI. concurrente sexto. Domino ac patre nostro Calano Quinqueecclesiensi kathedre feliciter presidente, Tyburcio preposito de Posoga existente,” in: G. Wenzel, *Árpádkori új okmánytár*, op. cit., p. 153.

28 In 1199 Pope Innocent III ordered an investigation into the case of the abbot of Földvár and bishop Kalán, bishop of Pécs, due to a dispute about the status of the monastery, the outcome of which is not known; the diploma does not mention the bishop by name: “...venerabilis frater nostri Quinqueecclesiensis Episcopi,” in: G. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, op. cit., II. 353; G. Kiss, *Abbatia regalia – Hierarchia ecclesiastica. A királyi alapítású bencés apátságok egyházi jogi helyzete a 11-13. században*. Budapest 2006, pp. 78-79; G. Barabás, *A pápaság és Magyarország a 13. század első felében. Pápai hatás – együttműködés – érdekkellentét*, Pécs 2015, pp. 226-227. In Pope Innocent III's diploma of 1205 against bishop Kalán, we read “Venerabilis frater noster C. Quinqueecclesiensis episcopus.” In: G. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, op. cit., 1829. II, pp. 462.

29 The Pope's letter dated July 7, 1206, in: G. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, op. cit., 1829. III/, pp. 38-42.

to appreciate his friend.<sup>30</sup> *Inbutus* is a synonym of *preditus*, their meaning is almost the same. Bishop Kalán could be proud of what the Pope had said about him, so he reserved that for himself, and did not transfer the Pope's words onto his friend, which might have been the reason for using a synonym.

There are correlations between the three words with the letter "P." The young chancellor, the bishop of Pécs, later the governor bishop with a *pallium*, the elected archbishop of Esztergom, whom the Pope calls *vir preditus*, and the "steadfast column of God's church," called *pater* among his priests. But, the most precious title must have been the Pope's straightforward, praising words for bishop Kalán. It is obvious that we cannot determine what the P siglum of P dictus magister refers to, as there are three alternatives, and we do not know what the author had in mind when writing the prologue. I suppose, the *Gesta* was written between 1214 and 1217, so the author was rather old by then. If he wrote the work at an old age, based on his prestige, the well-known *pater* word can also be the solution of the p siglum; his canons called him father in 1217.

Therefore, the *Gesta* must have been written after 1206 and before 1217, when Katapán, bishop of Eger died. It might have been the time when bishop Kalán took the sign of the cross, between 1214 and 1217. As we can see, the *Gesta* reflects the crusaders' ideal to fighting for their rightful heritage. In fact, bishop Kalán took on the cross in 1214, as we know from the letter of King Andrew II to Pope Innocent III.<sup>31</sup> The blessed cross-bearing bishop of Pécs – *episcopus cruce signatus* – died in 1218, as we can induce from the letter of Pope Honorius III, dated 23 January 1219.<sup>32</sup>

30 I. Szentpétery, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, op. cit., I, pp. 33.

31 *Árpád-kori és Anjou-kori levelek: XI-XIV. Század*, eds. L. Makkai, L. Mezey, Budapest 1960, pp. 127, 323. The text mentions Kalán, the bishop of Pécs, Péter, bishop of Győr and Tamás, provost of Fehérvár. "Venerabiles autem viros, Quinqueecclesiensem et Geuriensem, episcopos, nec non praepositum Albensem, Cancellarium nostrum, dudum voto alligatos, et signo crucis insignitos, vt nobis itineris socii sint, vtpote ex quorum societate non modicas vires constat nobis accrescere, a vocatione Vestra (ad concilium, anno sequente celebrandum) diligenter imploramur absolu." In: G. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, op. cit., III/1, pp. 164-165.

32 "Honorius episcopus etc. Dilectis filiis ... Preposito et Capitulo Quinqueecclesiensi salutem etc. Cum sicut nobis est pro certo relatam, bone memorie ... Quinqueecclesiensis Episcopus cruce signatus dimiserit quandam summam pecunie pro subsidio terre sancte ... Aliquum Venerabilis fratri nostro ... Episcopo Cenadiensi nostris damus litteris in manibus, ut vos ad id per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione remota, compellat. Datum Laterani X. Kal. Februarii. Anno tertio." In: A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis deprompta*, Roma 1859, I. 19; K. Juhász, *A csanádi püspökség története alapításától a tatárjárásig (1030-1242)*, Makó 1930, p. 143. Pope Honorius III then sent his papal chaplain, Master Acontius, to Hungary, with an assignment to



We had to depart from the starting point and method accepted until this day, in order to get the results. It is not certain at all that the initial “P” letter of the *Gesta*’s author stands for a first name, and we cannot be sure that *dictus* refers to the word *magister*. Bishop Kalán must have had the knowledge to write such a work, and he must have known the described places. His service as the chancellor, governor and bishop of Pécs made him an absolutely suitable candidate. From among the above-mentioned names of places, familiarity with Spalato and Pozsega can be regarded as extraordinary in this context. The bishop of Pécs took part in the foundation of the chapter of Pozsega (Kaptol in Croatia), but others could have had no certain information on its existence.

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## Una copia del *Ritratto di giovane uomo Czartoryski* all'Accademia Carrara di Bergamo

### ASTRATTO

Il presente articolo si propone di ripercorrere la storia collezionistica e la fortuna critica di una copia del celebre *Ritratto di giovane uomo* attribuito a Raffaello e già in collezione Czartoryski a Cracovia. La copia è oggi conservata presso l'Accademia Carrara di Bergamo, ma proviene dalla raccolta veneziana dell'avvocato Salvatore Orsetti (1804). L'indagine è svolta attraverso un riesame delle fonti archivistiche relative al pezzo e dei contributi offerti dagli studiosi tra Ottocento e Novecento.

**PAROLE CHIAVE:** storia dell'arte, storia del collezionismo, copia da Raffaello, collezione Czartoryski, Venezia, Bergamo, Accademia Carrara

### ABSTRACT

In the Accademia Carrara (Bergamo) an ancient copy of the *Portrait of a youth* attributed to Raphael is kept, once in the Czartoryski collection in Krakow. This copy comes from the property of a Venice-based lawyer, Salvatore Orsetti, who in 1804 sold his collection to the museum in Bergamo. The article aims to present the collecting history and the critical fortune of this work of art, analyzing the archival

sources and examining the contributions offered by scholars during the 18th and 19th centuries.

KEY WORDS: art history, history of collecting, Raphael's copy, Czartoryski collection, Venice, Bergamo, Accademia Carrara

L'Accademia Carrara di Bergamo conserva una copia del celebre *Ritratto di giovane uomo* attribuito a Raffaello e già in collezione Czartoryski a Cracovia (n. inv. V-239), pervenuta al museo nel 1804 tramite l'acquisto della raccolta dell'avvocato Salvatore Orsetti.<sup>1</sup>

Come è noto, il dipinto originale ebbe vicende collezionistiche travagliate e a oggi rappresenta uno dei casi più intriganti della storia dell'arte, anche per via della sua presunta irreperibilità.<sup>2</sup> Fu comprato a Venezia dal principe Adam Jerzy Czartoryski e dal fratello Konstanty tra la fine del Settecento e gli inizi dell'Ottocento, forse presso la famiglia Giustiniani. In precedenza esso era transitato per Modena e per molti anni era stato a Mantova, dove Giulio Romano lo aveva portato con sé dopo la morte di Raffaello.<sup>3</sup> Trasportato in Polonia dai nuovi proprietari, il ritratto fu esposto nel *Dom Gotycki* di Pulawy, padiglione neogotico della residenza estiva della famiglia Czartoryski, fondato nel 1801 dalla principessa Izabella e divenuto ben presto il primo museo polacco: qui trovarono posto anche altri capolavori della collezione, come la *Dama con l'ermellino* di Leonardo da Vinci e il *Paesaggio con il buon samaritano* di Rembrandt. Con la rivoluzione anti-zarista del 1830, esso seguì il principe Adam Jerzy nel suo esilio a Parigi presso l'Hôtel Lambert e dopo un periodo a Londra (1848-1851) tornò in Francia, restandovi fino agli anni settanta dell'Ottocento. Di nuovo in Polonia, il dipinto fu esposto dagli anni ottanta nel neonato Museo

1 *Ritratto di giovane uomo*, n. inv. 58AC00471 (già n. inv. 446 e n. inv. 806), olio su tela, 77 x 62 cm. Il dipinto è stato esposto in Polonia in occasione della mostre *200 lat Muzeum Księżąt Czartoryskich 1801-2001: jubileusz muzealnictwa polskiego* (Cracovia, Museo Nazionale, 4 giugno-5 agosto 2001) e *Il Ritratto di giovane uomo. Alla ricerca del capolavoro perduto di Raffaello* (Varsavia, Museo Nazionale, 21 novembre 2019-19 gennaio 2020).

2 Cf. J. Meyer zur Capellen, *Raphael. A critical catalogue of his paintings*, Vol. 3 (*The Roman Portraits, ca. 1508-1520*), Landshut 2008, pp. 94-99 n. 70; J. Walek, *The Czartoryski Portrait of a Youth by Raphael*, "Artibus et historiae," 1991, 24, pp. 201-224; D. Cordellier, B. Py, *Musée du Louvre. Cabinet des Dessins. Inventaire général des dessins italiens*, Vol. 5, *Raphaël, son atelier, ses copistes*, Paris 1992, p. 178.

3 Queste informazioni si ricavano dall'iscrizione contenuta nella riproduzione a stampa di Pieter Jan de Vlaminck (cf. J. Meyer zur Capellen, *Raphael*, op. cit., p. 98 n. 18).

Czartoryski di Cracovia e durante la Prima Guerra Mondiale fu trasferito alla Gemäldegalerie di Dresda, dove rimase fino al luglio 1920. Con lo scoppio del nuovo conflitto mondiale, esso fu portato segretamente nel sud della Polonia, ma fu intercettato dai tedeschi e confiscato. Da allora se ne sono perse le tracce: l'ipotesi che sia andato distrutto nel corso della ritirata dei nazisti dalla Polonia è ultimamente rigettata, anche alla luce di recenti dichiarazioni ufficiali (2012) che lo vorrebbero in salvo in un luogo non rivelato.

L'opera, in cui la critica ha riconosciuto di volta in volta un autoritratto dello stesso Raffaello, un ritratto di un membro della sua cerchia o una rappresentazione idealizzata,<sup>4</sup> godette di un'immediata fortuna iconografica: numerose sono infatti le copie che oggi si possiedono, tra dipinti e incisioni.<sup>5</sup>

L'esemplare dell'Accademia Carrara, come anticipato, appartenne alla collezione Orsetti di Venezia. La famiglia era originaria di Bergamo e proveniva dalla frazione Ascensione di Costa di Serina, piccolo paese montano della Valle Brembana; qui da tempo era imparentata con il casato dei Gherardi. A partire dal XVI secolo diversi membri lasciarono le valli e si trasferirono in Laguna, dove si radicarono senza tuttavia perdere i rapporti con la terra d'origine. Tra questi vale la pena di ricordare il predicatore Lorenzo Orsetti de' Gherardi, frate in San Domenico di Castello a Venezia e attivo committente del pittore Lorenzo Lotto, che a Bergamo nel 1539 eresse due Monti di Pietà per l'assistenza alimentare ai poveri.<sup>6</sup> Capostipite del ramo cosiddetto di San Lio, da cui proviene il dipinto in esame, fu Cristoforo figlio di Giovanni Orsetti, che nel sestriere di Castello dal 1639 impiantò attività di commercio di vini, salumi e colori.<sup>7</sup> Egli attraverso i proventi dei negozi poté radunare un'ingente collezione di dipinti e oggetti d'arte, comprendente anche numerosi capolavori di maestri rinascimentali.<sup>8</sup> Nel testamento del 1664 Cristoforo raccomandò che “delli quadri che si trovano in casa di perfetta mano, ne sia fatto diligente inventario, né potranno esser essitati se non tutti con qualche buona occasione in una

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4 J. Walek, *The Czartoryski Portrait*, op. cit., pp. 211-214.

5 J. Meyer zur Capellen, *Raphael*, op. cit., p. 97.

6 S. Giordano, *Ad vocem* “Lorenzo da Bergamo,” in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 2006, Vol. 66, pp. 58-60.

7 V. Mandelli, *Studi di famiglie e di collezionismo a Venezia nel Sei e Settecento*, “Saggi e Memorie di storia dell'arte,” 2007, 31, pp. 237-294, in part. 284-290. Su Cristoforo Orsetti cf. L. Borean, *Ad vocem* “Cristoforo Orsetti,” in: *Il collezionismo d'arte a Venezia. Il Seicento*, eds. L. Borean, S. Mason, Venezia 2007, p. 297.

8 L. Borean, S. Mason, *Cristoforo Orsetti e i suoi quadri di “perfetta mano”*, in: *Figure di collezionisti a Venezia tra Cinque e Seicento*, eds. S. Mason, L. Borean, Udine 2002, pp. 119-157.

sol volta.”<sup>9</sup> Alcuni di questi dipinti, opere di Pordenone, Palma il Vecchio, Bonifacio Veneziano, Jacopo Bassano, Paolo Veronese e Tiziano, furono nominati anche da Carlo Ridolfi ne *Le maraviglie dell'arte* (1648).<sup>10</sup> Nel volume di Ridolfi e nell'inventario ordinato da Cristoforo in sede testamentaria, compilato dal pittore Pietro Della Vecchia il 29 luglio 1664, non compaiono riferimenti alla copia con il *Ritratto di giovane uomo*.<sup>11</sup> Nell'elenco di Della Vecchia è menzionato soltanto un altro [quadro] con *Ritratto di homo*<sup>12</sup> che, pur rispondente al nostro per iconografia, in assenza di ulteriori informazioni è arduo identificare; se di contro fosse davvero da associare al dipinto in esame, stupirebbe l'omissione del nome di Raffaello e di una attribuzione così altisonante.<sup>13</sup>

Nel 1680 Giovanni Battista e Salvatore Orsetti, figli di Cristoforo, si spartirono l'eredità paterna, che comprendeva anche i dipinti, stimati in quell'occasione da Giovanni Battista Rossi e da Marco Boschini.<sup>14</sup> In questi elenchi – in particolare in quello di Salvatore, da cui deriva il ramo familiare dell'ultimo proprietario ottocentesco – non è citato il *Ritratto di giovane uomo*, ma continuano a registrarsi generici riferimenti a due dipinti raffiguranti “ritratto d'huomo.” Neppure nell'ultimo inventario noto della famiglia Orsetti precedente la dispersione, riferito alle sostanze del defunto Cristoforo figlio di Salvatore (1767), sembrerebbe annoverato il dipinto in questione. La mancanza potrebbe essere spiegata verosimilmente con una considerazione di carattere cronologico: a quel tempo forse il dipinto non era ancora entrato in possesso della famiglia Orsetti.

Con buona probabilità il *Ritratto di giovane uomo* fu visto tra la fine del Settecento e gli inizi dell'Ottocento in collezione Orsetti da don Giacomo Della Lena, vice-console della corona di Spagna a Venezia. Nel capitolo XXIII della sua *Esposizione istorica dello spoglio, che di tempo in tempo si fece di pitture in Venezia* si legge infatti che “tutti i Forestieri, che capitavano a Venezia per la fama di quella Galleria [Orsetti] andavano a visitarla, anco per vedere il Ritratto del gran Raffaele, che si pretende originale.”<sup>15</sup>

9 Ibidem, p. 135.

10 C. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte*, Venezia 1648, Vol. 1, pp. 273, 325, 382; ibidem, Vol. 2, p. 94.

11 L'inventario è trascritto in L. Borean, S. Mason, *Cristoforo Orsetti*, op. cit., pp. 148-151.

12 Ibidem, p. 151.

13 Nell'inventario del 1664 era presente un'opera di Raffaello, descritta come “un quadro con la Conversion di san Paolo di mano di Raffael.” Cf. ibidem, p. 125 n. 29.

14 Gli elenchi delle opere rispettivamente destinate a Giovanni Battista e Salvatore sono trascritti in ibidem, pp. 151-157.

15 Cf. F. Haskell, *Some Collectors of Venetian Art at the End of the Eighteenth Century. Della Lena's “Esposizione istorica dello spoglio, che di tempo in tempo si fece di Pitture in Venezia”*, in: *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art presented to Anthony Blunt on his 60th birthday*, London–New York 1967, pp. 173-178, in part. 177; L. Borean, S. Mason, *Cristoforo Orsetti*, op. cit., pp. 119-120.



Identificabile con il nostro,<sup>16</sup> il dipinto era a quell'epoca nelle mani dell'avvocato Salvatore Orsetti (1744 circa – 1805), nato a Bergamo ma residente in Laguna, figlio del citato Cristoforo morto nel 1767.<sup>17</sup> Salvatore era in rapporti con i maggiori rappresentanti dell'élite culturale bergamasca: con il conte Giacomo Carrara (1714-1796), ad esempio, fondatore dell'omonima Accademia cittadina, come testimoniano alcuni scambi epistolari tra i due, dai quali emerge la volontà di Salvatore di allestire una raccolta rappresentativa delle maggiori scuole pittoriche, attraverso una politica costante di acquisti<sup>18</sup>. Non sorprenderebbe dunque se si scoprisse che il *Ritratto di giovane uomo* fu comprato dallo stesso Salvatore sul finire del XVIII secolo con l'intenzione di ingrandire la collezione con “poche sì, ma buone pitture.”

Forse proprio in virtù di questa vicinanza – anche d'intenti – con il conte bergamasco, quando nel 1803 il quasi sessantenne avvocato si dichiarò “disposto rinunciare la suddetta di lui Raccolta a qualche Amatore, o per un prezzo assoluto, ovvero anche per una somma annua, che gli venisse vitalizialmente contribuita,”<sup>19</sup> la Commissaria dell'Accademia Carrara si propose quale possibile acquirente. Promotore dell'acquisto fu il naturalista bergamasco Giovanni Maironi da Ponte, conoscente di Orsetti.<sup>20</sup> I commissari incaricarono il conte Carlo Marenzi di esaminare la collezione, anche sulla base del catalogo bilingue – italiano con testo francese a fronte – che nel frattempo era stato dato alle stampe in Venezia il 15 giugno 1803.<sup>21</sup> Al primo posto tra i ritratti registrati nel *Catalogo de' quadri ora posseduti dal Dottor Salvador Orsetti Avvocato in Venezia Erede del quondam Cristoforo Orsetti* compare il *Ritratto di giovane uomo*, descritto come autoritratto di Raffaello: “Sancio Raffaele d'Urbino. Ritratto di lui stesso dipinto da se medesimo, in mezza figura, vestito alla Pittoresca con veduta

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16 Ibidem, p. 120 n. 3.

17 Sulla collezione di Salvatore Orsetti cf. E.E. Gardner, *A bibliographical repertory of Italian private collections*, Vol. 3, Venezia 2005, p. 169. Nel 1780 da alcune opere della collezione furono tratte incisioni, che avrebbero dovuto corredare insieme a pezzi di altre raccolte la *Venezia Pittrice* di Giovanni Maria Sasso. Sul progetto editoriale, incompiuto, cf. E. Borea, *Per la fortuna dei primitivi: la Storia Pratica di Stefano Mulinari e la Venezia Pittrice di Gian Maria Sasso*, in: *Hommage à Michel Laclotte. Études sur la peinture du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance*, Milano-Paris 1994, pp. 503-521.

18 L. Borean, S. Mason, *Cristoforo Orsetti*, op. cit., pp. 132-133; R. Paccanelli, *Tra erudizione e mecenatismo: itinerario biografico di un collezionista illuminato*, in: *Giacomo Carrara (1714-1796) e il collezionismo d'arte a Bergamo*, eds. R. Paccanelli, M.G. Recanati, F. Rossi, Bergamo 1999, p. 129 nota 199.

19 Cf. L. Borean, S. Mason, *Cristoforo Orsetti*, op. cit., p. 143.

20 M.E. Manca, *Accademia Carrara 1796-1835: la gestione commissariale tra conservazione e innovazione*, in: *Giacomo Carrara*, op. cit., pp. 323-330, in part. 325.

21 L. Borean, S. Mason, *Cristoforo Orsetti*, op. cit., p. 120 n. 4.

di paese da una finestra. largo piedi 1.10. alto piedi 2.3., v`a alle stampe del Poncio.”<sup>22</sup>

Il conte Carlo Marenzi, recatosi a Venezia nel 1804, produsse una relazione dettagliata della galleria Orsetti che, a partire dal catalogo a stampa, offre integrazioni da *connoisseur*. In merito al dipinto in esame, egli annotò:

N° 173. Sancio Raffaele; Ritratto etc. Nelle opere di simil fatta si portano gli esami fino allo scrupolo, e quindi si da peso a dei dubbi, che si trascurerebbero, se si trattasse di pezzi meno importanti. Questo quadro colpisce con un tal rilievo, e con un certo tuono grave, e imponente, che subito vi chiama all’attenzione e alla stima, e par che vi tolga ogni libert`a di esitare sulla mano del gran Maestro. A misura poi che lo spirito si va familiarizzando nella contemplazione di esso, vi si van osservando le minuzie, alle quali forse non badò neppure l’autore medesimo, e delle quali l’osservator si compiace come di una gran scoperta, che favorisce il concetto della propria intelligenza. Quegli che qui scrive confessa di bramare in quest’opera una qualche perfezione che gli sembra mancarvi; nulladimeno ei non ardisce di toglierne l’esecuzione a Raffaele, da cui indubitatamente fu inventata, ed a cui viene attribuita da intendenti, ed anche da professori assai pratici di quello stile, e di quel pennello. L’opinione che gli sembra molto difendibile si è, che questo Quadro sia dipinto da Benvenuto Tisio, detto da Garofolo, e forse nella Stanza di Raffaele, e con la sua direzione. Un tal parere contiene un elogio grande abbastanza per non temere che il Sancio ne avesse a male, ancorché non si dasse nel segno. L’opera è in piena preservazione.<sup>23</sup>

22 Accademia Carrara, Archivio Commissaria, busta 35, fascicolo 512, *Catalogo de’ quadri ora posseduti dal Dottor Salvador Orsetti Avvocato in Venezia Erede del quondam Cristoforo Orsetti*, c. 5. Cf. F. Rossi, *Accademia Carrara, 1824: la “Guida” di Gerolamo Marenzi*, “Osservatorio delle arti”, 1989, 3, pp. 74-103, in part. 100. Il riferimento finale («v`a alle stampe del Poncio») è alla stampa ricavata dall’incisore fiammingo Paulus Pontius dall’originale di Raffaello attorno al 1630-1640 (Cf. J. Walek, *The Czartoryski Portrait*, op. cit., p. 211).

23 Accademia Carrara, Archivio Commissaria, busta 35, fascicolo 512, *Relazione dell’esame dei quadri della Galleria Orsetti in Venezia fatta per conto del nobile Signor Conte Marenzi, incaricato dell’acquisto di detti quadri dalla Commissaria dell’Accademia Carrara*, ms., c. 5. Cf. F. Rossi, *Accademia Carrara, 1824*, op. cit., p. 100. Già Giacomo della Lena, nella sua *Esposizione storica*, aveva riassunto la vicenda in questi termini: “ed è tale la stima in cui si avea [la galleria Orsetti], che per lascito fatto dall’ultimo della Nobile Famiglia del Cardinale [sic] Carrara di Bergamo, di un fondo di 4/m Ducati di annua rendita, da istituire in quella Città un Accademia di Pittura, ed ornarla delle migliori, e più scelte Opere di tutte le Scuole furono deputati dalla Città i due ornatissimi Cavalieri Signori Conti Fratelli Marenzi, Pittore uno, e gran dilettante l’altro, a recarsi a Venezia per comperar Quadri: dopo aver essi cercato, ed esaminato quanto qui c’era di meglio, scelsero quei del Signor Avvocato Salvatore Orsetti, col quale conchiusero il Contratto mediante un vitalizio di non so bene se di 1000, o di 2/m Ducati all’anno” (Cf. L. Borean, S. Mason, *Cristoforo Orsetti*, op. cit., p. 120 n. 3). La notizia è riportata anche in G. Moschini,

Sebbene riconoscesse nel dipinto alcuni limiti, Marenzi ne confermò l'appartenenza a un ambito strettamente raffaellesco, non negando a Raffaello il merito dell'invenzione, ma sostenendo al contempo l'improbabile ipotesi che esso potesse essere stato eseguito dal ferrarese Benvenuto Tisi detto il Garofalo (1481-1559), suggestivamente sotto la supervisione dello stesso maestro.<sup>24</sup>

La copia oggi presso l'Accademia Carrara non parrebbe appartenere a un ambito di primo Cinquecento, come avrebbe voluto Marenzi, dovendosi collocare con cautela la sua esecuzione nel XVII secolo. Nell'esercizio attribuzionistico che lo porta a fare il nome del pittore emiliano, il conte avrebbe potuto essere influenzato dalla conoscenza di un'altra versione del dipinto Czartoryski presente in quegli anni a Venezia e assegnata ugualmente a un ferrarese: ci si riferisce alla copia di Giovanni Battista Benvenuti detto l'Ortolano (1485 circa – post 1527) già nella collezione Barbini-Breganze, dove compariva come *Ritratto del duca di Urbino*,<sup>25</sup> e in seguito presso la Gemäldegalerie di Stoccarda, dove fu distrutta con i bombardamenti del 1944.<sup>26</sup>

Non sono molte le fonti che citano il dipinto Orsetti dopo il suo ingresso nell'Accademia Carrara. Nella *Guida* compilata nel 1824 dal conte Girolamo Marenzi, fratello di Carlo, è contenuta una descrizione della città di Bergamo che comprende anche il museo e le sue sale. Dopo aver illustrato la *Pentecoste* di Andrea Previtali, l'autore precisa che “nel sottoposto ritratto evvi effigiato, forse di sua mano, l'immortale Raffaello Sanzio,” fiancheggiato da una *Madonna col Bambino* e da una *Maddalena in*

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*Della letteratura veneziana del secolo XVIII fino a' nostri giorni*, Vol. 3, 1806, p. 53: “la nobile famiglia Carrara di Bergamo ottenne dall'avvocato Salvatore Orsetti la celebre galleria della di lui famiglia.” Sulla vendita della raccolta Orsetti cf. S. Girelli, *La collezione della famiglia Orsetti all'Accademia Carrara di Bergamo: l'acquisto del 1804 e la successiva parziale dispersione*, tesi di laurea, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Brescia, 2013-2014, relatore G. Valagussa.

24 Le parole di Marenzi danno prova della grande ammirazione rivolta in quegli anni al pittore urbinato. Sul “mito” di Raffaello nel primo Ottocento cf. F. Mazzocca, *Mito e immagine di Raffaello nella prima metà del XIX secolo*, in: *Raffaello e l'eco del mito*, eds. E. Daffra, G. Di Pietrantonio, M.C. Rodeschini, Venezia-Milano 2018, pp. 87-105.

25 F. Zanotto, *Pinacothèque Barbini-Breganze décrite et illustrée, avec des notes*, Venezia 1847, p. 30: “37-161. Benvenuto Giovanni Battista, detto l'Ortolano, Ferrarese, operava nel 1525. In tela alto 0,65 largo 0,50. Ritratto del duca d'Urbino. Questo è certamente tolto dal noto ritratto dipinto da Raffaello; avendone la mosca eguale ed eguale il fondo. Bellissimo però è per ogni riguardo anche se veramente fosse una imitazione di quel celebrato originale.” Cf. G. Frabretti, *L'Ortolano*, Ferrara 1966, p. 72.

26 J. Walek, *The Czartoryski Portrait*, op. cit., p. 211. Occorrerà porre l'attenzione sulla coincidenza, forse non così fortuita, che tra Settecento e Ottocento a Venezia fossero radunati il dipinto originale di Raffaello (che, si ricorda, i Czartoryski comprarono probabilmente dalla collezione Giustiniani) e due sue copie antiche, rispettivamente nelle raccolte Barbini-Breganze e Orsetti.

orazione di scuola bolognese, allora credute dei Carracci.<sup>27</sup> Nel 1835 il *Ritratto di giovane uomo* fu compreso in un elenco di dipinti per cui il conte Guglielmo Lochis ordinò nuove cornici a Domenico Testori di Milano.<sup>28</sup> Forse il medesimo pezzo è da identificare nel “ritratto creduto di Raffaello” che lo stesso Lochis affidò a Bortolo Fumagalli per il restauro il 22 febbraio 1839:<sup>29</sup> la cautela insita nel termine “creduto” suggerirebbe come le opinioni sull’opera stessero a poco a poco mutando.

Johann David Passavant (1839) fu tra i primi a riconoscere nella copia di Bergamo una derivazione dal ritratto Czartoryski e la ritenne non coeva al prototipo polacco<sup>30</sup>. Dalla lettura dell’inventario delle collezioni museali di Bergamo attribuito a Giuseppe Fumagalli (1863 circa) si ricava un’altra proposta di identificazione del soggetto, che si distanzia da quella sostenuta fino ad allora dalla critica: il dipinto è indicato come copia romana “che credesi tolta da Raffaello rappresentante il duca di Urbino.”<sup>31</sup> Di contro nel successivo catalogo del 1881, per via dei tratti androgini del personaggio raffigurato, la copia da Raffaello esposta nella quarta sala è descritta in maniera bizzarra come “ritratto di donna, mezza figura”<sup>32</sup> – una descrizione, questa, che rimase a lungo legata al pezzo, ritrovandosi nella didascalia apposta sulla cornice nel corso del Novecento e ancora in schede inventariali recenti.

Nel secolo scorso il *Ritratto di giovane uomo* subì diversi trasferimenti. Nel 1930 il dipinto è registrato fuori sede, in deposito nel palazzo del Governo presso l’Amministrazione provinciale di Bergamo. Fu restituito al museo nel 1945, ma nel 1973 esso lasciò di nuovo le sale dell’Accademia Carrara per essere collocato presso il comando generale della divisione fanteria “Legnano” in Palazzo Lupi a Bergamo, nell’ufficio del comandante. Ritornato in pinacoteca nel 1993, fu esposto nel passaggio tra le sale XVII e XVIII<sup>33</sup> e oggi è conservato nei depositi.

Se attualmente la critica è unanime nel riconoscere nell’esemplare della Carrara una riproduzione dell’originale Czartoryski, meno concorde si dimostra a proposito dell’autografia e della cronologia del pezzo. Nei

27 *Guida di Bergamo (1824) di Girolamo Marenzi*, ed. C. Solza, Bergamo 1985, p. 135.

28 C. Giannini, *Accademia Carrara: restauri 1835-1839*, “Osservatorio delle arti,” 1988, 1, p. 87.

29 *Ibidem*, p. 95. Nel 1976 lo stato di conservazione era detto “buono” e il colore “solido e compatto,” come si ricava dalla scheda del dipinto in Accademia Carrara, Archivio opere, inv. 58AC00471. Restauri moderni sono documentati nel 1992 e nel 2000, quest’ultimo a cura di Antonio Benigni di Bergamo.

30 J.D. Passavant, *Raphaël von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi*, Vol. 2, Leipzig 1839, p. 124.

31 Accademia Carrara, Archivio Commissaria, busta 31, fascicolo 364, c. IV n. 274.

32 *Catalogo dei quadri esistenti nelle Gallerie della Accademia Carrara di belle arti in Bergamo*, Bergamo 1881, p. 51 n. 319.

33 Cf. Accademia Carrara, Archivio opere, inv. 58AC00471.

cataloghi recenti del museo bergamasco è stata pubblicata alternativamente come copia della seconda metà del XVI secolo<sup>34</sup> o del XVII secolo<sup>35</sup> – datazione quest'ultima che parrebbe la più verosimile.



Anonimo, Ritratto di giovane uomo (copia da Raffaello), XVII secolo (?), Bergamo, Accademia Carrara, n. inv. 58AC00471.

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*Catalogo dei quadri esistenti nelle Gallerie della Accademia Carrara di belle arti in Bergamo*, Bolis, Bergamo 1881.

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34 F. Rossi, *Accademia Carrara, catalogo dei dipinti*, Bergamo 1979, p. 115, dove l'opera è indicata come di ambito toscano. Walek la colloca nella seconda metà del Cinquecento (cf. J. Walek, *The Czartoryski Portrait*, op. cit., p. 223 n. 37). Meyer zur Capellen la crede "undoubtedly of the 16th century. ... features from Upper Italy rather than from Florence" (cf. J. Meyer zur Capellen, op. cit., p. 98 nota 19). Nel catalogo della fototeca Zeri (scheda n. 30885) è indicata come di anonimo del XVI secolo, nel catalogo online delle collezioni è attualmente indicata come opera di pittore romano attorno al 1550.

35 F. Rossi, *Accademia Carrara, 1824*, op. cit., p. 100 n. 59. Concordano su questa cronologia L. Borean, S. Mason, *Cristoforo Orsetti*, op. cit., p. 120 n. 3.

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## Polish Literature in Albanian

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### ABSTRACT

Albania is a small country in Europe, which was under Turkish occupation for nearly five centuries. It did not regain its independence until 28 November 1912. During the occupation there was almost no foreign literature translated into Albanian, as more than 85% of the population were illiterate and in general there were no scientific institutions or schools. The first primary school was opened in 1887. Only in the 1920s, with the emergence of intelligentsia, world literature started to be translated into Albanian, which included Polish literature. However, the translations were not done from the Polish language but from Italian translations of it. The first Polish literary work translated into Albanian from Italian was the Nobel prize winner Henryk Sienkiewicz's novel, *Quo Vadis?* (in 1933). The book was translated for the second time in 1999. The translation of Polish literature into Albanian gained momentum after World War II, and especially after 2000. So far, nearly 55 books by 34 Polish authors have been translated into Albanian, including Adam Mickiewicz (among them his great work, *Pan Tadeusz*), Henryk Sienkiewicz, Boleslaw Prus, Czesław Miłosz, Wisława Szymborska, Olga Tokarczuk, Ryszard Kapuściński, Tadeusz Różewicz, Witold Gombrowicz, Fr. Marcin Czermański, and others. At the same time, 8 Albanian authors wrote books on Polish topics in Albanian. Apart from the Albanian translators from Albania, Polish literature has also been translated into Albanian by Albanians from Kosovo. In comparison with other European countries, Albania is a leader as far as the number of Polish books translated is concerned. Polish literature in Albanian is generally popular among Albanian readers. Some of the books are published for the second, or even after the third time.

KEY WORDS: Polish Literature, Albania, Albanian-Polish Friendship Society, Ryszard Kapuściński, Wisława Szymborska

## STRESZCZENIE

### *Literatura polska w języku albańskim*

Albania jest małym krajem europejskim, który przez prawie pięć wieków znajdował się pod okupacją turecką. Swoją niepodległość uzyskała dopiero 28 listopada 1912 r. Podczas tej okupacji prawie nie istniała literatura obca tłumaczona na język albański, ponieważ ponad 85% ludności było analfabetami; nie funkcjonowały też instytucje naukowe i szkoły. Pierwsza szkoła podstawowa została otwarta w roku 1887. Dopiero w latach 20. XX w., wraz z wyodrębnieniem się warstwy intelektualnej, w Albanii rozpoczął się przekład literatury światowej na język albański, włącznie z polską literaturą, lecz nie z języka polskiego, ale przeważnie z języka włoskiego. Pierwszym dziełem literatury polskiej przetłumaczonym na język albański z języka włoskiego w roku 1933 była książka noblisty Henryka Sienkiewicza pt. *Quo Vadis*. Powieść ta została przetłumaczona po raz drugi w roku 1999. Rozwój tłumaczeń literatury polskiej na język albański rozpoczął się jednak dopiero po II wojnie światowej, szczególnie po roku 2000.

Do tej pory przetłumaczono na język albański prawie 55 polskich książek napisanych przez 34 autorów, m.in. Adama Mickiewicza (np. jego wielkie dzieło *Pan Tadeusz*), Henryka Sienkiewicza, Bolesława Prusa, Czesława Miłosza, Wisławę Szymborską, Olę Tokarczuk, Ryszarda Kapuścińskiego, Tadeusza Różewicza, Witolda Gombrowicza, o. Marcina Czermińskiego i innych. Jednocześnie ośmiu autorów albańskich napisało w języku albańskim książki o polskiej tematyce. Oprócz albańskich tłumaczy z Albanii literaturę polską na język albański tłumaczą nadal również Albańczycy z Kosowa.

W porównaniu z niektórymi innymi krajami europejskimi liczba polskich książek przetłumaczonych na język albański jest znaczna. Literatura polska w języku albańskim cieszy się popularnością wśród czytelników albańskich. Niektóre z książek są wydawane po raz drugi, a nawet trzeci.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: literatura polska, Albania, Towarzystwo Przyjaźni Albańsko-Polskiej, Ryszard Kapuściński, Wisława Szymborska

Albania is a small country in Europe, which regained its independence in November 28, 1912, after nearly five centuries of Turkish occupation. The country came into the inheritance of a great backwardness, not only in the economy where poverty predominated, but especially in the cultural field. The first primary school teaching in the Albanian language was established only in 1878 and there were no high schools or universities.

During the Turkish occupation, Albanian literature went a long and winding road. Before independence, there were no translations of foreign literature into Albanian.

Only in the 1920s, with the emergence of intelligentsia, world literature started to be translated into Albanian, which included Polish literature. However, the translations were not done from the Polish language but from Italian translations of it, because there were no Albanian translators from the Polish language.

The first Polish literary work translated into Albanian from Italian was the Nobel prize winner Henryk Sienkiewicz's novel, *Quo Vadis?* (in 1933). The translator of the book was bishop Vincens Prennushi. For the second time, the book was translated in 1999, also from the Italian translation, by Hajro Babameto.

After World War II, the translation of Polish literature into Albanian passed through two stages. The first stage falls on the years 1945-1962, and the second stage started in 1990 after the fall of the communist regime in both countries and has lasted until today. The first stage coincides with the years when Albania belonged to the so-called socialist camp of countries which were dominated by the Soviet Union. In Albania, mainly Soviet literature would be translated, and there was little literature translation from other socialist countries, while the number of translations of Western literature was very limited. Out of Polish literature, a few poems by Adam Mickiewicz were translated by our famous writers and poets, Lasgush Poradeci who worked with its Italian translations and Ismail Kadare who used the Russian renderings. The first translator of Polish literature into Albanian was Qevqep Kambo, who completed his studies at a Polish university in the 1950s. In that decade, he translated a collection of poems by Adam Mickiewicz. In 1957 a book was published with five stories by Boleslaw Prus, titled *Damnable Happiness* translated by Hamit Kokalari from the Russian language.

After 1962, Albania's state relations with the Soviet Union and other Eastern Bloc countries worsened and Albania broke away from them. At that time, there was nothing interesting about translating Polish literature into Albanian.

The translation of Polish literature into Albanian gained great momentum after the 1990s. In this context, the Nobel Prize awarded to Wislawa

Szyborska in 1996 and to Czesław Miłosz in 1980 had a great impact. This caught the attention of the Albanian publishing market, as well as Albanian writers and translators. Thanks to their commitment, some of their works were translated into Albanian. At that time a group of translators of Polish literature was established in Albania: Qevqep Kambo, Astrit Beqiraj, Leonard Zissi, Edlira Lloha, Pandeli Cina, Arqile Teta, Petrit Doll and others who worked directly with the Polish source texts as they mastered the language while studying in Poland.

So far, more than 50 Polish books by 33 authors have been translated into Albanian, and currently about 8 books on Polish issues have been published by six Albanian authors. In comparison with other countries of the former Eastern Bloc, Albania is a leader as far as the number of Polish books translated is concerned.

Translations of Polish literature into Albanian have been accompanied by several phenomena.

As has been mentioned, the Albanian reader has access to books by Polish literary Nobel Prize winners. The first one is *Quo vadis?* by Henryk Sienkiewicz, first translated from its Italian translation by Bishop Vincens Prenushi. From 1940 to 1947 he was an Archbishop and Primate of the Catholic Church in Albania. In 1947 he was arrested by the communist regime in Albania and died in prison in 1949. He was awarded the medal of “Martyr for Democracy” and in February 2018 he was canonized as a Saint of the Holy Catholic Church by Pope Francis.

Another book by another Nobel, Wisława Szymborska, *Neither the end nor the beginning* was a translation by Qevqep Kambo in 1997, a year later after its release in Poland in 1996. The book was translated parallelly in Kosovo into Albanian by Mazllum Seneja, also in 1997. The collection of Wisława Szymborska’s poems, *Poezi të zgjedhura*, was translated by Pandeli Cina together with Ben Andoni in 2015.

In Albania, books by another Polish Nobel Prize winner, Czesław Miłosz, are very popular: *Miasto bez imienia* [City without a name] was translated by Mazllum Saneja; *O podróżach w czasie* [On time travel] was translated by Astrit Beqiraj; *The Captive Mind* was translated by Bashkim Shehu, and *Na brzegu rzeki* [Facing the River] was translated by Ben Andoni and Pandeli Cina.

In 1998, Jorgo Gjirkondi made a translation of the masterpiece by Adam Mickiewicz, *Pan Tadeusz*.

Astrit Beqiraj translated four works by Ryszard Kapuściński: *The Emperor* (1999), *Imperium* (2000), *Travels with Herodotus* (2013), and *The Other* (2017). Other translations by Astrit Beqiraj include the books by Polish authors: Andrzej Stasiuk’s *On the Road to Babadag* (2006); Adam Michnik’s *In Search of Lost Meaning* (2011); Władysław Szpilman’s *The Pianist* (2016);

Janusz Korczak's *King Matt the First* (2017); and Tadeusz Różewicz's *Selected Poems* (2018), together with translator Ben Andoni.

Books devoted to the two largest Polish figures of culture and science: Fryderyk Chopin and Maria Skłodowska-Curie have been published in Albanian. In 1997, Qevqep Kambo translated a book by the brothers Antoni and Albert Grudziński titled *Kult Chopina w Polsce* [The cult of Chopin in Poland]. Meanwhile, Leonard Zissi, translated a book by Antoni Grudziński, *Fryderyk Chopin – Przewodnik po życiu i twórczości* [Fryderyk Chopin. A guide to his life and work] in 2010. In 2018, Leonard Zissi translated Iwona Kenzler's book, *Maria Skłodowska-Curie. Złodziejka mężów, życie i miłości* [Marie Skłodowska-Curie. A thief of Husbands. Life and Loves]. In 2014, Leonard Zissi also made three translations by Polish journalist and writer, called *the father of Polish missiology*, Marcin Czermiński's books, titled *Albania. Zarysy etnograficzne, kulturalne i religijne* [Albania. Ethnographic, cultural and religious outlines, published in Krakow in 1893]; in 2016, his book titled *W Dalmacji i Czarnogórze* [In Dalmatia and Montenegro] published in Krakow in 1896; and in 2017, another one, *Z podróży po Bośni i Hercegowinie* [On the trip to Bosnia and Herzegovina] originally published in Krakow in 1899. The translation of Czermiński's book about Albania had a particularly strong impact, as it was Czermiński's first book to be translated into a foreign language almost 120 years after it was printed in Krakow in 1893. On the other hand, the Apostolic Nuncio of the Vatican in Albania, Archbishop Ramiro Moliner Inglès, handed over a copy of this book to Pope Francis during his visit to Albania in September 2014. This event in was called by a Polish Internet news website as "the final of a story."

At the same time, Leonard Zissi is a translator of books by other Polish authors: Stanisław Cieślak's *Ndre Mjeda i inni jezuici z Prowincji Weneckiej w Krakowie* [Ndre Mjeda and other Jesuits of the Province of Venice in Krakow] (translated in 2018), and *Dwa opowiadania o Skanderbegu* [Two stories about Skanderbeg] an Albanian national hero (translated in 2018 as well). The author of the first story, titled "The Little Prince" is anonymous and the piece is devoted to the young Skanderbeg taken hostage by the Turks around 1415. The second story is by Mieczysława Ślęczkowska. Her book titled *Z orląt, orły* [From Eaglets to Eagles] published in Lviv in 1906, contains passages devoted to secret talks in Buda (Hungary), between Skanderbeg, the Polish king Władysław III and the Hungarian regent János Hunyady in 1444. As part of these talks, an alliance was formed between Skanderbeg and the Polish-Hungarian Union, which resulted in victory over Turkish troops during the Battle of Nisa (Serbia) in the autumn of 1444.

Simultaneously, Leonard Zissi translated three Polish plays: Stanisław Mrożek's *the Émigrés*, Ingmar Vilqist's (Jarosław Świercz) *Noc Hevela*

[Hevel's Night] and Janusz Głowacki's *Antigone in New York*. The first two dramas were staged at the National Theater in Tirana and Prishtina (Kosovo) in 2012.

The work of Witold Gombrowicz is also well-known in Albania. Edlira Lloha translated three of his works: *A Guide to Philosophy in Six Hours and Fifteen Minutes* (2012); *Ferdydurke* (2014), and *Diaries* (2019). She also translated Marek Antoni Nowicki's *Wokół Konwencji Europejskiej* [Around the European Convention] (2003). The translation of Gombrowicz's book *Ferdydurke* by Edlira Lloha was nominated by the Ministry of Culture of Albania as the best translation of foreign literature into Albanian in 2014.

Another translator of Polish literature into Albanian is a Kosovo Albanian Mazllum Saneja, who lives permanently in Warsaw. His best known translations of Polish literature into Albanian are: Karol Wojtyła's *Spokojny brzeg* [Safe Shore] (1989); Tadeusz Różewicz's *Opowiadanie traumatyczne* [Traumatic story] (1991); Zbigniew Herbert's *Mr. Cogito* (2000); Ewa Lipska's *Study Death* (2000) and *I* (2006); Adam Zagajewski's *Going to Lviv* (2002); and Stanisław Jerzy Lec's *Unkempt Thoughts* (2001).

Other Polish writers translating into Albanian are: Adam Zagajewski: *Miasto w którym chcę mieszkać* [The city in which I want to live] (2012), writer and translator Bardhyl Londo; Zbigniew Herbert: *Relacja z oblężonego miasta* [Report from a Besieged City] (2015), translator Romeo Çollaku; Marcin Bielski: *O Skanderbegu Macedonie Albańskim Książęciu* [About Scanderbeg Macedonian Albanian Prince] (2018), published in Poland in 1564, translated by Arqile Teta; Leszek Kołakowski: *Religion: If There Is No God ...* translated by Bashkim Shehu; Stanisław Lem: *Solaris* (1996), translated by Jorgji Dhoksani; Ewa Stachniak: *Pałac zimowy* [Winter Palace] (2011), translated by Edlira Mulla.

In 2014, *A Concise History of Poland* by Jerzy Lukowski and Hubert Zawadzki translated from English by Erblin Kërçisht was published in Albanian.

In addition to translating Polish literature written by Polish authors into Albanian, there are Albanian authors writing books on Polish subjects. Arqile Teta put a tremendous effort into preparing two dictionaries: (Polish-Albanian) (2007), and Albanian-Polish (2018), each containing 30,000 entries. Such dictionaries, with so many entries, were developed for the first time in Albania and Poland. The issue of these dictionaries has been a great help for translators of Polish literature into Albanian and vice versa.

Arqile Teta and is the author of the monograph *Profesor Stanisław Zuber-Życie i dzieło* [Professor Stanisław Zuber. Life and Work] (2010), devoted to the outstanding Polish geologist, explorer and oil driller in Albania. From 1927 to 1947, Stanisław Zuber worked in Albania in search of

oil and other minerals. He was arrested by the communist authorities in 1947 on charges of spying on behalf of Western countries and died in prison in 1947. In 2018, the book was translated into Polish.

Other Albanian authors of books about Poland in Albanian are: Mazllum Saneja and his two anthologies: *Only Ithaca will remain* (1993) and *Children of our age* (1997); Spiro Theodhosi: *The Fryderyk Chopin Society on its tenth anniversary* (2005); Bajram Karabolli: *Tales of two times* (2010); Shefqet Gjana: *Golgotha of Love* (novel) (2008); Xhevat Mustafa: *Polka* (novel) (2015); Leonard Zissi: *Albanian-Polish Friendship Society – Memories* (2016). The *Europa* magazine published by the Institute of International Studies in Tirana, in its 16/2017 issue, published three articles devoted to Józef Piłsudski, the outstanding 20th century Polish statesman and military commander, written by Andrzej Stawarz, Mariusz Wołos and Tomasz Stańczyk. In 2018, the Supreme Chamber of Control of Albania published an album titled: *Polish Symbols – 100 places, characters, events, and achievements important for Poland, Europe and world* (Multiple Polish authors: Jerzy Besała, Marcin Jankowski, Jacek Marciński, Katarzyna Sołtyk, Piotr Wierzboński and Wieńczysław Żaczek).

Arqile Teta, Leonard Zissi, Astrit Beqiraj, Pandeli Çina, Gjergj Sinani, Genc Luarasi, and Petrit Dollani are the authors of many articles about Poland, or various translations of Polish literature into Albanian, published in the Albanian press.

Another characteristic of translations of Polish literature into Albanian is that some of them are translated not from Polish originals but from other foreign translations, mostly Italian, English, French, Spanish, and Russian. Their translators are: Vinçens Prennushi, Lasgush Poradeci, Ismail Kadare, Hajro Babameto, Edlira Mulla, Bashkim Shehu, Erblina Kërçishta, Hamit Kokalari, Ben Andoni, Bardhyl Londo, Romeo Çollaku, and Jorgji Dhoksani.

Polish literature in Albanian, is generally popular among Albanian readers. Books sell and do not stay on the shelves of bookstores for too long. Some of them are published for the second or third time, such as Ryszard Kapuściński's books or Wisława Szymborska's poems.

For their contribution to the dissemination of Polish culture in Albania, the Polish state authorities awarded some of the Albanian translators. The President of the Republic of Poland awarded Mr Arqile with the Knight's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland (2011); the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland awarded the Bene Merito Medal of Honor to Mr Leonard Zissi (2011) and Mr Pandela Çina (2013); the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of the Republic of Poland awarded the Gloria Artis Silver Medal of Honor to Mr Astrit Beqiraj (2013) and to Spiro Theodhosi (2016). At the same time, the translator

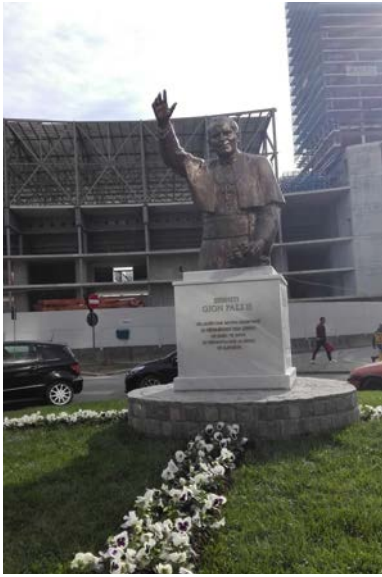
Astrit Beqiraj is the laureate of the Book Fair in Tirana in 2013 for his translation of the book by Ryszard Kapuściński, *Traveling with Herodotus* and the winner of the *Distinction of the Polonicum* Center at the Warsaw University for 2018.

In publishing Polish literature in Albanian, a large financial contribution was made by the Polish side, mostly the Book Institute in Krakow, the Polish Embassy in Tirana, the Province of Southern Poland of the Society of Jesus based in Krakow, for the publication of books by Marcin Czermiński, and the Jesuit University Ignatianum in Krakow. At the same time, the Polish Embassy in Tirana provided valuable assistance in financing the erection of the bust of Fryderyk Chopin in Tirana in 2003, the bust of Professor Stanisław Zuber in Kuchova in 2011, the bas-relief of Tadeusz Mazowiecki in Tirana in 2015, and the monument of Pope John Paul II in Tirana in 2018. At the same time, the name of Stanisław Zuber was given to one street in Tirana and Kuchova. With so many statues and monuments of famous Poles erected in Albania make it a country like no other outside Poland.

Albania is a small country, more than a thousand kilometers away from Poland, but Polish literature and culture is very close to it and present there.

From what has been achieved so far in the dissemination of Polish literature and culture, lovers and friends of Poland in Albania feel honored, respected and aware of their contribution to these achievements.





Monument of Pope John Paul II in Tirana



Bust of Prof. Stanislav Zuber in Kuçova



Bust of Fryderyk Chopin in Tirana



Bas relief of Tadeusz Mazowiecki in Tirana

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## Annex

### POLISH LITERATURE IN ALBANIAN. OVER THE YEARS

#### I. Novels

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**Leonard Zissi** – graduated from high school in Tirana and completed graduate studies in Poland in 1956-1961 at the Warsaw University of Technology. After returning to the country he worked in various institutions: the General Directorate of Albanian Railways, for many years in the Ministry of Transport (1983-1992 – Director of the Department of International Cooperation), and educator at the University of Tirana. In 1973-1979 he was a diplomat at the Albanian Embassy in Warsaw, in 1979-1983 he worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Albania, and in 1992-2003 he was a Representative of the Józef Piłsudski Gdansk Shiprepair Yard at the Durres-Gdansk Shipyard SA in Albania. Retired since 2003. His passion is translation of Polish literature into Albanian. He translated seven books and three plays from Polish, among others, one about Chopin and one about Marie Skłodowska-Curie. He is one of the founders of the Albanian-Polish Friendship Society, founded in 1991, and the Society of Fryderyk Chopin in Albania, founded in 1995. Since its foundation of 2015, he had been President of the Albanian-Polish Friendship Society, and since 2015 he has been the Honorary President of the Society. He holds the *Bene Merito* Badge of Honor issued by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland awarded by Radosław Sikorski, No. 150/2011, dated 21 February 2011, “For activities that strengthen Poland’s position in the international arena.”

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## The Path of the First European Porcelain Wares to Lithuanian Museums

### ABSTRACT

The state's development, twists and turns of culture and history of the country, circumstances and passing time, often erase facts, that is why the reconstruction of the history of exhibits' acquisition in museums is one of the most complicated aspects in museology. The article is dedicated to the presentation of Johann Friedrich Böttger's (1682-1719) collection of red stone mass exhibits in Lithuanian museums and aims at revealing their history. Thanks to the archival register, it was possible to discover the inventory lists with descriptions of valuable works of art that had been prevented from being seized by Germans and preserved during the Soviet occupation. Among them, there were exhibits stored at the M.K. Čiurlionis National Museum of Art. Particularly valuable are twelve items of red stone mass by J.F. Böttger. Their identification revealed not only the date (1940) and the manor (the Pakruojis manor, Šiauliai region, Lithuania) from which the nationalized art collection was transferred to the museum but also to whom [Leo Carl von der Ropp (27.09.1860 Pakruojis – 09.10.1940 Berlin)] it belonged. That is how the history of J.F. Böttger's red stoneware exhibits has been unveiled. The Lithuanian Art Museum purchased two exhibits from private persons (1980 and 1982).

**KEY WORDS:** Johann Friedrich Böttger, red stoneware, Lithuania (Pakruojis, Šiauliai), museum, history, Leo Carl von der Ropp

## STRESZCZENIE

*Jak pierwsza europejska porcelana trafiła do muzeów litewskich*

Rozwój państwa, zakręty kultury i historii kraju, okoliczności i czas często zacierają fakty, dlatego rekonstrukcja historii eksponatów w muzeach jest jednym z najtrudniejszych obszarów pracy muzealnej. Artykuł prezentuje unikatowe przedmioty z czerwonej kamionki Johanna Friedricha Böttgera (1682-1719) przechowywane w litewskich muzeach i ujawnia ich historie. Odnalezione w archiwum stare listy, zarejestrowane podczas okupacji sowieckiej opisy dzieł sztuki, których nie wywieziono do Niemiec, pomogły rozpoznać przedmioty przechowywane w Narodowym Muzeum Sztuki M.K. Čiurlionisa. Wśród nich szczególnie cenne jest 12 eksponatów czerwonej kamionki J.F. Böttgera. Ich identyfikacja ujawniła nie tylko datę (1940), wyjaśniła skąd (Pakruojis, Šiauliai, Litwa) do muzeum została przywieziona znacjonalizowana kolekcja dzieł sztuki, wskazała również właściciela [Leo Carl von der Ropp (27.09.1860 Pakruojis – 09.10.1940 Berlin)]. Historia unikatowych eksponatów czerwonej kamionki J.F. Böttgera, dotychczas nieznana, została w ten sposób ujawniona. Litewskie Muzeum Sztuki w 1980 i w 1982 r. zakupiło dwa takie eksponaty wystawione przez osoby prywatne.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Johann Friedrich Böttger, czerwone kamionki, Lietuva (Pakruojis, Šiauliai), museum, historia, Leo Carl von der Ropp

The search for a formula of the oldest porcelain in Europe was inspired by King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania and Elector of Saxony Augustus II the Strong. Wares of a solid red-colored mass invented by scientist Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus (1651-1708) together with chemist and alchemist Johann Friedrich Böttger (1682-1719) are now the pride of the most notable museums across the world; and they can be found in two Lithuanian museums, too. The Lithuanian Art Museum (LDM) keeps two exhibits of the so-called *Böttger stoneware* acquired from private individuals. Regrettably, their story remains undisclosed. M.K. Čiurlionis National Museum of Art (ČDM) keeps twelve *Böttger* wares; the story of how they got to the museum had long been unknown. World War II, the Soviet occupation, changing governments and associated turmoil have caused many documents to disappear.

Only in 2000, after ordering the following file: *Deeds and Lists of Cultural and Arts Heritage of Šiauliai Region that Have Fallen Within the Remit/*



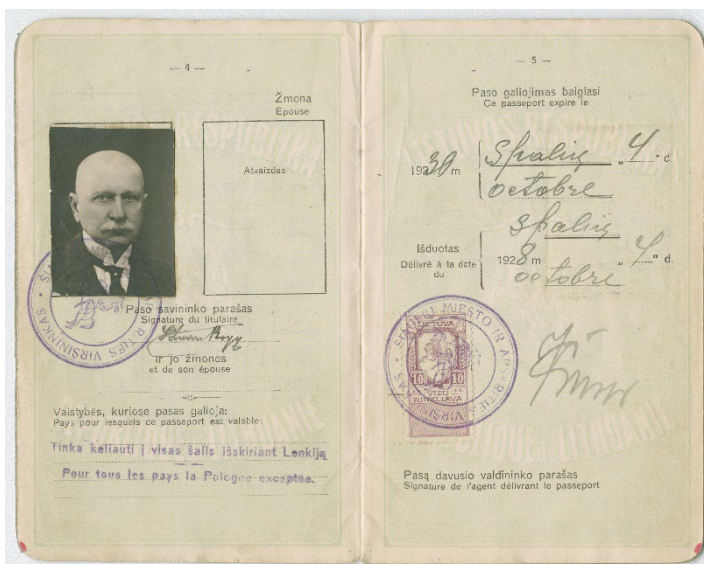
Care of the Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, at the Documentary Fund of the Heritage Library at the Cultural Heritage Centre,<sup>1</sup> during the perusal of the works of art described in a 356-page file, I realized that I could recognize the exhibits kept at the Department of Applied Art (TDS). They have been listed in the 46-page *List of Movable Assets – Historical Relics – Protected by the Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage*<sup>2</sup> drawn up at Pakruojis (Pakruojis, Šiaulių county, Lithuania) Manor House<sup>3</sup> in 1940. The works of art listed there were owned by Baron Leo Carl von der Ropp (27.09.1860 Pakruojis – 09.10.1940 Berlin).<sup>4</sup> Being well aware of the exhibits at the Department, I was able to identify them from reading the descriptions whilst still at the library. A copy of the list of movable assets at Pakruojis Manor came useful for identifying the exhibits that ended up at the museum. Not only did the list reveal when and from which mansion the nationalized collection of art was brought, but also who had owned the said valuables.

Handwritten document page 28, titled 'Kultūros Paminklų Apsaugos Įstatymas' (Cultural Monuments Protection Act). It contains a list of items with columns for 'Dalyko apibūdinimas' (Description of the item) and 'Smulkios dalies aprašymas' (Description of the part). The items are numbered 281 through 309. The descriptions include details about porcelain pieces, such as 'Porceliano puodelis' (Porcelain cup) and 'Porceliano taurė' (Porcelain plate). Handwritten notes in red and blue ink are present throughout the list, including 'Gaudė' and 'Pakruojis'.

Handwritten document page 27, titled 'Kultūros Paminklų Apsaugos Įstatymas' (Cultural Monuments Protection Act). It contains a list of items with columns for 'Dalyko apibūdinimas' (Description of the item) and 'Smulkios dalies aprašymas' (Description of the part). The items are numbered 280 through 309. The descriptions include details about porcelain pieces, such as 'Porceliano puodelis' (Porcelain cup) and 'Porceliano taurė' (Porcelain plate). Handwritten notes in red and blue ink are present throughout the list, including 'Gaudė' and 'Pakruojis'.

1. Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage Fragments of the register of works of art – property of the owner of the Pakruojis manor Leo Carl von der Ropp 24/09/1940 [KPC PB, documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 52, pp. 124-125

- 1 Heritage Library at the Cultural Heritage Centre, Vilnius – Kultūros paminklų centro paveldo biblioteka (KPC PB), documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 52.
- 2 Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage – Kultūros paminklų apsaugos įstaiga (KPAI).
- 3 KPAI registry book N° II, pages 1-46. 13.09.1940 – 29.09.1940.
- 4 KPCA PB, documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 52, pp. 99-143 (page N° 4 is missing).



2. Leo Carl Baron von der Ropp's. International passport of the Republic of Lithuania N° 196, issued by the governor of Šiauliai City and Country 4/10/1928 [ČDM, FDS, M-2-41-3]

In 1939-1941, a large German community who had lived in Lithuania was forced to repatriate from Lithuania to Germany. In order to remove artefacts of artistic, scientific and historic value from Lithuania, the departing Germans had to obtain permissions. Following the proclamation of the *Law on Protection of Cultural Heritage* during the first Soviet occupation (15.06.1940 – 22.06.1941), an order to register cultural heritage was passed on the basis thereof.<sup>5</sup> The Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage was established under the People's Commissariat of Education; its activities focused largely on protecting movable cultural heritage. The People's Commissariat of Education proclaimed, on the basis of the *Law on Protection of Cultural Heritage*, the *Regulations for the Registration of Cultural Heritage*,<sup>6</sup> whereby it stipulated that all movable and immovable cultural heritage objects referred to in the *Regulations for Carrying out the Protection of Cultural Heritage* should fall within the remit and care of the Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage. It stated that property managers of governmental and municipal institutions as well as all religious organizations and communities and private individuals who had taken charge of cultural heritage should send, not later than within two months from the proclamation of the law, comprehensive lists of cultural heritage held, including the descriptions thereof, to the Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage. It was provided that those who breached the above order should be punished with cash fines up to 10,000 litas under §14 of the Law on Protection of Cultural Heritage.<sup>7</sup> A fine could have been replaced by arrest of up to six months; moreover, any cultural heritage owned by the offenders was to be confiscated. Fourteen commissions/teams, which embarked on the registration of cultural valuables, were formed to this end. Their powers were approved by the People's Commissariat of Education. The Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage staff and persons authorized by the People's Commissariat of Education were entitled to inspect cultural heritage on site and, following the instructions of the Regulations for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, were obliged to take valuable movable cultural heritage into the care of the Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage. The adoption of the above laws and the establishment of the Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage created the basis for taking cultural valuables into the hands of state.

Years of the Soviet occupation have left deep marks in the history of the Vytautas the Great Museum of Culture.<sup>8</sup> Firstly, the name of the museum

5 V. Krėvė-Mickevičius, *Kultūros paminklų apsaugos įstatymas*, "Vyriausybės žinios," No. 720, 25.07.1940.

6 A. Venclova, *Taisyklės kultūros paminklų apsaugai vykdyti*, "Tarybų Lietuva," No. 26, 20.10.1940

7 A. Venclova, *Kultūros paminklams registruoti įsakymas*, "Tarybų Lietuva," No. 26, 20.10.1940.

8 Vytautas the Great – Vytautas Didysis (1350-1430) – Grand Duke of Lithuania.

was changed to Kaunas State Museum of Culture. The nature of the work carried out by the museum staff has fundamentally changed. In addition to the traditional museum errands, not only did they have to register art valuables found in flats, houses and mansions of private individuals, but also sort nationalized works of art at customs authorities.

In 1940, Vladas Fedotas-Sipavičius, Sipaitis (Sipavičius, 1904-1992), a director and artist at Šiauliai Division of the State Theatre, and Borisas Melngailis (1904-1965), a poet and translator of Latvian origin, authorized for the Šiauliai Region by the Department for Cultural Affairs of the Ministry of Education and the Minister of Education,<sup>9</sup> arrived to register the valuables owned by Baron Leo Carl von der Ropp, the second-last owner of the Pakruojis Manor and a citizen of the Republic of Lithuania who had repatriated to Germany, left at the manor house. Experts included 429 valuable works of art found at the Pakruojis Manor House into the Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage Register Book N° II.<sup>10</sup> Three hundred thirty of the works were authorized either for sale in Lithuania or for removal to Germany, whereas 98 objects were awarded the “status of special arts, cultural and historic valuables certainly not permitted to go abroad;”<sup>11</sup> they did not get an authorization to be removed to Germany.



3. Natalie Vera Leonie Medem (1866-1929). Portrait of Leo Carl von der Ropp. The 1920s – 1930s. [ČDM, VDS, Mt 1720 (from the nationalized collection of von der Ropp at the Pakruojis Manor)]

9 Names of organizations used for some short time.

10 KPC PB, documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 52, pp. 99-137, serial number 1-427. KPAĮ, book N° II, pp. 1-3, 5-40 (page 4 is missing). 1940.

11 KPC PB, documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 52, pp. 137-138. KPAĮ, book N° II, pp. 40-41 (the resolution). 1940.



4. (on the left) Borisas Melngailis and Vladas Sipaitis in the Palace of the Pakruojis Manor during the registration of works of art in September 1940 Cavaliere d'Arpino (Giuseppe Cesari; 1568-1640) workshop painting "Susanna with the Elders" (after 1606); on the mantelpiece – pieces of the applied art, fragments of sculptures) [Šiauliai "Aušros" museum, NF F-IF/1]

On September 29, 1940, based on an order of the People's Commissariat of Education and a power of attorney issued by Šiauliai State Public Library, Vladas Sipaitis and Borisas Melngailis took Pakruojis Manor library, around 1,500 volumes in German and French and a library catalogue in leather cover – *Katalog der Bibliothek zu Pakroy*, into the care of the Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage. The list drawn up during the inventory refers to such books as *Les oeuvres morales et meslees de Plutarque translatees de Grec en François reveues et corrigées en ceste troisième edition en plusieurus passages par de Translateur* (Paris, 1575), *Les vies des hommes illustres, grecs et romains, comparées l'une avec l'autre par Plutarque de Chaeronnee* (Paris, 1559), *Marcus Tulli Ciceronis, Opera omnia quae extant* ([Genève] 1594).<sup>12</sup> Under an order of the People's Commissariat of Education, P. Manor House, the park<sup>13</sup> and ornamental plants<sup>14</sup> were taken into care of the Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage. Every page of the register was stamped with the seal of the Vytautas the Great Museum of Culture stamp as the Authority for the Protection of Cultural

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12 KPC PB, documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 52, pp. 140-141. KPAI, book N° II, pp. 43-44. 1940.

13 KPC PB, documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 52, p. 139. KPAI, book N° II, p. 42. 1940.

14 KPC PB, documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 52, p. 142. KPAI, book N° II, p. 45. 29.09.1940.

Heritage, which had been maintained using the funds of the said museum up until 1941, did not have any seal or letterheads of its own.



5. Palace of the Pakruojis Manor. 1st half of the 20th c. Photo: M. Barkauskas. [ČDM, FDS, Ta 9191]



6. Interior of the Pakruojis Manor. 1938. Photo: Stasys Vaitkus. On the fireplace – a clock with a sculpture and two candlesticks by Eugène-Antoine Aizelin *Nymph of Diana*. On the wall – painting by Josef Abel *Sculptor Socrates* [Šiauliai “Aušros” museum, Neg. 3589]

The Pakruojis estate was mentioned in written sources as early as in 1531. In 1789, when Countess Alexandrina Constantia Catharina Barbara von Münster (1764-1817) married Dietrich Theodor Wilhelm von der Ropp (1748-1824), the manor, as a dowry, came into the ownership of the Ropps. The first manor house buildings were wooden. The estate was the center of many surrounding manors. The surviving spouse, Dietrich Theodor Wilhelm Ropp, passed his wife's dowry – Pakruojis Manor – onto his second son Johann Otto Theodor von der Ropp (1783-1852) in 1818. He, in partnership with Frédéric Dubois de Montpéroux (1798-1850), a French language teacher of Swiss origin who was working at the manor, drew up the design for a brick manor house. The first buildings were built in 1820, while others in 1840. The mansion was expanding up to 1890.

The Pakruojis Manor is the largest such complex in Lithuania comprised of 26 buildings that had survived. In the territory of the manor estate (48.2 ha) there were 43 fenced buildings constructed in 1840, and a long-lasting English-style park. The buildings were grouped into 4 parts: central – representational, two economic zones, and an industrial one. The focal points of the ensemble comprise the central palace with a portico and Doric columns located in the center, and the dolomite arched bridge – dam built in 1821 following Roman aqueduct models, and is known as a symbol of Pakruojis.<sup>15</sup>

The ornate two-storeyed Pakruojis Manor House had an abundance of valuable and rare works of art. The pioneer of the collection is considered to be Johann Otto Theodor von der Ropp, who travelled around France, Italy and Spain and brought many works of Italian, Dutch and French artists to the manor estate. It is known that he and his elder brother Ferdinand Dietrich Christoph (1779-1844) had not only an exquisite taste and knowledge of arts, but financial capacity too. The collection had items added on a continuous basis; it was put to auctions; it travelled the manors owned by the Ropps across Lithuania and Latvia. In Rome, Theodor von der Ropp acquired quite a few valuable paintings, which ended up in a manor home owned by the family in Latvia. There were attempts to sell part of the collection in 1820s in order to gather funds for the construction of the house. To this end, it was attempted to sell parts of the collection in different cities across Europe: Dresden, Berlin, Paris and Sankt Petersburg. The unsold part came back to Pakruojis. Eighty-four paintings that belonged to von der Ropp family went to the auction in Köln in 1890. Most part of the unsold paintings came back to the Mansion. That was taken care by Baron Leo Carl von der Ropp,<sup>16</sup>

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15 <https://lt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakruojodvaras>; <http://pakruojo-dvaras.lt/>

16 Johann Otto Theodor von der Ropp son's Jeannot von der Ropp son Leo Carl von der Ropp.

who inherited the mansion from his grandfather Johann Otto Theodor von der Ropp.<sup>17</sup> He successfully preserved the art collection during the turmoil of wars and revolutions. In 1940, the manor estate was inherited, under a will, by Julius Hermann Arthur von der Ropp (1896 Šeduva – 1945 East Prussia), son of Leo Carl van der Ropp's brother Bruno Emil Fedor (1864 Pakruojis – 1933 Šeduva). The most valuable works of art were nationalized during the years of Soviet occupation and on October 24, 1940, they were moved to the Kaunas State Museum of Art (now M.K. Čiurlionis National Museum of Art) where 4 rooms (162 m<sup>2</sup>) were allocated for storing the valuables thus taken over.<sup>18</sup>

A file found sixty years later in the Documentary Fund of the Heritage Library at the Cultural Heritage Centre helped identify eighteen paintings nationalized from Leo Carl van der Ropp in 1940. Especially valuable is a sketch of Theodor (Dirck) van Baburen (1595-1624) *The Entombment* (1617), which was acquired by the baron's grandfather Theodor von der Ropp at the beginning of the 19th century in Palazzo Colonna in Rome. The painting is a sketch for the *Pieta* chapel altar-piece in the San Pietro in Montorio Church in Rome. Van Baburen was working on the *Pieta* chapel in 1617-1618 together with another Dutch artist David de Haen (1585-1622).<sup>19</sup> Other highly valuable pieces of the collection are *St. Anthony of Padua* by Giovanni Battista Salvi da Sassoferrato (1609-1685), *Penitent Mary Magdalene* (before 1609) by Bartolomeo Schedoni (1578-1615), *Bath of the Infant Jesus* by Francesco Parmigianino (1503-1540), *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* by Giulio Cesare Procaccini (1570-1625), *Diana* by an artist of the workshop of Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, 1591-1666), *Sculptor Socrates* (1806) by Josef Abel (1764-1818), *Susanna and the Elders* by Cavalier d'Arpino (Giuseppe Cesari, 1568-1640), *Portrait of a Man (King Karl V?)* by Antonio Mor (1517-1577), two landscapes by Isaak de Moucheron (1670-1744), *Nessus and Deanira* by an unknown 17th century master (school of Peters Paul Rubens, 1577-1640), two battle scenes by Georg Philipp Rugendas (1666-1742), and others.

Out of twelve identified graphic works two engravings by Charles Nicolas Cochin le Vieux (1688-1754) created after the drawings by Charles Nicolas Cochin le Jeune (1715-1790) and three prints by Charles Nicolas

17 O. Daugelis, *Legendomis apipintas palikimas*, "Žiemgala," 1991, No. 2, pp. 4-5; O. Daugelis, *Senovės sala permainų epochoje: Pakruojo dvaras*, in: *Dvaras modernėjančioje Lietuvoje XIX a. antra pusė – XX a. pirma pusė*, Vilnius, 2005, pp. 148-151.

18 KPC PB, documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 49, p. 249. KPAI the letter for Chairman of People's Commissariat Committee. 28.04.1941.

19 O. Daugelis, *Legendomis apipintas palikimas*, "Žiemgala," 1991, No. 2, pp. 4-5; O. Daugelis, *Barono Leono von der Roppo (1860-1940) Pakruojo dvaro kolekcija*, in: *Kolekcijų istorijos: Nacionalinis M. K. Čiurlionio dailės muziejus*, ČDM, 2013, pp. 93-97.



Cochin le Jeune himself are fairly exceptional. This is the cycle of five engravings *The Wedding Ceremony of Dauphin* (Heir of French throne) (1746). Of special mention should be *Portrait of Bertel Thorvaldsen* (drawing) by Horace Vernet (1789-1863), gifted by the sculptor to Baron Theodor von der Ropp, *Portrait of Louis the 16th* (copper-plate engraving) by Johann Gotthard von Müller (1747-1830) created in 1790 after the painting by a famous portraitist Joseph Siffred Duplessis (1725-1802) and others.

Visiting Italy, Johann Otto Theodor von der Ropp met the famous Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1797-1838) and acquired the relief *Achilles and Briseis* (1803) and the statue *Venus with the Apple* (1805) from the artist's studio in Rome.

Out of 59 works of applied arts nationalized from Leo Carl van der Ropp, 52 were successfully identified. These include two bronze statues cast at the Ferdinand Barbedienne (1810-1892) factory that had decorated fireplace clocks: Marius-Jean-Antonin Mercié's (1845-1916) *David* (around 1870) with two urns by Eugène-Antoine Aizelin (1821-1902), *A Nymph of Diana* (the end of 19th c.) with two candlesticks, and A wooden clock made at the turn of the 19th century by clockmaker and goldsmith William Rust (England, Hull). The collection included French hand fans, and porcelain statuettes made in German factories, e.g., a porcelain statuette *Sleeping shepherdess*, made in 1770 by Johann Peter Melchior (1747-1825) in *Höchster Porzellan Manufacture* by François Boucher painted in 1752. Among tableware, there is a rare *Tea set of twelve made from chocolate porcelain in Chinese style made in Boethger factory*. The Ropps were knowledgeable regarding the first European porcelain wares and appreciated their cultural and historical value. The acquisition of *Böttger stoneware* was not a random purchase. These unique works of applied art dating back to the beginning of the 18th century that married the Eastern and Western traditions were highly valued and expensive; only a connoisseur and an affluent person could have acquired them.

On April 1, 1941, the Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, which had been under Kaunas State Museum of Culture until then, became an independent institution. On June 23, 1941, the Soviet occupation was replaced by German occupation. During WWII, the legal status of the Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage was unclear. On October 15, 1942, the Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage relocated to Vilnius<sup>20</sup> and took all documents alongside. Julius Hermann Arthur Ferdinand von der Ropp returned to Pakruojis during the war and unsuccessfully attempted to recover the manor estate and cultural valuables

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20 KPC PB, documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 53, p. 4.

nationalized by the Soviets.<sup>21</sup> In 1944, Julius Ropp together with war refugees was fleeing west and, most probably, lost his life in East Prussia because his fate has remained unknown.

German occupation brought many fresh concerns to custodians of cultural valuables. In the summer of 1944, departing Germans blew up a power plant located close to the museum, as a result of which most of the museum windows were broken. To protect the exhibits, it was necessary to take care of the repairs, the leaking roofs, on top of glazing and putting bars on the windows at the museum. The Soviet re-occupation, which started in 1944, has left a deep footprint in the minds of Lithuanians. Thefts have not been avoided. Following break-ins into the repositories of the Department of Applied Art, boxes with exhibits were found tumbling about; porcelain and earthenware vases, sets and many small articles were lying around; cabinet doors were left open, drawers were pulled out and flags were scattered on the floor.<sup>22</sup> In 1949, the Department manager leaving the museum handed over the exhibits of the Department, including the objects stowed by the Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage in the museum premises but not recorded in the books. The transfer and acceptance deed also refer to a *Böttger porcelain ware set, dark brown color (great rarity)*.<sup>23</sup> The period of Soviet occupation, which lasted for almost 50 years, was a complex challenge to museum staff. Some of the Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage archive documents were lost during the war, whereas some were most likely destroyed during the second Soviet occupation. As a result, the stories of many exhibits could not have been traced back. In addition, during the Soviet period the focus on culture was weak, the financing poor, the work at the museums was dying out and there was a shortage of professionals. The inventory of the works of applied arts nationalized by the Soviets was launched only in 1950. Articles of *Böttger stoneware* were registered into inventory books as individual dishes; the story of how they had arrived at the museum would not be specified. Entries on certain exhibits in the inventory books contain, under the description section *from where, how and under what documents the exhibit was obtained*, a reference to the following document: *KPAI Book NoII, pages 124-125, No289-296*. However, in the absence of the mentioned document, the date, the place and the owner of

21 O. Daugelis, *Senovės sala permainų epochoje: Pakruojo dvaras*, in: *Dvaras modernėjančioje Lietuvoje XIX a. antra pusė – XX a. pirma pusė*, Vilnius 2005, p. 155.

22 Lietuvos mokslų akademijos biblioteka, Rankraščių skyrius (LMAB RS), Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Manuscript Department, documentary fund 264-1412, pp. 4, 13.

23 Statement of the transference – acquisition (17.12.1949, N° 214a-h (12pcs.) of the Department of the Applied Arts and History of Kaunas State M.K.Čiurlionis Art Museum.

the exhibits remained unknown. Although museum staff had transferred the information from the cards placed on exhibits during the inventory of 1940 into the inventory book, some cards did not survive until 1950. Finally, over time and owing to the changing staff, the above records became totally uninformative.

To approve the authenticity of the exhibits of *Böttger stoneware*, assistance was sought from Chief Scientific Advisor Roda Solomonovna Soloveičik (1900-1989), an expert in the field, who was working at the State Hermitage (Soviet Union, Leningrad). She confirmed the authenticity of the above exhibits and was very eager to find out how they had got to Lithuania. However, during the entire period of the second Soviet occupation, research works pertinent to any valuables nationalized from gentry homes were undesirable. Research on manor art heritage became possible only after Lithuania regained its independence; moreover, it was largely promoted by Osvaldas Daugelis, the Director of the Museum. The discovered Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage archive documents helped identify not only the exhibits of the *Böttger stoneware*, but also many other works of art belonging to the collection owned by the proprietors of the Pakruojis Manor.

Lords of the von der Ropps house had a significant impact on the development of the town of Pakruojis. The revealed story of the art collection held at their mansion opened the world of Lithuanian manor culture, which had seen so little research to date, as did the history of collecting in Lithuania. Today works of art owned by the von der Ropps family are a significant addition to the Gold Fund of M.K. Čiurlionis National Art Museum.

## Catalogue of Böttger red stoneware in Museums Lithuania



### 1. Sugar box

Germany, Saxony, Meissen (Royal-Polish and Elector-Saxon Porcelain Manufactory), 1713-1716

Modeler Johann Jacob Irminger (1635-1724)

Sugar box and cover of stoneware, oblong octagonal in shape, bombé form, highly polished on the exterior.

Dimensions: H 7.5 cm, L 8.5 cm, W 11.3 cm

ČDM TDS, Inv. N° Tt 28

Sources/provenance: KPC PB, documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 52, page 124, N° 290 (sugar box); Department of Applied Art and History, Transmission document, N° 214f (butter dish), 1949-12-17; TDS inventory book N° 1, inv. N° Tt 28 (butter dish).



### 2. Sugar box

Germany, Saxony, Meissen, 1713-1716

Modeler Johann Jacob Irminger (1635-1724)

Sugar box and cover of red stoneware, oval in shape, four paw legs, polished.

Dimensions: H 9.2 cm, L 12.0 cm, W 9.3 cm

ČDM TDS, Inv. N° Tt 29

Sources/provenance: KPC PB, documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 52, page 124, N° 292 (chocolate bowl); Department of Applied Art and History, Transmission document, N° 214e (sugar bowl), 17.12.1949.



### 3. Tea pot

Germany, Saxony, Meissen, 1713-1715?

Tea pot with cover of red stoneware. Metal (gold plated silver) chain and cover knob. Octagonal in shape, engraved with a design of arabesque in Berain-style, polished. The end of spout is missing.

Dimensions: H 8.2 cm, L 10.8 cm, W 7.9 cm

ČDM TDS, Inv. N° Tt 30

Sources/provenance: KPC PB, documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 52, p. 124, N° 293; Department of Applied Art and History, Transmission document, N° 214d, 17.12.1949.



### 4. Bowl

Germany, Saxony, Meissen, 1713-1715

Bowl of red-brown stoneware, thin-walled vessel with a flared rim, entirely wheel-polished.

Dimensions: H 7.9 cm, D 18.3 cm

ČDM TDS, Inv. No Tt 31

Sources/provenance: KPC PB, documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 52, p. 124, No 291 (cookie bowl); Department of Applied Art and History, Transmission document, No 214b (bowl), 17.12.1949.



5. Coffee pot

Germany, Saxony, Meissen (or Plaue-on -the-Havel ?), 1715

Coffee pot with cover of red stoneware. High dome roud cover with knob, polished.

Dimensions: H 18.5 cm, D 13.7-15.8 cm

ČDM TDS, Inv. No Tt 32

Sources/provenance: KPC PB, documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 52, p. 125, N° 292b (pot for milk); Department of Applied Art and History, Transmission document , N° 214a (jug with cover), 17.12.1949.



6-7. Tea cup and saucer

Germany, Saxony, Meissen, 1710-1719

Cup and saucer are entirely wheel polished.

Dimensions: Cup H 4.4 cm, D. 8.1 cm

Saucer H 3cm, D. 12.2 cm

ČDM TDS, Inv. No Tt 33a saucer, Tt 33b cup

Sources/provenance: KPC PB, documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 52, p. 125, No 294 (cup and saucer); Department of Applied Art. and History, Transmission document , N° 214g<sup>1-2</sup>, 17.12.1949.



8-9. Tea cup and saucer

Cup and saucer are entirely wheel Glazed.

Dimensions: Cup H 4.4 cm, D. 8.1 cm

Saucer H 3 cm, D. 12.2 cm

ČDM TDS, Inv. No Tt 34a saucer, Tt 34b cup

Sources/provenance: KPC PB, documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 52, p. 125, N° 295 (cup and saucer); Department of Applied Art and History, Transmission document, No 214 h <sup>1-2</sup>, 17.12.1949.



10-11. Cup and saucer

Germany, Saxony, Meissen, 1710-1719

Cup and saucer of red stoneware are antirely wheel polished, faceted edges/rim.

Dimensions: Cup H 4.8 cm, D. 6.8 cm

Saucer H 2.5 cm, D. 12.5 cm

ČDM TDS, Inv. No Tt 33a saucer, Tt 33b cup

Sources/provenance: KPC PB, documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 52, p. 125, N° 296 (cup and saucer); Department of Applied Art and History, Transmission document, No 214g <sup>1-2</sup>, 17.12.1949.



12. Tea pot

Germany, Saxony, Meissen, 1710-1719  
Tea pot with cover (lost knob) of red stoneware, relief moulding, large wheel polished.

Dimensions: H 18.2cm, L 13.7cm, W 8.4cm

ČDM TDS, Inv. N° Tt 36

Sources/provenance: KPC PB, documentary fund 17, the description list 2, file 52, page 124, N° 289; Department of Applied Art and History, Transmission document, No 214c, 17.12.1949



13. Vase

Germany, Saxony, Meissen, 1713-1715  
Modeler Johann Jacob Irminger (1635-1724)

Vase with cover of red stoneware, decorated with applied relief of roses (frechand shaped asymmetrical decor), all in high relief. The surface of the vase is polished.

Dimensions: H 26,5cm, D 9.7cm

LDM TDS, inv. No TP 108/a-b

Sources/provenance: purchased from anonymous person in 1982.





14. Vase?

Germany, Saxony, Meissen, 1713-1715

Octagonal vase (without cover) of red stoneware. Polished.

Dimensions: H 9.5cm, D 6.7 – 7.5 cm

Inscription: on the bottom black color 156/R

LDM TDS, Inv. N<sup>o</sup> TP 67

Sources/provenance: purchased from anonymous person in 1980.

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## Youth Literature on the Polish Publishing Market in 2008-2018 (Trends, Currents, Phenomena)

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### ABSTRACT

In 2008-2018, the Polish market of young readers' books was subject to various fluctuations related to economic determinants, demography and changing cultural trends or fashions. The dynamics of sales was determined by best-selling fantasy series coming mainly from the Anglo-Saxon literature. Although *Harry Potter* was not followed by an equally successful novel cycle, the main elements of its marketing strategy have been duplicated and continued. An important reinforcement of the message was the screening of a particular plot, and thus its multiplication in various media channels. Fantasy themes often referring to the elements of horror, Gothic novels, and even dystopian thrillers dominated. Generic syncretism and even various formal experiments in the spirit of deconstruction have become characteristic of the contemporary youth book market. In contrast, the list of awards of the Polish section of the IBBY stands in opposition to this trend, which promoted, in the overwhelming majority, novels of morals nature, addressing difficult and controversial problems of adolescence, interpersonal relationships, otherness, etc. In this context, we can observe a change in the values promoted and a transition from an educative normative system to glorifying freedom and tolerance towards a wide range of behaviors and attitudes.

**KEY WORDS:** young readers' books, Poland, publishing market, publishing repertoire, 2008-2018

## STRESZCZENIE

*Literatura dla młodzieży na polskim rynku wydawniczym w latach 2008-2018 (tendencje, nurty, zjawiska)*

W latach 2008-2018 polski rynek wydawniczy książek dla młodzieży podlegał różnym fluktuacjom związanym zarówno z determinantami ekonomicznymi, demografią, jak i zmieniającymi się modami oraz trendami kulturowymi. Dynamikę sprzedaży wyznaczyły bestsellerowe cykle fantastyczne pochodzące głównie z kręgu literatury anglosaskiej. Po *Harrym Potterze* nie pojawił się już wprawdzie równie dobrze sprzedający się cykl powieściowy, ale główne elementy jego strategii marketingowej były w dalszym ciągu powielane i kontynuowane. Istotnym wzmocnieniem przekazu stawała się ekranizacja określonej fabuły, a co za tym idzie jej multiplikacja w różnych kanałach medialnych. Triumfy święciła tematyka fantastyczna odwołująca się często do elementów horroru, powieści gotyckiej, dystopii, a nawet thrillera. Charakterystyczny dla współczesnego rynku książki młodzieżowej stał się synkretyzm rodzajowy oraz rozmaite eksperymenty formalne w duchu dekonstrukcji. Niejako w opozycji do tego nurtu stoi natomiast lista nagród polskiej sekcji IBBY, w której promowano w przeważającej liczbie książki o charakterze obyczajowym, podejmujące trudne i kontrowersyjne problemy dojrzewania, kontaktów międzyludzkich, odmienności itp. W tym kontekście można obserwować zmiany propagowanych wartości i przechodzenie od wychowawczego systemu normatywnego ku gloryfikacji wolności i tolerancji względem szerokiego spektrum zachowań i postaw.

**SŁOWA KLUCZE:** literatura młodzieżowa, Polska, rynek wydawniczy, repertuar wydawniczy, lata 2008-2018

It is undisputable that reading literary texts during adolescence, apart from providing temporary entertainment, influences the psychosocial development of a young person, broadens his or her thought horizons, shapes the language skills needed in adult life and the ability to think creatively. The development of teenagers' readership seems to be one of the important educational activities that constitute a civilizational challenge at the beginning of the 21st century. At the same time, the book in its mission has to struggle with the competition of other media outlets, which on the one hand can support its popularity and on the other hand – limit it. The phenomenon of media convergence has become an important element of

market strategies in the latest decade of the publishing circulation between 2008 and 2018.<sup>1</sup> We should be aware that on the current book market, we are observing a progressive process of publishing specialization. This can be seen, for example, in the way the assortment is organized in an average bookshop, where the number of individual thematic sections is increasing. In our case, a specific target group, previously referred to as youth, is important, but nowadays it differentiates between the younger tweens and the older so-called young adults.<sup>2</sup> Youth literature includes works perceived as particularly interesting for young readers, i.e. not only those written with that readership in mind, but also those originally addressed to adult readers, which however attracted young audiences, leading to their later reclassification.<sup>3</sup> In practice, a common (though not the only one) indicator of this type of literature is the appearance of a juvenile main character. This distinction is important for statistical reasons, but it is pointless to consider specific examples of “borderline” literature in this context.<sup>4</sup>

The discussed decade (2008-2018) begins with a clear turning point which was the publication of the last volume of the *Harry Potter* saga (*Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*) in January 2008. Of course, the direct sale of this global bestseller will continue to influence the functioning of the domestic publishing market for some time. In the following years there would be more screenings of the last volumes of J.K. Rowling’s books and several Potter-related books would be published, discounting the extreme popularity of the fantasy series.<sup>5</sup> The English author would return to the wizard of Hogwarts years later, creating the stage play *Harry Potter and the Cursed Child*, which would be published in book form. In October 2016, the title also appeared on Polish bookshelves (Media Rodzina), which was accompanied by a media campaign, characteristic

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1 According to M. Zając, books for the so-called net-generation should meet four conditions: interactivity, intermediality, non-linearity (hypertext character) and appropriate visual attractiveness. Idem, *Net-Generacja i jej książki*, “Biblioteka Analiz,” 2012, 6, p. 18.

2 Cf. M. Zając, *Zagubiony (w statystyce) sektor*, “Biblioteka Analiz,” 2006, 8, pp. 22-24.

3 *Literatura dla młodzieży*, “Ruch Wydawniczy w Liczbach,” 2013, p. 11.

4 It is worth noting at this point that in the era of developing generic syncretism, a much more objective category of division is determined by the *usus* than by the specific structural features of a literary work. It is not the purpose of this text to pose questions of the kind whether books by Prus, Sienkiewicz, or any 19th century *bildungsroman* author should be considered as literature for young people or not, but it should be noted that many works for them headed by *Harry Potter* refer to such a plot scheme.

5 The most popular fantasy saga will become a reference point for similar work, and many other books will be published with a recommendation that takes advantage of *Harry Potter*’s popularity. For example, Patrick Rothfuss’ novel *The Name of the Wind*, published in 2008, was considered to be “A *Harry Potter*, only more dark and directed to an older audience.” Electronic document [accessible at]: <http://www.patrickrothfuss.com/content/reviews.asp#orsonscott>.

for subsequent volumes of the relevant book series, which contributed to high sales. The magic of the title was also revived in the case of the 2015 re-edition of the first volume of the saga with Jim Kay's illustrations. In a way, *Harry Potter* paved the way for other best-selling series that began to appear in Poland, accompanied by a smaller or larger marketing campaign. In 2009, all four volumes of S. Meyer's *Twilight* series, a saga about vampires living on the west coast of the United States, were first published. The sagas were re-edited over the next few years, especially as their popularity grew thanks to the feature films and was connected with the creation of a broader fashion for this type of literary substance.<sup>6</sup> In 2009-2010, three volumes of the Suzanne Collins' series, *The Hunger Games*, which are thematically situated in a dystopia, were published, popularized in subsequent years by a four-part film adaptation. It seems that the closer to modern times, the greater was the role of the cinema in creating a particular story. Book sales were secondary in this respect and increased significantly after the film premieres. This phenomenon also applied to older literature regarded as a classic of the genre, which aroused great interest as a result of the new cinema adaptation, e.g. *The Hobbit* by J.R.R. Tolkien (the Hollywood premieres of its parts took place in November 2012, December 2013, and December 2014). In recent years, instead of Hollywood block-busters created produced over a relatively long period, novels for adolescents are promoted by TV format series broadcast on digital platforms such as Netflix or Showmax, while scenarios of the adaptations often go beyond the book stories.<sup>7</sup> It is also worth noting in this context that the visual message associated with this type of productions has been virtually dominated by posters and stills from movies in the netosphere.

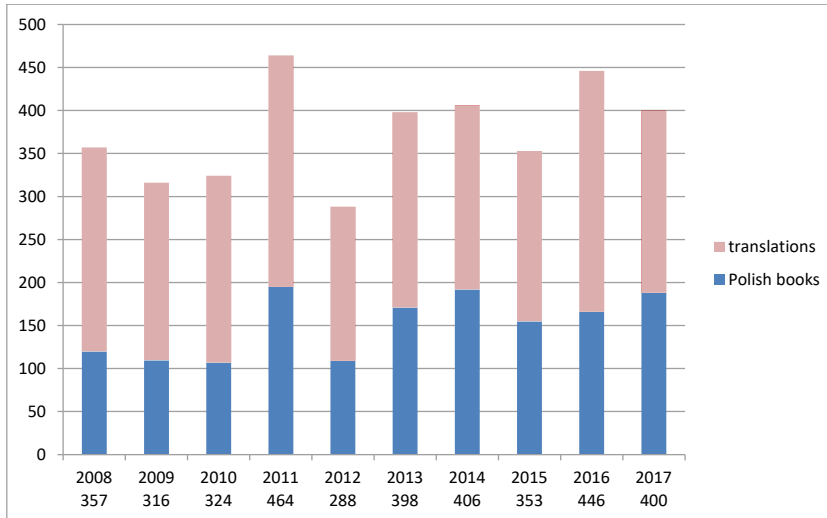
The annual report on the Polish book market, "Ruch Wydawniczy w Liczbach" allows us to estimate the scale of production in the sector we are interested in. Only fictional works are included in the youth literature category. The total youth literature market, understood in this way, accounts for only about 4% of total sales of fiction books. For the period 2008-2017 there are complete statistics only on the number of titles (Fig. 1), while the data on edition volumes was only recorded until 2012. In the period 2008-2012, those edition volumes grew and fell more or less

6 The Dolnośląskie company has issued its *Czytaj po Zmierzchu* [Read after Dark] collection, comprising paranormal romance novels, including Phyllis Christine Cast's and Kristin Cast's *Nyx in the House of Night*, Tessa Gratton's *Blood Magic*, Libba Bray's *A Great and Terrible Beauty*, and many others.

7 The popularity of this type of communication was also shared by the *Game of Thrones* fantasy series based on the saga by George R.R. Martin, *The Song of Ice and Fire*. Children's and young people's literature also includes the *Stranger Things* novel by Gwenda Bond written in parallel with the show aired on the Netflix platform, also in Poland.

in proportion to the changes in the number of titles, with the average edition of a fictional book for young people stood in the range of 2,600-3,500 copies. Certainly, the bestsellers that appeared at that time had the greatest influence on the edition volumes. Their presence in the market was, to a large extent, influenced by the size of incomes. Since 2008, a gradual decrease in the level of turnover from 81 million PLN at the beginning of the period, to 33 million in 2013 was recorded. In the following years there was a stabilization, and even some progress.<sup>8</sup> The statistics on the number of titles of literature for young people display a preponderance of literature translated over native production. Within the foreign literature assimilated to the Polish reader, the largest group (about 80%) have been translations from English, while French, Italian or German books enjoyed a significantly lower popularity. It is worth noting that Scandinavian literature which is an important part of the bulk of children’s literature in translation in the case of works for young adults accounted for a negligible proportion.

**Figure 1.** Number of Polish and foreign book titles published in Poland in the years 2008-2017



Source: “Ruch Wydawniczy w Liczbach.”

The annual production ranged from 300-400 titles, reaching extreme values about halfway through the period 2011-2012. This fluctuation was probably due to the introduction of a 5% VAT rate on traditional printed books, which had an impact on market strategies and the temporary

8 Ł. Gołębiewski, P. Waszczyk, *Rynek książki w Polsce 2015. Wydawcy*, Warszawa 2015, p. 159.

reduction of orders by major retailers, distributors and wholesalers. In recent years, a very shy upward trend could have been observed, almost imperceptible in comparison to the growth recorded in the children's book market at that time. When confronting these two sectors, it should be noted that the number of titles of children's literature was four times higher at the beginning of the analyzed period and 6.7 times higher at the end of it. While in the 1980s and 1990s youth literature was represented by specialized publishing houses (Młodzieżowa Agencja Wydawnicza, Wydawnictwo Iskry), at the present time this market sector does not have such a specialized representative. Individual titles are edited by various publishing companies known for promoting children's literature (e.g. Olesiejuk, Nasza Księgarnia, Media Rodzina) and also those representing a broader range of literary fiction (e.e. Firma Księgarska Olesiejuk, Znak, Mag, Wydawnictwo Otwarte, Amber, or Nova Raes). Since for the majority of the entities, this type of activity is complementary, if not marginal, it is difficult to resist a certain impression of randomness in the selection and presentation of the literary offer. This may be linked to the high unpredictability of this market sector due to the vulnerability of teenagers to transient fashions. As far as the promotion of new books for young people is concerned, the role of magazines usually presenting shorter literary forms is also worth emphasizing.<sup>9</sup> The youth literature market is a particularly demanding book sector in Poland. In order to satisfy teenagers' reading needs, publishers must constantly follow not only Polish and foreign book novelties, but also emerging cinema screenings, TV series or computer games.<sup>10</sup> Thus, some of the above-mentioned publications gain exclusivity contracts with certain, usually well-promoted authors, while others mainly publish classics. One can notice a certain specialization of the offer of particular publishers: some focus on the promotion of Polish authors, while others base their offer on translated books.

An important phenomenon in the last two decades which is the activity of tiny publishing houses in the youth literature sector has been much less active. These publishers compete on the market mainly using the avant-garde artistic level of their publications; however, this applies more to specific graphic design, illustrations, original media and topics related to younger target groups. There is a range of books designed for teenagers. As an example, the thriller trilogy *Meto* by Yves Grevet, or the knight story *Letter to the King* by the Dutch Tonke Dragt were published by the metropolitan publisher, Dwie Siostry. The publishing offer of the Hokus-Pokus company

9 E.g. in the "Nowa Fantastyka" magazine, the first known piece by Paolo Bacigalupi, known for his novel *The Windup Girl* appeared in 2009.

10 Ł. Gołębiewski, P. Waszczyk, *Rynek książki w Polsce 2015*, op. cit., p. 161.



included the *Creation* by Bart Moeyaert, an original variation on the biblical book of Genesis, as well as the poetic *Lato Adeli*, with a teenage protagonist the reviewer Maria Poprzęcka described as: “No child, no woman, no girl, no adolescent, not a teen, not a Lolita, only everything pointlessly messed up.”<sup>11</sup>

Youth literature revolves around several important thematic trends. Some of them have been particularly promoted in recent years on the wave of popularity of bestsellers such as *Harry Potter* (fantasy), *The Hunger Games* (SF), *Twilight* (vampire novel, gothic novel), or numerous Scandinavian crime stories that are *de facto* intended for the adult reader, but also have “lighter” mutations written with an adolescents or even children in mind. It is worth noting that this type of literary development, which does not avoid conveying drastic or controversial content, is in line with the trend towards faster maturing of contemporary youth and liberalization of standards related to their upbringing. This is of course controversial in terms of moral nature which fits the eternal intergenerational discourse. An example of such a literary work standing somewhere between adult and youth literature is a trilogy by Ransom Riggs, *Miss Peregrine’s Home for Peculiar Children*, combining characteristics of fantasy and thriller.<sup>12</sup> An important trend related to the way contemporary youth literature is created is composing shorter or longer sagas. This seems to be not only a literary strategy, but above all, a marketing one. It allows to multiply profits by multiplying the degree of influence in the case of this type of communication. The editions of subsequent book volumes are associated with appropriate promotional activities, retardation of tension, and the possibility of various speculations regarding the fates of the characters. The marketing machine is additionally supported by a more or less developed multimedia environment in the form of film adaptations, computer games, videos, various websites, gadgets, illustrations etc. The principle of multiplier effects, typical for the market, works in this respect. It is also worth noting that the popularity of a certain title often paves the way for other books on similar subjects. The Stephanie Meyer vampire saga has brought popularity to the entire *paranormal romance* genre, which combines supernatural and adventurous elements with a Harlequin-style love story. Most of these types of plots have been addressed predominantly to female adolescent readers. It seems, however, that in terms of readership needs there has been a kind of gender equality process in recent years, which has resulted in the blurring of the traditional division into boys’ and girls’ literature. According to

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11 Electronic document [accessible at]: <http://www.hokus-pokus.pl/ksiazka/145/index.html>

12 It is also worth mentioning that young adults have eagerly reached for e.g. controversy-arising erotic novels by E.L. James (the *Grey* trilogy), J. Laskowska, *Rynek książki dla dzieci i młodzieży w Polsce*, “Jednak Książki,” 2017, 7, pp. 204-205.

opinion polls, teenage girls show much greater interest in books, while the male gender moves on from typically children's books goes straight to fantasy and science fiction intended for adult readers.<sup>13</sup>

A puzzling phenomenon in youth literature is the continuing preference for fantasy fiction, which takes the reader into unreal worlds, full of characters with supernatural abilities, or into universes based on the laws of physics, but in this or another way transformed into a utopia or an anti-utopia. A constant element of postmodern fashion is the creation of this type of fictional, unreal "conworlds" organized in a very systematic way, having their own history, geography, customs, or culture.<sup>14</sup> However, one should not give in to the hasty impression that contemporary youth literature is only phantasmagoria. In 2012, John Green's novel of manners *The Fault in Our Stars* was published in Poland. The book describes the love story of two ill teenagers, difficult and even dangerous to their lives. The book was moderately popular at first, even though it became a best-seller overseas. It was only after the successful screening in 2014 that it became widely read in our country as well.<sup>15</sup> Several other novels by the same author, who is considered to be a follower of the already cult writer Jerome David Salinger, have also been taken up. In the context of realistic prose, it is also worthwhile analyzing the list of winners of the Polish IBBY section award in the last 10 years. This prize is awarded annually in several thematic categories, including young adult fiction (Tab. 1).

**Table 1.** IBBY Polish Section awards 2008-2018

Year	Author	Title	Genre
2008	M. Gutowska-Adamczyk	<i>13. Poprzeczna</i>	Novel of manners
2009	E. Nowak	<i>Bardzo biała wrona</i>	Novel of manners
2010	M. Szczygielski	<i>Omega</i>	Adventure
2011	Z. Beszczyńska	<i>Jajko księżycy</i>	Fairy tale
2012	Marcel A. Marcel	<i>Oro</i>	Novel of manners
2013	E. Przybylska	<i>Most nad Mississippi</i>	Novel of manners
2014	A. Piwkowska	<i>Franciszka</i>	Novel of manners
2015	M. Warda	<i>5 sekund do Io</i>	Novel of manners
2016	J. Fabicka	<i>Rutka</i>	Historical novel
2017	M. Szczygielski	<i>Serce Nefytydy</i>	Science Fiction
2018	J. Jagiełło	<i>Jak ziarnka piasku</i>	Novel of manners

Source: own development.

- 13 L. Gołębiowski, P. Waszczyk, *Rynek książki w Polsce 2014*. Wydawcy, Warszawa 2014, p. 150.
- 14 S. Bielawska, *Wampiry, demony, upadłe anioły... Analiza rynku książki dla młodzieży (2010-2017). Wybrane aspekty*, "Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis. Folia Librorum," 2019, 1(28), pp. 14-32.
- 15 In 2014, 140 thousand copies of J. Green's novel were sold on the Polish market, which became a record achievement. J. Laskowska, *Rynek książki dla dzieci i młodzieży w Polsce*, op. cit., p. 205.

In the period in which we are interested, the novel of manners won seven times, only once giving way to a typical sci-fi plot (*Serce Nefytydy*), and another time to a surrealist fairy tale by Zofia Beszczyńska, based on toposes from *Alice in Wonderland* or even *Master and Margarita*.<sup>16</sup> Apart from various literary contexts present in e.g. *Franciszka* by Anna Piwkowska, these novels touch upon typical problems of contemporary teenagers: growing up, making difficult decisions, unrequited loves, illnesses, and relationships with other people. Books for the young generation do not avoid difficult psychological problems. In a variety of behaviors and attitudes, characters mature to make important life decisions. The old model of protection or silence in the face of drastic, borderline situations, violence, suffering, or illness has been replaced by a model of preparation that provokes confrontation with such problems and breaks taboos. Initiation novels that familiarize the reader not only with intimate life but also with the hierarchy of values and eschatological problems have become very popular.<sup>17</sup> The book by Ewa Przybylska,<sup>18</sup> *Most nad Mississippi*, showing the history of a friendship between a teenager and an elderly woman is characteristic in this respect. “Two seemingly mismatched people find themselves in a world where old age is pushed to the margins, unnoticed, often exploited; in a world where everyone who does not fit in and stands out from the crowd is either transparent or ridiculed.”<sup>19</sup> The theme of rejection is also the subject of *Oro*. The title character is a kind of a guardian angel, a messenger from the afterlife, a supernatural therapist, or the main heroine’s *alter ego*.

The theme of the virtual world represented by computer games also appears quite often in native prose. They sometimes part of a dystopian vision of the world (*5 sekund do Io*), and the basis for making real friendships and confronting the real life somehow.<sup>20</sup> Marcin Szczygielski’s novel *Omega* has an interesting storyline structure. The frame is created by a game

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16 Cf. Review on the website of the Polish IBBY section, electronic document [accessible at]: [http://www.ibby.pl/?page\\_id=1025](http://www.ibby.pl/?page_id=1025).

17 W. Matras-Mastalerz, *Nowe tendencje zadania i funkcje współczesnej literatury dziecięco-młodzieżowej*, in: *Kultura czytelnicza dzieci i młodzieży. Szkice bibliologiczne*, eds. M. Antczak, A. Brzóska-Kępa, A. Walczak-Niewiadomska, Łódź 2013, pp. 117-135.

18 In her work, the author often presents patterns of difficult adolescence in the conditions of a pathological family, showing the cruelty of parents and the egoism of children with the same intransigence. M. Chrobak, *Metaforyka powietrzna w prozie Ewy Przybylskiej*, in: *Żywioty w literaturze dziecięcej. Powietrze*, Zakopane 15-16.10.2018 [I do not know if this text has already appeared in print].

19 M. Świtła, *Most nad Mississippi* (review), Ryms: [http://ryms.pl/ksiazka\\_szczegoly/1688/most-nad-missisipi.html](http://ryms.pl/ksiazka_szczegoly/1688/most-nad-missisipi.html).

20 Cf. K. Szymeczko, *Czworo i gości*, Warszawa 2011.

that moves beyond gaming console screens to the streets of Warsaw. The heroine's passing through successive levels is tantamount to her fast maturing by making reasonable choices to continue the game. The name "Omega" can also be read as "0-mega," because each level increases the number of megabytes the game takes. It is not difficult to resist the reflection that a similar though slightly more hidden scheme is realized by the *Harry Potter* saga. Contemporary novels for teenagers also very often take up the theme of competition, which is quite an important phenomenon in post-industrial society. It does not always take as drastic forms as in *The Hunger Games* trilogy. In Kiera Cass' *The Selection*, there is a kind of a beauty contest organized for candidates to marry handsome prince. The fairytale theme here has been transposed into contemporary realities of professional audition.

Another element of postmodern stylistics is genre syncretism, operating with various means of literary expression, as well as intertwining elements taken from fantasy or SF poetics (*Most nad Missisippi, 5 sekund do Io*) into a seemingly realistic world. An extreme example of successful literary deconstruction is the book *Wreck this journal* by conceptual artist Keri Smith. In principle, it is not a literary work, but a set of commands that leaves the user with a lot of freedom. In this approach, the book is a kind of "ready-made thing" intended for individual treatment. Regardless of what one might say about this original idea growing somewhere out of the Dadaistic spirit, it is an example of the amazing fetishism of contemporary reading culture. In this aspect it is the author who determines what happens to the book, and not on the basis of some content, but on the basis of almost divine invocation: *Fiat lux*. Intriguingly, however, the experimental art received such a good response from young readers. It is possible that this has something to do with the non-linear content structure associated with the Internet, which is common nowadays. Cyberspace is dominated by, firstly, graphic elements that often form the so-called memes, secondly, any content may appear there in different places depending on the context chosen by search engines. A reflection of such a structure are e.g. popular coloring books for teenagers and adults, which, apart from the mnemonic activity of filling spaces with color, also suggest searching for a hidden elements according to a specific key.<sup>21</sup> A similar concept of a game and even the nowadays fashionable escape room is used by Dimitris Chassapakis' book *Journal 29*, which presents the reader with puzzles the solution of which is necessary to explore the main theme.

Literature for young people at the beginning of the 21st century has come a long way from the didactic model implemented within the

21 Cf. coloring books by Johanna Basford: *Magical Jungle, Lost Ocean* etc.

framework of the binding normative ethics to the considerable freedom of interpretation of the most important axiological issues resulting from the liberal value system. In this aspect there has been a change in the role of the book, which has transformed from a cultural good to a commercial commodity. At the same time, there has been a change in the values promoted, the most important of which are freedom and tolerance (equated with the acceptance of all kinds of differences), the contestation of traditions and authorities manifested both in the anti-pedagogical message and in the often experimental structure of the text itself, along with the promotion of individualism and total autonomy of the individual.<sup>22</sup> The lack of unambiguous educational signposts has become, on the one hand, an opportunity to create original texts, devoid of bias and unambiguous subordination to a particular ideology, and on the other hand, a considerable threat that leaves the teenager alone with problems exceeding his or her ability to adapt and presenting only a pessimistic, decadent vision of the world without a constructive program allowing him or her to deal with reality in a positive way.

The development of the domestic market of books for young people took place under the conditions of the market economy, which was influenced by many external factors related to the globalizing of reading culture and the emergence of new global bestsellers, strengthening the power of literary messages through their multimedia representation (films, audio-books, computer games, fan fiction, netart, etc.) and the increasing availability of information about individual titles in connection with the development of promotion and Internet sales techniques. At the same time, the level of sales was influenced by the competition of other entertainment and leisure activities, as well as the absorptivity of the market itself, which operates in the conditions of demographic decline. It seems that the current market offer for books for young people is relatively poor, based on media coverage rather than expert opinions. This particularly applies to novelties. Publishers have greater confidence in re-editions of older and proven titles, the release of which does not pose a risk. Meanwhile, Poland lacks many books awarded in recent years in prestigious international literary competitions.

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22 M. Gwadera, *O zagrożeniach płynących z czytelnictwa dzieci i młodzieży w XXI wieku*, in: *Młody odbiorca w kręgu lektur pożytecznych i szkodliwych*, eds. K. Heska-Kwaśniewicz, Z. Gajownik, Katowice 2012, pp. 9-21.

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## Dracula – nowe perspektywy badawcze

*Dracula: An International Perspective* [Dracula. Perspektywa międzynarodowa], red. M.-M. Crişan, Palgrave Macmillan, Londyn 2017.

Dziedzina studiów gotyckich, wywodząca się z romantycznej tradycji brytyjskiej i obejmująca badania nad literaturą i filmem, staje się coraz bardziej popularna także w krajach nieanglojęzycznych. Potwierdzają to liczne publikacje analizujące elementy gotyckie w pozycjach literackich i kinie narodowym krajów takich jak Hiszpania (np. Xavier Aldana Reyes, *Spanish Gothic* [Hiszpański gotyk], Londyn 2017) czy Włochy (np. Roberto Curti, *Italian Gothic Horror Films, 1970-1979* [Włoskie gotyckie horrory filmowe, 1970-1979], Jefferson, NC 2017). Na polskim rynku wydawniczym w ostatnich latach również nie zabrakło publikacji poświęconych omawianej tematyce. Ukazały się m.in. pozycje takie jak: *Groza w kulturze polskiej* pod redakcją Roberta Dudzińskiego, Kamila Kowalczyka i Joanny Płoszaj (Wrocław 2016); *Upiór w kamerze. Zarys kulturowej historii kina grozy* autorstwa Magdaleny Kamińskiej (Poznań 2016); *Anatomia strachu. Strach, lęk i ich oblicza we współczesnej kulturze* pod redakcją Bogusławy Bodzioch-Bryły i Lilianny Dorak-Wojakowskiej (Kraków 2017); *Oblicza wampiryzmu* pod redakcją Anny Depty, Szymona Cieślińskiego i Michała Wolskiego (Wrocław 2018) i wiele innych.

W tę tematykę wpisuje się wydana nakładem wiodącego w dziedzinie studiów gotyckich brytyjskiego wydawnictwa Palgrave Gothic (będącego częścią wydawnictwa Palgrave Macmillan) anglojęzyczna książka pod redakcją rumuńskiego badacza i wykładowcy Zachodniego Uniwersytetu w Timișoarze, Mariusa Crişana. Monografia jest zbiorem artykułów poświęconych tematyce gotyckiej, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem aspektu literackiego, historycznego i filmowego postaci księcia Draculi i jego potomków. Zgromadzeni w książce autorzy poszczególnych rozdziałów, zasłużeni badacze tematyki, jak również przedstawiciele młodego pokolenia

naukowców z różnych stron świata, ukazują szeroki wachlarz problematyki mającej źródło w stale rozrastającym się micie Draculi – transylwańskiego arystokraty-wampira, zrodzonym w XIX w. na kartach powieści irlandzkiego pisarza Brama Stokera<sup>1</sup>. W XX w. postać ta stała się przedmiotem badań wielu dziedzin akademickich – od literaturoznawstwa i historii po imagologię, filmoznawstwo, turystykę, socjologię i psychologię. Książka Crişana stanowi studium zjawiska w ujęciu interdyscyplinarnym i międzykulturowym. Ukazuje niezwykłą wieloaspektowość tematyki.

Książkę rozpoczyna wprowadzenie redaktora tomu, w którym znajdujemy szczegółowe omówienie stanu badań. Tłumacząc istotę prowadzonych rozważań, Crişan odwołuje się do najważniejszych pozycji literatury krytycznej, które uformowały sposób rozumienia mitu i wpłynęły na obecny kształt dziedziny. Wspomina on książkę Raymonda T. McNally’ego i Radu Florescu *In Search of Dracula: A True History of Dracula and Vampire Legend* [W poszukiwaniu Draculi. Prawdziwa historia Draculi i legendy wampira]<sup>2</sup>, która w latach 70. rozpoczęła dywagacje na temat rzekomej relacji pomiędzy literackim bohaterem Stokera a historyczną postacią Włada Palownika<sup>3</sup>. Teoria ta odbiła się szerokim echem, nie tylko w świecie akademickim. Przyczyniła się ona do ogromnego wzrostu zainteresowania zarówno powieścią Stokera, jak i historyczną postacią wołoskiego księcia, co w rezultacie zaowocowało również wzmożeniem ruchu turystycznego na terenach Transylwanii i Wołoszczyzny w Rumunii<sup>4</sup>.

Teoria została nieco później jednoznacznie zanegowana przez kanadyjską badaczkę Elisabeth Miller, która w swoich pracach prezentuje następującą opinię:

Nie zaprzeczam, że używając nazwiska „Draculi” Stoker przywłaszczył sobie przydomek XV-wiecznego wołoskiego wojewody. Nie przeczę też, że wykorzystał drobne fakty z mrocznych kart historii przy tworzeniu życiorysu swojego wampira. Ale zdecydowanie sprzeciwiam się szeroko rozprzestrzenionej teorii jakoby Stoker doskonale znał fakty dotyczące historycznego Draculi (...) i że stworzył postać swojego bohatera na wzór

- 1 Pierwsze wydanie powieści Brama Stokera pod tytułem *Dracula* ukazało się 26 maja 1897 r. w Londynie nakładem wydawnictwa Archibald Constable and Company.
- 2 R.T. McNally, R. Florescu, *In Search of Dracula: A True History of Dracula and Vampire Legend*, New York Graphic Society Ltd., Greenwich, Connecticut 1972.
- 3 Wład Palownik zwany Drakulą (rum. Vlad Țepeş, Vlad Drăculea) żył w latach 1431-1476. Wołoski gospodar, który wslawił się walkami z Turkami, zasłynął z okrucieństwa i krwawego upodobania do wbijania wrogów na pal. Zob. J. Gordon Melton, *The Vampire Book. The Encyclopedia of the Undead*, Visible Ink Press, Canton, MI 2011, s. 790-796.
- 4 Zob. D. Light, *The Dracula Dilemma, Tourism, Identity and the State in Romania*, Routledge, Nowy Jork 2016.

Włada [Palownika]. Chociaż prawdą jest, że rosnące od wczesnych lat 70. zainteresowanie *Draculą* w dużej mierze spowodowane jest tymi właśnie teoriami, przy dogłębnej analizie teorie te się nie bronią<sup>5</sup>.

Na gruncie polskim Anna Gemra potwierdza zdanie Elisabeth Miller, oznajmiając, że:

choć wielu badaczy przeprowadza porównania pomiędzy Władem Palownikiem a hrabim *Draculą*, najsłynniejszy wampir świata od swojego jakoby historycznego pierwowzoru wziął doprawdy bardzo niewiele. (...) [Wład Palownik] użyczył swojemu literackiemu potomkowi przede wszystkim „nazwiska” i cienia sławy okrutnika. Cała reszta to, być może, przemieszane przez wieki legendy, opowieści, podania – „wspaniałe draculowski folklor”<sup>6</sup>.

Niemniej jednak liczne filmy i inne teksty kultury popularnej nadal kultuwują teorię McNally’ego i Florescu i nie zamierzają rozstać się z wizją mariażu Stokerowskiego *Draculi* i Włada Palownika<sup>7</sup>.

Te i inne rozważania nad literackim *Draculą* dały początek szerszemu trendowi poświęconemu badaniom postaci wampirycznych i wznowiły zainteresowanie tematyką gotycką. Omawiany przeze mnie wolumin przedstawia teksty ukazujące rozwój zjawisk w sposób chronologiczny – od wpływu kanonu literatury gotyckiej na diegetyczny świat w *Draculi* Stokera, poprzez zawartość treściową powieści, jej możliwe interpretacje i rozwinięcia, aż do narodzenia i ewolucji mitu wampirycznego. Prezentuje też realizację mitu w dziełach drugiej połowy XX w. i początku nowego milenium.

Pierwsze cztery rozdziały stanowią część poświęconą rozważaniom na temat dzieł literackich. William Hughes omawia zagadnienie irlandzkiego gotyku, odnosząc się do dzieł Charlesa Roberta Maturina, Josepha Sheridanana Le Fanu i Brama Stokera. Temat kontynuowany jest w rozdziale

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5 E. Miller, *Filing for Divorce Count Dracula vs Vlad Tepes*, w: *Dracula: The Shade and the Shadow*, red. E. Miller, Desert Island Books, Westcliff-on-Sea 1998, s. 179 [tłum. własne].

6 A. Gemra, *Od gotycyzmu do horroru: wilkołak, wampir i monstrum Frankensteinia w wybranych utworach*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2008, s. 163.

7 Powstające w rekordowym tempie filmy i inne wytwory kultury popularnej, utrwalające wizerunek *Draculi* jednoznacznie łączący literackiego *Draculę* z historycznym Władem Palownikiem, dowodzą, jak dogłębnie teoria McNally’ego i Florescu zakorzeniła się w wyobraźni twórców i kulturze powszechnej. Jako przykład posłużyć może film *Dracula* [tytuł oryginalny: Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*] w reżyserii Francisa Forda Coppola z 1992 r. (Columbia Pictures), czy też młodsza produkcja, pt. *Dracula: Historia nieznaną* [tytuł oryginalny: *Dracula Untold*] Gary’ego Shore’a z 2014 r. (Universal Pictures). W obu filmach znaleźć można wyraźne odniesienia łączące głównego bohatera z historycznym włoskim księciem.

Donatelli Abbate Badin, która analizuje przedstawienie Włoch jako przestrzeni gotyckiej w utworach dziewiętnastowiecznych irlandzkich pisarzy. Lucian Vasile Szabo i Marius Crişan badają sposoby obrazowania wschodniej i centralnej Europy w opowiadaniach Edgara Allana Poe. Kończący sekcję literacką rozdział autorstwa Sam George stanowi analizę mitu Transylwanii w niemieckiej legendzie o *Szczurolapie z Hameln*<sup>8</sup> i ukazuje postaci Szczurolapa i Draculi jako metafory inności i obcości.

Kolejna część książki ujmuje rozważania na temat historycznych elementów *Draculi* Brama Stokera i ich możliwych interpretacji w kontekście geografii i turystyki. Hans de Roos przedstawia szczegółową analizę informacji zawartych zarówno w powieści, jak i materiałach archiwalnych autora, wiodących do zidentyfikowania lokalizacji fikcyjnego zamku Draculi w realnej przestrzeni geograficznej. Stereotypizacji i metaforycznego znaczenia Transylwanii i obrazu wschodniego Londynu w literaturze doszukuje się Clive Bloom, proponując interpretację *Draculi* w kontekście politycznym. Zagadnienie podróży i turystyki w powieści Stokera omówione zostaje w badaniach Duncana Lighta i kontynuowane jest w kolejnym rozdziale, w którym Marius Crişan prowadzi rozmyślenia nad relacją pomiędzy mitem Draculi a transylwańskim zamkiem w Hunedoarze. Kristin Bone ukazuje wpływ dzieł literackich na miejsca, w których toczą się akcje współczesnych fikcyjnych powieści.

John Browning i Nancy Schumann odnoszą się do ewolucji głosu narcyzyjnego w *Draculi*, jak również przemian związanych z tożsamością, emocjonalnością i świadomością genderową postaci wampirycznych w literaturze i filmie. Kino jest głównym tematem rozważań dwóch polskich badaczek, Magdaleny Grabias i Doroty Babilas. W swoich rozdziałach ukazują one zmiany zachodzące w sposobie rozumienia i ukazywania bohaterów wampirycznych. Magdalena Grabias analizuje nowy wymiar przestrzeni gotyckiej w kinie i telewizji, odnosząc się szczególnie do filmów grozy powstałych w XXI w. Dorota Babilas omawia nowe podejście do tematu rodziny i rodzinnych wartości we współczesnych produkcjach o tematyce wampirycznej.

Książkę kończy błyskotliwa rozprawa amerykańskiej badaczki, Carol Senf, stanowiąca wnikliwą analizę historii i ewolucji estetyki oraz przestrzeni gotyckiej w literaturze od początku gatunku po czasy współczesne. Autorka interpretuje zachodzące zmiany w kontekście społecznym, geograficznym i filozoficznym. Wskazuje na rolę Brama Stokera i jego

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8 *Szczurolap z Hameln* jest niemiecką legendą spisaną m.in. przez braci Grimm w tomie *Deutsche Sagen* (1816/1818) oraz w języku angielskim przez Roberta Browninga w tomie *Dramatic Lyrics* w 1842 r. Autorka rozdziału odwołuje się głównie do tych dwóch wersji legendy.

ikonicznej powieści w formowaniu kanonu i wyznaczeniu kierunku zmian poprzez realizację aspektu międzykulturowego.

Omawiana książka z pewnością spotka się z pozytywnym odbiorem czytelników zarówno z kręgów akademickich, jak i entuzjastów tematyki spoza uniwersyteckich środowisk. Interdyscyplinarne ujęcie problematyki pozwala na wielorakość interpretacji postaci Draculi i jego następców, jak również zagadnienia estetyki gotyckiej w perspektywie międzynarodowej. Warto przywołać słowa redaktora książki, Mariusa Crișana, w których zapewnia, że „rozwój mitu Draculi jest wynikiem złożonych międzynarodowych wpływów i międzykulturowych interakcji”<sup>9</sup>. W tym duchu książka prezentuje nową perspektywę badawczą, tłumaczącą nieustającą popularność Stokerowskiego bohatera i rodzące się z tej fascynacji nowe trendy oraz sposoby interpretacji świata i wielokulturowej rzeczywistości.

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9 M.M. Crișan, „Welcome to My House! Enter Freely and of Your Own Free Will”: *Dracula in International Context*”, w: *Dracula: An International Perspective*, red. M.M. Crișan, Palgrave Macmillan, Londyn 2017, s. 12 [tłum. własne].

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**Magdalena Grabias** – dr, absolwentka filologii angielskiej, kulturoznawca, filmoznawca, dziennikarz muzyczny, jest adiunktem w Instytucie Nauk o Kulturze UMCS w Lublinie. Jej badania naukowe obejmują problematykę kinematografii światowej i zjawisk kulturowych związanych z kinem postrzeganym w kontekście filmoznawstwa, semiotyki, filozofii, antropologii oraz kultury popularnej. Jest autorką licznych publikacji w języku angielskim propagujących sztukę filmową, muzykę i teatr. Jej monografia na temat twórczości amerykańskiego reżysera Franka Capry pt. *Songs of Innocence and Experience: Romance in the Cinema of Frank Capra* została wydana w 2013 r. przez prestiżowe wydawnictwo brytyjskie. Magdalena Grabias jest współorganizatorką międzynarodowych konferencji naukowych poświęconych zagadnieniom studiów gotyckich z ramienia organizacji „The Children of The Night”. Dwie edycje konferencji odbyły się w Dublinie w Irlandii (2016) i w Braszowie w Rumunii (2018). W 2019 r. Magdalena Grabias została laureatką międzynarodowej nagrody wręczanej przez rumuńskie Stowarzyszenie Kultury Helion „Helion International 2019” za krzewienie kultury i nauki.

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## Wojny wywoływane hasztagiem

P.W. Singer, E.T. Brooking, *Nowy rodzaj wojny. Media społecznościowe jako broń*, przeł. S. Baranowski, Wydawnictwo vis-a-vis Etiuda, Kraków 2019; ISBN 978-83-7998-210-3, ss. 294 [wyd. ang. *LikeWar: The Weaponization of Social Media*, An Eamon Dolan Book, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, Boston-New York 2018].

Niespełna rok po amerykańskiej premierze na polskim rynku księgarskim pojawiła się książka, którą waszyngtońskie instytucje think tanks i prasa, zarówno specjalistyczna (od „Foreign Affairs” po „Kirkus Reviews”), jak codzienna (m.in. „New York Times”), zgodnie nazwały jedną z najlepszych i najważniejszych książek non fiction 2018 r., a wybitni eksperci – pośród nich Francis Fukuyama, gen. Michael Hayden (były dyrektor Narodowej Agencji Bezpieczeństwa USA oraz szef CIA) czy nawet Vinton Gray Cerf, uważany za jednego z wynalazców Internetu, i liczni inni komplementowali słowami najwyższego uznania. Oryginalny tytuł, brzmiący w języku angielskim bardzo celnie, a zarazem przewrotnie – *LikeWar* – co rozumieć można jednocześnie jako „wojnę lajków” i „niby-wojnę”, przetłumaczony został bodaj nieco banalnie i mniej marketingowo: *Nowy rodzaj wojny*, dopiero druga jego część, podobnie do anglojęzycznej, doprecyzowuje, że chodzi o *Media społecznościowe jako broń*. W istocie jednak tytułowe sformułowania militarne – „wojna” oraz „broń” wskazują dobitnie na główny przedmiot analizy prowadzonej w książce, którą admirał marynarki Stanów Zjednoczonych i jeden z byłych najwyższych dowódców NATO, James G. Stavridis, zdefiniował jako najważniejszą analizę teorii konfliktu zbrojnego od czasów klasycznego *Vom Kriege* Carla von Clausewitza, skrojoną na miarę wyzwania XXI w.

Zatrzymajmy się wprawdzie na chwilę przy sylwetkach autorów książki, bo są to analitycy najwyższej próby i niekwestionowanych kompetencji. Peter Warren Singer jest absolwentem Princeton, doktorat obronił na Harvardzie, obecnie pracuje na stanowisku profesora Uniwersytetu Stanowego w Arizonie oraz stratega w New America Foundation. Wpływowa

Smithsonian Institution wskazuje go jako jednego ze stu czołowych innowatorów (*leading innovators*), a opiniotwórcze pisma „Defence News” i „Wall Street Journal” umieściły Singera w setce najbardziej wpływowych osób w obszarach związanych z obronnością i bezpieczeństwem, nazywając go „czołowym futurystą w kwestiach bezpieczeństwa narodowego” (*the premier futurist in the national security environment*). Singer był założycielem „Projektu polityki USA wobec świata islamskiego” oraz Centrum Bezpieczeństwa i Wywiadu XXI w. (Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence) w The Brookings Institution. Wielokrotnie zapraszany jako konsultant militarny, zarówno przez najważniejsze amerykańskie agencje wojskowe (pełnił np. funkcję koordynatora grupy zadaniowej ds. polityki obronnej prezydenta Obamy), wywiadowcze czy FBI, lecz także przez producentów telewizyjnych i filmowych (Warner, Universal, Dreamworks, Discovery, HBO, History Channel), a nawet twórców... serii gier komputerowych Call of Duty. Jest niezwykle pożądanym ekspertem-komentatorem telewizyjnym wielu stacji informacyjnych, m.in. BBC, CNN, ABC, CBS, FOX, Al Jazeera, NPR i NBC, współpracuje jako redaktor z „Popular Science”, regularnie publikuje polityczne analizy na łamach „Boston Globe”, „Los Angeles Times”, „New York Times”, „Washington Post”, „Foreign Affairs”, „Current History”, „International Security”, „Weltpolitik”. Singer jest także autorem kilku ważnych (i konsekwentnie nagradzanych) książek, które warto tu wspomnieć. Już w pierwszej, *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry* (2003), odważnie podjął kontrowersyjny problem nadużyć (zwłaszcza od czasu konfliktu irackiego) prywatnych firm świadczących najemne usługi wojskowe, a rychło wydana kolejna, *Children at War* (2005), ukazuje dramat wyjątkowej patologii współczesnych wojen (wszak sama wojna już jest patologią) – dzieci-żołnierzy. W bestsellerze *Wired for War: The Robotics Revolution and Conflict in the 21st Century* (2009) – który stał się także oficjalnie rekomendowaną lekturą w amerykańskich siłach powietrznych i marynarce wojennej USA oraz Royal Australian Navy, zbadał implikacje futurystycznych technologii wojskowych dla współczesnych i przyszłych konfliktów zbrojnych, polityki, lecz także etyki i prawa w XXI w. Podobne zagadnienia podjął też w wydanej cztery lata później *Cybersecurity and Cyberwar: What Everyone Needs to Know* (2013) – jak zauważono, była ona nieco bardziej przystępna – i poza uznaniem w kręgach analityków wojskowych, została także zalecona jako „lektura niezbędna” przez zarządy potentatów internetowych: Google i Microsoft. Warto w końcu nadmienić, że Singer w 2015 r. zadebiutował jako... powieściopisarz; tematem porywającej fabuły *Ghost Fleet: A Novel of Next World War* uczynił oczywiście futurystyczną wojnę na morzu, na lądzie, w powietrzu, przestrzeni kosmicznej i cyberprzestrzeni.



Drugi z autorów *Nowego rodzaju wojny*, Emerson T. Brooking, jest młodszy (studia na uniwersytecie w Pensylwanii w zakresie nauk politycznych i filologii klasycznej ukończył w 2011 r. – jego praca dyplomowa o rzymskich praktykach wojennych została wyróżniona nagrodą) i nieco mniej doświadczony oraz utytułowany. Domeną jego badań, w których zyskał już jednak status cenionego i zarazem bardzo rokującego eksperta, są media społecznościowe w kontekście relacji międzynarodowych. Rychło po studiach został (najmłodszym) pracownikiem naukowym w Radzie Stosunków Zagranicznych (Council on Foreign Relations) oraz powołano go na stanowisko doradcy w zakresie wojny informacyjnej w Radzie Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego (National Security Council). Wspólnie z Singerem napisany *Nowy rodzaj wojny* jest jego książkowym debiutem.

Wróćmy do samej książki. Internet jest głównym globalnym medium informacyjnym – a jak przekonują Singer i Brooking – pozostanie nim w dającej się przewidzieć przyszłości. Mimo dynamiki rozwoju oraz wprowadzanych nieustannie innowacji jest już w istocie modalnie ustabilizowany. Tak jak trwale zmienił nasze życie, tak nieuchronnie zmienia zarówno politykę, jak i wojnę (wspomniany już powyżej Clausewitz przekonywał wszak: „wojna jest jedynie kontynuacją polityki innymi środkami”). Jest jednak także odwrotnie – wojna i polityka zmieniają Internet, zazwyczaj bardzo podstępnie, niedostrzegalnie. Dziś za pomocą jednego kliknięcia możemy oglądać bliskie czy dalekie zbrojne konflikty, krwawe akty terroryzmu (nierzadko streamowane na żywo), lecz także jednozdaniowym tweetem można wywołać wojnę w dowolnym zakątku świata, a wirusowe dezinformacje zmieniają wyniki bitew, nawet losy całych krajów. Media, zwłaszcza internetowe media społecznościowe, zostały – dosłownie – po zęby uzbrojone bronią najcięższego kalibru, klawisz komputera czy dotykowy wyświetlacz ma niemalże władzę czerwonego guzika atomowego. W rezultacie wojna, technologia i polityka zamieniły się w nowy rodzaj interaktywnej przestrzeni walk, które rozgrywają się online na ekranach naszych laptopów i smartfonów. Autorzy zadają w tym kontekście fundamentalne pytania: czy media społecznościowe, uwikłane w lokalne i globalne konflikty (choćby tylko w bezkrwawe spory polityczne), ujawniają prawdę o naszym pełnym zagrożeniu światem, czy ją grzebią? Jaką rolę odgrywają zwykli ludzie („userzy”) w wielkich konfliktach międzynarodowych? Czy każdy z nas może się tu stać zarówno sprawcą, jak i potencjalnym celem?

Na treść książki składa się osiem (nienumerowanych) rozdziałów (*Wojna się zaczyna. Wstęp do nowego rodzaju wojny; Każdy przewód jest jak nerw. Jak Internet zmienił świat; Prawda jest tam. Media społecznościowe i koniec tajemnic; Imperium kontratakuję. Cenzura, dezinformacja i ukryta*

*prawda; Maszyna nierzeczywistości. Sprawa prawdziwości a rozprzestrzenienie się; Zdobyć sieć, wygrać. Nowe wojny o uwagę... i władzę; Nowy rodzaj wojny. Konflikty, które napędzają sieć i świat; Władcy wszechświata. Nowe reguły i nowi władcy*) i wnioski podsumowujące (*Co wiemy, co możemy zrobić*). W potoczystą narrację autorzy wplatają prawdziwie erudycyjny przewodnik po dynamicznych dziejach mediów społecznościowych – Facebooka, Twittera, Youtube’a, Instagrama, także uniwersum rozmaicie „followowanych” memów, wymyślnych hashtagów (a w kontekście – po najdziwniejszych zakamarkach Internetu), anegdotycznie prowadząc nas przez niezliczone próby manipulowania, kontrolowania, cenzurowania, podejmowane przez rządy (nie tylko totalitarne reżimy), polityków rozmaitego kalibru, pozostających w głębokim cieniu możliwych tego świata, wreszcie szaleńców, terrorystów, mrocznych hakerów. Barwna, cały czas jednak precyzyjnie prowadzona opowieść, jest kalejdoskopem *case studies*, celnych rozmów z ekspertami (cywilnymi i wojskowymi), analitykami, innowacyjnymi informatykami, programistami-wizjonerami – także w tajnych laboratoriach wojskowych, administratorami sieci z różnych krajów świata (choć głównie anglosaskich), politykami, lecz przede wszystkim zestawieniem własnych, niezliczonych obserwacji, tysięcy obejrzanych analitycznie klipów, po szpiegowskie niemal przygody z zastawianiem pułapek na trolli czy przebiegłych sieciowych manipulatorów-propagandyistów, agresywnie i bezwzględnie zaczajonych w każdym zakątku globu – zarazem w naszym laptopie i smartfonie.

Sun Tzu powtarzał, abyśmy podczas wojny poznali siebie, wroga i pole walki. Wszystko to jest w naszych czasach blisko jak nigdy wcześniej. Na wyciągnięcie wskazującego palca, na ekranie.



**Leszek Zinkow** – jego zainteresowania naukowo-badawcze obejmują zagadnienia kulturowych studiów porównawczych, zwłaszcza recepcję dziedzictwa starożytnego Wschodu (głównie Egiptu: narracji historyczno-mitologicznych, symboliki). Zajmuje się także podróżopisarstwem z destynacją orientalną (edycje tekstów), dziejami muzeów i kolekcjonerstwa, ponadto – historią kultury współczesnej, historią oraz praktyką mediów, społeczną historią nauki, problematyką transferów i innowacji kulturowych. W 2016 r. otrzymał na Uniwersytecie Śląskim stopień doktora habilitowanego. Członek International Association of Egyptologists (Moguncja), Polskiego Towarzystwa Kulturoznawczego oraz Komisji Filologii Klasycznej Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności (Kraków). Zastępca redaktora naczelnego „Perspektyw Kultury”, w latach 2013-2016 redaktor naczelny.

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