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REV. GRZEGORZ BUJAK\* – LUBLIN

## THE PARISH OFFICE IN THE AUSTRIAN PARTITION AND ITS DOCUMENTATION AT THE TURN OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> AND 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES

### Abstract

The Catholic Church fulfilled important tasks in the administrative structure of the Habsburg monarchy. They were carried out basing on the parish network as well as state and church regulations. For their fulfilment, an efficient parish office was necessary, which, using appropriate forms, registered various information about the pastoral activity and life of the congregation. The article presents the principles of the organization of offices, registry and archives in Catholic parishes of the Austrian partition at the peak of their development at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The goals and methods of keeping vital records books and other forms of parish documentation as well as the rules of official correspondence were discussed. The basis for the study was the manual for running a parish office for the clergy, written by Rev. Alojzy Jougan, a professor at the University of Lviv in 1912, in which the formal, legal and practical-pastoral principles of running a parish office were discussed.

Keywords: parish office; parish archives; parish books; Church in the Austrian partition

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### Introduction

In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Church administrative structures were included in the process of rebuilding the Habsburgs' state in the spirit of Enlightened absolutism. In consequence, in the monarchy the Church became one of the institutions of an autocratic state. A special role was played by the parish, which

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became an important element of the administrative structure of the state and its control over the subjects – while remaining the local centre of religious life. Due to this situation, the formal, administrative and legal aspects of the parish clergy grew in importance. This led to the development and professionalisation of parish offices, which – having existed for centuries – had to undergo thorough changes in order to face up to the tasks resulting from the situation of Church structures in the state of Enlightened absolutism.<sup>1</sup>

The parish office was the junction of two administrative systems, namely Church and state systems. As it performed tasks within both areas, it was thus subjected to Church and state regulations. The mutual relations in this field changed over time and depended on the religious and sociopolitical transformations occurring in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As a consequence of those processes, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the parish office in the Habsburg state achieved a high level of organisation and professionalism in realising the clerical services of the parish for tasks designated both by Church and state authorities.

The Polish land incorporated within the Austrian state as a result of the partitions became an integral part of it and underwent the same processes taking place in the whole Habsburg monarchy. This also referred to the organisation of religious life and the situation of Church structures within the state. The subject of this article is the organisation of parish offices in Galicia (Eastern Europe) and the kinds of documentation produced as a result of their work during the peak development at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The research on parish offices in the Polish area is abundant. Synthetic analyses of the history of parish offices can be found in the work of Robert Kufel and Tomasz Moskal.<sup>2</sup> Piotr Rachwał and Janina Gawrysiakowa, in their publications based on an analysis of birth and death registers, discuss issues pertinent to research on the natural movement of the population.<sup>3</sup> Among the studies on parish offices in the Austrian partitioning zone, articles by Bolesław Kumor are worthy of attention, discussing Austrian regulations in reference to birth and death registers.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J. Krętosz, *Józefiński proces budowy Kościoła państwowego na terenie monarchii habsburskiej w okresie rządów cesarza Józefa II (1780–1790)*, “Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne”, 29 (1996) pp. 41–44.

<sup>2</sup> R. Kufel, *Kancelaria, registratura i archiwum parafialne na ziemiach polskich od XII do początków XXI wieku*, Zielona Góra 2011; T. Moskal, *Historia ksiąg metrykalnych kościoła katolickiego na ziemiach polskich*, “Archiwariusz. Biuletyn Archiwum Archidiecezjalnego w Poznaniu”, (2005) no. 1, pp. 55–82.

<sup>3</sup> P. Rachwał, *Ruch naturalny ludności rzymskokatolickiej w Lubelskiem w świetle rejestracji metrykalnej z lat 1582–1900*, Lublin 2019; idem, *Księgi metrykalne z czasów zaboru austriackiego w archiwach parafialnych w Lubelskiem – regulacje prawne, stan zachowania*, “Rocznik Lubelskiego Towarzystwa Genealogicznego”, 6 (2015) pp. 306–325; J. Gawrysiakowa, *Grupy wyznaniowe ludności w Lubelskiem w XIX wieku*, Lublin 1992.

<sup>4</sup> B. Kumor, *Przepisy państwowe i kościelne dotyczące metryk kościelnych w zaborze austriackim (1800–1914)*, “Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski”, 7 (1975) pp. 93–107; idem, *Metryki parafialne w archiwach diecezjalnych*, “Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej”, (1966) no. 14, fasc. 1, pp. 65–75.

The basis of this article is a textbook meant for the clergy and written by Rev. Alojzy Jougan,<sup>5</sup> professor at the University of Lviv. It is a publication of pastoral character, with the formal and legal inclination that is so strong in Austria. The majority of the author's attention is focussed on the practical aspects of office work. The beginning of the book provides a thorough discussion of Church and state regulations on running a parish office and particular kinds of parish documentation. Further on, there are occasional references to specific examples of regulations. The rules presented in the book and concerning the organisation of the office, and above all the typology of parish documentation, are extremely valuable since they were discussed alongside legal cases and practical indications that were characteristic of the epoch. Rev. Alojzy Jougan's manual is also of special significance for the subject of this article because it shows the formal, legal and practical/pastoral aspects of running a parish office and keeping parish documentation at the moment the institution was being organised, i.e. at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The structure of the article reflects the research objectives, which include only some selected aspects of the broader subject presented in Rev. Jougan's manual. First, there is a discussion of the organisation of a parish office and the related register and archives, followed by a presentation of issues connected with keeping parish record books and other parish documentation; finally the characteristics of parish official correspondence are analysed.

### **Parish office, registration and parish archives**

The organisation of a parish office depended on a number of factors. However, despite considerable differentiation resulting from the size of a parish and the number of faithful and clergymen, the parishes had the same scope of formal rights and duties and mostly performed identical tasks set for them by the Church and lay authorities. Parishes in Galicia were usually rural and thus had a similar profile of constituents. For the most part, Rev. Jougan directed his remarks on the practical conditions of organising a parish office to the clergy in such a typical rural parish.

First, he drew attention to the fact that the parish office was to be organised within the parish itself and usually occupied 'one of the parish rooms'. Therefore, it was not a typical office space intended for contact with clients, and the appropriate conditions for office work were to be created by properly adapting it. Next, Rev. Jougan enumerated the typical and necessary equipment of a parish office:

The most important piece of equipment is the table (desk), a cross on it, with two candles (to receive the possible manifestation oath). In addition to this, a shelf for books and files together with the desk in the form of a top section with divided sections, or a cupboard placed separately from the desk (next to it).<sup>6</sup>

As follows from this, by 'desk' the author meant a place for office work, a desk typical of Austrian offices, whose top section consists in rows of compartments

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<sup>5</sup> A. Jougan, *Kancelaria parafialna czyli zbiór przepisów kościelnych i państwowych dla urzędów parafialnych, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem ksiąg metrykalnych*, Lwów 1912.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 787.

for files. The files could be collected in a separate cupboard where materials necessary for the proper functioning of the office were found in addition to the current documentation.

In this cupboard there should be Church or state ordinances, consistorial circulars or official diocesan magazines, books of civil laws (codes), journals of state and national laws, textbooks for canon and marital law, office textbooks, application forms, schematisms, a diary, address books, a list of localities in Galicia to find a post office or a district in case a certificate will have to be written or the parish priest should be notified of the place of birth, wedding or death of a given person.<sup>7</sup>

Due to the importance of files connected with marital matters, which ‘usually require a separate division’, a special place in the top section was delineated. Files related to current matters of the parish office should be ‘sorted out according to the content and placed in a portfolio with a proper inscription (e.g. legitimation protocol, birth and death certificates, etc.)’. Prepared in this way, they were to be placed ‘in separate sections of this cupboard or the top section’.<sup>8</sup>

The basic aid in the current office work was the correspondence log, called a record of activities (*protocollon gestionis*). All official correspondence, issued documents and certificates were registered there. The rules for keeping the log did not differ from a typical correspondence log. The registration of each document included the successive number, the date it was received or dispatched, the sender and a summary.<sup>9</sup>

The top section should contain only the documents connected with the current work of the parish office. Documentation concerning closed cases was to be collected separately in the register.

Letters sent to the parish office as well as concepts (notebooks) of letters sent from the office are collected at certain time intervals and transferred to the so-called register, which is a separate locked cupboard with shelves and sections [*Fach*] and correspondingly to the content placed in the related fascicle or a separate portfolio in the sections of the register, equipped with the proper inscription and grouped according to some order so that they can be easily found.<sup>10</sup>

Files in the register were to be placed horizontally and loosely in order to avoid any damage to the documentation. That is why particular divisions on the

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> “To record any official documents, both those that were received and those that were sent or those supposed to be sent, each parish office should have a protocol of activities (*protocollon gestionis*) or a diary (*diarium*), where those documents are entered according to the current number, together with the date they were received (*praes.*) or sent (*exp.*), their short summary and – possibly – destination (*addressee*). The most convenient form of the protocol of activities would be such where the incoming documents would be placed on one side, and expedition of the official documents – on the other. Nowadays, however, all offices make use of forms (*tabular*) of the protocol of activities – without any division of the office activities into the two categories.” Ibid., pp. 787–788.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 789.



shelves of the register (*Fach*) were to be deep enough to fit a typical sheet of paper: 'A cupboard designed for them should be 45 cm deep, while the sections should be about 30 cm high and wide.' They included the subject index and alphabetic registry, 'with marked content and persons'. Files were to be ordered by subject in the register.<sup>11</sup>

The cupboard including the register was to be properly protected. It was not to be placed near chimney flues, which frequently leaked and posed a fire hazard from the sparks they emitted. Dampness was equally dangerous, which is why the cupboard was not to be placed near the outer walls of the parish building and space was to be left to allow free air circulation. The cupboard was to be locked with a key accessible only to the parish priest. A corridor was an improper place for the cupboard, since unauthorised people could get hold of documents or information stored there. The best place was the parish office or the adjoining room. This facilitated the use of the collected files during office work and additionally protected the documents, as the office itself was to be locked at all times.<sup>12</sup>

The register was supposed to be distinguished from the parish archives: 'it was a part of the register but the most important one and this is why all regulations and objections concerning the register should be referred to the archives even to a greater extent.' It was a separate part and served as a place to collect the most important documents, mainly death and birth certificates. A detailed list of the files to be kept in the parish archives was included in a circular of the Lviv consistory from 1896.<sup>13</sup>

Both Church and state authorities appreciated the importance of the proper organisation of parish archives. The Church supervision consisted in the dean's annual inspections of the archives' condition and content. Likewise, the Lviv governorship issued an ordinance according to which new parishes established with state funds were to find a proper place for the archives 'so that it will not be flammable, with a domed ceiling and equipped with an iron door and wooden shutters.'<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> A. Jougan enumerated the following subject groups of files: "The parish register should hold at least the following fascicles with the files of 1) buildings, 2) religious brotherhoods, 3) foundations, 4) mortgage matters, 5) pre-marital protocols, dispensations and general marital matters, 6) legitimation of illegitimate children, 7) statistical lists; 8) money collections, 9) vicars' matters, 10) cemetery matters, 11) patronage matters; 12) matters of birth and death records, 13) school matters, 14) care and orphan matters, 15) vicarage matters, 16) incomes, burdens and rights of the parish, 17) canonical visitations, 18) governmental, and 19) consistory decrees, 20) order of holy services, 21) organist's matters, 22) conversions and apostasies, 23) separations in civil courts, 24) agreements concerning religious upbringing of children, 25) circulars and pastoral letters, 26) dean's orders, etc." *Ibid.*, pp. 790–791.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 793.

<sup>13</sup> "(...) both old and new erection and donation documents, papal bulls, papal briefs, chronicles, old files and historical documents as important for the church or the parish, e.g. diplomas, contracts of sale, lease, foundation acts and letters, maps and ground sheets, inventories, agreements changing certain burdens (*servitutes*) into capitals, mortgage copies, securities, insurance policies, declarations of income, etc." *Ibid.*, pp. 794–795.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 795.

### Record books

The most important part of the documentation kept in a parish office was the record books. According to Rev. Jougan, ‘the most important duty of the office, and at the same time one of the main agendas of a parish office, is keeping Church books, parish books or record books.’ According to the regulations, he included among these books records of persons who were christened, married and deceased, emphasising that ‘these books are both a Church and a state institution.’ He said that record books ‘are the property of the Church’ and that by keeping them the Church does a great service to the state and the society’.<sup>15</sup>

According to Rev. Jougan, the significance of record books for the state’s administration was that they contained information that was important because of the ‘secular legal relations’. For this reason,

entries in parish books had served the state’s goals for a long time and the parish books themselves were considered to be registers of the marital status and also received *in foro civili* the force of public documents, whereas keeping record books was included within the cases of public administration.

Keeping record books was considered to be ‘one of the office activities’ and the clergymen who were concerned with it had the status of ‘state officials of the registry office’.<sup>16</sup>

According to Jougan, the fact that record books kept by parish priests had the status of evidence for state authorities was of significant pastoral importance. He emphasised that

in the present relations the parishioners’ need to refer to the parish office in cases pertaining to registers is frequently their only link in the field of pastoral care, which fact creates a convenient opportunity to establish and maintain a mutual spiritual bond between the priest and the people.<sup>17</sup>

During the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the state authorities issued many specific regulations on how to keep record books.<sup>18</sup> The most important, though not the first, was the imperial patent from 20 February 1784, which ordered that ‘record books should be kept (*in folio*) in a tabular form with rubrics.’ Hieronim Wyczawski emphasised that it was in Austria where unified forms of record books were introduced. Those experiences were used by Church institutions in the Polish areas of the other partitioning zones.<sup>19</sup>

Rev. Jougan drew attention to the fact that owing to the use of forms, it was easier to capture potential mistakes and to find the necessary information: ‘This arrangement is convenient because if the captions of particular rubrics in the heading were observed, complete entries could be made, possibly without any errors.’ The patent from 1784 included models of forms with specifications on the content of

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 35. It was already during the rule of Maria Theresa and Joseph II that record books obtained the status of public documents, cf. p. 308.

<sup>17</sup> Jougan, *Kancelaria parafialna*, p. 36.

<sup>18</sup> Gawrysiakowa, *Grupy wyznaniowe ludności w Lubelskiem*, p. 33.

<sup>19</sup> H. Wyczawski, *Przygotowania do studiów w archiwach kościelnych*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1989, p. 278.

particular rubrics and the rules for keeping them.<sup>20</sup> This was important since the parish priest who made an entry in the record book bore full responsibility for its content. Church and state authorities reminded the clergy of this responsibility throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century; for example, the Lviv governor in a decree from 6 October 1837 wrote that

entries in record books are to be made by clergymen, who should do it by themselves, without delay and observing the binding regulations in this respect. In these activities parish priests are the officials of the registry office and they are responsible for each case of untruth, whether it be illegible writing, a mistake or additional entries.<sup>21</sup>

The author combined a discussion on keeping books of baptisms (*liber baptisatorum*) with an extensive lecture on Church and state regulations to explain the importance of this particular sacrament at the religious and secular levels. He explained who was entitled to administer it and make entries in the record book. He referred to state orders forbidding priests of other rites or ‘servants of another Church’ to administer sacraments or to document them for believers from outside of their confessional group. Breaking this prohibition would render them invalid on the forum of state law.<sup>22</sup>

At the same time he discussed a number of state ordinances referring to the sacrament of baptism, including those which ordered parents to have their legal offspring baptised: ‘a child has to follow parents in Catholic religion, and therefore baptism and an entry in the book of baptisms is compulsory.’ If the administration of a baptism was not proven with a proper entry in the *liber baptisatorum*, state regulations were infringed: ‘By withholding a report on a child’s baptism, parents also hamper the full execution of state regulations, e.g. statistical lists of youths eligible for military service.’ Likewise, ‘a Catholic father’s refusal to have his child baptised is usually considered to be an abuse of parental power.’ If such a situation took place, relatives could make claims before a secular court to have this father fulfil the obligation of baptising the child.<sup>23</sup>

Making an entry in the book of baptisms was associated with the need to confirm the marital status of the parents: ‘In practice, the principal rule should be adopted that all entries in the record books, and in particular of those born and baptised, should be made only on the basis of reliable documents, so – mainly – the certificate of the parents’ wedding.’ Oral declarations of parents or midwives were

<sup>20</sup> Jougan, *Kancelaria parafialna*, p. 47.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>22</sup> A. Jougan quotes a fragment of the law from 25 May, 1868: “Superiors, servants or members of the Church or a religious association should abstain from performing divine service in relation to the members of another Church or religious association which service was not requested by those entitled. An exception may occur only in individual cases, when the competent clergymen or servants of another Church or religious association ask to have the act which is their duty performed, or when statutes or regulations allow the performance of this act. Besides these cases, such an act is considered ineffective, and the authorities should deal with it in the proper manner on the request of the affected private person or religious association.” *Ibid.*, pp. 130–131.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132–133.

not sufficient in establishing the legitimacy of the offspring, while ‘false or wrong testimonies of the parties in making an entry in the record books were not usually attributed by the authorities to the parties’ guilt, but as negligence or carelessness on the side of the persons keeping the records.’<sup>24</sup>

Information on baptism was to be entered directly in the record book. Using previously made rough copies was inadmissible:

This is the requirement of governmental regulations, which are not familiar with rough copies at all (...). Official entries of birth and baptism certificates were to be made in the same record book *Baptisatorum* (not in rough copies) in a tabular form, according to the sheet and the rubrics officially determined.<sup>25</sup>

The sheet of the book of baptisms binding at the beginning of the 20th century consisted of 13 columns. Each entry included the following pieces of information: the successive number of the certificate, the name and function of the minister of the sacrament and in separate fields the date of the child’s birth and baptism, their place of birth (address), the child’s names, parents’ religion, child’s gender and legitimacy (or illegitimacy). Further information concerned parents and the circumstances of their marriage, as well the surnames of the godparents and their place of residence. The last field contained a space for remarks.<sup>26</sup>

The set of rubrics in the sheet in most cases was sufficient for noting the birth and baptism. In non-standard situations (mixed marriages, the baptism of foundlings, missing information about the father, etc.), the parish priest was obliged to prepare additional documents or undertake additional explanatory proceedings. A discussion of those situations and the rules concerning how to note them in the *liber baptisatorum* was found in extensive passages of the publication by Rev. Jougan. For example, for mixed marriages it was necessary to prepare a declaration that the child would be brought up Catholic, which was to be signed by both parents. In the case of foundlings, the parish priest along with the authorities of the commune had an obligation to attempt to establish parenthood. If that proved impossible, the names of the people who had decided to raise the child were entered as parents. At the same time, the parish priest made a note in the rubric for ‘remarks’. If a widow gave birth to a baby within 10 months of her husband’s death, the name of the deceased was entered as the father, while a baby born later received the mother’s maiden name.<sup>27</sup>

The Church always guarded the religious character of marriage very strictly. This was also binding in the Habsburgs’ state. As stated by Piegzie, the Enlightenment and the French Revolution hastened a partial secularisation of marital law in Catholic Austria, too. The imperial patent from 1 June 1811 proclaimed the Austrian civil code (*Allgemeines Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*), which considered the confessional nature of marriage in different Churches and confessional associations

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp. 135–136.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 142.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 154, 180, 196.

but also provided for a limited possibility of civil marriages and divorces.<sup>28</sup> The code from 1811, which was begun by the patent of Joseph II in 1783, developed the secular model of marriage as an agreement between two people contracted in a definite form in order to realise some objectives provided by law (e.g. mutual help and giving birth to offspring). In 1908, Zoll emphasised that although many of the regulations concerning marriage in Austrian law were based on the domestic law of religious associations, eventually they drew their binding force from the norms established by the state legislature.<sup>29</sup>

After Austria concluded the concordat (1855), the emperor issued a marriage patent, which suspended some of the provisions of the code from 1811 in relation to Catholics and strengthened the influence of the Church on the marital relations of its members. After the war with Prussia in 1866, the regulations concerning marital law, which had been suspended after the concordat, and the competences of state courts in marital matters were restored (marital law from 25 May 1868).<sup>30</sup>

This state of marital law was in effect in Austria until the fall of the empire. Rev. Jougan discussed this in his textbook, and although he assessed the provisions of the law from 1868 critically,<sup>31</sup> he clearly stated in the chapter with the meaningful title ‘Are civil marital laws binding for parish priests?’ that a parish priest who did not fulfil the obligations following from the law had to take into consideration the sanctions of state law.<sup>32</sup>

Contracting a marriage was preceded by numerous office activities and procedures (engagements and banns) which were to be performed by the parish priest before he would allow the marriage and make an entry in the book of weddings (*liber copulatorum*). Those activities were to be documented in the form of a pro-

<sup>28</sup> A. Piegzik, *Przeszkody małżeńskie w ustawodawstwie dzielnicowym II RP*, “Folia Iuridica Universitatis Vratislaviensis”, 5 (2016) No. 1, pp. 36–37.

<sup>29</sup> A. Karabowicz, *Małżeństwo cywilne z konieczności (Notzivilehe) w Galicji w latach 1868-1918*, in: *Prawo blisko człowieka. Z dziejów prawa rodzinnego i spadkowego*, ed. M. Mikula, Kraków 2008, pp. 60–61.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 61–62.

<sup>31</sup> “The beginning of the constitutional era in Austria was soon followed by aspirations to exclude marriages from the authority of the Church, and even to introduce civil weddings. – Those aspirations were partly realized in the so-called May law from 25 May, 1868 (...). This law in part secularized marriage since it left § 75 which kept the church form, and legalized the civil form only in exceptional cases which deserve consideration, i.e. it accepted and enabled Catholics and dissenters – under certain conditions – to get married in front of the civil authority, which means that it introduced so-called marriage of necessity.” Jougan, *Kancelaria parafialna*, pp. 332–333.

<sup>32</sup> A. Jougan quoted the literal wording of the corresponding regulations: “The provisions of the civil law: § 78 c.l. If the bride and the groom do not submit a written testimony after the properly announced banns, or if the persons mentioned in §§ 49–52 and 54 do not present a permission required to get married, or if those whose age of majority is not visible do not submit a baptism certificate or a written certificate of their majority, or if another obstacle occurs for their marriage, then under no circumstances can the priest wed them until the bride and the groom submit the necessary certificates and remove all obstacles. The ceremony of the wedding performed by the priest against the provisions of § 78 has the feature of a police trespass and the political power is competent to initiate criminal proceedings.” *Ibid.*, p. 374.

toocol which – together with all attachments – was to be carefully kept in the parish archives.

The requirements concerning the proper entry in the book of weddings were established in both state and Church regulations. The oldest ordinance in this respect was the imperial patent from 8 February 1784, the main content of which was binding throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It stated that the books of weddings were aimed ‘to preserve a lasting proof of the contracted marriage’ and that the entries should be made personally by ‘the superior of the parish’ in ‘the book specially intended for this purpose.’ It was also determined what information should be included in an entry in the book of weddings.<sup>33</sup> At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the form of *liber copulatorum* contained seven main rubrics: the successive number, the date of the wedding, information about the spouses, a list of witnesses, the minister of the sacrament and remarks. Rubrics designated for information about the bride and groom were divided into four sections: name and surname, religion, age and marital status.<sup>34</sup> Church regulations concerning an entry in the marriage book were most fully established in the decree *Ne temere* of the Congregation of the Council from 2 August 1907.<sup>35</sup>

The part of the entry with information about those being wedded was extended the most. It included not only names and surnames, but also addresses and – in the case of military men – a detailed military assignment. Information about the parents of the wedded couple, including whether and when they died, was to be provided. In the case of adopted persons, the surname of ‘the adoptive father or the maiden name of the adoptive mother’ as well as the previous family name of the adopted person were to be recorded.<sup>36</sup>

The rubric ‘remarks’ was to include information on the documents used in the office’s preparation for the wedding, and the original copies were to be placed in the parish archives. The most important included certificates of the bride’s and groom’s baptisms, certification of their addresses, certification of banns and any dispensations received. The most documents were required when the groom was a military man, in which case numerous permissions had to be obtained from military and state authorities.<sup>37</sup>

After contracting the marriage the original documents were not to be returned to the parties or even lent out since ‘the wedding documents serve as appendixes to prove the observed legal proceedings in marriage contraction.’ Even state authorities

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<sup>33</sup> “The entry should contain the name and surname, age, residence, status of the spouses, together with a note whether they were or were not married before, then the name and surname as well as the status of their parents and witnesses, also the day when the marriage was contracted, and finally the name of the priest in front of whom the permission was solemnly declared. Besides, the documents by virtue of which the existing obstacles were removed had to be enumerated”. *Ibid.*, p. 616.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 622.

<sup>35</sup> J. Dohnalik, *Forma kanoniczna zawarcia małżeństwa – spojrzenie historyczne i postulat reform*, “*Annales Canonici*”, 14 (2018) fasc. 11, pp. 189–190.

<sup>36</sup> Jougan, *Kancelaria parafialna*, pp. 625–626.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 630–632.

were not allowed to release the original copies without the consent of the national government in Lviv. Full documentation related to the contraction of marriage had to be kept by 'the competent parish priest of the newlyweds, who officiates the wedding or assigns a delegation.' The same minister was obliged to make an entry in the marriage book of his parish. In the case of weddings officiated on the basis of a delegation in another place, the parish priest of the latter was obliged only to keep the certificate of the delegation.<sup>38</sup>

Referring to the death book (*liber mortuorum*), the parish priest was obliged to enter all cases from the area of the parish. This also referred to deceased individuals who had not resided permanently in the given area. Besides the natural deaths, other deaths such as stillbirths or violent deaths (accidents or suicides) as well as deaths of convicts were to be entered. Registration of deaths applied to all deceased people regardless of whether they received a Church funeral or were refused one.

The official form of the death book was determined by the imperial patent from 1781; it included the date and location of the death, the name and surname of the deceased, their religion, gender and age and the cause of death.<sup>39</sup> The decree from 1784 made it possible to add information regarding extreme unction, which the Church authorities had requested. Information on this fact was to be placed in the rubric for 'remarks' and no separate rubric could be designed for this purpose nor could this information be sent to secular authorities. In the light of Joseph's legislation, the *liber mortuorum* was to be a state document above all else. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, this book comprised ten columns. Information about the name of the minister of the Church funeral was added if one had taken place. In other cases, the rubric was left empty.<sup>40</sup>

If an exhumation was performed, the 'remarks' were to include the date and the reason. Information on the death of military men in active service was to be found in military records. An ordinance of the state authorities from 1869 forbade including information on the civil marriage of deceased persons. Despite the state nature of *liber mortuorum*, Rev. Jougan recommended that 'remarks' should include information that was important for the Church, e.g. refusals of Church funerals, with the reason provided. If Church celebrations were allowed during the funeral after a suicide, then the cause was also to be provided. Most frequently, this was a medical statement of insanity at the moment of the suicide.<sup>41</sup>

### Other forms of parish documentation

Apart from record books, numerous other books were created in parish offices throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These were supposed to facilitate the functioning of the parish office. Initially, their content and forms of recordkeeping varied and were dependent on the practice of a given office. Over time, particular bishops ordered specific parish books in their dioceses, and they even established the forms. The most extensive list of such parish books, including 27 entries, was the instruction

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 633.

<sup>39</sup> Rachwał, *Księgi metrykalne z czasów zaboru*, pp. 313–314.

<sup>40</sup> Jougan, *Kancelaria parafialna*, pp. 703, 706.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., pp. 704–705.

of the dean's visitations for the Lviv archdiocese of the Latin rite from 1996.<sup>42</sup> The importance of the information collected in particular books varied and there were likely some parishes that did not keep the complete set. Although the majority of the parish documentation from these groups was described as 'books', the form of recordkeeping changed over time. The technique of gathering loose documentation concerning a given issue into portfolios (case files) slowly developed and card indexes appeared.<sup>43</sup>

Documentation related to keeping record books was considered of the greatest importance. This was, for example, the bann book (*liber bannorum*), which comprised 13 rubrics, the first of which was the successive numbering of banns announced in the parish. Eight rubrics included information about the engaged couple: the names and surnames of the bride and groom and their parents, their occupation, age, marital status, confession and place of residence, as well as the name of the parish. Three rubrics contained information concerning the date of banns and the rank of the Church holiday (Sunday or another holiday). The last rubric, 'remarks', was intended for later annotations, such as the date and place of the wedding or the place where the newlyweds had settled down. Detailed state regulations required that the marital status of the engaged couple (e.g. maiden or widower) be given not only in the bann book, but also when the banns were announced; for persons adopted in childhood, the family name of the mother and the previous family name of the adopted child were provided next to the name of the adoptive father.<sup>44</sup> An ordinance from the Lviv consistory obliged parish priests to keep other parish books and lists connected with the administration of the sacrament of marriage, e.g. the *liber denegatarum copulationum*. This book recorded information about individuals who had been refused a Church wedding, including the canonical cause. Certain obstacles in getting married which were found in Church law is not apply in cases of a civil wedding.<sup>45</sup> Separate lists held information about married couples who had received the permission of the civil court for a separation,<sup>46</sup> and the so-called 'private *liber copulatorum*' was a register of marriages contracted on one's deathbed or without a priest present, following the procedure established in the decree *Ne temere*. Those marriages could not be entered in the official *liber copulatorum*. The 'register of unmarried mothers' was of a different character. It included the true names of mothers of foundlings if the parish priest was able to ascertain them. The Lviv consistory categorised these as confidential books, which were not even to be kept in the parish office but in separate parish archives.<sup>47</sup> They contained information which was important for religious and Church reasons and which was not to be placed in the official record books.

The next group of parish books served the purpose of registering selected events from the religious life of believers and pastoral activities. The most important

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 853.

<sup>43</sup> Kufel, *Kancelaria, registratura i archiwum parafialne*, p. 50.

<sup>44</sup> Jougan, *Kancelaria parafialna*, p. 392.

<sup>45</sup> Karabowicz, *Małżeństwo cywilne z konieczności (Notzivilehe) w Galicji*, p. 63.

<sup>46</sup> Jougan, *Kancelaria parafialna*, p. 202.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., pp. 862, 868.



was the book of visits to the sick (*liber visitationis infirmorum*), which had eight columns in its standard form. The information was recorded by year and included the successive numbering of visits within a given year, the day of the visit, address and name and surname of the sick person. The rubric titled '*provisus*' was divided into four columns whose headings referred to the kind of service: confession, holy communion, last rites and general absolution. The minister usually marked the ordained ministry with a slash placed in the corresponding places. The final two columns were for possible information regarding the time and cause of death. Another important book of this type was a register of confirmations (*liber confor-matorum*). It contained the successive number and date, the name, surname and age of the confirmed person, the name of the minister and the place of the sacrament. It is worth noting that addresses of the confirmed were not provided in this book.<sup>48</sup>

Rev. Jougan writes that the aim of the *liber status animarum* was to show the state of the parish according to the pastoral statistics and thus making a list of the whole families of all parishioners, with the names and numbers and indicating the changes that had taken place with time, or considering the increase (of weddings and births) or losses (deaths).

The *liber status animarium* was supposed to be a summary of entries scattered in record books and other documentation in order to show in one place the changes occurring within the parish. The proper keeping of this book was expected to aid the organisation of pastoral activity and the work of the parish office, while serving as reports for the secular and ecclesiastical authorities. Filling in *liber status animarum* was especially recommended during the Christmas pastoral visits. Different forms of keeping this book were recommended in particular parishes – most frequently by the names of the inhabitants or the numbers of houses in particular villages. The efficient use of information gathered in this way required numerous indexes, the most important being the index of names. The format for this book recommended by Rev. Jougan included eight columns. The first one provided the house number in the given village, then a list of people in the households with the specification of kinship and affinity (wife, children, in-laws, etc.). Entries in the further columns referred to religion and rite, dates of birth, wedding, death and confirmation. The last one contained remarks. The author made a note of the fact that in larger cities the register *status animarum* was increasingly often kept in the form of a card index. However, he did not devote more attention to this form of documentation.<sup>49</sup>

A separate group were the registers connected with parish preaching. Those included the book of journeys (*liber excursionum*) and the books of sermons and preaching (*liber catechesium et concionum*). They were also forms. In the first one the parish priest entered the dates of journeys to the villages in the parish aimed at teaching the catechism to children, youths and adults. Teaching took place occasionally and was not related to school catechesis; it usually took place in the villages which were most distant from the parish church, where the be-

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 854.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 857.

lievers participated in the parish services more rarely. The practice supplemented their religious knowledge and improved the contact between them and the parish priest. The other book included the subject of sermons with the date and rank of the church feast they were associated with.<sup>50</sup>

Traditionally, the parish chronicle (*liber memorabilium*) enjoyed much respect. While emphasising its importance, Rev. Jougan referred to the tradition of mediaeval cloister chronicles, and he even argued that ‘in the past chronicles were written in Polish parishes very carefully.’ He recommended that while making them, ‘tact, prudence and common sense be employed to decide what notes will bring benefit to the successors in the parish and to all people.’ He warned against partiality and claimed that the chronicle was to become ‘the index and the key to the history of the parish’. It was for this reason that he recommended describing the history of the parish, chapels and the parsonage in addition to copying the documents that confirmed bestowals and the state of Church property, including the new funds. The chronicle was also to include descriptions of both Church and secular events.<sup>51</sup> His expectations regarding the content of the chronicle seem to have been very high, which created the threat of the information in other books and Church registers being copied.

*Liber ordinationum* is derived from the tradition of registering the orders of the bishop and the consistory given to the parishes. The duties of the parish priest included copying them in a separate book with the aim of keeping such a copy in the parish. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the bishops’ orders were increasingly printed in diocesan periodicals for the clergy.<sup>52</sup> Thus, the parish priest’s duties were simplified, since his obligation was to ‘collect’ the incoming periodicals ‘and gather them into yearbooks and bind them so that a complete set was found in each parish.’ However, in the thicket of regulations and other content in the diocesan yearbooks, it was not easy to find the necessary order, which is why keeping the *liber normalium* was recommended. It was a tabular list of ordinances in chronological order with information on the subject of the ordinance, its summary and a reference to the printed issue.<sup>53</sup>

The book of liturgical foundations (*liber missarum fundatarum*) included a list of Holy Masses to be said with the intentions designated by the funders. That was a long-term obligation placed on the successive parish priests of a given parish. In return for the incomes from the long-term investments, their duty was to say the Holy Mass with specific intentions on defined dates, in defined numbers and within the established liturgical frames.<sup>54</sup> Due to the long-term nature of those duties, they were under special supervision of the ordinary as well as the state, which imposed taxes on this type of foundation. That is why the description of the foundation in the book had to specify all obligations on the part of the Church

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., pp. 860–862.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., pp. 858–860.

<sup>52</sup> Kufel, *Kancelaria, registratura i archiwum parafialne*, pp. 52–53.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., pp. 857–858.

<sup>54</sup> B. Walicki, *Fundacja mszalna pamięci ks. Stanisława Nyrkowskiego*, “Rocznik Kolbuszowski”, 13 (2013) pp. 103–105.

and the incomes from the foundation. Entries in the book were not only a form of control over the foundation's obligations. Over time, the purchasing power of the income that parish priests received from the provisions decreased, so they demanded fewer obligations from the consistory. Such a decision, however, involved proceedings specified in the Church and state regulations. Founding agreements and entries in this book could serve as the basis of claims from the Church and the descendants of the funders.<sup>55</sup>

The book of liturgical intentions (*liber stipendiorum manualium*), which included the list of current intentions, had a similar character but documented the stipend responsibilities of the clergy. The proper entry was to include the information on who requested the Mass, what the intention was, what stipend was assigned for the priest and when the Mass was said.

Current incomes and expenditures of the parish were noted in the *liber rationum ecclesiae*. It registered the incomes from the movable and immovable property of the parish, including the parishioners' donations for holy services. A full list of those incomes was to be placed at the beginning or at the end of the book. Based on the entries in this book, an annual specification of the incomes and expenditures of the parish were to be made after each calendar year. The clergymen's personal incomes from *iura stolae* were noted in a separate book, *liber proventus ex iurae stolae*. The books referring to financial matters were the subject of scrutiny by the Church and state authorities.<sup>56</sup>

### Official letters and office style

The parish office in Austria kept extensive correspondence with the Church and secular authorities of various levels, as well as with organisations and private people. In his textbook, Jougan devoted much attention to this area of activity of the parish priests and to the specific Church office style. He called it 'the pastoral style', whose rules were to be kept by the parish priests while preparing official correspondence. He divided the rules of this style into internal and external ones. The external rules included first of all the need to provide accurate information and to avoid 'biased colouring, or deliberate omission of the whole truth, with no doubt that it was a disgraceful thing to present a matter in a false manner.' The conciseness and clarity of narration and the simplicity and precision of language were also mentioned within the internal forms. Observing them served the purpose of maintaining the dignity and respectability of the clergyman and the office he held.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Jougan, *Kancelaria parafialna*, pp. 863–865.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 866–867.

<sup>57</sup> "Priestly dignity must be also reflected in written correspondence, especially official correspondence. Therefore, all crude, joking or sarcastic words or expression should be excluded. Who received an order which is difficult to agree with, he is allowed to make a demonstration but any offensive words should be avoided. Referring to the superior authority, your own opinion is to be presented only as a personal view, and not as an unshakeable conviction. Who is forced to make a complaint against another person or to defend themselves from charges should remember that using baseless accusations or insult rather speaks against themselves." *Ibid.*, p. 870.

Observing the external forms of handling official correspondence served ‘office order’. Each document was to be prepared first in the form of a detailed concept, on which the final copy was based. The concept was to be kept in ‘the files of the register’ as proof of the correspondence dispatched. Rough copies could be made on any kind of paper, but the dispatched documents were to be written on proper quality paper, depending on the importance both of the matter and the addressee. Final copies were to be made on the whole sheet of paper, as a half sheet was only admissible for certifications and receipts. There was a particular permanent scheme of arranging the elements pertaining to the form and subject matter of the document:

The principal line, which is an invocation to the authority referred to in the document, is written with a certain space from the top across the whole sheet[;] below the invocation, usually on the right side a little above the text of the correspondence, the name of the office and the location and date are placed[;] on the left on the same level as the correspondence itself, the reference is provided, which is the shortest possible summary of the matter: parish priest N.N. asks for a leave, gives a report on religious education, etc.<sup>58</sup>

If the document included enclosures (*alegata*), it was to be added whether they were to stay with the addressee or to be returned to the sender’s office. It was recommended that authorised copies be used as enclosures, lest the original documents leave the parish office. In case of a number of various enclosures, they were to be bound with a ‘metal clasp or a thread’ and ‘their numbered list’ was to be provided in the content. The basic way to secure correspondence was using proper envelopes, which were ‘to be sealed and registered when important documents were sent’. Sending a letter without an envelope was dissuaded, even if they were properly folded and sealed, as such a form did not guarantee secrecy of the correspondence.<sup>59</sup>

A great deal of attention was devoted by Rev. Jougan to a discussion on the typology of the documents sent. As the most important, he described letters, requests, applications, appeals, protocols, copies and duplicates. Each kind of document was briefly discussed in the manual, with information on which matters it referred to and what the specific forms of its style and terminology were.<sup>60</sup>

The author devoted the greatest attention to the rules of preparing letters to the consistory. In fact, the recommendations of the Lviv consistory in this matter from 1886 were referenced. Paper measuring 34×21 cm was to be used. A so-called *rubrum*, or *regist* (register), was to be placed on the back of the sheet with the application: who the author was, who the matter was directed to and what it concerned. The consistory also recommended that only one matter be discussed in one letter directed to the diocesan authority. The register, along with the rule ‘one letter, one matter’, made the task of assigning the incoming correspondence easier.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 871.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 872.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., pp. 872–875.

<sup>61</sup> “One application should not deal with a few matters since it makes it impossible to divide the matters between particular department heads and delays the settlement as one head has to wait for

If the matter discussed by the parish priest referred to earlier correspondence with the diocesan authorities, the text should refer to those earlier letters and should list their numbers when the document was sent from the consistory's office. This information was also to be repeated in the external register. This made it easier for the officials to find prior documents in the consistory. The original copies of documents referred to by the parish priest were not to be enclosed.<sup>62</sup> The official procedure was to be used in the correspondence with the consistory, apart from urgent matters – such as requests for dispensations and those connected with the secrecy of confession – which were to be directed via the dean's office.<sup>63</sup>

Parishes, within their duties, also contacted state offices of various levels (e.g. district office [*starosty*] or ministries). The Austrian state authorities frequently mentioned the autonomous status of Church offices towards the state ministration:

the relation between *starosty* offices and the dean's or parish offices is neither equal nor subordinate, so in mutual official relations both these offices should keep the polite forms which are usually practiced by persons who do not depend on each other.

For this reason, governmental authorities called the attention of all levels of state administration and recommended that correspondence with Church offices should avoid the forms of orders and ordinances and should rather use the form of a notice or an appeal. While referring to the titles of the clergy, the polite forms of address 'reverend' or 'venerable' were recommended, while requests for the priest's reply were to be preceded by 'would you kindly' or 'would you be so kind'. As a norm of reciprocity, the Lviv consistory ordered priests to use the official titles and names of offices and officials as well as to observe the general polite forms of address.<sup>64</sup>

According to the recommendations of the consistory, the language to be used within the Church structures 'between the clergymen of the Roman Catholic rite' was Latin. Greater variety was possible in relations with the lay authorities, which followed from the equality of the languages of the emperor's subjects: 'having granted the right of citizenship to all languages in the state, the government gave the clergy all freedom concerning the choice of the official language with an exception of entries and certificates.' To facilitate contact, Rev. Jougan recommended the Polish language when corresponding with lay authorities and German for military authorities and all state offices outside Galicia.

Rev. Jougan devoted little attention to the issues connected with authorising documents prepared in the parish office. In the chapter on issuing certificates, the

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another. For these very reasons matters, even if related, should be submitted separately. However, a few matters can be sent in one envelope, in separate applications, but only to the Consistory; matters directed to the state authorities cannot be joint in one envelope as this makes office handling difficult and causes delay." Ibid., p. 876.

<sup>62</sup> "The appeal itself, which is referred to, is not to be enclosed as an addendum since it should remain in the office files in the registration. After all, its concept is in the office of the authority which issued it." Ibid, p. 877.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 878.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 879.

author recommended that the parish seal be imprinted next to the parish priest's signature: 'It [the seal] should be clean, at least so that the inscription within the ring, or the emblem (figure) engraved in the middle will be printed on the seal clearly and legibly.' He advised against using wafer seals or wax seals because they are 'fragile and breakable', while he recommended the use of 'colouring liquid (tincture) for the seals made of India rubber or metal'.<sup>65</sup>

### **Conclusions**

Parish offices in the Habsburg monarchy were important institutions in both the Church and state administration. For this reason, their organisation, competences and documentation were stipulated by state and Church regulations. The Catholic monarchy took advantage of the possibilities provided by the Church structures in the field of supervising important areas of social life. The ongoing processes of change in the society – such as laicisation – brought about changes in many areas of state administration, including matters handled by parish offices. Sometimes Church and state regulations and procedures competed with each other against this background. The Catholic state tried to consider the ecclesial approach in conflicting issues, but was ultimately guided by the *raison d'état* and issued regulations referring to the rules of keeping record books as state registers or the work of parish offices in tasks assigned by the state, for example. In such situations the Church authorities acknowledged the state's interests and, if necessary, had the parish priests keep additional registers to collect the information that could not be noted in the public books yet was important for religious reasons. Despite the potential conflicts, this dependence on two headquarters positively affected the development of parish offices and developed respect towards both legal orders among the parish clergy. This analysis of the recommendations in the textbook by Alojzy Jougan presents the high level of organisation in parish offices when handling the tasks resulting from Church and secular ordinances. Whether and to what extent those requirements were successfully realised at the proper level in particular parishes remains an open research problem.

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<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

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**KANCELARIA PARAFIALNA W ZABORZE AUSTRIACKIM  
I JEJ DOKUMENTACJA NA PRZEŁOMIE XIX I XX WIEKU****Streszczenie**

Kościół katolicki spełniał ważne zadania w strukturze administracyjnej monarchii habsburskiej. Były one realizowane w oparciu o sieć parafialną i przepisy

państwowe oraz kościelne. Dla ich realizacji niezbędna była sprawnie działająca kancelaria parafialna, która w odpowiednich formach rejestrowała zróżnicowane informacje dotyczące życia wiernych i działalności duszpasterskiej. W artykule zostały przedstawione zasady organizacji kancelarii, registratury i archiwum w parafiach katolickich na terenie zaboru austriackiego w szczytowym okresie ich rozwoju na przełomie XIX w XX wieku. Zostały omówione cele i sposoby prowadzenia ksiąg metrykalnych i innych form dokumentacji parafialnej oraz zasady korespondencji urzędowej. Podstawą opracowania był podręcznik prowadzenia kancelarii parafialnej dla duchowieństwa, autorstwa ks. Alojzego Jougana, profesora uniwersytetu we Lwowie z 1912 r., w którym omówione zostały formalno-prawne i praktyczno-duszpasterskie zasady prowadzenia kancelarii parafialnej.

Słowa kluczowe: kancelaria parafialna; archiwum parafialne; księgi parafialne; Kościół w zaborze austriackim





ANNA DYMMEŁ\* – LUBLIN

**AN INVENTORY OF THE BOOK COLLECTION BELONGING  
TO THE BISHOP OF THE LUBLIN DIOCESE,  
MATEUSZ WOJAKOWSKI (1775–1845),  
IN THE LIGHT OF NOTARIAL RECORDS**

**Abstract**

The article presents an inventory of the book collection owned by the bishop of the Lublin diocese, Mateusz Wojakowski (1775–1845). The aim of the article is to reconstruct the book collection, i.e., to make the edition of the inventory available to recipients along with an initial analysis of the library's content. The inventory of the book collection can be found in a notarial register from 1845, which is part of "Records of Seraph Konwicki, a notary of the city of Lublin" kept in the State Archives in Lublin. In the source text, editing principles were applied in accordance with the Publishing Instructions for historical sources from the 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century. Additionally, bibliographic data was supplemented and enriched, because the source information about the copies of books owned by the clergyman was incomplete, as they were originally used only for inheritance purposes. The full title, author's name, place and year of publication were established on the basis of available bibliographies and library catalogues. The findings will allow for a more comprehensive analysis of the contents of the bishop's home library. The inventory of 220 items lists a total of 255 titles of works in 296 volumes. The collected books were mainly in Polish, and additionally also in Latin, French and German. The clergyman's home book collection was of universal character. It included books and magazines in various fields: general, law, education, philosophy, history, geography, dictionaries, natural and applied sciences, and belles-lettres. Religious prints constituted an important part, including liturgical books, sermons, catechisms, prayer books, the Bible, and meditations. The inventory of the book collection of Bishop Wojakowski – a figure distinguished not only in the field of pastoral but also civic activity – has remained unknown and unused in literature so far.

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It is also an example inventory of a 19th-century book collection belonging to a clergyman.

Keywords: book collection; bishop Mateusz Wojakowski; clergy; notarial records; inventory; 19th century

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Mateusz Maurycy Wojakowski, of the Brochwicz coat of arms, was born on 13 September 1775 in the village of Chechły in Mazovia to Kasper and Gertruda of the Lipski family of the petty nobility. After graduating from the Benedictine secondary school in Pułtusk, he joined the theological seminary there and was ordained as a priest in 1796. He managed the parish in Kuklin for eight years, but for family reasons he moved to Lublin in 1804 and soon took over the parish in Garbów. In the new place he made himself known for his activity in the Church, and not long after – in 1809 – he became the honorary canon of the Lublin chapter. Starting in 1812 he performed the function of a surrogate judge at the office of the Lublin consistory. In 1824 he received the nomination of the Apostolic See for the titular bishop of Arcadiopolis. His activity drew the attention of the Lublin ordinary bishop, Wojciech Skarszewski. As a result, after receiving the nomination for the Kalisz bishopric from the suffragan of the Lublin diocese, M. M. Wojakowski was consecrated as the bishop and suffragan of Lublin in 1825.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, in accordance with the requirements set for candidates for bishop, he obtained an honorary doctorate from the University of Cracow on 23 September 1824 for ‘his distinguishing activity in holy theology’. Mateusz Wojakowski also had numerous merits in the field of civic service. For example, he held the office of the justice of the peace in the Lubartów district and was a member of the Economic and Agricultural Society in Lublin and the school inspector in the Lublin voivodeship. Additionally, most likely as proof of the appreciation of his activity and achievements, he was elected as a deputy to the Sejm of the Polish Kingdom (1818, 1820, 1825). He also sought to establish a primary school for the poor youths in Garbów; however, due to a lack of financial support he did not manage to accomplish this. During the November Uprising, he published a letter calling all the faithful to fight, which was followed by his arrest and – despite efforts – deportation far into Russia to the fortress of Bobruysk. Freed from his enforced stay in March 1834 for health reasons, he returned to Lublin but did not take over the suffragan’s duties until 1835. In 1939 the chapter entrusted him with the management of the Lublin diocese and the pope appointed him apostolic administrator of the Lublin diocese.<sup>2</sup> Bishop M. M. Wojakowski died on 2 February

<sup>1</sup> Biblioteka Wojewódzka im. H. Łopacińskiego w Lublinie. Papiery po biskupie Lubelskim Wojakowskim, index no. 515, Rks r.1802, 1843, Opis życia, k. 33–34; J.K. Wasilewski, *Poczet biskupów lubelskich*, [http://www.bu.kul.pl/art\\_11485.html](http://www.bu.kul.pl/art_11485.html) (accessed: 01.12.2019); P. Nitecki, *Biskupi kościoła w Polsce w latach 965–1999. Słownik biograficzny*, Warszawa 2000, col. 487–488.

<sup>2</sup> I. Sadurski, *Biskup sufragan lubelski Mateusz Maurycy Wojakowski wobec powstania listopadowego*, in: *Powstanie Listopadowe na Lubelszczyźnie. Wydarzenia, ludzie, źródła*, eds. A. Barańska, J. Skarbek, Lublin-Oświęcim 2013, pp. 54–76; J. Skarbek, *Udział duchowieństwa lubelskiego w Powstaniu Listopadowym*, “Roczniki Humanistyczne”, 17 (1969) fasc. 2, pp. 83–93; J. Ziółtek,

1845 and was buried in the crypt of the old St Adalbert church in Garbów. Thanks to the efforts of the parish priest, the bishop's remains were found in 2010 and placed in the wall of the church. This fact is commemorated by a plaque blessed by Archbishop Józef Życiński on 6 November 2010.<sup>3</sup>

The primary aim of the article is to reconstruct Bishop M. M. Wojakowski's book collection on the basis of a postmortem inventory. It has not yet been the subject of research, but it makes an interesting area of research of the relatively poorly studied 19<sup>th</sup>-century private libraries of the clergy. Inventories of book collections, regardless of their imperfection, are certainly a useful source for expanding the knowledge on the culture of books and the mental culture of the environment and the individual, which becomes especially important in the light of the influence exerted by the clergy on the consciousness and attitudes of the society during the partitions.<sup>4</sup> It should be added that this analysis supplements the research on home book collections in the Lubelszczyzna area in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which is not yet fully recognised.<sup>5</sup>

The inventory of movables left behind by Bishop M. M. Wojakowski was preserved in one of the volumes making up a large set called *Notariusze miasta Lublina* (Notaries public of the city of Lublin), kept in the State Archives in Lublin.<sup>6</sup> The act, signed in the manorial office of the notary public Serafin Konwicki (1797–1859)<sup>7</sup>, is found in the book of notarial deeds signed in this office in 1845. The book is well preserved. Due to its size, the inventory was separated from the other deeds with a page containing the title of the document. In total, it comprises 50 pages, 15 of which are two lists, one of 'various books' and one of 'clergy books'. The document was written in fairly legible handwriting, with scarce strikethroughs. Its preparation lasted from 10 March to 6 June 1845. The act itself takes the form typical of such documents. Bishop M. M. Wojakowski did not write a last will, so his possessions legally belonged to his closest family, after the part due to the Church was deducted. His heirs included his sister from the Wojakowski family, Honorata Zembrzuska – who lived in the village of Gar-

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*Patriotyczna postawa duchowieństwa w czasie powstania 1830–1831 roku*, "Roczniki Humanistyczne", 28 (1980) fasc. 2, pp. 79–103.

<sup>3</sup> H. Stępnia, *Spotkanie naukowe "Biskup sufragan lubelski Mateusz M. Wojakowski w powstaniu 1830–1831"*, 20.11.2012, <https://garbow.pl/aktualnosci/n,62428,spotkanie-naukowe-biskup-sufragan-lubelski-mateusz-m-wojakowski-w-powstaniu-1830-1831.html> (accessed: 01.12.2019).

<sup>4</sup> A. Dymmel, *Lubelskie akta notarialne jako źródła do badań prywatnych księgozbiorów duchowieństwa w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku*, "Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne", 110 (2018) pp. 145–166, <https://doi.org/10.31743/abmk.2018.110.09> (accessed: 01.12.2019).

<sup>5</sup> A. Dymmel, *Księgozbiory prywatne ziemiaństwa lubelskiego w połowie XIX wieku (w świetle akt notarialnych Serafina Konwickiego)*, "Res Historica", 13 (2002) pp. 243–255; J. Kozińska-Chachaj, *Księgozbiory ziemiańskie na Lubelszczyźnie w XIX i XX w.*, "Bibliotekarz Lubelski", 47 (2004) pp. 61–74.

<sup>6</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie (hereinafter: APL), Akta Serafina Konwickiego notariusza w Lublinie, 1845, act 634 (43).

<sup>7</sup> R. Gerber, *Studenci Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1808–1831. Słownik Biograficzny*, Wrocław 1977, p. 97; S. O[strołęcki], *Cmentarz parafialny rzymsko-katolicki w Lublinie*, Warszawa 1902, p. 13.

bów<sup>8</sup> in the Lubartów district and who was represented by the financial inspector of the Lubelski district, Tomasz Gliszczyński – and the children of his deceased brother, Ignacy. In this way the shares fell to the nephews who were present when the act was signed, namely Michał Wojakowski from the village of Biel,<sup>9</sup> lying in the Ostrołęcki district in the Płockie voivodeship (transformed into a governorate in 1837), and Andrzej Wojakowski from the village of Pogorzelce<sup>10</sup> in the Stanisławowski district. Also, there were due parts for other nephews who were not present when the act was signed, namely Józef Napoleon Wojakowski from the village of Sokolniki<sup>11</sup> in the Opoczyński district (then belonging to the Radomski governorate), Wojciech Wojakowski, who was in the Russian army, and his niece Ludwika Skorulska of the Wojakowski family, living in Irena<sup>12</sup> in the Zamojski district, wife of Napoleon Skorulski, a clerk in an iron factory. The absent persons were represented by the notary Engelbert Kozłowski,<sup>13</sup> while the valuation of the property was carried out by appointed experts: a jeweller, Fryderyk Kren, and a carpenter, Józef Ostrowski. The inventory was made in the presence of Rev. Wincenty Nowakowski, sub-dean of the Kazimierski deanery and parish priest of the Markuszów parish – who was authorised to collect the inventory *fundi instructi* – an associate judge of the Lubelski district, Szymon Dalachowski, who represented the rights of the Garbów parish and two witnesses. After the additions requested by Honorata Zembrzuska and Michał Wojakowski, who demanded that the things found in the Lublin house be entered into the inventory, the notary made a list of the property left behind. The act begins with the introductory information typical of a notarial deed, i.e. date, place and the names of persons who had not appeared. Then, the notary made a list of the possessions belonging to the bishop, including the immovables and movables remaining in the property in Garbów and in the apartment in Lublin (No. 109, 13 Grodzka Street). In accordance with the official requirements, a double date was used, while the enumerated possessions were grouped into 48 categories – so-called titles. The first to be enumerated by the notary were immovables, cash and valuables (including silverware, Church

<sup>8</sup> Garbów, village and manor, parish, puławski (nowoaleksandryjski) district, *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, nakł. Filip Sulimierski i Władysław Walewski, Warszawa 1880–1914, vol. 2, p. 484.

<sup>9</sup> Biel, village, płockie voivodeship, ostrołęcki district. *Tabella Miast, Wsi, Osad Królestwa Polskiego z wyrażeniem ich położenia i ludności alfabetycznie ułożona w Biórze Komisji Spraw Wewnętrznych i Policji*, Warszawa 1827, vol. 1, p. 26.

<sup>10</sup> Pogorzelce, village, Mazovian voivodeship, stanisławowski district. *Tabella Miast, Wsi, Osad Królestwa Polskiego z wyrażeniem*, vol. 2, p. 106.

<sup>11</sup> Sokolniki, village, sandomierskie voivodeship, opoczyński district. *Tabella Miast, Wsi, Osad Królestwa Polskiego z wyrażeniem*, vol. 2, p. 192; Sokolniki, village and manor, radomski district. *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*, vol. 11, p. 21.

<sup>12</sup> Irena, industrial village and settlement, on the Sanna river, janowski district, Zaklików commune, with an iron rolling mill and a factory of agricultural machines established by Henryk Łubiński, since 1843 the property of Bank Polski, approx. 120 employees. *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*, vol. 3, p. 300.

<sup>13</sup> Born about 1799–1855, a notary of the manorial Office in Lublin, <http://www.sejm-wielki.pl/b/sw.164165> (accessed: 01.12.2019).

silverware and the bishop's own valuables), then vessels of new silver, brass, tin and sheet metal, clocks, mirrors, pictures and further on wooden furniture, devices and vessels belonging to the Church and to the bishop, fur coats, garments and garden tools. The goods were listed in the form of a table including the following rubrics: the current number and the possession with the estimated value expressed in words and in numbers. 'Various books' were enumerated under the title 'XXXX', while the next part of the inventory (marked 'XXXI') contained a list of 'spiritual books'. The description of the book specimen in the source created for inheritance is far from bibliographical accuracy known from library catalogues. The author usually used the title of the book, frequently in an abbreviated form, while the name of the author was only occasionally provided. In most cases there was no year of publication or place of the edition. On the other hand, there were remarks concerning the state of preservation, the covers and an estimated valuation.

The collection comprised 220 items, 187 of which were included in the section for 'various books', while 33 prints were qualified as 'spiritual books'. It needs to be added that some of the smaller books, mainly belles-lettres, were bound together, increasing the collection by 35 items. Therefore, in total it comprised 255 titles in 296 volumes.

When characterising the book collection, its formal features should be described first. The majority of the collection was non-serial publications; however, in 24 cases periodicals were found which were the source of current information but also more serious content. The collection varied in terms of the language, but most were published in Polish (208 titles or 81.88%); there were also books in Latin (31 or 12.20%), French (13 or 5.11%) and German (3 titles).

An important element in the library's characteristics is a breakdown of the books' subjects, which helps to uncover what books the bishop's private book collection included. In the inventory, half of the books in the library collection were studies in different fields (50%), including general works (34 titles or 15.38%). These were mainly periodicals (24 items), as well as calendars and collections of works. The principal part of the periodicals were 19<sup>th</sup>-century Warsaw magazines devoted to a variety of subjects, mostly literature, science, housekeeping, politics and health. They included the yearbooks of *Rozmaitości Warszawskie* (Warsaw Miscellanies) from the years 1821–1838, which were a supplement to *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego* (Gazette of the Warsaw Reporter), which initially contained curiosities and was then enriched with literary works and articles on science. Belles-lettres were published in a supplement to *Gazeta Warszawska Tęcza* (Warsaw Gazette 'Rainbow') (1838–1839) and the supplement *Wieniec* (Wreath) (1839–1840), which was a continuation of the former. The library also included the first volume of a well-known Enlightenment periodical titled *Izys Polska czyli Dziennik Umiejętności, Wynalazków, Kunsztów i Rękodzieł, Poświęcony Kraiowemu Przemysłowi, Tudzież Potrzebie Wiejskiego i Miejskiego Gospodarstwa* (Izys Poland, or a diary of skills, inventions, crafts and handicrafts devoted to the national industry and the needs of country and town housekeeping) from 1820 and a volume of *Dziennik Zdrowia* (Health Daily), which is considered to be the first Polish medical periodical. It was published in 1801 and 1802. The book

collection also included the quarterly *Dziennik Gospodarczo-Rolniczy* (Economic and Agricultural Daily), issued by the Royal Agricultural Society and focussed on country farming. The collection of periodicals also included *Rocznik Wojskowy* (Military Yearbook) from 1817 and a volume of *Rocznik Instytutów Religijnych i Edukacyjnych* (A Yearbook of Religious and Educational Institutes) (1824–1830), on the pages of which pedagogical issues were discussed. The library list also included popular calendars, which – thanks to their modern form – were not reminiscent of the prognostic papers of the earlier epoch that were so criticised by the Enlightenment press. Apart from the necessary chronology, they included a variety of content, thus serving as a source of knowledge and entertainment. *Kalendarzyk kieszonkowy warszawski* (Warsaw pocket calendar) from 1833 and political calendars from 1843 and 1844 were among those preserved.

In addition, books from the following areas should be highlighted: philosophy (15 or 6.81%), religion (17 or 8.18%), social sciences (26 or 11.81%) – including legal titles (14), books on education (5), economy (4), politics (2) and military science (1). The proportions were not so high in the case of studies on science (2 or 0.90%) and the applied sciences (5 or 2.28%), including those which dealt with issues related to technique and housekeeping (2) or medicine (3). The next to be mentioned are books on literature, language and pronunciation (10 or 4.5%), history (12 or 5.45%) and geography (6 or 2.72%), in addition to the three titles which are hard to classify. A considerable part of the collection was belles-lettres of a variety of genres (91 or 41.36%). Additionally, a separate list enumerated 33 titles (15.06%) of ‘spiritual books’, including primarily theological works, liturgical prints and other publications useful in pastoral work.

A considerable set of philosophical works consisted of selected works of antiquity. An edition of Lucius Annaeus Seneca’s treaty *On the shortness of life* and Cicero’s *De officiis* are worth mentioning. The bishop’s library also included current papers by contemporary thinkers of the Enlightenment epoch. Although the philosophers’ age brought about the cultural formation that referred to the power of reason, the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was also a period of revolutionary changes, mainly in France, taking aim at the established order and using anti-church assumptions, for example. As a consequence, in opposition to the Encyclopaedists, the current of anti-Enlightenment developed, which warned against moral collapse, chaos and progressing laicisation and which defended the principles of Catholicism.<sup>14</sup> The bishop’s collection included a polemic work by the Piarist, Antoni Wiśniewski, considered to be one of the precursors of the Polish Enlightenment: *Rozmowa filozoficzna o Boskich procz Jestności Przymiotach Przeciw niegodziwie sobie przywłaszczającym nazwisko Deistów* (A philosophical dispute on attributes apart from being against Deists who disgracefully misuse the name of Deists), published in Warsaw in 1758. The book collection also included a work written by a well-known opponent of revolutionary changes, Augustin Barruel – and translated by an FPO, Karol Surowiecki – in defence of the Catholic faith: *Helwianki czyli listy*

<sup>14</sup> R. Szczurowski, *Oświecenie i kontroświecenie czasów Królestwa Polskiego. Polemika o. Karola Surowieckiego z ministrem Stanisławem Kostką Potockim*, “Folia Historica Cracoviensia”, 23 (2017) no. 2, pp. 406–426.

*provincjonalno-filozoficzne* (Helwianki, or provincial and philosophical letters), published in Warsaw in 1819.<sup>15</sup> It should be added that the FPO's other polemic papers can be found in the library and although they were written in the literary convention, they were mostly aimed at criticising the opponents of Catholicism. A good example is the tragedy *Python Lipsko-warszawski Diabeł kontrtragedia* (Python, the devil of Leipzig and Warsaw, counter-tragedy), opposing the work *Saul*, which mocked the biblical figures. The category 'various books' contained *Rzecz o jezuitach* (On Jesuits), a polemic of the Protestant religion, *Listy doktora Akademii Strazburskiej* (Letters of the Strasburg Academy doctor), *List byłego Pastora w Conde do swoich współwyznawców* (Letters of the former pastor in Conde to his co-followers) and the popular work by the French historiographer of the Church, Claude Fleury: *Zbiór historii ludu izraelskiego y uwag nad nim politycznych z Xiąg Pisma świętego* (A collection of stories of the Israeli people and political remarks on them from the Books of the Holy Bible).<sup>16</sup> An important place in this collection was occupied by numerous French editions of sermons and collection of works by a French priest of the king, Bishop Jean-Bapiste Massillon.

A book by the Italian theologian and archbishop, Giovanni Marchetti, titled *Cudowny schyłek osiemnastego wieku* (The glorious decline of the 18<sup>th</sup> century) and translated by Karol Surowiecki, should also be mentioned. There was a description of the life of the Spanish founder and the first general of the Piarists, St Joseph Calasanz (José de Calasanz), *Zebranie życia S-go Józefa Kalasantego* (The life of St Joseph Calasanz). The collection was completed by the catechism *Pierwiastki religii katolickiej* (Elements of the catholic religion) by Rev. Grzegorz Wężyk, published in Lublin, and *Obowiązki damy chrześcijańskiej* (Duties of a Christian lady), which discusses matters related to spirituality, as well as a collection of songs and *Żywot Pana Jezusa* (The life of Jesus Christ).

The publications pertaining to the social sciences mainly included legal ones, most of which were legal codes from the times when Lublin belonged to the Austrian partitioning zone, where the city found itself after the third partition. These were Latin editions of civil laws for western Galicia, i.e. *Codex civilis pro Galicia occidentali*, published in Vienna in 1797, a Polish edition titled *Ustawa cywilna dla Galicji zachodniej* (Civil law for western Galicia), published in Vienna in 1797, an Austrian code of penal law, *Księga ustaw na zbrodnie* (A book of laws related to crimes) and corresponding indexes. The collection also contained more general works, for example, a lecture on the doctrine of natural law, *Krótkie zebranie Trzech Praw Początkowych. To jest: Prawa Natury, politycznego i Narodów z różnych Autorów wyięte* (A short collection of three initial laws: These are the laws of nature, political law and the law of nations by different authors), and a dissertation by Waclaw Aleksander Maciejowski, introducing the assumptions of Roman law.

In addition, the book collection included studies addressed to readers interested in teaching and education, for example, *Nouveaux essais d'éducation* by Oliver

<sup>15</sup> J. Bazydło, *Barruel Augustin*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 2, eds. F. Gryglewicz, R. Łukaszyk, Z. Sułowski, Lublin 1995, col. 64.

<sup>16</sup> B. Modzelewska, W. Wójcik, *Fleury Claude*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 5, eds. L. Bieńkowski et al., Lublin 1989, col. 324–325.

Goldsmith, translated from the English. The treatise *Edukacja katolicka jest najwyższym dobrem kraiu* (Catholic education is the country's supreme good) was devoted to matters of education in the Catholic spirit. A dissertation by Grzegorz Wężyk should also be mentioned. It presented the organisation of the Gorzków school and the teaching methods applied there, and it was prepared as a response to discussions held in the Lublin Society of Friends of Science on the direction of the development of education in the Polish Kingdom and the shape of primary education in Lubelszczyzna.<sup>17</sup> The latter topic was of special concern to the Lublin Society, due to the meagre network of primary schools in the voivodeship. The library also included a brochure written by Witalis Witkowski, professor of the Lublin Voivodeship School, who subjected Wężyk's propositions to a critical assessment.<sup>18</sup>

Moreover, publications dealing with economic and political issues are worth enumerating. These include Montesquieu's dissertation, *Krótki rzut oka na teraźniejszy stan kraiu* (A glimpse at the current state of the country) from 1820. A brochure by an unknown writer, *Projekt polepszenia stanu włościan* (A project to improve the condition of peasants), likely raised interest. There were also publications focussing on economic problems related to the Church, for example, the brochure *Uwagi nad uwagami o dziesięcinach* (Remarks on remarks on tithes), whose author disputed the views of Tadeusz Czacki promulgated in his paper, *O dziesięcinach rzecz czytana na posiedzeniu Towarzystwa Warszawskiego Przyjaciół Nauk* (A paper on tithes read at the sittings of the Warsaw Society of Friends of Science).

The collection had only a few works related to the hard and natural sciences. They were represented by a book by the well-known French naturalist, Julien-Joseph Virey: *Historia obyczajów i instynktu zwierząt* (History of animal customs and instinct) (1<sup>st</sup> ed. Warsaw 1828, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Warsaw 1844). Studies on applied sciences likely performed a useful role. Handbooks from the area of technique and forming, which practically discuss the rules of rural building (Świtkowski, *Budowanie wiejskie* [Rural building]) and medical handbooks containing recommendations on preserving health and indications of certain diseases proved particularly useful. The library housed the commonly used *vade mecum*, *Porządek życia w czerstwości* (The order of life in health) by the Swiss populariser of medical knowledge, Simon A. Tissot, as well as a handbook devoted to midwifery. The library owner's interest was also aroused by a work written by the court physician of Stanisław August Poniatowski, Jan Nepomucen Hermann, *Opusculum impedimenta quedam sanitatis communia*, which dealt with the sanitary conditions of Lublin and other places and was published in the Trinitarian printing house in Lublin.

In the collection we can also find handbooks on rhetoric, literature and grammar. The preserved textbooks include, for example, *Rhetorica Institutio* and *De*

<sup>17</sup> A. Winiarz, *Szkołnictwo Księstwa Warszawskiego i Królestwa Polskiego (1807–1831)*, Lublin 2012, p. 122.

<sup>18</sup> Z. Kukulski, *Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk w Lublinie na tle epoki (1815–1830)*, Lublin 1939, LXXIV.



*arte Rhetorica*, school publications *Tirocinum Lingue latinae*, an undefined Latin grammar and a book for learning German.

Like many other private libraries of the epoch, the bishop's collection also contained historical studies, e.g. a lecture by Lucius Florus called *O początku i dziejach Narodu Rzymskiego* (On the beginnings and history of the Roman nation) and four volumes of *Historia jakobinizmu* (The history of Jacobinism) by Augustin Barruel, translated from French. At some point, the collection was supplemented by the popular *Rękopism nadesłany z wyspy św. Heleny* (A manuscript sent from St Helena) and another book by Tomasz Dziekoński, *Życie marszałków francuskich* (The lives of French marshals). There was also a popular armorial by Piotr Naęcz Małachowski: *Zbiór nazwisk szlachty z opisem herbów* (A collection of the nobility's names with a description of the coats-of-arms), published in Lublin in 1805. In addition, there were also studies on geography, including both textbooks from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and modern compendia from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, a good example of which is the study *Obraz świata pod względem geografii, statystyki, i historii wszystkich krajów* (A picture of the world in respect to the geography, statistics and history of all countries) by Tomasz Dziekoński. Moreover, there are publications devoted to descriptions of particular countries, i.e. *Opis Egiptu* (An account of Egypt) by Fr. Celestyn Chasseboeuf Volney and *Opisanie Królestwa Portugalii* (A description of the Kingdom of Portugal) by Aubert R. Vertot.

A considerable part of the collection (91 items or over 41%) was belles-lettres. Those were primarily dramatic works (31 titles), comedies, a comedy opera, numerous novels (26 titles) from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and popular romances of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, then poetry, narrative poems, letters and collections of works. These were often translations from the French, German and English literature, but there were also works by Polish authors. This varied collection also included 18<sup>th</sup>-century translations of Jean Racin's tragedies meant for the Warsaw theatres – dramas by Molier and Jean-François Marmontel. Foreign literature was also represented by the French playwright and novelist Jean-Pierre Claris Florian. There were also fashionable plays by the German playwright Friedrich August Kotzebue. Prose included a Polish translation of Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's travels* as well as novels by Walter Scott, Charles Cock and other best sellers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, e.g. *Idzi Blas czyli przypadki Piotra Klaus* (The German Gil Blas, or the adventures of Peter Claus) by Adolf Knigge. Poetry included a French edition of *Les odes* by Pierre de Ronsard.

The library also housed works by Polish authors, for example, Ignacy Krasicki's *Dzieła* (Works) and *Bajki* (Fables). Moreover, stage plays prepared by the National Theatre director Ludwik A. Dmuszewski and the actor and playwright Alojzy G. Żółkowski need to be mentioned. The collection also held *Poezje* (Poems) by Franciszek Kniaźni, a piece by Wincenty Gawarecki, *Oblężenie Płocka rycerskie drama* (The siege of Płock, a chivalric drama), as well as literary works by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz. Collections and series were also added to the collection, e.g. *Czytania zabawne, czyli wybor przygód, powieści moralnych i anekdotów z różnych autorów* (Amusing readings, or a selection of adventures, moral stories

and anecdotes), from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and *Gabinet czytania* (A reading parlour), published by Franciszek Salezy Dmochowski in 1834–35.

The collection also contained ‘spiritual books’, entered under a separate title. The 33 items (15.06%) first of all enumerated theological works, such as lectures on moral and dogmatic theology, reflections, liturgical publications, sermons, catechisms, prayer books and the Bible.<sup>19</sup>

The library did not lack in lectures, for example the Jesuit Cardinal Robert Bellarmin’s *Pietnaście stopni po których człowiek, zwłaszcza krześcijański, upatrując Pana Boga w stworzeniu rozmaitym, przychodzi do wielkiej znajomości iego* (Fifteen degrees which man, especially a Christian, while looking for the Lord in various creatures goes through to reach the great knowledge of Him). The collection also had a Polish translation of a scholastic lecture on the dogmas of the Catholic religion which was popular in Europe, namely *Katechizm filozoficzny* (Philosophical catechism) by the Jesuit Francis X. Feller, considered to be the precursor of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century traditionalism.<sup>20</sup> A practical handbook of life by the 16<sup>th</sup>-century priest Lorenz Scupola also found its way into the collection. It was *Wojna duchowna* (The spiritual combat) (first edition Venice 1589), which has been translated into a number of foreign languages. Likewise, Claude Fleury’s works *Podział historii Świętej* (A division of the Holy history) and *Krótka [nauka] o rozmyślaniu* (A short [note] on reflection) were listed.

The collection contained ascetic works and the biographies of saints, including *Chwała męczennika świętego Jana Nepomucena* (Glory of John Nepomucene, the holy martyr) and *Jasna pochodnia albo żywot Świętego Franciszka Salezjusza* (A bright torch or the life of St Francis of Sales) by Louis Abelly,<sup>21</sup> a disciple of Vincent de Paul.

The library contained the necessary liturgical publications used mainly by the clergy with higher orders: missals, collections of ceremonies and pontificals. The necessary aids for pastoral work were the sermons, including *Wybór kazań* (A selection of sermons) by the Capuchin monk Wiator Piotrowski.<sup>22</sup> An indispensable part of the home library was also prayer books, including one arranged by Archbishop Marcin Dunin Sulgustowski. It was first published in 1842 and with many reissues, it quickly gained in popularity throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. *Dictionnaire Historique, critique, chronologique, géographique et littéral de la Bible* and an edition of the New Testament by Jakub Wujek also deserve attention.

Although it is difficult to make straightforward conclusions about the reading interests of the owner based on the library inventory, which originally served the purpose of establishing the state of possession, the sources mentioned above can

<sup>19</sup> D. Olszewski, *Książka religijna na terenie Królestwa Polskiego w XIX wieku*, “Rocznik Świętokrzyski”, 16 (1989) p. 149.

<sup>20</sup> M. Daniluk, *Feller François Xavier*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 5, col. 112–113.

<sup>21</sup> S. Smoleński, *Abelly Louis*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 1, eds. F. Gryglewicz, R. Łukaszyk, Z. Sułowski, Lublin 1985, col. 13.

<sup>22</sup> R. Prejs, *Piotrowski Wiator*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 15, ed. E. Gigilewicz, Lublin 2011, col. 704.

be regarded as significant for the study of the environment in the past.<sup>23</sup> Despite interpretative dilemmas, the varied and universal subject matter of the collection – considering the specific nature of spiritual needs – might fit the owner's varied interests well. Moreover, one cannot rule out a wider circle of the library's users. This is certainly an interesting example of a book collection belonging to a representative of the higher clergy, who was undoubtedly an uncommon figure of the Church.

As follows from the description of the specimens, the condition in which the collection was preserved was good and was proof that the library was taken care of. The majority of books had half-leather or paper covers, but there were also volumes protected with leather covers or bound with more the expensive Morocco leather, which increased the value of the library. Eventually, the assessors estimated the total value of the collection at 27 roubles and 32 ½ kopecks, with the value of various publications amounting to 13 roubles and 34 kopecks and that of spiritual books assessed at 8 roubles and 95 ½ kopecks. The appraisal of individual books varied, ranging from ½ kopeck to 1 rouble. These prices should be considered slightly understated, which was quite a common practice in making inventories due to the tax regulations. The highest individual value was represented by liturgical publications estimated at 1 rouble: *Canon Misse in folio*, *Ceremoniale Episcoporum*, *Pontyfikale Romanum* from 1627 and the 18<sup>th</sup>-century editions of *Breviarum Romanum* bound in leather and sometimes completed with a case. Among the secular books, the value of 1 rouble was given to 24 sets of the journal *Wieniec* in 13 volumes and bound in half-leather, whereas 45 kopecks was the value of the recently published *Życie marszałków francuskich* bound in Morocco leather.

The lack of publication dates, except for singular mentions, makes it impossible to clearly establish the chronology of the collection; nevertheless, some old prints can be found, particularly the aforementioned liturgical publications from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Likewise, there were numerous 18<sup>th</sup>-century editions, especially those from the second half of the century, as can be deduced from the bibliographical findings. Significantly, newly published items should also be noted, which suggests an active interest in completing the home collection of books with the titles appearing on the market. The *Kalendarzyk polityczny* (Political calendar) and *Directorium officis divisi* from 1844 were certainly useful, but those practical publications were accompanied by ones attracting attention not only with their content, but also their new editorial form and plates. They included works on historical subjects devoted to the Napoleonic epoch, literary works which would ensure cognitively fruitful and pleasurable reading. Likewise, a lack of annotations in the inventory regarding the place of publishing prevents clear, detailed conclusions. However, from the accessible bibliographical data we can assume that the enumerated publications came from different publishing houses, mainly in Poland, but also from foreign ones.

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<sup>23</sup> B. Bieńkowska, *Inwentarze księgozbiorów prywatnych jako źródło do badań nad dziejami czytelnictwa*, "Studia o Książce", 18 (1989) pp. 65–75; J. Szady, *Inwentarz księgozbiorów parafialnych z drugiej połowy XVIII wieku – nowa metoda edycji*, "Textus et Studia", 1 (2016) no. 5, pp. 78–90, doi: 10.19265/TES.2016.01577.

The further fate of the collection is not fully known. However, what is known from the notarial deed of the auction is that it was sold together with the other movables, which was in accordance with the heirs' wishes. The books found their way into private hands, while some were bought by Lublin booksellers, who likely envisioned further sale. During the reconstruction of the collection, *Bibliografia polska* (Polish bibliography) by Karol Estreicher, the catalogue of the National Library in Warsaw, the catalogue of Bibliothèque Nationale de France and other digital libraries were used. In the case of specimens for which an unambiguous determination could not be made – due to the lack of clarity in the source entry – possible cases were given. Also, in the face of incomplete data preventing the identification of a concrete edition, the known editions published up to 1845, i.e. till the death of Bishop Wojakowski, were enumerated. In the case of periodicals, the year of publication was noted, and for multiple editions their numbers were recorded. Titles in the source were preserved in the original spelling, whilst a few changes were implemented according to the recommendations of *Instrukcja wydawnicza dla źródeł historycznych od XVI do połowy XIX wieku* (Publishing instructions for historical sources from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) (ed. K. Lepszy, Wrocław 1953). The spelling was modernised (e.g. półskurek = półskórek, skurzany = skórzany and iedna = jedna), diacritic marks were introduced and the following spellings were preserved: xiądz, exemplarz, diecezji, xięgi, siedm. The continuous numbering of pages used in the inventory was preserved within the list of books and the ordinal numbers were provided in square brackets.

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Inventory after Bishop [Mateusz] Wojakowski<sup>24</sup>

(26 February)10 March 1845

### Various books

- [k. 1] [1] 1167 Gramatyka niemiecka<sup>25</sup> część pierwsza w półskórek oprawna zużyta pół kopiejki  
 [2] 1167 [s] Kasimir Wohlfeils deutsche sprachlehre<sup>26</sup> w papier oprawne pół kopiejki  
 [3] 1168 Codex Judiciarius pro Galicia occidentali<sup>27</sup> w papier oprawny pół kopiejki

<sup>24</sup> APL, Akta Serafina Konwickiego notariusza miasta Lublina 1845, deed 634 (43).

<sup>25</sup> Impossible to be clearly established. E.g. *Grammatyka niemiecka podług najlepszego czasów terażniejszych mówienia i pisanja sposobu*, Sandomierz 1782; Estr., vol. 17, p. 328; Franciszek Lieder, *Gramatyka niemiecka przez Radę Wychowania publicznego polecona Szkołom i Instytutom naukowych w Królestwie Polskim*, nakład autora, Warszawa 1835, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. corrected, Warszawa 1841; Estr. XIX, pp. 598–599.

<sup>26</sup> Kasimir Wohlfeils, *Deutsche Sprachlehre*, print Pillera, Lemberg 1797; K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska*, Kraków 1870–2000 (later: Estr.), vol. 22, p. 197; Kasimir Wohlfeils, *Deutsche Sprachlehre*, Lemberg 1800; Estr., vol. 5, p. 129.

<sup>27</sup> *Codex judiciarius pro Galicia occidentali*, typis Josephi Hraschanky, Viennae 1797; *Codex judiciarius*, Viennae 1798; Estr., vol. 14, p. 314.

- [4] 1169 Skorowidz ustaw cywilnych z roku 1797 dla Galicyi<sup>28</sup> w papier oprawny, pół kopiejki
- [5] 1170 Documenta ad causas Decimales in Polonia<sup>29</sup> w trzech exemplarzach w papier oprawny kopiejka jedna
- [6] 1171 Regulae Iuris<sup>30</sup> w półskórek oprawne zużyte pół kopiejki
- [7] 1172 Codex Civilis pro Galicia Occidentali część pierwsza<sup>31</sup> w papier oprawny pół kopiejki
- [8] 1173 Codex Civilis pro Galicia occidentali część druga<sup>32</sup> w papier oprawny pół kopiejki
- [9] 1174 Jeometryra cywilna część pierwsza<sup>33</sup> w skórę oprawna kopiejka jedna
- [10] 1175 Ustawa cywilna dla Galicyi zachodniej część pierwsza<sup>34</sup> w papier oprawna pół kopiejki
- [11] 1176 Tirocinum Linguae latinae in usum classis primae<sup>35</sup> w papier oprawne kopiejka jedna
- [12] 1177 Tirocinum Linguae latinae pars posterior<sup>36</sup> w półskórek oprawne zużyte pół kopiejki
- [13] 1178 Philosophia ad usum scholae accomodata<sup>37</sup> tom szósty w półskórek oprawny kopiejka jedna

<sup>28</sup> Ludwik Wędrychowski, *Skorowidz czyli zbiór alfabetyczny ustaw cywilnych w 3 częściach dla Galicyi w roku 1797 nadanych, ku wygodzie publiczności w rodowitym języku ustaw tych wiadomości potrzebującej z największą pilnością ułożony przez Ludwika Wędrychowskiego*, kosztem i nakł. Karola B. Pfaffa, Lwów 1800; Estr., vol. 5, p. 30.

<sup>29</sup> Józef Olechowski, *Documenta ad causas decimales in Polonia (...) Opus impressum Cracoviae in lingua vernacula 1779 nunc vero in Latina luci publicae datum*, typis Universitatis, Cracoviae 1798; Estr., vol. 23, p. 319.

<sup>30</sup> Stanisław Łochowski, *Regulae iuris et loci com̄ unes forenses; quorum de jure et praxi communi, tritus et versatus in foro usus, et allegatio. Authore Stanislao Łochowski Castri Opoczneñ. Notario (...)*, officina Francisci Caesarii, Cracoviae 1637; Estr., vol. 21, p. 370.

<sup>31</sup> *Codex civilis pro Galicia occidentali*, typis Josephi Hraszanzky, Caes. Reg. Aulae typogr. Bibliop., Viennae 1797; Estr., vol. 14, p. 314.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Pars II., k. nlb. 2, p. 256; Pars III, k. nlb. 2, p. 259.

<sup>33</sup> Probably: Ignacy Zaborowski, *Jeometryra Praktyczna. przez X. Ignacego Zaborowskiego*, print XX. Scholarum Piarum, Warszawa 1786. Successive editions: 1792, 1806, 1815, 1820; or Szymon L'Huillier, *Geometryra dla Szkół narodowych*, parts 1–2, print. Gröll, Warszawa 1780–1781, 1804, 1810; Szymon L'Huillier, *Geometryra [...] drugi raz wydana*, part 1, print. Szkoły Głównej Koronney, Kraków 1785. Another edition: Wilno 1796; Estr., vol. 21, p. 252; Estr., vol. 8, ed. 2, p. 321; Ponadto: *Geometryra*, Estr., vol. 17, p. 99.

<sup>34</sup> *Ustawy Cywilne Dla Galicyi Zachodniej*, parts 1–3, print Józefa Hraszańskiego, C.K. Niemieckiego i Polskiego nadwornego Typografa i Bibliopoli, Wiedeń 1797; Estr., vol. 32, p. 94.

<sup>35</sup> Fryderyk Gedike, *Tirocinium linguae Latinae in usum classis primae*, typis Scholarum Piarum, Varsaviae 1821; Estr. XIX, vol. 8, p. 299.

<sup>36</sup> One of the editions: Fryderyk Gedike, *Tirocinium linguae latinae in usum I. et II. Classis*, print XX. Pijarów, Warszawa 1806; Fryderyk Gedike, *Tirocinium linguae Latinae, in usum primae et secundae classis. Pars prior*, typis PP. Scholarum Piarum, Varsaviae no publishing year. (1811) 1813. Totalny, 9 edition still 1845.

<sup>37</sup> Probably: Guillaume Dagoumer, *Philosophia ad usum scholae accomodata*, nova editio, vols. 1–4 Lugduni, *sumptibus fratrum Duplain*, 1746, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/services/engine/search/>

- [14] 1179 Rzecz o Jezuitach<sup>38</sup> w papier oprawna kopiejka jedna  
 [15] 1180 Essai d'éducation Nationale<sup>39</sup> w papendecel oprawna kopiejki dwie  
 [16] 1181 M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistolae familiares<sup>40</sup> w pergamin oprawne kopiejki trzy  
 [17] 1182 Rok miłości Boskiej<sup>41</sup> w skóre oprawne kopiejek dwie  
 [18] 1183 De arte Rhetorica<sup>42</sup> w skóre oprawna pół kopiejki

sru?operation=searchRetrieve&version=1.2&collapsing=disabled&rk=21459;2&query=%28dc.title%20all%20%22Philosophia%20ad%20usum%20scholae%20accommodata%22%29%20and%20dc.relation%20all%20%22cb30294860m%22 (accessed: 10.11.2019); or: Louis Loudier, *Philosophia ad usum scholae accommodata, data a D. D. Loudier licenciato theologo socio Sorbonico necnon philosophiae professore celeberrimo in collegio Sorbonae Plessaeo, scripta ab auditore Joanne Baptista Castel, clerico Petrogovensi eodem collegio anno Domini expirante 1722–1723*, <https://nubis.univ-paris1.fr/ark:/3A/15733/1bcf#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&xywh=0%2C-831%2C4423%2C4556> (accessed: 10.11.2019); or: Jean Baptiste du Hamel, *Philosophia vetus et nova ad usum scholae accommodata, in Regia Burgundia olim pertractata, Tomus primus, qui logicam complectitur*, Venetis 1730.

<sup>38</sup> Probably *Jezuici w prawdziwey swoiey postaci albo doskonale wiadomienie o ich dotychczas sprawowaniu się z niemieckiego na polski język przełożone nakładem pewnego W. N. Pralat*, print Jan F. Bartels, Gdańsk 1765; Ignacy Krasicki, *Jezuici w prawdziwey swoiey postaci*, ed. and presumably transl. Ignacy Krasicki, Gdańsk 1765, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Gdańsk 1770; Estr., vol. 18, p. 552.

<sup>39</sup> Louis René de Caradec de La Chalotais, *Essai d'éducation nationale, ou, Plan d'études pour la jeunesse*, 1763, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k854049.image> (accessed: 10.11.2019).

<sup>40</sup> One of the editions. e.g.: M.T. Cicero, *Epistolae familiares*, Gedani 1638; M.T. Cicero, *Epistolae familiares, Pauli Manutii annotationes breves in margine adscriptae. Ejusdem scholia. Verba grae ca latinis expressa. Dionysii Lambini Monstroliensis, viri doctissimi, emanationes, & earum rationes*, Dantisci, typis et sump. Andreae Hünefeldii, bibliopol, 1641; M.T. Cicero, *Epistolae familiares, Officina Chr. Schedelii*, Cracovae 1643; M.T. Cicero, *Epistolae familiares cum Pauli Manutii annotationibus brevibus in margine adscriptis, cum privil.* S.R. M. Polon. et Sueciae, sumptibus viduae G. Försteri, Gedani 1663; Estr., vol. 14, p. 3.

<sup>41</sup> Jan Chrzęciel Eliasz Avrillon, *Rok miłości Boskiej z pieni świętych na każdy dzień roku przez affekta rozłożony, przez Wielebnego Oyca... potrzeciraz (sic!) do druku w roku pańskim 1719 podany, a teraz z francuskiego języka na polski przez zakonnice Nawiedzenia Nayświętszey Maryi Panny klasztoru Krakowskiego przetłumaczony*, print. Seminarium biskupiego akademickiego, Kraków 1767; Estr., vol. 12, p. 315.

<sup>42</sup> The edition is hard to be determined in a clear way, for example the following were published: *Aristotelis de arte rhetorica libri tres, Carolo Sigonio interprete*, offic. Stanislai Scharffenbergii, Cracoviae 1577; Dominico Decolonia, *De arte rhetorica libri quinque. Lectissimis veterum auctorum aetatis aureae, perpetuisque exemplis illustrati auctore Dominico de Colonia Societatis Jesu Presbytero*, Typis Collegii Soc. Jesu, Lublini 1754, [wbp.lu-blin.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=22356&from=pubindex&dirids=22&lp=283](http://wbp.lu-blin.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=22356&from=pubindex&dirids=22&lp=283) (accessed: 10.11.2019). Other editions: Lublini 1756, Posnaniae 1758, Leopoli 1763, Vilnae 1770, Sandomiriae 1780, Polociae 1788, 1799; albo *De Arte rhetorica veterum libri*, Lublini 1783; Estr., vol. 26, p. 287; or Piotr X., *De arte rhetorica libri quinque lectissimis veterum authorum aetatis aureae exemplis illustrati et ad usum candidatorum eloquentiae accommodati*, typis Colleg. Soc. Jesu, Polociae 1799; Estr., vol. 12, pp. 211–212; or: Cyprian Soarez S.J. (Suarez), *De Arte Rhetorica Libri Tres, Ex Aristotele, Cicerone, Et Qvintiliano Praecipve Deprompti. Auctore Cypriano Soarez Sacerdote Societatis Jesv. Additae Svnt Tabvlae Rhetorices, Per Lvdivicvm Carbonem Selectae*, Dantisci, sump. Georgii Förster, 1645, 1651. Other editions: Calissii 1678, 1682, 1685; or Cypriani Soarii, *De Arte Rhetorica Libri Tres, Ex Aristotele, Cicerone*,

- [19] 1184 Mowy Sądowe Quintyliana<sup>43</sup> w papier oprawne kopiejka jedna  
**[k. 2]** [20] 1185 Księga ustaw na zbrodnie<sup>44</sup> w papier oprawna kopiejka jedna  
 [21] 1186 Historia na dwie części podzielona<sup>45</sup> w papier oprawne kopiejki trzy  
 [22] 1187 Rocznik Wojskowy z roku 1817<sup>46</sup> w papier oprawny pół kopiejki  
 [23] 1188 Odpowiedź o pogrzebach wiedeńskich<sup>47</sup> bez oprawy pół kopiejki  
 [24] 1189 Uwagi nad organizacją szkoły Gorzkowskiej<sup>48</sup> bez oprawy pół kopiejki  
 [25] 1190 Projekt polepszenia stanu włościan<sup>49</sup> w papier oprawny pół kopiejki  
 [26] 1191 Principia Juris Romani<sup>50</sup> w papier oprawne kopiejki trzy  
 [27] 1192 Listy Doktora Akademii Strazburskiej<sup>51</sup> bez oprawy kopiejki dwie  
 [28] 1193 Rocznik Instytutów<sup>52</sup> w papier oprawny kopiejka jedna  
 [29] 1194 Cudowny schyłek osiemnastego wieku<sup>53</sup> w papier oprawny kopiejki trzy

*Qvintiliano, Praecipve deprompti. Huic editioni accedunt Tabulae seu Artis Rhetoricae absolutissimum compendium Lud: Carbonis Constanciaro S. Th: Professoris in gymnasio Patavino, Calissii, Typis Collegii Societatis Jes., 1696, 1706 and other editions till 1734; Estr., vol. 28, pp. 341–342.*

<sup>43</sup> Quintilianus M. Fabius, *Wyborneysze Mowy Sądowe z Łacińskiego Języka wytłumaczone przez X.B.M. Sirucia S. P. P. A. Xiązka Pierwsza*, print J.K.M. y Rzpłtey XX. Schol. Piar., Wilno 1769 (vol. 2, 1771); Estr., vol. 25, p. 443.

<sup>44</sup> One of the editions: *Księga ustaw na zbrodnie i ciężkie policyjne przestępstwa*, print J. Trasslera, Kraków 1804; or *Księga ustaw na zbrodnie i ciężkie policyjne przestępstwa*, print Pillera, parts 1–2, Lwów 1804. Other editions: Lwów 1804, Wiedeń 1817; Estr., vol. 2, p. 513, <http://www.biblioteka-cyfrowa.pl/publication/62574> (accessed: 10.11.2019).

<sup>45</sup> The title is difficult to established clearly.

<sup>46</sup> “Rocznik Wojskowy Królestwa Polskiego”, Warszawa 1817–1830; Estr., vol. 3, p. 466.

<sup>47</sup> [*Odpowiedź*] autorowi pisma kilku kartek Lwowskiemu o pogrzebach wiedeńskich przydatna. *Od Erazma y Wideńczyka katolickiego, za dozwoleciem Starszych Zwierzchności wydana*, print Akademii, Zamość 1781. Response to: *O pogrzebach Wiedeńskich pismo małe w Wiedniu roku p. 1781 drukowane z niemieckiego Języka na Polski dla użytku powszechnego za pozwoleniem Zwierzchności przetłumaczone*, print Kazimierz Schlichtyn J.K. Mci uprzywil. Typ., Lwów (1781); Estr., vol. 23, p. 257.

<sup>48</sup> Witalis Witkowski, *Uwagi nad organizacją szkoły gorzkowskiej*, Lublin 1821; Estr., vol. 5, p. 109.

<sup>49</sup> Sumiński, *Projekt polepszenia stanu włościan podany przez prefekta departamentu plockiego*, no publishing place, no publishing year; Estr. XIX, vol. 4, p. 410.

<sup>50</sup> Wacław Aleksander Maciejowski, *Historia juris romani*, vol. 1: *Principiorum juris romani*, Varsaviae 1825; Estr. XIX, vol. 3, p. 31.

<sup>51</sup> [Alexander Brodowski X.], *Listy pewnego Doktora Akademii Strazburskiej Katolickiej do iednego szlachcica protestanta. O sześciu przeszkodach do zbawienia znajdujących się w religii luterskiej, z francuzkiego na polski język przetłumaczone przez ...*, S. J. Theologa, print Akademick. S. J., Lwów 1761; Estr., vol. 13, p. 353.

<sup>52</sup> “Rocznik Instytutów Religijnych i Edukacyjnych w Królestwie Polskim”, Warszawa 1824–1830; Estr., vol. 3, p. 464.

<sup>53</sup> Giovanni Marchetti, *Cudowny schyłek osiemnastego wieku czyli Niestychane widoki, które w roku 1796 i 1797 podobalo się Bogu przedstawić ludzkim oczom w rzymskich i za-rzymskich, szcze- gólniey Najswiętszy Matki Jezusowey, obrazach*, tł. Karol Surowiecki, Wrocław 1814; Estr. XIX, vol. 4, p. 414, <http://bbc.mbp.org.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=10185&from=pubindex&dirids=1&lp=702> (accessed: 10.11.2019).

- [30] 1195 *Selecta Latini Sermonis*<sup>54</sup> tom 1. w papier oprawny kopiejka jedna  
 [31] 1196 *O krotkości życia przez Seneke*<sup>55</sup> w papier oprawne kopiejka jedna  
 [32] 1197 *Zebranie życia S-go Józefa Kalasantego*<sup>56</sup> w papier oprawne pół kopiejki  
 [33] 1198 *Epigrammatum problemata*<sup>57</sup> w papier oprawne pół kopiejki  
 [34] 1199 *Les odes de p. deronsard*<sup>58</sup> tom dwunasty w papier oprawne kopiejka jedna  
 [35] 1200 *Edukacja katolicka iest Najwyższym dobrem kraiu*<sup>59</sup> bez oprawy pół kopiejki  
 [36] 1201 *Novus candidatus Reticarum auctus*<sup>60</sup> w półskórek zużyty oprawne pół kopiejki  
 [37] 1202 *Nouveaux essais d'Education*<sup>61</sup> tom trzeci, w papier oprawne kopiejka jedna

<sup>54</sup> One of the editions: *Selecta latini sermonis exemplaria e scriptoribus probatissimis ad Christianae iuventutis usum, a p. Chompré... excerpta et ad editionem parisiensem recusa; prima excerptio poeticae orationis*, Altenburgi, ex officina Richteriana 1756, [https://www.europeana.eu/portal/pl/record/9200110/BibliographicResource\\_1000126608453.html](https://www.europeana.eu/portal/pl/record/9200110/BibliographicResource_1000126608453.html) (accessed: 10.11.2019); albo: Pierre Chompré, *Selecta Latini Sermonis Exemplaria, e scriptoribus probatissimis excerpta A.P. Chompré*, typ. Joan Thom. de Trattner, Vindobonae 1778.

<sup>55</sup> One of the editions: [I title:] L.A. Seneka, *Książ Pięcioro*; [II title:] Luciusz Anneusz Seneka, *O krótkości życia, o życiu szczęśliwym, o opatrności, o pokoiu duszy, o stałości mądrego Książ Pięcioro przekładania X. Dawida*, print. J.K. Mci i Rzeczy pley Akademickiej Soc. Jesu, Wilno 1771; L. A. Seneka, *Książ Pięcioro*; [III title:] *Luciusza Anneusza Seneki O krótkości życia, o życiu szczęśliwym, o opatrności, o pokoiu duszy, o stałości mądrego Książ Pięcioro przekładania X. Dawida Pilchowskiego Societatis Jesu*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., print J.K. Mci Akademickiej, Wilno 1792; Estr., vol. 27, p. 376.

<sup>56</sup> Jakub Klisiewicz [Ambroży X. od S. Laurentego Scholarum Piarum], *Zebranie życia y historyi B. Józefa Kalasantego, fundatora szkół pobożnych. Przez niektóre przykłady o tym co B. Józef z dziecinnych lat czynił y które dobrodzieystwa dziatkom nieustannie świadczył wraz z nabożeństwem do tegoż błogosławionego patryarchy krótko napisane*, print J.K. Mci y Rzplitey w Koll. XX. Sch. Piarum, 1753; Estr., vol. 19, p. 300.

<sup>57</sup> Martinus Brzyski, *Epigrammatum problemata ex variis poetarum classicorum authoribus. Alphabeticè. Collecta concinnè polonico idiomate explicata. Cuius statui hominū utilia. Authore Martino Brzyski*, Typis S. R. M. Coll. Societ. Jesu, Lublinen 1765.

<sup>58</sup> One of the editions: Pierre de Ronsard, *Odes*, (1551–1552); Pierre Ronsard, *Ode de la paix*, G. Cavellat, Paris 1550; *Les Odes de P. de Ronsard...*, G. Buon, Paris 1573; *Les Odes...*, G. Buon, Paris 1586 i inne edycje, <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/changerPage.do?motRecherche=ronsard+ pierre&nbResultParPage=10&afficheRegroup=false&affinageActif=false&pageEnCours=10&nbPage=184&trouveDans=Filtre=NoticePUB&triResultParPage=0&critereRecherche=0> (accessed: 10.11.2019).

<sup>59</sup> Leopold od św. Avertana, *Edukacja katolicka iest dobrem najwyższym kraju, jest szczęśliwością w szczególności każdej osoby gdy ją posiada i według niej żyje*, print J.C.K.M. XX. Trynitarzów, Lublin 1807, <http://bc.wbp.lublin.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=10854&from=pubindex&dirid-s=22&lp=505> (accessed: 10.11.2019).

<sup>60</sup> One of the editions: Józef Juvencius (Jouvancy), *Novus candidatus Rhetoricae, auctus, emendatus et perpolitus*, Brunsberg 1735. Other editions: Lublini 1746, Calisii 1753, Posnaniae, 1753, Brunsbergae, 1755; Estr., vol. 7, p. 695.

<sup>61</sup> Oliver Goldsmith, *Nouveaux essais d'education, traduits de l'anglais et accompagnés et remarques par A. H. Dampmartin*, Paris 1803, 1805, <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb30519700j> (accessed: 10.11.2019).



- [k. 3] [38] 1203 Organizacya Szkoły Gorzkowskiej<sup>62</sup> w papier oprawna pół kopiejki  
 [39] 1204 M. Tulli Ciceronis de officiis xięgi trzy<sup>63</sup> w papier oprawne kopiejki trzy  
 [40] 1205 Luci Annei Flori Rerum Romanorum cztery Xsięgi<sup>64</sup> razem w papier oprawne kopiejek trzy  
 [41] 1206 List prowincjonalnego do Warszawskiego filozofa<sup>65</sup> w papier oprawne pół kopiejki  
 [42] 1207 Rozmowa filozoficzna<sup>66</sup> w półskórek oprawna kopiejki dwie  
 [43] 1208 Księga ustaw o ciężkich przestępstwach<sup>67</sup> w papier oprawna kopiejki trzy  
 [44] 1209 Dziennik Zdrowia<sup>68</sup>Nr 6. bez początku oprawny kopiejka jedna  
 [45] 1210 Idzi Blas Niemiecki czyli przypadki Piotra Klauss część trzecia<sup>69</sup> w półskórek oprawna kopiejki trzy  
 [46] 1211 Kmotr Maciej<sup>70</sup> część pierwsza w półskórek oprawna kopiejek pięć

<sup>62</sup> Grzegorz Wężyk, *Organizacya szkoły gorzkowskiej Towarzystwu Przyjaciół Nauk w Lublinie w celu rozszerzenia oświecenia publicznego (...) drukiem wyjaśniona*, print Jan K. Pruski, Lublin 1820; Estr. XIX, vol. 5, p. 47.

<sup>63</sup> One of the editions: M.T. Cicero; *De officiis libri tres, dein Laelius et Cato major et Somnium Scipionis, cum Paradoxis, castigate impressi, adiecto indice copiosissimo, doctoris Joannis Camertis*, Viennae Pannouiae in aedib. Hieron. Vietoris et Joan. Singreuii socior. Expensis vero Leonhardi et Lucae Alantseae fratrum. Quarto nonas Januaarii 1512; *Officia Ciceronis, mvltto qvam antea castigatiora, cvm scholiis Phil. Melan. quae possint esse uiae prolixi commentarij. Nam pleriq; loci, quos hactenus nemo attigit, hic enarrantur*, apud Hiero. Vieto., Cracouiae 1528. In total, 10 editions appeared until 1680; Estr., vol. 14, pp. 257–258.

<sup>64</sup> One of the editions [Lucius Annaeus Florus], *Epitome Rerum Romanorum: libri IV*; polish translation: *L. Julivsza Flora o Początku y Dzieiách Narodu Rzymskiego Powieści Xiąg IV. Abo historia Wielmożnego tego Narodu, od początku iego, aż do Augustá Cesarza, iako się począł, iako się wolności dostawszy rządził, y iako wolność straciwszy, pod iednego Pana władzę przyszedł. Z łacińskiego na polski ięzyk przetłumaczona przez Krzysztofa Grotha Falissowskiego. Przydany iest traktacik o przyczynach możności y potęgi narodu tego*, print Krzysztof Schedel J.K.M. Typograph, Kraków 1646; *L. Julivsza Flora o Początku*, u Bazylanów, Wilno 1790; Estr. vol.16, p. 243.

<sup>65</sup> Augustin Barruel, *Helwienki czyli Listy prowincjonalno-filozoficzne przez... dzieło (z francuskiego) z edycyi amsterd. r. 1785—88 tłumaczone (przez ks. Kar. Surowieckiego)*, vol. 1–5, Warszawa 1817–1819; Estr. XIX, vol. 2, p. 97.

<sup>66</sup> Antoni Wiśniewski, *Rozmowa Filozoficzna O Boskich procz Iestności Przymiotach Przeciw niegodziwie sobie przywłaszczaiącym nazwisko Deistow, Przez Filozofy uczących się Kawalerow In Varsaviensi Nobilium Collegio Scholarum Piarum Miana Roku MDCCLVIII*, print XX. Schol. Piar., Warszawa (1758); Estr., vol. 33, p. 72.

<sup>67</sup> One of the editions: *Księga ustaw na zbrodnie i ciężkie policyjne przestępstwa*, cz. 1 *O zbrodniach*, Print Józef Jerzego Trafsler, Kraków 1804; albo: *Księga ustaw na zbrodnie i ciężkie policyjne przestępstwa*, print J. Trasslera, Kraków 1804; or: *Księga ustaw na zbrodnie i ciężkie policyjne przestępstwa*, print Pillera, parts 1–2, [part 2, *O ciężkich przestępstwach policyjnych i o sposobie z temż postępowania*], Lwów 1804. Reference 34.

<sup>68</sup> “Dziennik Zdrowia, dla wszystkich stanów”, Warszawa 1801–1802, Publisher by Leopold Lafontaine, miesięcznik; Estr. XIX, vol. 3, p. 403.

<sup>69</sup> Adolf Franciszek Knigge, *Idzi Blass, czyli przypadki Piotra Klaus*, Kraków 1798; parts 1–3, Kraków 1808; Estr. XIX, vol. 17, p. 22.

<sup>70</sup> Józef Rychter, *Kmotr Maciej*, z niem. przez Augustyna Kadyi, vols. 1–2, new ed., print Groblowej, Kraków 1809; Estr. XIX, vol. 4, p. 148.

- [47] 1212 Redukcja złotych na tynfy<sup>71</sup> niekompletne w papier oprawne kopiejka jedna
- [48] 1213 Compendium Institutionum Gramaticarum Lingae Gallicae<sup>72</sup> w papier oprawne kopiejek dwie
- [49] 1214 Zabawy przyjemne i pożyteczne<sup>73</sup> Tomu 14. część pierwsza w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [50] 1215 Pamiętnik Naukowy<sup>74</sup> i zarazem uwagi nad raportem o więzieniach Królestwa Polskiego<sup>75</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [51] 1216 Helikonki autora zebranych wierszów<sup>76</sup> w półskórek oprawna kopiejek pięć
- [52] 1217 Pisma Konstantyna Tymienieckiego<sup>77</sup> oprawne kopiejek piętnaście
- [k.4] [53] 1218 Historia Jakobinizmu<sup>78</sup> tomów 4 w półskórek oprawne kopiejek sześćdziesiąt
- [54] 1219 Budowanie wiejskie<sup>79</sup> edycja druga kopiejek dziesięć
- [55] 1220 Historia Męki zbawiciela<sup>80</sup> w safian oprawna w futerale kopiejek trzydzieści

<sup>71</sup> *Taryffy rozmaite wzgledem monety tak tynfów na złote: y redukcją złotych na tynfy według kurrencyi to iest rachuiąc...*, no year; Estr., vol. 20, p. 55.

<sup>72</sup> Possible editions: Georg Vignes, *Compendium Institutionum Gramaticarum Lingae Gallicae*, Calisi 1747; Georg Vignes, *Compendium*, typis S.R.M. Colleg. Soc. Jesu, Lublini 1751; Estr., vol. 32, p. 500.

<sup>73</sup> “Zabawy Przyjemne i Pożyteczne”, Warszawa 1769–1777, tygodnik literacki; Estr., vol. 3, p. 489.

<sup>74</sup> “Pamiętnik Naukowy” (cd. “Ćwiczeń Naukowych”), Warszawa 1819; or: “Pamiętnik Naukowy” (miesięcznik), Kraków 1837–1838; Estr. XIX, vol. 3, p. 444.

<sup>75</sup> Jan Dekert, *Uwagi nad częścią wyjątku z raportu Fryderyka hrabi Skarbka. o więzieniach Królestwa Polskiego umieszczonej w N. 60 Gazety Warszawskiej 1832 roku*, 1832; Estr. XIX, vol. 4, p. 70.

<sup>76</sup> Ksawery Zubowski, *Helikonki Autora Zebranych Wierszow. X. Z. Spes nostra in calamo est, Heliconiadumque favore Cochanovius*, print XX. Trynitarzów, Lublin 1789; Estr., vol. 25, p. 150.

<sup>77</sup> Konstanty Tymieniecki, *Pisma*, parts 1–2, Warszawa 1817; Estr. XIX, vol. 4, p. 584.

<sup>78</sup> Augustyn Barruel, *Historia jakobinizmu, wyięta z dzieł (...) Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme*, tłum. Karol Surowiecki, vols. 1–4, Berdyczów 1812; Estr. XIX, vol. 2, p. 97. In original version: Augustin Barruel, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du jacobinisme*, vols. 1–5, P. Fauche, Hambourg 1798–1799, 1803, 1818.

<sup>79</sup> Piotr Świtkowski, *Budowanie Wiejskie Dziedzicom Dobr Y Possessorom toż wszystkim iakżkolwiek zwierzchność po wsiach i miasteczkach mającym Do Uwagi y Praktyki Podane*, edition and print Michała Gröllla, Warszawa, Lwów 1782, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., print Michała Gröllla, Warszawa 1793; or Piotr Świtkowski, *Budownictwo Wiejskie wygodzie Dziedziców zwierzchników wsi naszych i miasteczek*, part 1 with figures, new edition. Author's edition, Warszawa 1794; Estr., vol. 30, p. 110.

<sup>80</sup> One of the editions: [*Passia*], *to iest Historia męki y śmierci Pana Jezusa Chrystusa ze czterech Ewangelistow krotko zebrana y na siedm części y z wykłady swymi rozdzielona*, offic. Joannis Volrabi, Posnaniae 1582; [*Passia*], *Historia o śmierci a męce Jezu Chrystusa Pana, z czterech ewangelistow zebrana*, przez Jana Fabricjusza, Królewiec 1615; [*Passia*]. *O męce śmierci i pogrzebie pana naszego Jezusa ze wszystkich czterech Ewangelii porządnie zebrana*, Gdańsk 1632, 1690; albo *Postille catholiczney Część Trzecia. W której się zamykają kazania na święta Panny Mariey, Apostolow, Męczennikow y innych Świętych, których święta kościół zwykł obchodzić przez cały rok. Przydane są y żywoty niektórych, z pewnych Historii zebrane, Przydana iest, y Passia, to*

- [56] 1221 Listy moralne z dzieł Eduarda Jounga<sup>81</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzy  
 [57] 1222 Kalendarzyk kieszonkowy Warszawski na rok 1833 i polityczny na rok 1843 w papier oprawny pół kopiejki  
 [58] 1223 Hrabia Waltron czyli subordynacja drama<sup>82</sup> oraz Tryumf Łaskawości<sup>83</sup> komedia w półskórek razem oprawne kopiejek siedm i pół  
 [59] 1224 Dzieła Saint Reala<sup>84</sup> tom czwarty oraz pamiętnik Xnej Mazuryni<sup>85</sup> razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć  
 [60] 1225 Sermons de M. Massillon careme<sup>86</sup> Tom 1. 3 i 4. w papier kolorowy oprawne kopiejek czterdzieści pięć

*iest Historia męki Pana Zbawiciela naszego, Przez Doctora Jakuba Wuyka z Wągrowca Theologa Societatis Iezv; Estr., vol. 24, p. 106; Estr., vol. 33, pp. 389–390. W XVIII-XIX w. wyd.: Królewiec 1720, 1754, Królewiec 1823, Kraków 1834; Katalog Biblioteki Narodowej, [https://katalogi.bn.org.pl/discovery/se-arch?query=any,contains,passya&tab=LibraryCatalog&search\\_scope=NLOP\\_IZ\\_NZ&vid=48OMNIS\\_NLOP:48OMNIS\\_NLOP&lang=pl&offset=0](https://katalogi.bn.org.pl/discovery/se-arch?query=any,contains,passya&tab=LibraryCatalog&search_scope=NLOP_IZ_NZ&vid=48OMNIS_NLOP:48OMNIS_NLOP&lang=pl&offset=0) (accessed: 10.11.2019). Besides, Przemysław Domiechowski, *Matka bolesna P. Marya. Historia męki Chrystusowej opisana i przez X. Przemysława Prawdzica Domiechowskiego do druku podana*, print Łuk. Kupisza, Kraków 1650; Estr., vol. 15, p. 281.*

<sup>81</sup> *Listy moralne z dzieł Edwarda Jounga, z francuskiego na polski przełożone*, Lublin 1787; Estr., vol. 33, p. 493.

<sup>82</sup> Henryk Ferdynand Moller, *Hrabia Waltrori [Waltron] czyli subordynacja, drama w pięciu aktach z francuzkiego P. Ebertsa przetłomaczona*, print Piotr Dufour, Warszawa 1784; Estr., vol. 22, p. 522. W XVIII-XIX w. wyd. Królewiec 1720, 1754, Królewiec 1823, Kraków 1834.

<sup>83</sup> Antoni Michniewski, *Tryumf łaskawości komedia w trzech aktach dla Teatru warszawskiego napisana przez X. A. T. Michniewskiego P.S.*, 1775; Estr., vol. 22, p. 347.

<sup>84</sup> Saint-Real Cesar Vischard, *Dzieła*, transl. Franciszek Zabłocki, vol. 1–3, print Piotra Dufoura, Warszawa 1799; Estr., vol. 27, p. 25; or, in the original version: Saint-Réal de César, *Oeuvres*, La Haye 1721; Saint-Réal de César, *Oeuvres (...) Nouvelle édition augmentée, P. Mortier*, Amsterdam 1730; Saint-Réal de César, *Oeuvres [...] nouvelle édition revue, corrigée et augmentée*, vols. 1–6, F. L'Honoré et fils, Amsterdam 1740, <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb340028896> (accessed: 10.11.2019); Saint-Réal de César, *Les Oeuvres (...) Nouvelle édition, rangée dans un meilleur ordre et augmentée*, vols. 1–6, Paris, Ganeau 1745, <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb34002891r> (accessed: 10.11.2019).

<sup>85</sup> One of the editions: Hortense Mancini, *Mémoires de Madame la duchesse Mazarin*, no place, no year, <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb39335173f> (accessed: 1.09.2019); *Mémoires D. M. L. D. M., P. du Marteau*, Cologne 1675; albo Marie Mancini, *La Vérité dans son jour, ou le Véritables mémoires de M. Mancini connétable*, Collone ok. 1678; albo *Mémoires de Madame La Duchesse de Mazarin seraient d' Hortense Mancini elle-même et faussement attribués à Mme Du Rhut et l'abbé de Saint- Réal; Lever donne comme auteur l'abbé de Saint-Réal avec l'argument que ce texte figure constamment dans les Oeuvres complètes de Saint-Réal à partir de l'édition de La Haye 1722*, <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb30387585t> (accessed: 10.11.2019).

<sup>86</sup> A part of one of numerous editions of works by the French preacher: Jean-Baptiste Massillon, *Oeuvres*, vols.1–15, Lyon 1810; Jean-Baptiste Massillon, *Oeuvres complètes*, vols. 1–14; vols. 2–5. *Sermons pour le carême*, Gauthier frères, Besançon 1822; Jean-Baptiste Massillon, *Oeuvres*, Mequignon-Havard, Paris 1824; Jean-Baptiste Massillon, *Oeuvres complètes. Nouvelle édition, augmentée d'un Discours sur sa vie et ses écrits, par M. le Cte O'Mahony*, Méquignon-Havard, Paris 1826. Other editions: Paris 1828, Besançon 1822, Lille (b.r.), Paris 1830, Paris 1843,

- [61] 1226 Sermons de M. Massillon a vent<sup>87</sup> w papier kolorowy oprawny kopiejek piętnaście
- [62] 1227 Sermons de M. Massillon petit caremae<sup>88</sup> w papier kolorowy oprawny kopiejek piętnaście
- [63] 1228 Sermons de M. Massillon panegiriques<sup>89</sup> w papier kolorowy oprawny kopiejek piętnaście
- [64] 1229 Sermons de M. Massillon oraisons funebres et professions Religieuses<sup>90</sup> w papier kolorowy oprawne kopiejek piętnaście
- [65] 1230 Sermons de M. Massillon Mysteres<sup>91</sup> w papier kolorowy oprawne kopiejek piętnaście
- [k. 5] [66] 1231 Budownictwo wieyskie<sup>92</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek siedm
- [67] 1232 Miłostki i życie mężów greckich<sup>93</sup> Tomów 2 w jednej księżce w półskórek oprawne kopiejek siedm i pół
- [68] 1233 Filozofka Europejska przeciw Chińskiemu Mandarynowi<sup>94</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć.

cherche=Oeuvres+compl%C3%A8tes+de+Massillon&critereRecherche=0&depart=0&facette-Modifiee=ok (accessed: 10.11.2019).

<sup>87</sup> A part of one of the editions Jean-Baptiste Massillon, *Ouvres complètes*, vol. 1: *Notice sur Massillon, par Gence. Sermons pour l'avent*; reference 73.

<sup>88</sup> One of numerous editions: Jean-Baptiste Massillon, *Sermons de m. Massillon, Petit carême*, Paris 1757; at least 14 editions until 1833.

<sup>89</sup> Jean-Baptiste Massillon, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 9: *Panegyriques*, numerous editions, e.g. Besançon, Gauthier frères, 1822, [https://books.google.pl/books?id=gLLsSUsZrzIC&pg=PA33&lp-g=PA33&dq=Sermons+de+Massillon+a+vent&source=bl&ots=\\_Pm2tj8dUf&sig=ACfU3U22ivX-4lb-KlxEUw7kQ2CFrm8IFt9Q&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiJ26iuqe3hAhVok4sKHc-sUAYkQ6AEwBnoECAcQAQ#v=onepage&q=Sermons%20de%20Massillon%20a%20vent&f=false](https://books.google.pl/books?id=gLLsSUsZrzIC&pg=PA33&lp-g=PA33&dq=Sermons+de+Massillon+a+vent&source=bl&ots=_Pm2tj8dUf&sig=ACfU3U22ivX-4lb-KlxEUw7kQ2CFrm8IFt9Q&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiJ26iuqe3hAhVok4sKHc-sUAYkQ6AEwBnoECAcQAQ#v=onepage&q=Sermons%20de%20Massillon%20a%20vent&f=false) (accessed: 10.11.2019).

<sup>90</sup> Jean-Baptiste Massillon, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 8: *Oraisons funèbres et professions religieuses*.

<sup>91</sup> Jean-Baptiste Massillon, *Sermons: Mystères*, Paris 1745; Jean-Baptiste Massillon, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 7: *Mystères*.

<sup>92</sup> One of the studies: Franciszek Rausch von Traubenberg, *Budownictwo Wieyskie Do Gospodarskich Potrzeb Stosowne, A do Użycia Kraiowego Podane*, print XX. Scholarum Piarum, Warszawa 1788; Estr., vol. 26, p. 136; or: Piotr Aigner, *Budownictwo wieyskie z cegły glino-suszoney, z plantami chałup wieyskich, stosownie do gospodarstwa narodowego przez (...)*, print Piotr Zawadzki, Warszawa 1791; or: Piotr Świtkowski X., *Budownictwo Wieyskie Pożytkowi i wygodzie Dziedziców Zwierzchników Wsi naszych i Miasteczek. Poswięcone Przez (...)*, cz. I. z *Figurami*, edycja Nowa, koszt. Autora, Warszawa 1794; Estr., vol. 12, p. 79.

<sup>93</sup> *Miłostki dawnych filozofów y dawnych bohaterów starożytnych*, vols. 1–2, Supraśl 1788; Estr., vol. 22, p. 392.

<sup>94</sup> *Filozofka europejska przeciw chińskiemu mandarynowi, czyli Odpowiedź na rozprawę mandaryna ogłoszoną w ruskim i francuskim języku o kobietach*, transl. L[udwika] Dz[ieduszycka], Warszawa 1820; Estr. XIX, vol. 5, p. 285.

- [69] 1234 Dłaczego komedyja<sup>95</sup> fedra i żona Tezeusza<sup>96</sup> Tragedya razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek siedm i pół
- [70] 1235 Zwierciadło niezawodne o poznaniu siebie samego<sup>97</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek dwie
- [71] 1236 Anekdoty Fryderyka II<sup>98</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek siedm i pół
- [72] 1237 Cyrulik paryski Romans<sup>99</sup> Tomów cztery w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzydzieści
- [73] 1238 Pan Podstoli<sup>100</sup> dwie części w półskórek oprawne kopiejek dziesięć
- [74] 1239 Kontynuacja Listów perskich część druga<sup>101</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [75] 1240 Listy pewnego starca do młodego Xięcia pisane z roku 1751 rok I<sup>102</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzy
- [76] 1241 Pisma pozgonne Szymona<sup>103</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [77] 1242 Trzy córki wdowy. Romans<sup>104</sup> tomów pięć w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzydzieści
- [78] 1243 Wszyscy błędzą czyli Sąd obojętny jednej filozofki<sup>105</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek dwie

<sup>95</sup> August Anicet *Bourgeois, Dłaczego? Kom. w 1 a.*, transl. Eugeniusz Scribe, Halpert B., print Zawadzki i Węcki, Warszawa, Merzbach 1834; Estr. XIX, vol. 4, p. 270.

<sup>96</sup> Jan Racine (Rasyn), *Fedra: Tragedya Przetłomaczona*, edition and print Gröll, Warszawa 1787; Estr., vol. 26, p. 7.

<sup>97</sup> *Zwierciadło niezawodne albo nauka y rozumowi do uznania prawd y woli do sprawowania cnót. O poznaniu siebie samego podana w siedmiu uwagach na każdy w tygodniu dzień rozłożonych przełożona w ięzyku włoskim przez W. X. Pawła Segnerego S. J. po tym w Dilindze na laciński a teraz z lacińskiego na polski wytłumaczona przez W. X. Piotra Radomskiego*, print J. K. M., Kalisz 1778; Estr., vol. 27, p. 347.

<sup>98</sup> Fryderyk II, *Anekdoty czyli znamiona, charakter i przymioty Fryderyka II. króla pruskiego wystawujące. Przełożone z niemieckiego na polskie*, print Akademicka, Wilno 1796; Estr., vol. 16, p. 348.

<sup>99</sup> Charles Paul de Cock, *Cyrulik paryski, Przełożony z francuzkiego* przez F.S. Dmochowskiego, vols. 1–4, print przy ulicy Nowo-Senatorskiej Nro 476 Lit. D, Warszawa, (Merzbach) 1834; Estr. XIX, vol. 17, p. 99.

<sup>100</sup> Ignacy Krasicki, *Pan Podstoli, Na trzy księgi podzielony*, edition and print Mich. Gröll, Warszawa 1778, 1784; Estr., vol. 20, p. 224.

<sup>101</sup> Karol Montesquieu de, *Kontynuacya Listów perskich P. de Montesquieu, przetłomaczona z francuskiego*, part 2, Drezno 1778; Estr., vol. 22, p. 542.

<sup>102</sup> Karol Tessin, *Listy Pewnego Starca*. [Another title:] *Listy Pewnego Starca Pisane Do Młodego Xięcia Po Niemiecku a Teraz Wytłumaczone Na Oyczysty Język* przez P. A. G., u Jana Augusta Posera Bibliopoli, Warszawa 1780; Estr., vol. 31, p. 114.

<sup>103</sup> Laurent Pierre Jussieu (de), *Pisma pozgonne ś.p. Szymona. Dzieło przez Wawrzyńca de Jussieu napisane, (...) z francuzkiego na polski wolnie tlómaczone* przez Edwarda R. (omera), edition and print J. Zawadzkiego, Wilno 1834; Estr. XIX, vol. 12, p. 503.

<sup>104</sup> Wiktor Henryk Józef Brahain Ducange, *Trzy córki wdowy, romans (...) przełożony z francuskiego* przez F. S. Dmochowskiego, vols. 1–5, print przy ulicy Nowosenatorskiej, Warszawa, Merzbach 1833; Estr. XIX, vol. 5, p. 201.

<sup>105</sup> Klaudiusz Cyprian Ludwik Abrassevin, *Wszyscy błędzą czyli sprawa z obudwu stron niesłuszna albo sąd jednej damy filozofki w terażniejszych okolicznościach jezuitów francuzkich, r. 1762*

- [k. 6] [79] 1244 Klaudyusza Klaudyna o porwaniu Prozerpiny<sup>106</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [80] 1245 Sonety i różne wiersze w upominku dla Polek na rok 1829<sup>107</sup>, Joanna Grei poema Jounga<sup>108</sup> i Homera Bitwa żab z myszami<sup>109</sup> razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek siedm i pół
- [81] 1246 Wiersze polskie z fragmentów łacińskich złożone, dla zabawy umysłu i pożytecznej Nauki<sup>110</sup> oraz przydatek do tychże wierszów razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzy
- [82] 1247 Porządek życia Tyssota<sup>111</sup> w skórkę oprawne kopiejek siedm i pół
- [83] 1248 Karolina Lichtfield Romans<sup>112</sup> tomów trzy w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzydzieści
- [84] 1249 Powieść moralna o Lindodze<sup>113</sup> W półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [85] 1250 Niestalość w miłości<sup>114</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć

wydany, a z francuzkiego przetłumaczony w polskim języku do druku podany od N. N., Kraków 1803; Est. XIX, vol. 1, p. 19.

<sup>106</sup> [Claudius Claudianus], *Klaudysza Klaudyana, O Porwaniu Prozerpiny. Ksiąg III. etc. przekładania Andrzeia Wincentego z Unichowa Ustrzyckiego. Edycja po pierwszej Warszawskiej 1689. po drugiej Krakowskiej 1700. Trzecia: przydatkiem nowym dzieł rymotworskich tegoż autora, od innych przełożonych powiększona*, nakł. Michała Gröla, Warszawa 1772; Estr., vol. 14, p. 295.

<sup>107</sup> Stanisław Bratkowski, *Sonety i różne wiersze w upominku dla Polek na rok 1829*, przez S... B., Print Rządowa, Warszawa b.r. (1828); Estr., vol. 2, p. 502.

<sup>108</sup> E.[dward] Young, *Joanna Gray. Poema Edwarda Junga, autora Sądu Ostatecznego. Przekład z angielskiego przez St. Chr.*, Warszawa 1828; after: Z. Sinko, *Z zagadnień recepcji "Sądu Ostatecznego" i "Myśli nocnych" Edwarda Younga*, "Pamiętnik Literacki", 65 (1974) fasc. 2, p. 97; Estr., vol. 5, p. 213 no note of his title.

<sup>109</sup> Homer, *Batrachomyomachia czyli Bitwa Żab z Myszami wierszem oyczystym wyłożona przez Jacka Przybylskiego Bibliotekarza i Starożytności Professora. Aut prodesse aut delectare*, Print Szkoły Główna Koronna, Kraków 1789; Estr., vol. 18, p. 255.

<sup>110</sup> [Wiersze] *Polskie Z Fragmentow Łacinskih Złożone Dla Zabawy Umysłu, i pożyteczney Nauki w różnych Materyach, Przez pewnego Zakonnika Kapłana Wydane*, print XX. Trynitarzów, Lublin 1785; Estr., vol. 32, p. 474.

<sup>111</sup> One of the editions: Szymon Andrzej Tissot (Tyssot), *Porządek Życia w Czerstwości Zdrowia w Długie Prowadzący Lata. Ze wszystkich dzieł P. Tyssota w iedno zebrany*, print J.O.Xcia Mci Prymasa Arcybiskupa Gnieźnieńskiego, Kalisz 1789; Szymon Andrzej Tissot, *Porządek życia, w czerstwości zdrowia w długie prowadzący lata, ze wszystkich dzieł P. Tyssota w iedno zebrany*, print Bazylianów, Supraśl 1789, <https://fbc.pionier.net.pl/details/nn7Rqwp> (accessed: 10.11.2019); Szymon Andrzej Tissot, *Porządek życia, w czerstwości zdrowia w długie prowadzący lata, ze wszystkich dzieł P. Tyssota w jedno zebrany, a teraz przy trzeciem wydaniu przezyrzany, poprawiony y powiększony*, print Prymas., Łowicz (1796), 1799; Estr., vol. 31, p. 166.

<sup>112</sup> Izabela Montolieu (zm. 1833), *Karolina Lichfield, Romans z dzieł pani (...)*, vols. 1–2, Henryk Emanuel Glücksberg, Wilno 1830; Estr., vol. 3, p. 163.

<sup>113</sup> *Żądania (Troie)*. [Na drugiej k. tyt.:] *Troie Żądania Czyli Powieść Moralna o Lindorze Umiejącym Pozwolonego Sobie Daru Rostropnie, i z Osobliwszym Użyć Pożytkiem. Z Przydanym Rozporządzeniem z Francuzkiego Na Polski Ięzyk Przełożona*, print Michał Gröll, 1782; Estr., vol. 34, p. 71.

<sup>114</sup> Argens J. B. de Boyer, *Niestalość w miłości czyli awantury Markiza de Vandreville napisane po francuzku. przez Markiza d'Argens a teraz nowo przełożone na polski język przez Franc. Jaxyc Makulskiego*, print Dufour, Warszawa 1793; Estr., vol. 12, p. 206.

- [86] 1251 Dobra Gospodyni<sup>115</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć  
 [87] 1252 Estella Miłostki pasterskie<sup>116</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć  
 [88] 1253 Dziennik Gospodarczo-Rolniczy<sup>117</sup> Numerów dwa razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek siedm i pół  
 [89] 1254 Polak w Paryżu<sup>118</sup> część pierwsza w półskórek oprawne pięć  
 [90] 1255 Pierwiastki Religii Katolickiej przez X. Wężyka<sup>119</sup> w papier oprawne kopiejek trzy  
 [91] 1256 Historia kawalera polskiego<sup>120</sup> niekompletna w półskórek oprawna kopiejek trzy  
 [92] 1257 Król pasterz opera<sup>121</sup>, Dziki amerykańnik komedia<sup>122</sup>, Lunatyk komedia pan <sup>123</sup>poznany komedia<sup>124</sup>, na postrachu wszystko się zakończy Dramat<sup>125</sup>, razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek dziesięć  
 [93] 1258 Nieszczęśliwa Kastelli<sup>126</sup> części dwie razem w półskórek [k. 7] oprawne kopiejek siedm i pół

<sup>115</sup> *Gospodyni dobra, czyli fundamenta ekonomii gospodarskiej osobom młodym do tego stanu zabierającym się potrzebne*, cost and print. Ignacy Grebl, Kraków 1784.

<sup>116</sup> Claris Florian de, *Estella, miłostki pasterskie. Z dzieł francuzkich pana Floryan. Tłumaczenia* Jana Nowickiego, druk, Antoniego Ignacego Gröbla, Kraków 1796; Estr., vol. 16, p. 241; Claris Florian de, *Estella, miłostki pasterskie (...)*, print Tekla Gröblowa, 1806; Estr. XIX, vol. 7, p. 155.

<sup>117</sup> "Dziennik Gospodarczo-rolniczy", Warszawa 1812, quarterly; Estr., vol. 3, p. 385.

<sup>118</sup> *Polak w Paryżu albo dwutygodniowa w tymże mieście bytność hrabiego\*\*\**, parts 1–2, print P. Dufour, Warszawa 1787; Estr., vol. 24, p. 435.

<sup>119</sup> Grzegorz Wężyk, *Pierwiastki religii katolickiej, połączone z dziełami pierwszych jej założycielów*, parts 1–2, print K. Szczepański, Lublin 1824; Estr. Does not note his title but one specimen can be found in Biblioteka Wojewódzka im. H. Łopacińskiego in Lublin, [http://bc.wbp.lublin.pl/dlibra/docmetada-ta?id=2893&from=&dirids=1&ver\\_id=&lp=2&QI=](http://bc.wbp.lublin.pl/dlibra/docmetada-ta?id=2893&from=&dirids=1&ver_id=&lp=2&QI=) (accessed: 10.11.2019).

<sup>120</sup> Prechac, *Historia Polska Polityczno-Moralna Walewskiego Kawalera Polskiego z Beraldą Corką Graffa Romerszteyna. Feld-Marszałka Wojsk Cesarza Chrześcijańskiego. Awantury Przyjaźni. Opisująca z Francuskiego Języka na Polski przetłumaczona Jásnie Oświeconemu Xiążęciu Jmci Stefanowi Altamorowi, Nayiaśniejszego Augusta III Krola Polskiego, Elektora Saskiego, Wojsk Sa-skich Porucznikowi*, print XX. Scholarum Piarum, Warszawa 1754; Estr., vol. 25, p. 230.

<sup>121</sup> Józef Kurtz, *Król pasterzem. Balet heroiczo-pantomiczny wzięty z autora włoskiego (tak) Metastasio a ułożony przez P. Kurtza Balet Maystra w służbie J. K. Mci i dany w dzień imienin J. K. M. dnia 8 maja na teatrze publicznym*, print P. Dufour, Warszawa 1790; Estr., vol. 20, p. 399.

<sup>122</sup> [Louis François Delisle de La Drevetière] *Arlekin Dziki Amerykanin Komedia Wyprawiona, Wilno, Coll. Nobilium Soc. Jesu, 1765; or: Louis François Delisle de La Drevetière, Dziki Amerykanin do Europy z Leliuszem przybyły. Komedia we trzech aktach*, Warszawa 1778; Estr. vol. 36, p. 51.

<sup>123</sup> Lunatyk. *Komedia, we dwóch aktach dla teatru warszawskiego z francuskiego przetłumaczona*, print P. Dufour, Warszawa (1779); Estr., vol. 21, p. 526.

<sup>124</sup> [Pan] *poznany, komedia we trzech aktach*, no place of publishing, no year of publishing (17...); Estr., vol. 24, p. 43.

<sup>125</sup> Stanisław Kublicki, *Na postrachu wszystko się zakończy; drama oryginalna we trzech aktach. Servibo Matris commodis. Plautus Hecyra Act. 3. Scen. 5*, print and edition Michał Gröll, Warszawa (1780); Estr., vol. 20, p. 351.

<sup>126</sup> Contant d'Orville, André-Guillaume, *Nieszczęśliwa Kastelli Albo Listy Pani Hrabiny Kastelli Do Panny Baronowny D'Freville*, parts 1–2, Kalisz 1778; Estr., vol. 14, p. 388.

- [94] 1259 *Lińska Hrabina*<sup>127</sup> Tomów dwa niekompletne razem oprawne w półskórek kopiejek siedm i pół
- [95] 1260 *Historia Pani Ernevil*<sup>128</sup> części dwie w półskórek oprawne kopiejek siedm i pół
- [96] 1261 *Antykwaryusz Romans*<sup>129</sup> w półskórek oprawny kopiejek trzydzieści
- [97] 1262 *Ewelina Romans*<sup>130</sup> Tomów cztery w półskórek oprawny kopiejek trzydzieści
- [98] 1263 *Wieniec*<sup>131</sup> rok 1 i 2. Tomów dwadzieścia cztery w trzynastu książkach w półskórek oprawne rubel srebrny jeden
- [99] 1264 *Kreol Romans*<sup>132</sup> Tomów trzy w półskórek oprawne kopiejek dwadzieścia
- [100] 1265 *Hiszpanie w Peru Traiedya*<sup>133</sup>, *Małżeństwo przymuszone komedia*<sup>134</sup> razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek kopiejek dziesięć
- [101] 1266 *Zbiór nazwy szlachty przez Małachowskiego*<sup>135</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzydzieści
- [102] 1267 *Sabaudczyk. Romans*<sup>136</sup>. Tomów 4 w półskórek oprawny kopiejek trzydzieści
- [103] 1268 *Siostra Anna. Romans*<sup>137</sup> tomów cztery w półskórek oprawne kopiejek czterdzieści

<sup>127</sup> Millon de Lavalley (La Valle), *Lińska Hrabina, powieść Polska*, Supraśl 1789; Estr., vol. 22, p. 391.

<sup>128</sup> Erneville, *Historia Pani Ernevil od niey samey pisana z francuskiego na polski język przelozona roku 1783 dla zabawy ciekawego czytelnika do druku podana*, parts 1–2, print Pillerowskim, Lwów 1783; Estr., vol. 16, p. 98.

<sup>129</sup> Walter Scott, *Antykwaryusz. Romans*, transl. E. G., vols. 1–4, ed. F. S. Dmochowski, Warszawa 1828. It is the 4<sup>th</sup> part of the edition: W. Scott, *Wybrane romanse*, Warszawa 1828; Estr. XIX, vol. 4, p. 269.

<sup>130</sup> Franciszka d'Arblay Burney, *Ewelina czyli wyjście młodej panny na scenę świata, romans, tłumaczony przez T. Hołokiewicza*, vols. 1–4, edition and print by Glücksberg, a bookseller and typographer of the Imperial University, Wilno 1830; Estr. XIX, vol. 2, p. 626.

<sup>131</sup> "Wieniec. Pismo dodatkowe miesięczne do Gazety Warszawskiej poświęcone literaturze", Warszawa 1839–1841. (Wcześniej *Tęcza*, potem *Echo*); Estr., vol. 3, p. 385.

<sup>132</sup> Heinrich Zschokke, *Kreol, czyli rozbicie okrętu Austrya*, vols. 1–3, print Węcki, Warszawa, Orgelbrand 1833; Estr. XIX, vol. 5, p. 310.

<sup>133</sup> Fryderyk August Kotzebue (Kocebue), *Hiszpanie w Peru albo śmierć Rolli. Tragedya przez (...) napisana, a przez Alexan[dra] Chodkiewicza przetłomaczona w 5 aktach, roku 1797*. (no place, no date of publishing.); Estr., vol. 20, p. 169.

<sup>134</sup> Molière (Jan Chrz. Poquelin), *Małżeństwo przymuszone. (Małżeństwo z musu). Kom. w dwóch aktach z francuzkiego Pana Molière przetłomaczona y przez Aktorów J. K. Mci narodowych na teatrze publicznym reprezentowana*, print P. Dufour, Warszawa 1782; Estr., vol. 11, p. 516.

<sup>135</sup> Piotr N. Małachowski, *Zbiór nazwisk szlachty z opisem herbów [własnych zostających w Królestwie Polskim i Wielkim księstwie Litewskim]*, Lublin 1805; Estr., vol. 3, p. 56.

<sup>136</sup> Charles Paul Kock, *Sabaudczyk czyli miłość i wdzięczność. Romans obyczajowy (...) przelozony z francuzkiego przez F. S. Dmochowskiego*, vols. 1–4, print in Nowo-Senatorska street Nro 476 Lit. D, Warszawa 1835; Estr. XIX, vol. 17, p. 99.

<sup>137</sup> Charles Paul Kock, *Siostra Anna, romans obyczajowy (...) przelozony w języku oyczystym przez W. O. (lechowskiego)*, vols. 1–4, edition by Hugues, a bookseller, print J. Węcki, Warszawa 1835; Estr. XIX, vol. 17, p. 99.



- [104] 1269 Opisanie różnych kraiów świata przez Contant de Will<sup>138</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [105] 1270 Prezent dla żon<sup>139</sup>, Józef poznany<sup>140</sup>, prezent dla gospodyni<sup>141</sup> i Biały i Czarny<sup>142</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek siedm i pół
- [106] 1271 Rynaldo Rynaldyni<sup>143</sup> tomów 2 w półskórek oprawne [k. 8] kopiejek piętnaście
- [107] 1272 Czytania zabawne czyli wybor anegdotów<sup>144</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [108] 1273 Xiądz Pleban<sup>145</sup> część pierwsza w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [109] 1274 Zabawy przyjemne i pożyteczne<sup>146</sup> i dociekania o człowieku<sup>147</sup> razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek siedm o pół
- [110] 1275 Cztery wesela<sup>148</sup> tomów dwa w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [111] 1276 Rękopism nadesłany z wyspy Św. Heleny<sup>149</sup> w półskórek oprawny kopiejek pięć

<sup>138</sup> Contant Dorville, *Opisanie naturalne, historyczne y polityczne roznych kraioiw świata to jest ich położenie, Klima, Historia, Rewolucye, rząd, potęga, prawa., zwyczaje, sądy, rękodziela, handel, bogactwa, miny, urodzaie, Religia, zabobony, Kościoły, Kapłani, nauka, wesela, pogrzeby, stroj, rzadkie ptastwa, zwierzęta, ryby, tłum. z franc. Joachim Karwowski*, print XX. Scholarum Piarum, Warszawa 1774; Estr., vol. 14, p. 388.

<sup>139</sup> *Prezent dla żon z francuskiego przetłumaczony*, Warszawa, w Gröllowskiej Księgarni Nadworney Królewskiej, 1777; Estr., vol. 25, p. 240.

<sup>140</sup> One of the editions Piotr Metastasio (Metastazy), *Józef poznany, z włoskiego języka na polski przetłumaczone X.B. P.[opiel]*, Supraśl 1781, 1782; Estr., vol. 22, p. 307.

<sup>141</sup> *Prezent dla gospodyń z francuskiego przetłumaczony*, Warszawa 1777; Estr., vol. 25, p. 240.

<sup>142</sup> Franciszek Jaxyc Makulski, *Biały i Czarny z francuskiego*, no publishing place, 1790; Estr., vol. 22, p. 63.

<sup>143</sup> Christian A. Vulpius, *Rinaldo Rinaldini, herszt zbójców. Romans historyczny wieku osiemnastego, tłum. B. Kiciński*, Warszawa 1814 i inne wydania; Estr. XIX, vol. 6, p. 37 (at least 9 editions were published until 1884).

<sup>144</sup> *Czytania zabawne czyli wybor przygód, powieści moralnych i anekdotow, z rożnych autorow wybrane, a z francuzkiego na ięzyk polski wyłożone*, print Piotr Dufour, Warszawa 1786. *Czytania zabawne*, Kraków 1794; Estr., vol. 14, p. 588.

<sup>145</sup> Józef Kazimierz Korwin Kossakowski, *Xiądz Pleban. In aedificationem et non in destructionem*, part 1, no place or year of publishing, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 1, print M. Gröll, Warszawa 1788; Estr., vol. 20, p. 138.

<sup>146</sup> *Zabawy przyjemne i pożyteczne z sławnych wieku tego autorów zebrane*, ed. Jan Albertrand, Gröll, Warszawa 1769 (1770)-1777; Estr., vol. 3, p. 389; or “Zabawy Przyjemne i Pożyteczne”, Warszawa 1803–1807.

<sup>147</sup> Aleksander Pope, *Dociekania o Człowieku czyli Początki Obyczajności. Dzieło Jmć Pana Pope. Przetłumaczone od Jmć P. Targońskiego*, print XX. Trynitarzów, Lublin (1789); Estr., vol. 25, p. 64.

<sup>148</sup> J.I. Kraszewski, *Cztery wesela, szkic fantastyczny z dodatkiem improwizacyi fantastycznej Było nas dwoje*, vols. 1–2, Wilno 1834; Estr., vol. 2, p. 475.

<sup>149</sup> Napoleon I, *Rękopism nadesłany z wyspy św. Heleny niewiadomym sposobem, przełożony na polskie z francuskiego egzemplarza wydanego w Londynie u p. Murray*, transl. F. Bentkowski, print Zawadzkiego i Węckiego, Warszawa 1817; Estr., vol. 3, p. 204.

- [112] 1277 Bajki Krasickiego<sup>150</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzy  
 [113] 1278 Żywot Pana Jezusa<sup>151</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek dziesięć  
 [114] 1279 Pochwała Woronicza<sup>152</sup> i gabinet czytania<sup>153</sup> niekompletny razem  
 w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć  
 [115] 1280 Godne pamięci zarisy życia Jenerała feldmarszałka<sup>154</sup> Tomów sześć,  
 nieoprawne kopiejek trzydzieści  
 [116] 1281 Historyczno-biograficzny rys życia feldmarszałka Warszawskiego<sup>155</sup>  
 kopiejek siedm i pół  
 [117] 1282 Ludwika Helniłg powieść<sup>156</sup>, psota małpy powieść<sup>157</sup>, Kasperek w szczę-  
 ściu komedyo-opera<sup>158</sup>, Wolny malarz komedyja<sup>159</sup>, Literat z biedy komedyja<sup>160</sup>,  
 razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek dziesięć  
 [118] 1283 Zegar monarchów przez Guevarza<sup>161</sup> Części trzy w skórę oprawny  
 kopiejek pięć

<sup>150</sup> One of the editions: Ignacy Krasicki, *Bajki i przypowieści na cztery części podzielone*, editon and print Michał Gröll, Warszawa 1779, 1800; Estr., vol. 20, p. 220; Ignacy Krasicki, *Bajki i przypowieści tudzież Bajki nowe*, print XX. Pijarów, Warszawa 1805, 1806; Ignacy Krasicki, *Bajki i przypowieści dla użytku młodzieży szkolnej*, Wilno 1815; Ignacy Krasicki, *Bajki i przypowieści...*, wyd. nowe, Wrocław 1817; Ignacy Krasicki, *Bajki i przypowieści dla użytku dzieci przedrukowane*, Kraków 1818. Besides, 14 other editions appeared until 1845; Estr. XIX, vol. 2, pp. 266–267.

<sup>151</sup> The edition is difficult to establish in a clear manner.

<sup>152</sup> Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, *Pochwała Jana Pawła Woronicza, czytana na posiedzeniu Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk dnia 30 Kwietnia 1830 r. przez (...) członka tegoż Towarzystwa*, Puławy, no year, (1830), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Warszawa 1830; Estr. XIX, vol. 3, p. 357.

<sup>153</sup> *Gabinet Czytania, tj. zbiór powieści, romansów tudzież artykułów nauce i zabawie poświęconych*, w Księgarni F.S. Dmochowskiego, vols. 1–3, Warszawa 1834–1835; Estr., vol. 8, p. 13.

<sup>154</sup> G. Iwan, *Godne pamięci zarisy z życia jeneral-feldmarszałka Księcia Warszawskiego hrabi Jana Teodorowicza Paskiewicza Erywańskiego i walecznych jego towarzyszy obejmujące w sobie Wszystkie wojenne zdarzenia trzech pamiętnych kampanji: Perskiej, Tureckiej, i Polskiej, które oręż Rosyjski wslawiły*, vols. 1–6, print M. Chmielewski, Warszawa (vols. 1–5), 1843, (vol. 6), 1844; Estr., vol. 8, p. 9.

<sup>155</sup> J. Tołstoj, *Historyczno-biograficzny rys życia feldmarszałka księcia feldmarszałka księcia warszawskiego hrabi Paskiewicza Erewańskiego namiestnika Królestwa Polskiego z fr. przeł. W. Zajączkowski*, Warszawa 1840, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Warszawa 1840, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Warszawa 1841; Estr. XIX, vol. 4, p. 510.

<sup>156</sup> Probably: Elizabeth Helme, *Ludwika czyli odludne mieszkanie z angielskiego, przez JMci Panne, z angielskiego*, P. Dufour, Warszawa 1789; Elizabeth Helme, *Ludwika*, edycja nowa, Le Brun, Warszawa 1802; Estr., vol. 18, p. 89, <http://dlibra.umcs.lublin.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=25048&from=publishindex&dirids=10&lp=905> (accessed: 10.11.2019).

<sup>157</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>158</sup> Alojzy G. Żółkowski, *Kasperek w szczęściu komedyja opera w 1 akcie przez... aktora teatru warszawskiego z francuzkiego przerobiona*, print Gazeta warszawska, Warszawa 1814; Estr. XIX, vol. 5, p. 325.

<sup>159</sup> August Kotzebue, *Wolny mularz. Kom. w 1 a., tłum. K. Brodziński*, Warszawa 1819; Estr. XIX., vol. 19, p. 155.

<sup>160</sup> Jan Drozdowski, *Literat z biedy. Kom. oryg. w 4 a.*, Warszawa 1784; Estr. 15, p. 4.

<sup>161</sup> One of the editions: Antoni Guevara, *Zegar monarchów Cesarza Chrześcijańskiego penitenciarza, kaznodzieję y dzieiopisa roku 1524, złożony w roku 1611 z Castelskiego włoskiego Języka na laciński przełożony, teraz dla zabawy domowej po szkolnych pracach przez urodzonego Antoniego*

- [119] 1284 Doświadczyński dramat<sup>162</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzy  
 [120] 1285 O początku i postępie Instytutu Głuchoniemych w Warszawie<sup>163</sup> w papier oprawne [k. 9] kopiejka jedna 1  
 [121] 1286 Opis Egiptu<sup>164</sup> w półskórek oprawny kopiejki dwie  
 [122] 1287 Bajki i powieści przez Kurzewskiego<sup>165</sup> w papier oprawne z kopersztychami kopiejek pięć  
 [123] 1288 Obraz świata<sup>166</sup> tomów dwa w półskórek oprawne kopiejek czterdzięści pięć  
 [124] 1289 Poezja Książnica<sup>167</sup> tom trzeci w półskórek oprawne kopiejek dziesięć  
 [125] 1290 Listy Napoleona<sup>168</sup> tomów dwa w półskórek oprawne kopiejek piętnaście  
 [126] 1291 Skąpiec komedia<sup>169</sup>. Dwa dni w Szwajcarii saskiej<sup>170</sup> i Historia obyczajów i Instynkt zwierząt<sup>171</sup> tom pierwszy, część druga razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek dziesięć  
 [127] 1292 Edmund przez Witwickiego<sup>172</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek siedm i pół

*Felixa Roszkowskiego polskim tłumaczony językiem*, print Michał Wawrzyniec Presser, Leszno 1751. Other editions: Poznań 1759, 1762, Wilno 1765, Lwów 1776, Wilno [no year]; Estr., vol. 17, p. 461.

<sup>162</sup> *Doświadczyński, czyli cnota uciemżona do czasu. Drama w pięciu aktach. Wszak przyjaciel w potrzebie, w ogniu czystość złota; W przeciwnym losie szczęścia doświadcza się Cnota*, edition and print Michał Gröll, Warszawa 1779; Estr., vol. 15, p. 295.

<sup>163</sup> Jakub Falkowski, *O początku i postępie Instytutu Warszawskiego Głuchoniemych oraz niektóre jego urzędzenia, dla wiadomości osób iakikolwiek związek z tymże Instytutem mieć mogących*, Warszawa 1823; Estr., vol. 7, p. 31.

<sup>164</sup> Fr. Celestyn Chasseboeuf Volney, *Opis Egiptu podług najnowszej podróży pana (...) z francuzkiego, krótko zebrany przez Jana Nowickiego*, print Gröbl, Kraków 1800; Estr., vol. 5, p. 148.

<sup>165</sup> Kurzewski, *Bajki i powieści*, Warszawa 1838; Estr. XIX, vol. 2, p. 534.

<sup>166</sup> Tomasz Dziekoński, *Obraz świata pod względem geografii, statystyki i historyi wszystkich krajów, skreślony podług najlepszych źródeł. Z mappami, herbami wszystkich państw i rycinami*, vols. 1–2, Warszawa, Merzbach 1843; Estr. XIX, vol. 5, p. 301.

<sup>167</sup> Possible editions: Franciszek Książnin, *Poezye, t. I, edycya zupełna*, print Michał Gröll, Warszawa 1787; Franciszek Książnin, *Poezye, edycya zupełna podług wydania roku 1787 i 1788*, print Michał Gröll; Estr. vol. 19, p. 341; Franciszek Książnin, *Poezye*, vols. 1–3, ed. Towarzystwo Typograficzne, print A. Marcinowskiego, Wilno 1820; Estr. XIX., vol. 17, pp. 16–17.

<sup>168</sup> [Bonaparte Napoleon I], *Listy Napoleona do Józefiny, podczas pierwszej wyprawy włoskiej Konsulatu i Cesarstwa pisane tudzież listy Józefiny do Napoleona i jej córki. Przekład z francuskiego przez Adama Rogulskiego*, vol. 1–2, J. Glücksberg, Warszawa 1835; Estr., vol. 3, p. 203.

<sup>169</sup> Jan Chrzyciel Molier (Poquelin), *Skąpiec. Komedia w pięciu aktach z francuskiego na polski język przetłumaczona*, P. Dufour drukarza, Warszawa 1778; Estr., vol. 22, p. 515; Jan Chrzyciel Molier (Poquelin), *Skąpiec. Komedia*, print Glücksberg, Warszawa 1822; Estr. XIX., vol. 3, p. 155.

<sup>170</sup> [Andrzej Edward Koźmian], *Dwa dni w Szwajcaryi Saskiej w Roku 1825, przez A. E. K.*, print in Mazowiecka street Nr 1349, Warszawa 1828; Estr. XIX., vol. 2, p. 457.

<sup>171</sup> Juliusz Józef Virey, *Historja obyczajów i instynkt zwierząt*, vols. 1–2, print Zawadzki i Węcki, Warszawa 1828, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Warszawa 1844; Estr., vol. 5, p. 100.

<sup>172</sup> Stefan Witwicki, *Edmund. Poem. dram.*, 1829; Estr. XIX, vol. 5, p. 113.

- [128] 1293 *Alzyra Tragedya*<sup>173</sup>, *Diabeł kulawy* oraz rozmowy poważne i zabawne kominów Madryckich<sup>174</sup> razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek siedm i pół
- [129] 1294 *Listy i pisma różne*<sup>175</sup> tomów dwa razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [130] 1295 *Dziwak komedya*<sup>176</sup> i *dwaj zięciowie*<sup>177</sup> komedya razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek dziesięć
- [131] 1296 *Juliana Niemcewicza pism różnych wierszem i prozą*<sup>178</sup> tom drugi w półskórek oprawne kopiejek siedm i pół
- [132] 1297 *Dziennik seymowy z r. 1820*<sup>179</sup> i *krótki rzut oka na teraźniejszy stan kraiu*<sup>180</sup> razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [133] 1298 *List pana Lawal*<sup>181</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [k.10] [134] 1299 *Komedya o dewodce*<sup>182</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzy
- [135] 1300 *Przypadki Doświadczyńskiego* *Historya ksiąg* dwie i *Listy o ogrodach*<sup>183</sup> razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek siedm i pół
- [136] 1301 *Python Lipsko-warszawski Diabeł kontrtragedya*<sup>184</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć

<sup>173</sup> Franciszek Maria Arouet Voltaire, *Alzyra tragedya w pięciu aktach z francuskiego na polski język przetłumaczona*, print Dufour, Warszawa 1779; Estr., vol. 33, p. 307.

<sup>174</sup> Probably: Alain Rene Lesage, *Diabeł kulawy*, 1777; or: [Jacques Cazzote], *Diabeł rozkochany. Nowina hiszpańska, przeł. na polski język*, 1783; Estr., vol. 15, p. 167.

<sup>175</sup> Ignacy Krasicki, *Listy i pisma różne X. B. W.*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1786, edition and print Michał Gröll, vol. 2, Warszawa 1788; Estr., vol. 20, p. 222.

<sup>176</sup> Józef Bielawski, *Dziwak, komedya we trzech aktach na dzień trzeci Augusta przez (...) Fligel – Adjutanta Bulawy Wielkiej W. Xięstwa Littewskiego. Napisana y na Theatrum J. K. Mći grana. R. P. 1766*, print Mitzlerowskiej, Warszawa [1766]; Estr., vol. 13, p. 63; or: Nikodem Muśnicki, *Dziwak, komedya etc.*, Połock 1800; Estr., vol. 3, p. 183; or: Waclaw Rzewuski, *Dziwak komedya* przez J. R. S. D. G. L. W. K., Lwów, print Akademickiej J. K. M. Coll. Soc. Jesu, no place, no year (1760); Estr., vol. 26, pp. 553–554.

<sup>177</sup> Karol Wilhelm Étienne, *Dwaj zięciowie. Kom. w 5 a., tłumaczenia Pustelnika z Krakowskiego Przedmieścia* (Gerarda Maurycego Witowskiego), print Zawadzki i Węcki, Warszawa 1818; Estr., vol. 6, p. 161.

<sup>178</sup> Julian Ursyn Niemcewcz, *Pisma różne wierszem i prozą*, vols. 1–2, Warszawa 1803–1805.

<sup>179</sup> *Dziennik posiedzeń Izby Poselskiej w czasie Seymu Królestwa Polskiego w roku 1820 odbytego*, [Warszawa 1820].

<sup>180</sup> *Krótki rzut oka na teraźniejszy stan kraiu i niektóre myśli, do ulepszenia dążące, przez iednego z Deputowanych ułożony*, Warszawa 1820.

<sup>181</sup> Lawal, *List byłego pastora w Condé do swoich dawnych współwyznawców, wydany w Paryżu w 1825, przełożony z francuskiego w tymże roku przez pewnego Polaka ex-protestanta*, u XX. Misjonarzy, Warszawa, no year (after 1825); Estr., vol. 2, p. 554.

<sup>182</sup> Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, *Komedia o dewotce*, Wrocław 1771; Estr., vol. 17, p. 81.

<sup>183</sup> Ignacy Krasicki, *Dziela, edycja nowa*, vols. 1–10, u Fr. Dmochowskiego, Warszawa 1802–1804, vol. 5: *Listy o ogrodach*; Ignacy Krasicki, *Dziela, edycja nowa i zupełna podług wydania Fr. Dmochowskiego*, vols. 1–10, edition and print Glücksberg, Warszawa 1829, vol. 5: *Doświadczyńskiego przypadki, Historia, Listy o ogrodach*; Estr., vol. 2, p. 466.

<sup>184</sup> Karol Surowiecki, *Python, lipsko-warszawski diabeł, kontr-tragedya na tragedye Saul wyjętą z Pisma Świętego grana przez aktorów Tamtego Świata w roku 1792 Świata ziemskiemu objawiona*, Warszawa (1792); Estr., vol. 30, p. 64.

- [137] 1302 Pierwsza miłość komedia<sup>185</sup> i wszystko się skończyło na projekcie tragedya<sup>186</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [138] 1303 Oblężenie Płocka drama<sup>187</sup>, Belizar tragedia<sup>188</sup>, Córka znaleziona drama<sup>189</sup> i Łaska imperatora<sup>190</sup> komedia razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek siedm i pół
- [139] 1304 Omyłka komedia<sup>191</sup> w półskórek oprawna kopiejek trzy
- [140] 1305 Izys Polska<sup>192</sup> tom pierwszy w półskórek oprawna kopiejek dziesięć
- [141] 1306 Samolub komedia<sup>193</sup>, wolny mularz komedia<sup>194</sup>, Germkowie króla Jana<sup>195</sup> i Gawel na księżycu<sup>196</sup> razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek siedm i pół
- [142] 1307 Sybilla poema historyczne<sup>197</sup> razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzy

<sup>185</sup> Franciszek Ksawery Błotnicki, *Pierwsza miłość*. Kom. w 1 a., no year or place of publishing; or: Scribe Eugeniusz, *Pierwsza miłość, czyli Pamiętka dziecinności*. Kom. w 1 a., tłum.? Jan Chodźko, Wilno 1837; or: Dyzma Bończa Tomaszewski, *Pierwsza miłość, komedia w 3 aktach*, print Gröbl, Lipsk (Kraków) 1805; Estr., vol. 4, p. 514.

<sup>186</sup> Wincenty Ignacy Kościesz Marewicz, *Wszystko się skończyło na projekcie*. Komedia oryginalna we dwóch Aktach napisana przez Wincentego Ma[re]wicza roku 1795, w tymże roku dnia 26 Kwietnia grana na Teatrze Wileńskim, (no place, no year); Estr., vol. 22, p. 153.

<sup>187</sup> Wincenty Gawarecki, *Oblężenie Płocka rycerskie drama z chorami, marszami*. We III. aktach, z Dzieł Oczyszczonych oryginalnie napisane przez... Wystawione na Teatrze Narodowym w Płocku dnia 20 Lipca 1817. roku, przez Artystów Dramatycznych pod Dyrekcją Jana Milewskiego, kosztem autora, print XX. Pijarów, Warszawa 1817, 1823; Estr., vol. 8, p. 104.

<sup>188</sup> Wichert Jan (Wihert), *Belizar Traiedia Przez Xiędza Iana De Wihert Kustosza Inflantskiego w Pięciu Aktach Dnia 15. Grudnia Napisana Druk. Nadworney Jego Krol: Mości Y Prześ. Kom. Edu. Narod.*, (po 1787); Estr., vol. 32, p. 427.

<sup>189</sup> Jan Franciszek Marmontel, *Córka znaleziona dram w 3 aktach*, print Dufour, Warszawa 1779; Estr., vol. 22, p. 183.

<sup>190</sup> Ludwik A. Dmuszewski, *Łaska imperatora, Opera wystawiona pierwszy raz na Teatrze Narodowym Warszawskim dnia 11 marca 1814 r. Poezya Ludwika A. Dmuszewskiego, muzyka Karola Kurpińskiego*, print Pijarów, Warszawa no year of publishing, Estr., vol. 4, p. 198.

<sup>191</sup> *Omyłka, komedia we dwóch aktach z francuzkiego przetłomaczona*, print P. Dufour, Warszawa 1778; Estr., vol. 23, p. 352.

<sup>192</sup> "Izys Polska. Dziennik umiejętności, wynalazków, kunsztów i rękodzieł, pośw. krajowemu przemysłowi tudziej potrzebie wiejskiego i miejskiego gospodarstwa", Warszawa 1820–1828; Estr., vol. 11, p. 171.

<sup>193</sup> Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Samolub*. Kom. w 5 a., reprezentowana na Teatrze Warszawskim pierwszy raz 22 grudnia 1811, print XX. Pijarów, Warszawa 1814; Estr., vol. 3, p. 227.

<sup>194</sup> August Kotzebue, *Wolny mularz*. Kom. w 1 a., transl. K. Brodziński, Warszawa, edition and print Zawadzki and Węcki, 1819. August Kotzebue, *Wolny mularz*, edition without the name of the printing house, Warszawa 1819 (variant drugi); Estr., vol. 19, p. 155.

<sup>195</sup> Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Giermkowie króla Jana*. Kom. w 1 a., naśl. z franc. Dupaty i Dieulafoy (1789); or Ludwik Emanuel Mercier Dupaty, *Giermkowie króla Jana*. Kom. w 1 a., J. U. Niemcewicz, Warszawa 1808; Estr., vol. 3, p. 228.

<sup>196</sup> Henryk Beck, *Gawel na księżycu, komedia w 3 aktach, z francuskiego języka na polski język przełożona przez Alojzego Żółkowskiego, 11 Stycznia 1805 r. przez Aktorów Polskich na Teatrze Warszawskim pierwszy raz grana*, print W. Dąbrowskiego, Warszawa 1805; Estr. XIX, vol. 2, p. 145.

<sup>197</sup> Jan Paweł Woronicz, *Sybilla, poema w czterech pieśniach*, Kraków 1831; Estr., vol. 5, p. 161.

- [143] 1308 Powieści moralne panny Uncy tom czwarty<sup>198</sup>, sąd bezstronny iednej damy filozofki<sup>199</sup> razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek siedm i pół
- [144] 1309 Dziennik Warszawski<sup>200</sup> tom drugi do dwunastego w sześciu książkach w półskórek oprawne kopiejek czterdzieści pięć
- [145] 1310 Światowid<sup>201</sup> tom drugi, w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzy
- [146] 1311 Rozmaitości Warszawskie<sup>202</sup> z roku 1821 i 1822 razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [147] 1312 Rozmaitości Warszawskie z roku [k.11] 1824, 1825, 1826 w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [148] 1313 Rozmaitości Warszawskie z roku 1828 w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [149] 1314 Rozmaitości Warszawskie z roku 1829 w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [150] 1315 Rozmaitości Warszawskie z roku 1830 w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [151] 1316 Rozmaitości Warszawskie z roku 1832 w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [152] 1317 Rozmaitości Warszawskie z roku 1838 w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [153] 1318 Rozmaitości Warszawskie z roku 1830 z kwartału pierwszego w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [154] 1319 Krótkie zebranie trzech praw początkowych natury, politycznego i narodowego<sup>203</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzy
- [155] 1320 Życie Marszałków francuskich w safian oprawne kopiejek czterdzieści pięć<sup>204</sup>
- [156] 1321 Echo nr 13. z roku 1841<sup>205</sup> pół kopiejki

<sup>198</sup> Uncy, *Powieści moralne z różnych autorów przez pannę... na dopełnienie jakoby powieści Marmontela wybrane, a z francuskiego na język polski przez IMC NN przełożone*, vols. 1–4, print P. Du four, Warszawa 1779–1780.

<sup>199</sup> Klaud. Cypr. Abrassewin, *Wszyscy błędzą czyli sprawa z obydwóch stron niesłuszna albo sąd obojętny iednej damy filozofki w terażniejszych okolicznościach Jezuitow francuskich r. 1762 wydany a z francuzkiego przetłumaczony w polskim ięzyku do druku podany od N. P.*, print Jan Fryderyk Bartels, Gdańsk 1766; Estr., vol. 12, p. 9.

<sup>200</sup> "Dziennik Warszawski" (miesięcznik), Warszawa 1825–1829; Estr., vol. 3, p. 403.

<sup>201</sup> "Światowid, czyli zbiór najciekawszych powieści i artykułów tak tłumaczonych jak oryginalnych, nauce i zabawie poświęconych przez tegoczesnych autorów" (przy "Gazecie Warszawskiej"); Estr., vol. 3, p. 476.

<sup>202</sup> "Rozmaitości". (Dodatek do "Gazety Korespondenta Warszawskiego") since 1824 entitled: "Rozmaitości Warszawskie", Warszawa 1818–1839; Estr., vol. 3, p. 468.

<sup>203</sup> *Krotkie Zebranie Trzech Praw Początkowych. To Jest: Prawa Natury, Politycznego i Narodów z Roznych Autorow Wyjęte*, print Kazimierza Schlichtyna, Lwów 1780; Estr., vol. 35, p. 171.

<sup>204</sup> Tomasz Dziekoński, *Życie marszałków francuzkich z czasów Napoleona z rycinami rytymi przez najpierwszych artystów francuzkich podług oryginalnych obrazów z galeryi Wérsalskiej*, edition H. Merzbacha, print Maksymilian Chmielewski, Warszawa 1841, 1842; Estr., vol. 5, p. 303.

<sup>205</sup> "Echo. Tygodniowy dodatek do Gazety Warszawskiej", Warszawa 1841; Estr., vol. 3, p. 405.

- [157] 1322 Orzeł Biały<sup>206</sup> tomów dziewięć w trzech księgach w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzydzieści
- [158] 1323 Tencza<sup>207</sup> dziewięć tomów niekompletnych w pięciu książkach oprawne w półskórek kopiejek trzydzieści
- [159] 1324 Tencza tom piąty w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [160] 1325 Tencza tom drugi w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzy
- [161] 1326 Zbiór Historji Ludu Izraelskiego<sup>208</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [162] 1327 Nanci adelson i Salwini<sup>209</sup> i rozrywki przyjemne i pożyteczne<sup>210</sup> tomów dwa razem w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [k. 12]** [163] 1328 Inkassy<sup>211</sup> tom drugi w półskórek oprawne kopiejek pięć
- [164] 1329 Klasztor powieść<sup>212</sup>, tom piąty w półskórek oprawny kopiejek trzy
- [165] 1330 Awantura Amelii<sup>213</sup> tom trzeci w półskórek oprawny kopiejek trzy
- [166] 1331 Aspazyja<sup>214</sup> tom drugi w półskórek oprawny kopiejek trzy
- [167] 1332 Wiersze X. B. W.<sup>215</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzy
- [168] 1333 Podróż Guliwera<sup>216</sup> tom trzeci bez początku w półskórek oprawny kopiejek dwie

<sup>206</sup> Probably "Orzeł Biały" (three times a week), Warszawa 1819–1820; or: "Orzeł Biały. Dziennik polit." (two times a week), Warszawa 1830; or "Orzeł Biały", (two time a month), Bruksela 1839–1848; Estr., vol. 3, p. 442.

<sup>207</sup> "Tęcza. Pismo dodatkowe do Gazety Warszawskiej poświęcone literaturze", (monthly), Warszawa 1838–1839 (Kontynuacja "Światowida", potem pt. "Wieniec"); Estr., vol. 3, p. 478.

<sup>208</sup> Claude Fleury, *Zbiór historyi Ludu Izraelskiego y uwag nad nim politycznych. Z Xiąg Pisma świętego Starego Zakonu wzięty Przez X. S. B. Scholarum Piarum*, print XX. Schol. Piarum., Warszawa (no year of publishing); Estr., vol. 16, p. 237.

<sup>209</sup> Franc.[iszek] Tomasz Maria d'Arnaud Baculard, *Adelson i Salwini, historia angielska*, Warszawa 1808; Estr., vol. 1, p. 185.

<sup>210</sup> "Rozrywki Przyjemne i Pożyteczne. Dziełko pośw. literaturze, poezji i romansom", przez Konstantyna Majeranowskiego, (później "Flora Polska"), vols. 1–9, Kraków 1826; Estr. XIX, vol. 4, p. 130.

<sup>211</sup> Jan Franciszek Marmontel, *Inkasy, czyli zniszczenie państwa Peru napisane przez (...) tłum. Stanisława Kłokockiego*, vols. 1–2, print Gröll, Warszawa 1781; Jan Franciszek Marmontel, *Inkasy*, Lwów 1794; Estr., vol. 22, p. 183; Jan Franciszek Marmontel, *Inkasy*, ed. 2, print Zawadzkiej, Warszawa 1801; Estr., vol. 3, p. 72.

<sup>212</sup> Walter Scott, *Klasztor; Powieść z angielskiego przełożona*, vols. 1–5, ("Biblioteka Nowych Romansów"), print Stereotypowa, Warszawa 1830; Estr., vol. 4, p. 269.

<sup>213</sup> Mar[ia] Joanna, Laboras de Mézierès Riccoboni, *Awantura Amalii przez Henryka Fieldinga wyjęta z dzieł (...)*, Warszawa 1791; *ibid.*, Supraśl 1787–1788; Estr., vol. 26, p. 298.

<sup>214</sup> *Cnota w drodze do szczęścia czyli Aspazyja. Przypadki*, angielskie tłumaczenie W. K\*\*\*, vols. 1–2, P. Dufour, Warszawa 1787; Estr., vol. 14, p. 309; or: Wincenty Kamiński, *Cnota w drodze do szczęścia czyli Aspazyja. Przypadki angielskie. Tłumaczenie W. K.*, vols. 1–2, new edition, print Tomasz Le Brun, Successora Piotra Dufour, Warszawa 1803; Estr., vol. 14 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), p. 60.

<sup>215</sup> [Ignacy Krasicki], *Wiersze X.B.W.*, edition and print Mich. Gröll, Warszawa 1784.

<sup>216</sup> Jan Swift, *Podróż Kapitana Gulliwera w Różne Kraje Dalekie w Języku Angielskim napisane*, vols. 1–2, Supraśl 1784, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., print Grebl, Kraków 1804. Probably there was also an edition in 1787; Estr., vol. 19, p. 99.

- [169] 1334 Przyjaźń patriotyczna<sup>217</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek dwie  
 [170] 1335 Nauka położnic<sup>218</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzy  
 [171] 1336 Obowiązki damy chrześcijańskiej<sup>219</sup> w półskórek oprawne jedna kopiejka  
 [172] 1337 Adyna Romans<sup>220</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzy  
 [173] 1338 Kalendarzyk polityczny na rok 1844<sup>221</sup> w safian oprawny z futerałem  
 kopiejek trzy  
 [174] 1339 Memoires dela societe Royale de antiquaires du nord<sup>222</sup> w papier  
 oprawne kopiejek pięć  
 [175] 1340 Kodex paenalis pro Galicia occidentali<sup>223</sup> pół kopiejki  
 [176] 1341 Uwagi nad uwagami o dziesięcinach<sup>224</sup> pół kopiejki  
 [177] 1342 Uwagi nad uwagami o dziesięcinach pół kopiejki  
 [178] 1343 Dokumenta do spraw dziesięcinnych w Polsce<sup>225</sup> pół kopiejki  
 [179] 1344 Opusculum impedimenta quedam sanitatis communia<sup>226</sup> w papier  
 oprawne pół kopiejki

<sup>217</sup> Adolf Kamiński, *Przyjaźń patriotyczna, w której się podają sposoby niezawodne do uczynienia ludzi cnotliwymi i lepszymi obywatelami*, print M. Grölla, Warszawa 1772; Estr., vol. 19, p. 75.

<sup>218</sup> Probably: Jędrzej Głaber Cobylinus (z Kobylina), *Nauka położnic ratowania y leczenia, przez mistrza Andrzeia z Kobylina napisana y nowo wydana*, print Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, 1589; Estr., vol. 17, p. 156; or: Głaber Jędrzej Cobylinus (z Kobylina), *Nauka położnic ratowania y leczenia, przez mistrza Andrzeia z Kobylina napisana y nowo wydana*, print Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, 1618; Estr., vol. 17, p. 156; or: Augier Du Fot An. Amable, *Nauka położnicza przez pytania y odpowiedzi po francuzku napisana a teraz wyłożona po polsku przez Józefa Berger de Lonchamps ucznia medycyny, nauk wyzwolonych i filozofii doktora, korrepetytora anatomii w Szkole głównej X. L.*, Print Akad., Wilno 1789; Estr., vol. 12, p. 263.

<sup>219</sup> *Obowiązki Damy chrześcijańskiej*, print Gröll, Warszawa 1769, 1779; Estr., vol. 23, p. 225.

<sup>220</sup> Franciszek Jan d'Villemain Abancourt, *Adina czyli pasterka pyreneyska i innch kilka romansów napisana po francuzku przez (...), a po polsku wyłożona przez F. Zaleskiego*, print Ragoczy, Warszawa 1808; Estr., vol. 1, p. 3.

<sup>221</sup> Probably: *Kalendarzyk polityczny*, published by Fr. Radziszewski, Warszawa (1829–1848) or: *Kalendarzyk Polityczny krakowski na rok 1844. Rok pierwszy*, Print Uniwersytecka, edition by J. Cypcer, Kraków (1843); Estr., vol. 3, p. 367.

<sup>222</sup> *Mémoires de la Société royale des antiquaires du nord, 1840–1844*. Copenhagen, Secrétariat de la Société, 1844, <https://www.worldcat.org/title/memoires-de-la-societe-royale-des-antiquaires-du-nord-1840-1844/oclc/15503221> (accessed: 10.11.2019).

<sup>223</sup> *Codex poenalis pro Galicia Occidentali*, typis Josephi Hraschanky, Viennae 1796; Estr., vol. 14, p. 314.

<sup>224</sup> *Uwagi nad uwagami o dziesięcinach*, print Tomasz Le Brun, Warszawa 1803; Estr., vol. 4, p. 626.

<sup>225</sup> Józef Olechowski, *Dokumenta do spraw dziesięcinnych w Polsce. Si non sunt validae dotes et privilegia majorum et antecessorum nostrorum ecclesiis collata, cujus erunt firmitatis illa, aliis ordinibus, sub paribus signis, pari atramento et pelle concessa? Sigismundus I ad Consiliarios Prussiae*, vol. 1, fol. 484, Kraków 1779; or: Józef Olechowski, *Dokumenta do spraw dziesięcinnych w Polsce powtore do druku podane, przez W. Jmci Xiędza Jana Polanowskiego Proboszcza Rzepińskiego*, print Bractwo Świętej Trojcy, Lwów 1781; or: Józef Olechowski, *Dokumenta*, print XX. Trynitarzów, Lublin 1788; Estr., vol. 19, pp. 319–320.

<sup>226</sup> [Jan Nepomucen Antoni Hermann], *Nepomuceni Hermani, Opusculum impedimenta quaedam sanitatis comunia exhibens*, Typis S. R. M. in Collegio PP. Trynitariorum, Lublini 1782; Estr., vol. 18, p. 156.



- [k. 13] [180] 1345 Retoryka Instytucio<sup>227</sup> w skórę oprawne kopiejka jedna  
 [181] 1346 Abrege Raisonne de Historye universalle sacre et profane<sup>228</sup> w skórę oprawne kopiejka jedna 1  
 [182] 1347 Opisanie Królestwa Portugalii<sup>229</sup> w papier oprawne pół kopiejki  
 [183] 1348 Gramatyka łacińska bez tytułu w papier oprawne kopiejki pół  
 [184] 1349 Filozof bez religii<sup>230</sup> w półskórek oprawne tomów dwa kopiejka jedna i pół  
 [185] 1350 Rudimenta Geographica<sup>231</sup> w skórę oprawne kopiejka jedna  
 [186] 1351 Geografia bez początku w papier oprawne pół kopiejki  
 [187] 1352 Epigramata Deceyusa ausoniusza przez Minasowicza<sup>232</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek dwie

### Tytuł XXXXI Książki duchowne

- [188] 1353 Kazania o nieśmiertelności duszy<sup>233</sup> w papier oprawne kopiejka jedna  
 [189] 1354 O władzy duchowney<sup>234</sup> w papier oprawne kopiejka jedna i pół  
 [190] 1355 Woyna duchowna<sup>235</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzy

<sup>227</sup> Probably one of the editions of the textbook: Marcin Waleszyński, *Rhetorica Institutio, IV Libris*, Typis eiusdem Universitatis, Cracoviae 1722; Marcin Waleszyński, *Rhetorica Institutio V Libris comprehensa*, ed. secunda, Typis Collegii Majoris Universitatis, Cracoviae 1752; Estr., vol. 32, p. 170.

<sup>228</sup> Perrin de Chavanette, abbé, *Abrégé portatif de l'histoire universelle, sacrée et profane, pour l'instruction de la jeunesse par*, vols. 1–3, Saugrain le jeune, Paris 1778, <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb393610687> (accessed: 10.11.2019).

<sup>229</sup> Aubert René Vertot, *Opisanie Krolestwa Portugalii Y Historia Przednieysze w sobie Państwa tego dzieie Y Kilku wiekow rewolucye Zamykaiąca Z różnych pisarzow Mianowicie z Sławnego Francuza Jmieniem L'Abbe de Vertot. Zebrana Y Dla pożytku Národu Polskiego*, print Soc. Jesu, Lublin 1754; Estr., vol. 32, p. 391.

<sup>230</sup> Jakub Vernet, *Filozof bez Religii uważany w towarzystwie. Przez W. JX. X. (awerego) B.(ohusza) P.(ralata) Kapituły) W. X. L.(tiewskiego)*, vols. 1–2, Print Akademicka, Wilno 1786; Estr., vol. 32, p. 379.

<sup>231</sup> One of the editions: *Rudimenta Geographica sive brevis facilisque Methodus Juventutem Ortho-doxam notitia Geographica imbuendi. Pro Gymnasiis S. J. Auctore ejusdem Societatis Sacerdote. Opusculum sextum. Cum Fac. Sup. Juxta Exemplar Wratislav. Reimpressa*, typis Coll. Soc. Jesu, Brunsbergae 1742. Other editions: Calissii 1745, Leopoli 1746, Calissii 1753, Lublini 1761; Estr., vol. 26, p. 457.

<sup>232</sup> D.M. Ausonius, *Epigramaty, nagrobki bohaterów greckich i trojańskich; Edylie, przekładania J. E. Minasowicza*, print Mitzler, Warszawa 1765; D.M. Ausonius, *Epigrammata, nagrobki i edyllia wybrane*, transl. J. E. Minasowicz, Warszawa 1765; Estr., vol. 1, p. 305.

<sup>233</sup> Probably: Andrzej Filipecki, *O nieśmiertelności duszy ludzkiej przeciwko teraznieszym libertynom, kazania w kościele katedr. metropolit. Lwowskiy na niedziele adwentowe przez Andrzeia Filipeckiego Soc: Jesu w teyże katedrze kaznodzieię Ordynariusza miane*, print Akademickiey Collegii Soc. Jesu, Lwów 1769; Estr., vol. 16, p. 217.

<sup>234</sup> Adalbert (Wojciech) Skarszewski Leszycy, *O władzy duchowney przez Autora Pisma o małżeństwie no place*, no year (print XX. Misjonarzy, Warszawa 1820); Estr., vol. 4, p. 255.

<sup>235</sup> One of the editions: Laurenti Scupoli, *Woyna duchowna W.O Laurentiusa Skupuli, Zakonu Teatyńskiego (...) zalecona przez Deotyma Nerserowicza Penitencjarza do Polski sprowadzona, Zamość 1683; Woyna duchowna albo nauka do doskonałego zwycięstwa samego siebie prowadząca*

- [191] 1356 Boga nieśmiertelnego Święta Historia<sup>236</sup> w papier oprawne kopiejek dziesięć
- [192] 1357 Officia propria sanctorum patronum<sup>237</sup> w skórę oprawne kopiejek pięć- naście
- [193] 1358 Sposób przestawiania z Bogiem<sup>238</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek trzy
- [194] 1359 Dictionaire Historique [k. 14] de la Bible<sup>239</sup> tom 6 w półskórek oprawne rubel srebrem jeden
- [195] 1360 Wiadomość historyczna o cudownem medalu panny Maryi<sup>240</sup> w papier oprawne kopiejek dwie

po całym chrześcijaństwie w różnych językach wydana od ks. Deodata Nerserowicza (...) na polski język przełożona, print Soc. Jesu, Lublin 1746. Other editions: Wilno 1759, Lublin 1761, Berdyczów 1767, Połock 1792, Przemyśl 1797. In total, 9 editions appeared till the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> c.; Estr., vol. 27, p. 319. Besides, J. Casteniza, *Pugna spiritualis*, 1644; or: *Rozbrat (grzesznika ze światem)*, Typis Academiae Posnaniensis, 1719; Estr., vol. 33, p. 215.

<sup>236</sup> Ksawery Orłowski, *Boga nieśmiertelnego w śmiertelnej ludzkiej naturze cierpiącego historia święta, wyjątkami nauki obyczajowej z pisma św. i Ojców kościoła objaśniona dla użytku chrześcijan prawowiernych z łacińskiego na język polski przetłumaczona*, print XX. Pijarów, Warszawa 1837; Estr., vol. 3, p. 315.

<sup>237</sup> *Oficja własne patronów* – forms of the Liturgy of the Hours used on the day of commemorating one's patrons; associated with the cult of the saints, spread as a result of the printing art. Texts included in liturgical books and in the appendixes were published with the acceptance of the Apostolic See. The following appeared in Poland in 1641: *Officia propria SS. patronorum Regni Poloniae et Sueciae*, Wł. 1641; Krzysztof Stola, *Oficja własne patronów*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 14, ed. E. Gigilewicz, Lublin 2010, col. 405–406. Besides, Estr. notes *Officia propria SS. patronum Regni Sveciae ex vetustis breviariis eiusdem Regni deprompta: Ad instantiam Sermi Sigismundi III Sueciae et Poloniae Regis, a sac. rituum congregatione, auctoritate apostolica, recognita et approbata, atq; omnibus tam in dicto Sueciae quam etiam Poloniae regno habitantibus concessa ut libere et licite translatis vel omissis aliis officiis, quae eadem die occurrunt, recitari possint et valeant*, in officina Plantiniana Baltasaris Moreti, Antverpiae 1631; or: *Officia propria Patronorum Regni Poloniae olim edita et juxta Ritum Breviarii monastici pro omnibus sub Regula S. P. Benedicti militibus accomodata nunc denuo ob defectum per RR. PP. Eremitas Camaldulenses Montis Argentinii reimpressa et aucta*, in typographia seminarii acad., Cracoviae 1770; or: *Officia propria sanctorum patronum Sacri Ordinis Divi Benedicti ex recenti Breviario Benedictino desumpta ... typis mandata A.D. 1681 (B.m.w.)*; Estr., vol. 23, p. 275.

<sup>238</sup> *Sposób przestawiania z Bogiem czyli nauka pokazująca łatwość każdego stanu i kondycyi człowiekowi mimo swoich zabaw myślenia o Bogu. Dzieło to w francuskim języku napisane, dla gruntownych dowodów wielce pożyteczne na polski język przetłumaczone, do druku podane roku 1780*, print Kazim. Szlichtyna, Lwów [1780]; *Sposób przestawiania z Bogiem*, print XX. Missionarzy, Warszawa 1780; Estr., vol. 29, p. 131.

<sup>239</sup> Augustin Dom Calmet, *Dictionnaire historique, critique, chronologique, géographique et littéral de la Bible, par le (...)*, vols. 1–4, chez Marc-Michel Bousquet, Genève 1730 and other editions, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8626560z/f2.image> (accessed: 10.11.2019).

<sup>240</sup> O. Aladel, *Wiadomość historyczna o początku i skutkach nowego medalu wybitego na cześć Niep. Pocz. N. P. M. a powszechnie znanego pod imieniem medal cudowny. Z dołączoną przy końcu nowenną przez Xiędza M.*, translation from French, Warszawa 1838; Estr. XIX., vol. 1, p. 69.

- [196] 1361 Treść nauki chrześcijańskiej<sup>241</sup> w dwóch egzemplarzach pół kopiejki  
 [197] 1362 Fundacya zakonna Xięży kapucynów w Warszawie<sup>242</sup> kopiejka jedna i pół  
 [198] 1363 Nauka o Jubileuszu<sup>243</sup> w dwóch exemplarzach kopiejka jedna  
 [199] 1364 Chwała Męczennika Świętego Jana Nepomucena<sup>244</sup> w papier oprawne  
 pół kopiejki  
 [200] 1365 Obrona Chrystianizmu<sup>245</sup> tom trzeci i czwarty w półskórek oprawne  
 kopiejek pięć  
 [201] 1366 Podział Historji Świętej<sup>246</sup> tomów dwa w półskórek oprawne kopiejek  
 pięć  
 [202] 1367 Książka do Nabożeństwa przez Dunina<sup>247</sup> w safian oprawna z futerałem  
 kopiejek czterdzieści pięć

<sup>241</sup> This is: Robert Franc. Bellarmin, *Krótki zbiór nauki chrześcijańskiej przez X. Bellarmina, prze- kład z łacińskiego przez Kaspra Sawickiego*, Wilno 1606; or: [Grzegorz Piramowicz?] *Zbior nauki chrześcijańskiej*, 1784; or: Onufry Kopczyński, *Zbiór Nauki I Chrześcijańskiej i II Obyczajowej*, Warszawa 1786. 15 editions appeared until 1845, the last edition Warszawa 1858; Estr., vol. 20, p. 74; Estr. XIX, vol. 17, pp. 419–420.

<sup>242</sup> Michał Baliński, *Fundacya zakonu i kościoła XX. Kapucynów w Warszawie. Pismo umieszczone w Roczniku religijnym "Alleluja"*, print in Rymarska street, Warszawa 1840; Michał Baliński, *Fundacya*, print Sennewalda, (Warszawa) 1843; Estr. XIX, vol. 2, p. 39.

<sup>243</sup> Antoni Malinowski, *Nauka o Jubileuszu z przydatkiem różnych modlitw, wydana przez X. S. T. L. Missionarza Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego*, print XX. Bazylianow, Wilno 1776; Estr., vol. 22, p. 95.

<sup>244</sup> Probably: *Chwała Bogu w Trojcy Świętej jedyemu ze sławą S. Jana Nepomucena złączona*, print Akad. S. Jesu, 1747; Estr. vol. 14, p. 231; or: *Forteca ręką boską wystawiona to jest życie, śmierć i czenie S. Jana Nepomucena męczennika niegdyś z łacińskiego na język polski przetłumaczone i i w Krakowie w R.P. 1716 drukowane a teraz powtórnie do druku podane R. P. 1736*, Wilno; Estr., vol. 18, p. 437.

<sup>245</sup> Dionizy Frayssinous (de) ks., *Obrona Chrystianizmu przez X. (...), biskupa hermopolitańskiego, ministra spraw religijnych, iednego z czterdziestu członków Akademii paryzkiej, para Francji, pierwszego jałmużnika przy królu, przekład Modesta Watta Kosickiego doktora filozofii (dokończony, zaś zaczęty przez Józefa Lipińskiego)*. (Biblioteka Chrześcijańska), vols. 1–4, Print Szkolna, Warszawa (vols. 1–3) 1827, (vol. 4) 1828; Dionizy Frayssinous (de) ks., *Obrona*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., corrected, vols. 1–4, Warszawa 1828; Estr. XIX, vol. 7, p. 227.

<sup>246</sup> Claude Fleury, *Podział Historji Świętej zawieraiący w sobie cztery rodzaie rządu ludu Bożego przez Ant. Apolskiego*, vol. 1, Łowicz 1782; Estr, vol. 16, p. 237.

<sup>247</sup> One of the editions of a popular prayer book: Marcin Dunin Sulgustowski, *Książka do nabożeństwa, z polecenia Najprzewielebniejszego ś. p. arcybiskupa Dunina wyjęta z świeżo wyszłej książki dla wszystkich katolików szczególnie zaś dla wygody katolików archidiecezyi poznańskiej i gnieźnieńskiej, dla kobiet*, Leszno, print Ernesta Güntera, Gniezno 1842; Marcin Dunin Sulgustowski, *Książka do nabożeństwa, z polecenia Najprzewielebniejszego ś. p. arcybiskupa Dunina wyjęta z świeżo wyszłej książki dla wszystkich katolików szczególnie zaś dla wygody katolików archidiecezyi poznańskiej i gnieźnieńskiej*, edition and print W. Stefański, Poznań 1844. There were four editions until 1845, including separate ones for men and women. It was frequently republished till the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> c.; Estr. XIX, vol. 5, p. 233, [https://katalogi.bn.org.pl/discovery/se-arch?query=any,contains,Dunin%20Sulgustowski&tab=LibraryCatalog&vid=48OMNIS\\_NLO-P:48OMNIS\\_NLOP&lang=pl&offset=0](https://katalogi.bn.org.pl/discovery/se-arch?query=any,contains,Dunin%20Sulgustowski&tab=LibraryCatalog&vid=48OMNIS_NLO-P:48OMNIS_NLOP&lang=pl&offset=0). (accessed: 10.11.2019).

- 1368 *Directorium officis divini*<sup>248</sup> na rok 1844 w materię karmazynową oprawna w futerale kopiejka jedna
- [203] 1369 O rozmyślaniu męki Jezusowej<sup>249</sup> część druga w półskórek oprawne kopiejki pół
- [204] 1370 Modlitwa dla chorych<sup>250</sup> w papier oprawne pół kopiejki
- [205] 1371 Człowiek Chrześcijański<sup>251</sup> w półskórek oprawne kopiejek dwie
- [206] 1372 Jasna pochodnia Świętego Franciszka Salezjusza<sup>252</sup> w półskórek oprawne pół kopiejki
- [207] 1373 Mądrości i Męztwo Świętej Tekli<sup>253</sup> [k.15] w półskórek oprawne kopiejka jedna
- [208] 1374 Katechizm filozoficzny<sup>254</sup> tomów dwa w papier oprawne kopiejek trzy
- [209] 1375 Rok miłości Boskiej<sup>255</sup> w skórę oprawne kopiejek trzy
- [210] 1376 Nowy Testament przez Wujka<sup>256</sup> w skórę oprawne kopiejek piętnaście

<sup>248</sup> *Directorium officis divini*, directorium, a publication of the Catholic Church containing a detailed description of the liturgical year; Mariusz Konieczny, *Rubrycella*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 17, ed. E. Gigilewicz, Lublin 2012, col. 513–514. Numerous editions mentioned by Estr., vol. 15, p. 213.

<sup>249</sup> *Krótką [nauką] o rozmyślaniu, którego Zakon Soc. Jesu zażywa wedle nauki S. Ignacego Patriarchy swojego*, print Akad. S. J., Wilno 1772; Estr., vol. 23, p. 60.

<sup>250</sup> *Modlitwa dla chorych, z przydatkiem aktów miłości Boga i Jezusa w najświętszym Sakramencie utajonego*, Warszawa 1806; Estr., vol. 3, p. 149.

<sup>251</sup> Robert Bellarmin, *Piętnaście stopni, Po których człowiek, zwłaszcza Krześcijański, upatrując Pana Boga w stworzeniu rozmaitym, przychodzi do wielkiej znáomości jego. Opisane przez Roberta Kardynała Bellarmina Societatis Iesu. Do Jasnie Oświeconego y Wielebnego Kardynała Piotra Aldobrandina Dozorcy dochodów Kościoła Rzymskiego. Przełożone z Łacińskiego ná Polskie Przez X. Kaspra Sawickiego Societatis Iesu*, print Franciszek Cezary, Kraków 1616; Estr., vol. 12, p. 448.

<sup>252</sup> Ludwik Abelli [Louis Abelly], *Jasna pochodnia albo żywot S. Franciszka Salezjusza biskupa y xiążęcia Genewy przez jednego Schol. Piarum kapłana polskim stylem darowany*, print Elert., Warszawa 1667; Estr., vol. 16, p. 4.

<sup>253</sup> Probably: Jakob Cudnicki, *Nabożeństwo do Ś. Tekli panny y pierwszej męczenniczki dla wygody wszystkich nabożnych przez X. Jakuba Cudnickiego K. P. D. P. G. nowo ułożone y za pozwoleniem zwierzchności, do druku podane roku pańskiego 1788*, print prymas Arcy-Biskup Gnieźnieński, Łowicz (1788); Estr., vol. 14, p. 459.

<sup>254</sup> Franciszek Ksawery Feller S.J., *Katechizm Filozoficzny czyli Zbiór dowodów służących na obronę Wiary Chrześcijańskiej przeciwko nieprzyjaciolom jej. Dzieło pożyteczne dla tych, którzy chcą uniknąć zarazy od niedowiarków teraźniejszych, a mianowicie dla Duchownych, którym z obowiązku należy drogi skład Wiary S. w całości dochować. W języku francuzkim napisane przez X. Flexier de Reval tłumaczone przez X. Th. Waluszewicza*, vols. 1–2, Print Akad., Wilno 1784; Estr., vol. 16, p. 190.

<sup>255</sup> Jan Chrzczic, Eliasz Avrillon, *Rok miłości Boskiej z pieni świętych na każdy dzień roku przez affekta rozłożony, przez Wielebnego Oycy Jana Eliasza zakonu S. Franciszka de Paula po trzeci raz do druku w roku pańskim 1719 podany, a teraz z francuskiego języka na polski przez zakonnicę Nawiedzenia Najświętszej Maryi Panny klasztoru Krakowskiego przetłumaczony*, print Seminarium biskupie akademickie, Kraków [1767], Estr., vol. 12, p. 315.

<sup>256</sup> One of the editions: *Nowy Testament Pana Naszego Jezusa Chrystusa*, przed. Jakub Wujek, S.J., print Piotrkowczyk, Kraków 1593, 1594. Then republished in: 1605, 1617, 1621, 1647 and later; Estr., vol. 33, p. 379.

- [211] 1377 Wybór kazań Xiędza Wijatora Piotrowskiego<sup>257</sup> tomów cztery w trzech księgach w pólskórek oprawne kopiejek piętnaście
- [212] 1378 Canon Missae cum prefacionibus<sup>258</sup> w skórę oprawne in folio z futerałem rubel srebrny jeden
- [213] 1379 Canon Missae pontifikalis<sup>259</sup> w skórę oprawne in folio z futerałem rubel srebrny jeden
- [214] 1380 Ceremoniale Episcoporum<sup>260</sup> w safian oprawne rubel srebrny jeden
- [215] 1381 Pontificale Romanum<sup>261</sup> z roku 1627 in folio w skórę z futerałem oprawne rubel srebrny jeden
- [216] 1382 Pontificale Romanum z roku 1769<sup>262</sup> w safian oprawne rubel srebrny jeden
- [217] 1383 Breviarum Romanum<sup>263</sup> z roku 1787 w skórę oprawne z futerałem skórzanym kopiejek siedemdziesiąt pięć

<sup>257</sup> Piotrowski Wiator OFMCap. (1769–1835) preacher, the autor of, for example *Wybór kazań niedzielnych, świętecznych i przygodnych* (vols.1–4), Warszawa 1840.

<sup>258</sup> Missal, liturgical books with texts of fixe and changeable parts of the Holy Mass. The first missal comprising the whole liturgy was announced by Pius V in 1570. One of the editions: *Canon Missae cum Prefationibus et Rubro* (no place of publishing, no year); Estr., vol. 3, p. 17; or, for example: *Canon Missae cum prefationibus & alijs nonnullis quae in ea fere communiter dicuntur. Additae sunt praeparationes ad Missam, et orationes, quae ab episcopis (...) sacerdotibus dici solent (...)* apud Cieras, Venetiis 1630, [https://opac.bibliothecaterraesantae.org/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=1042\\_05&query\\_desc=an%3A4228%20and%20itype%3AAB%20and%20au%3ACHiesa%20Cattolica](https://opac.bibliothecaterraesantae.org/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=1042_05&query_desc=an%3A4228%20and%20itype%3AAB%20and%20au%3ACHiesa%20Cattolica) (accessed: 10.11.2019).

<sup>259</sup> Liturgical book containing the rulet of a ceremonial Mass.

<sup>260</sup> A ceremonial (Latin: *ceremoniale*), a collection of ceremonis, a book with the rules of celebrating the liturgy in the Roman Catholic Church, it complements the missal, the breviary, the pontifical and the ritual. Papl, the episcopal and the parochial ones are distinguished. M. Pisarszak, *Ceremonial*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 3, ed. R. Łukaszyk, Lublin 1985, col. 7–9.

<sup>261</sup> The pontifical, a liturgical book containing a description and texts of liturgical activities performer by the bishop, frequently modified in the 16<sup>th</sup> c. The first printed edition of the Roman pontifical appeared in 1485; M. Maciukiewicz, *Pontyfikal*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 15, col. 1409–1410. One of the editions *Pontificale Romanum Clementis VIII Pont. Max. iussu restitutum atque editum*. Nunc primum Typis Plantinianis emendatus recusum, Ex Officina. Plantiniana, Apud Balthasarem Moretum et Viduam Ioannis Moreti et Io. Meursium, Antverpiae, <https://obc.opole.pl/dlibra/publication/7550/edition/6486?language=pl> (accessed: 10.11.2019); <https://www.worldcat.org/title/pontificale-romanum-clementis-viii-pont-max-iussu-restitutum-atque-editum/oclc/059212510> (accessed: 10.11.2019).

<sup>262</sup> One of the editions *Pontificale romanum Clementis VIII et Urbani VIII jussu editum (...)* a *Benedicto XIV*, Venetiis, Typographia Balleoniana, 1769; *Pontificale Romanum (...)* a (...) *Benedicto XIV. recognitum & castigatum, etc.*, ex Typographia Balleoniana, Venetiis 1769, [https://www.worldcat.org/title/pontificale-romanum-a-benedicto-xiv-recognitum-castigatum-etc/oclc/776908591&referer=brief\\_results](https://www.worldcat.org/title/pontificale-romanum-a-benedicto-xiv-recognitum-castigatum-etc/oclc/776908591&referer=brief_results) (accessed: 10.11.2019).

<sup>263</sup> Breviary (*Breviarium*), a liturgical book of the Roman Church including texts of prayers of the Liturgy of the Hours (officium divinum) meant for the clergy with higher orders. The Roman breviary – a unified text for the whole Western Church – was created in 1568 and underwent numerous modifications. The official texts were published in Rome, Venice, Mainz and Strasbourg,

- [218] 1384 Breviarum Romanum z tegoż roku w skórę oprawne w futerale skórzanem rubel srebrny jeden
- [219] 1385 Breviarum Romanum z roku 1729 w mniejszym formacie w oprawie zniszczonej kopiejek pięćdziesiąt

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## INWENTARZ KSIĘGOZBIORU BISKUPA DIECEZJI LUBELSKIEJ MATEUSZA WOJAKOWSKIEGO (1775–1845) W ŚWIETLE AKT NOTARIALNYCH

### Streszczenie

W artykule zaprezentowany został inwentarz księgozbioru należącego do biskupa diecezji lubelskiej Mateusza Wojakowskiego (1775–1845). Celem artykułu jest rekonstrukcja księgozbioru, tj. udostępnienie edycji inwentarza odbiorcom wraz ze wstępną analizą zawartości biblioteki. Inwentarz księgozbioru znajduje się w księdze notarialnej z 1845 r., wchodzącej w skład zespołu “Akta Serafina Konwickiego notariusza miasta Lublina” przechowywanego w Archiwum Państwowym w Lublinie. W tekście źródłowym zastosowane zostały zasady edycji zgodnie z *Instrukcją wydawniczą dla źródeł historycznych od XVI do XIX wieku*. Ponadto uzupełniono i wzbogacono dane bibliograficzne, ponieważ źródłowe informacje dotyczące posiadanych przez duchownego egzemplarzy książek były niepełne, gdyż pierwotnie służyły jedynie dla celów spadkowych. Ustalono pełny tytuł, nazwisko autora, miejsce, rok wydania w oparciu o dostępne bibliografie i katalogi biblioteczne. Poczynione ustalenia pozwolą na pełniejszą analizę zawartości domowej biblioteki biskupa. W inwentarzu liczącym 220 pozycji wymieniono łącznie 255 tytułów dzieł w 296 woluminach. Gromadzone książki były przede wszystkim w języku polskim, ponadto po łacinie, w języku francuskim i niemieckim. Domowy księgozbiór duchownego miał uniwersalny charakter. Zawierał książki i czasopisma z różnych dziedzin: ogólne, prawne, o edukacji, filozoficzne, z historii, geografii, słowniki, z nauk przyrodniczych i stosowanych, literaturę piękną. Ważną część stanowiły druki religijne, w tym księgi liturgiczne, kazania, katechizmy, modlitewniki, Biblia, rozmyślenia. Inwentarz księgozbioru biskupa Wojakowskiego – postaci wyróżniającej się nie tylko na polu działalności duszpasterskiej, ale i obywatelskiej – nie był dotychczas znany i wykorzystywany w literaturze. Jest to także przykład inwentarza XIX-wiecznego księgozbioru należącego do duchownego.

Słowa kluczowe: księgozbiór; biskup Mateusz Wojakowski; duchowieństwo; akta notarialne; inwentarz; XIX wiek





JERZY GAPYS\* – KIELCE

## GENEROSITY OF THE CLERGY AND CHURCH (PAROCHIAL) CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CARITAS ASSOCIATION OF THE TARNÓW DIOCESE OVER THE YEARS 1939–1945

### Abstract

After the initial destabilization of the Church's charitable actions in the Tarnów diocese (subsidies from the curia, personal donations by priests and the faithful from the parish) to Caritas (mainly its headquarters), a marked increase in donations to Caritas in Tarnów were observed from 1942. The action of parochial donations (cash, in-kind contributions) for the Caritas headquarters was the largest one. During the years 1942–1944, cash and in-kind contributions were donated by approx. 30 parishes (approx. 30%), which were located in 15 deaneries (52%). In total, PLN 351,445 was donated, mainly from the parishes in the central and western zones of the Tarnów diocese. The generosity of the clergy from their personal income (*iura stolae*) culminated in 1944, when over 480 priests (compared to 88 in 1940) transferred over PLN 320,000 to Caritas. Financial and material support, as well as donations from the faithful to parochial Caritas branches, did not acquire a universal character, with just isolated cases being recorded in the Tarnów diocese. Locally, however, these funds were the basis of the Caritas' branches' budgets, sometimes even accounting for  $\frac{3}{4}$  of their income. The subsidies from the Tarnów curia, thanks to the financial policy of Bishop Komar, constituted the most important item in the Caritas budget. By 1944, the curia had donated PLN 2,472,000. It was almost 60% of the total income of the Association, and more than 78% of all donations from the Church to the Association.

Keywords: World War II; Catholic church; Tarnów diocese; Caritas

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At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, certain currents appeared which de-institutionalised and centralised the charity action of the Catholic Church.<sup>1</sup> In Poland these tendencies increased after 1918<sup>2</sup> and took on an institutional form in the 1930s.<sup>3</sup> During that period, Diocesan Caritas associations were appointed in cooperation with the clergy in the majority of dioceses, some of them having a broadly developed parish structure. The most developed network of parish branches existed in Wielkopolska and Kujawy, as well as in Western Małopolska (mainly the Tarnów diocese).<sup>4</sup>

Just before the outbreak of World War II, the Association functioned in 12 (arch) dioceses.<sup>5</sup> After the defeat in September 1939, following the disintegration of church structures it was liquidated by the occupants in the areas incorporated into the Reich and into the Soviet Union. Caritas survived (though not for long) only in the area of the General Governorate (further referred to as the GG).<sup>6</sup> At the end of 1939, 11 central (arch)diocesan headquarters were functioning: Lviv, Przemyśl, Tarnów, Cracow, Kielce, Sandomierz, Lublin, Łódź, Częstochowa, Warsaw and Siedlce.<sup>7</sup> Nearly 500 branches existed in those frameworks, most of

<sup>1</sup> E. Leś, *Od filantropii do pomocniczości. Studium porównawcze rozwoju i działalności organizacji społecznych*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 46–96; cf. Cz. Kępski, *Idea miłosierdzia a dobroczynność i opieka*, Lublin 2002, pp. 53–58.

<sup>2</sup> However, tendencies for specialization and at the same coordination of charity work were observed since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> c.; cf. J. Majka, *Chrześcijańska myśl i ruch charytatywny*, in: *Historia katolicyzmu społecznego w Polsce 1832–1939*, eds. Cz. Strzeszewski, R. Bender, K. Turowski, Warszawa 1981, p. 513; S. Wilk, *Episkopat Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce w latach 1918–1939*, Warszawa 1992, pp. 312–320; cf. P. Kurlenda, *Działalność dobroczynna Kościoła katolickiego w Wielkopolsce i na Pomorzu w latach 1919–1939*, Toruń 2001, pp. 92–100.

<sup>3</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Plenary Council in Częstochowa (1936) had Caritas established in each parish, and the clergy were obliged to encourage the lay to get involved in the work of Christian charity; cf. W. Wójcik, *Ze studiów nad synodami polskimi*, Lublin 1982, pp. 194–220; E. Sugier, *Odpowiedzialność Kościoła za ubogich i chorych w świetle kościelnego prawodawstwa partykularnego w Polsce międzywojennej*, Koszalin 2001, pp. 38–42.

<sup>4</sup> The majority of parish branches of Caritas functioned first of all in the city environment, with the country neglected in this respect, Archives of the Metropolitan Curia in Cracow (further referred to as AKMK), Teki Sapieżyńskie (further: TS), TS XXVII/26, Ogólnopolski Zjazd Dyrektorów Diecezjalnych Związków “Caritas” w Poznaniu 23 II 1937; *Caritas. Miłosierdzie Chrześcijańskie w parafii. Katolickie Towarzystwo Dobroczynności Diecezji Płockiej “Caritas”*, Płock 1935; A. Gretkowski, *Katolicyzm społeczny na przykładzie działalności charytatywno-społecznej w diecezji płockiej w I połowie XX wieku*, Płock 2001.

<sup>5</sup> J. Majka, *Kościelna działalność dobroczynna w Polsce w XIX i pierwszej połowie XX wieku*, “Zeszyty Naukowe KUL”, 9 (1966) Nos. 1–2, p. 133; idem., *Chrześcijańska myśl i ruch charytatywny*, p. 520.

<sup>6</sup> Cz. Madajczyk, *Generalna Gubernia w planach hitlerowskich. Studia*, Warszawa 1961, passim.

<sup>7</sup> P. Aleksandrowicz, *Diecezja siedlecka czyli podlaska w 150 rocznicę erekcji (1818–1968). Przyczynki i materiały do dziejów Diecezji Siedleckiej czyli Podlaskiej*, Siedlce 1971, pp. 250–251; Diocesan Archives in Siedlce (further: ADSP), Caritas, vol. 3, 1931–1948.

which (280) were in the Tarnów diocese,<sup>8</sup> which means practically all parishes.<sup>9</sup> At the end of the war there were only five diocesan headquarters, with about 363 parish branches. They worked as sections of the Central Welfare Council (later referred to as the RGO).<sup>10</sup> Caritas of Tarnów was the strongest section of the RGO in the area of the GG. It preserved its own structure as well as some of its forms and methods of activity.<sup>11</sup> The association in Tarnów had an extensive range of activities, for example, helping those deported from Wielkopolska and refugees from Warsaw after the Warsaw Uprising, running soup kitchens and orphanages, providing financial assistance to the needy, etc. In total, the Caritas Association of the Tarnów Diocese spent PLN 9,220,311 aiding those in need during World War II.<sup>12</sup> Where did the Association get the funds? The statute of Caritas provided for a variety of sources of funding, namely membership fees,<sup>13</sup> social contributions, donations and occasional income (e.g. organising events).<sup>14</sup> Being incorporated

<sup>8</sup> Archives of New Files in Warsaw (further: AAN), Central Welfare Council 1939–1945 (further: RGO), file reference no. 731, card 78.

<sup>9</sup> Archives of Tarnów Diocese (further: ADT), Caritas, file ref. no. Car O 1941, Opis majątku Związku “Caritas” Diecezji Tarnowskiej, z dn. 25 kwietnia 1941 r.

<sup>10</sup> Some studies concerning the Church suggest that till the end of the war “Caritas” was an independent organization, which however is not true. B. Kumor, *Historia Kościoła*, part 8: *Czasy współczesne 1914–1992. Kościół katolicki w okresie systemów totalitarnych i odnowy soborowej, zniewolenie Kościołów wschodnich, sekularyzacja i rozdrobnienie Kościołów i wspólnot protestanckich*, Lublin 1995, p. 467; B. Kroll, *Rada Główna Opiekuńcza 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1985, 71; Z. Fijałkowski, *Kościół katolicki na ziemiach polskich w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej*, Warszawa 1983, pp. 180–181; The Caritas Association did work as an independent organization until 1941. However, since the spring of 1941 the diocesan headquarters lost their independence for the benefit of RGO and they functioned as Charity Sections of the Council, or in fact as welfare committees, sometimes even delegations. The Council also took over the whole property of the associations. J. Gapys, *Działalność charytatywna duchowieństwa diecezjalnego w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie 1939–1945*, Kielce 2012, p. 126; AKMK, TS XXVII/29, Sprawozdanie z akcji dobroczynnej Caritas Diecezji Tarnowskiej za lata 1939–1944.

<sup>11</sup> After a short-lasting chaos caused by the warfare the network of the Tarnow Caritas was restored. 280 branches existed in the years 1941–1944, AAN, RGO, file ref. no. 731, card 78.

<sup>12</sup> M. Podgórski, *Powstanie i pierwsze lata działalności Caritas diecezji tarnowskiej*, in: *Misericors – 75 lat działalności Caritas diecezji tarnowskiej*, ed. P. Grzanka, Tarnów 2012, pp. 274–277; R. Podstołowicz, P. Grzanka, *Wczoraj i dziś Caritas diecezji tarnowskiej*, in: *Misericors – 75 lat działalności Caritas diecezji tarnowskiej*, ed. P. Grzanka, Tarnów 2012, pp. 325–326; S. Wójtowicz, *Związek “Caritas” Diecezji Tarnowskiej w służbie bliźnim w latach 1939–1950*, in: *Dzieje diecezji tarnowskiej Instytucje i wydarzenia*, vol. 2, eds. A. Gąsior, J. Królikowski, Tarnów 2012.

<sup>13</sup> Members could include welfare institutions and establishments, foundations, social organizations, Roman Catholic parishes and private persons of the Roman Catholic religion. A few kinds of membership were possible, i.e. an ordinary member, an honorary member, a life member and a supporting member.

<sup>14</sup> AKMK, TS XXVII/29, Statut “Caritas” Diecezji Tarnowskiej. Opis dzieł miłosierdzia w latach wojny 1939–1944; National Archives in Cracow (further referred to as ANK), Związek Stowarzyszeń i Zakładów Dobroczynnych, Wychowawczych i Opiekuńczych Archidiecezji Krakowskiej “Caritas” z lat 1934–1940 (further: ZSiZDWiOADK), Statut Związku “Caritas” Diecezji Tarnowskiej 1937 rok; file ref. No. ZC- 1, card 517–549.

into the structures of the RGO enabled the organisation to carry out charity activity<sup>15</sup> and provided the basis to legally obtain the means for such activity. Apart from social contributions, Caritas could use subsidies from welfare committees, the RGO headquarters and the local administration.<sup>16</sup> A considerable part of the funds in the Tarnów diocese were obtained by the Association from society's generosity. It can be noted that the contributions for Caritas came from a variety of social groups, for example peasants, land owners, the intelligentsia, entrepreneurs and the clergy.<sup>17</sup> This happened in an organised manner, i.e. through permanent monthly membership fees, food collections and parish collections. The aim of this paper is to analyse the generosity of the Catholic clergy<sup>18</sup> and parish communities towards Caritas in the Tarnów diocese between 1939 and 1945. Donations from parish communities were treated as *oblaciones fidelium*, which means offerings for God, as God's property which could be managed exclusively by the bishop, i.e. the Church, whose representative in the parish was the parish priest.<sup>19</sup>

The clergy of the Tarnów diocese hurried to give the association material aid in two ways: by handing over contributions from their personal income (*iura stolae*) and from parish funds. The latter consisted of donations coming from the income of the parish property (e.g. the land), collections (church contributions), collections from charity boxes and food collections. Priests were obliged to support the Diocesan Caritas Association of the Tarnów diocese (headquarters) and could also assign their own income and the parish income for the activity of its branches (legally, the branches were a part of the association).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> In 1940 the German occupant dissolved and banned Polish political, social, military, academic and religious organizations, AKMK, TS XXVI/129, Rozporządzenie o stowarzyszeniach w GG z dn. 23 VII 1940; TS XXVI/132, Sprawa rozwiązania stowarzyszeń, w tym religijno-charytatywnych – analiza VIII 1940 r. It sometimes happened that by taking advantage of the ban on public gatherings the authorities did not allow parish branches of Caritas to be established; Gapys, *Działalność charytatywna duchowieństwa*, p. 102.

<sup>16</sup> Gapys, *Działalność charytatywna duchowieństwa*, pp. 96–97, 104, 119–127; Kumor, *Historia Kościoła*, p. 467; Kroll, *Rada Główna Opiekuńcza*, p. 71; Z. Fijałkowski, *Kościół katolicki na ziemiach polskich w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej*, Warszawa 1983, pp. 180–181; J. Gapys, "Caritas" w diecezji kieleckiej w latach II wojny światowej, in: *Dobroczynność i pomoc społeczna na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX i na początku XXI wieku*, vol. 2, eds. M. and M. Przeniosło, Kielce 2010, pp. 177–178.

<sup>17</sup> Gapys, *Działalność charytatywna duchowieństwa*, pp. 139 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Immediately before the war and the occupation, 622 diocesan priests (including 499 clergymen in the parish ministry) and 54 monastic priests worked in the Tarnów diocese. The latter was divided into 28 deaneries (29 since 1948) and 283 parishes. 44 cities and smaller towns (Tarnów and Nowy Sącz with a population of more than 25,000 inhabitants) and 1,309 villages were found in the diocese. The Catholic population (together with Greek Catholics) was about 1 million people. B. Kumor, *Diecezja Tarnowska i jej stan w 1939 r. Zarząd i organizacja diecezji. Duchowieństwo 1939–1945*, in: *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, ed. Z. Zieliński, Warszawa 1982, pp. 254–258.

<sup>19</sup> ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. CarO 1944, Pismo kurii tarnowskiej w sprawie świadczeń parafii na rzecz Kościoła, 1944 r.; Gapys, *Działalność charytatywna*, pp. 11–12.

<sup>20</sup> AKMK, TS XXVII/29, Statut "Caritas" Diecezji Tarnowskiej 1939.

### Personal contributions of the clergy for the Caritas Association of the Tarnów diocese

Before the outbreak of World War II, priests in the Tarnów diocese had the status of supporting members, meaning that they were obliged to pay an annual fee to the Tarnów Caritas headquarters.<sup>21</sup> It was paid in the form of an annual lump sum in the amount of PLN 5 monthly. Those offerings were regulated from the clergy's personal income (*iura stolae*). In August 1939 the sum of PLN 2,380 was deposited into the account of the Tarnów headquarters from the priests, members of Caritas. It came from 476 clergymen (95.4% of the clergy in parishes), the fee for each priest being PLN 5. In addition, the fee was paid by a few priests who taught religion. The highest fee was provided by Fr. Walenty Chrobak (PLN 100), while PLN 5 each was paid by Fr. Andrzej Niwa, Fr. Jędrzej Cierniak, PhD, Fr. Stanisław Gazda, Fr. Piotr Warecki and Fr. Adam Stefański. Together, the contribution for Caritas from clergymen in the diocese was PLN 2,505.<sup>22</sup> The outbreak of the war, the course of armed actions, the organisation of the occupation (e.g. the dissolution and prohibition of Polish organisations<sup>23</sup> in addition to the German economic and demographic policies) destabilised Caritas' activity. The progressing pauperisation of the faithful and the clergy<sup>24</sup> caused the number of priests paying the fee to dwindle dramatically, despite the fact that the amount was only slightly lower.<sup>25</sup> In the first six months of 1940, priests donated PLN 1,910 to Caritas. Although the amount was only one quarter lower, from the point of view of the Association the number of priests paying the fees was the disturbing problem: only 27 priests (5.4%) of the clergymen in the parishes were doing so (including eight priests whose names appear on both lists of donors).<sup>26</sup> Those amounts were a few times higher than in August 1939, but their real value was insufficient because of inflation<sup>27</sup> and the enormous welfare needs. Generally, each priest paid a fee

<sup>21</sup> It deserves to be added that in the Kielce diocese, for example, its bishop imposed a 10% *iura stolae* tax on priests for caritas, Gapys, "*Caritas*" w diecezji kieleckiej, p. 188.

<sup>22</sup> ADT, Caritas, file ref. No. Car 0 1941, Do rachunku F.Z. J, sierpień 1939 r.

<sup>23</sup> AKMK, TS XXVI/129, Rozporządzenie o stowarzyszeniach w GG z dn. 23 VII 1940; TS XXVI/132, Sprawa rozwiązania stowarzyszeń, w tym religijno-charytatywnych – analiza VIII 1940 r.

<sup>24</sup> Hundreds of displaced priests found their way to the parishes in all GG. Some of them were maintained by the parish, while others were assigned to pastoral work in particular parishes. This resulted in lower incomes of the local clergy; cf. Gapys, *Działalność charytatywna*, pp. 71–76.

<sup>25</sup> It is not known whether that was only a short-lasting destabilization of the flat-rate collection of the contribution or the breakdown was longer. The statistics available for the successive years of the work of Caritas point to the presumption that it was a lasting phenomenon. The statistical data referring to the generous contribution of the clergy from their personal incomes do not appear until the financial report from 1944. That was again a well functioning system since the priests from the area of the diocese provided over PLN 300,000. It is difficult to explain why there were no contributions in the years 1941–1943. It is likely that generosity of the faithful was not something to focus on, which is discussed further in the present paper.

<sup>26</sup> ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car0 1940, Do rachunku F.Z. 91/40; Do rachunku F.Z. 92/40.

<sup>27</sup> A rise in the prices of food and agricultural products was especially painful. Compared to the pre-war period the following increase was noticed: 3-fold at the end of 1939, 50-fold in 1942, 70-fold

of PLN 60, although in three cases (Fr. Zygmunt Jakus, Fr. Stanisław Wójtowicz and Fr. Stanisław Kobos) PLN 75 was donated. Two priests paid only half the fee (Fr. Józef Kuczek and Fr. Jan Żurek), and one priest paid even less – PLN 25 from Fr. Stefan Dobrzański.<sup>28</sup> Eight priests who continued paying the fees are repeated on the next list. Most of them were higher clergy (parish priests, deans and canons). In the first months, the following priests paid the fee a second time: Dean Józef Słazyk, Canon Jan Wałęcki, Canon Mikołaj Pichura and Canon Józef Badowski.<sup>29</sup>

**Table 1. The number of priests/supporting members and the value of the contribution for Caritas of the Tarnów diocese in 1940**

Year	Number of priests	Per cent of priests in parishes	Amount in PLN
1 <sup>st</sup> half of 1940	27	5.4	1910
2 <sup>nd</sup> half	61	12.2	3545.3
Total	88	17.6	455.30

Source: ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car0 1941, 'Do rachunku F.Z. J, sierpień 1939 r.'; file ref. no. Car0 1940, 'Do rachunku F.Z. 91/40; Do rachunku F.Z. 92/40; Do rachunku F.Z. 109/40; Do rachunku F.Z. 110/40; Do rachunku F.Z. 122/40; Do rachunku F.Z. 144/40'.

The following two quarters of 1940 showed a slightly increasing tendency, in terms of both the amount of money and the number of members paying the fees. Between September and December 1940, the fees were paid by a total of 61 priests and the contributions amounted to PLN 3545.30 (Table 1). Sums of about PLN 60 predominated, although much lower amounts were also recorded: PLN 10, 15, 30 or 40. At least a few priests paid PLN 70–75, and two contributed PLN 100 (Fr. Władysław Lassowski and Fr. Jan Koziół). Significantly, every month the money came from different priests, with the exception of Fr. Piotr Stary, who paid the fees for September and November 1940.<sup>30</sup> All this clearly indicates that there was no regular collection of contributions from priests to aid Caritas in the area of the diocese in 1940. In all of 1944, 88 clergymen regulated it (17.6%), while in August 1939 this number was 476 priests (95.4%), so the decrease was nearly sixfold. The available documentation does not point to any organised collections taking place until 1944. They included 29 priests in the deaneries of the Tarnów diocese. Significantly, the amount contributed by all clergymen (PLN 323,612) was an important item in the budget of the Association, comprising 11% of in-

in 1944, and 130-fold in 1944; S. Smoliński, *Rozwój detalicznych cen wolnorynkowych w Krakowie w latach w 1939–1946*, "Rocznik Akademii Handlu w Poznaniu", (1946/1947) pp. 184–209; S. Smoliński, *Przyczynki do zagadnienia wyżywienia miejskiej ludności polskiej w b. Generalnym Gubernatorstwie na tle ówczesnych warunków pracy i płacy*, "Rocznik Akademii Handlowej w Poznaniu", (1949/1950) pp. 33–106.

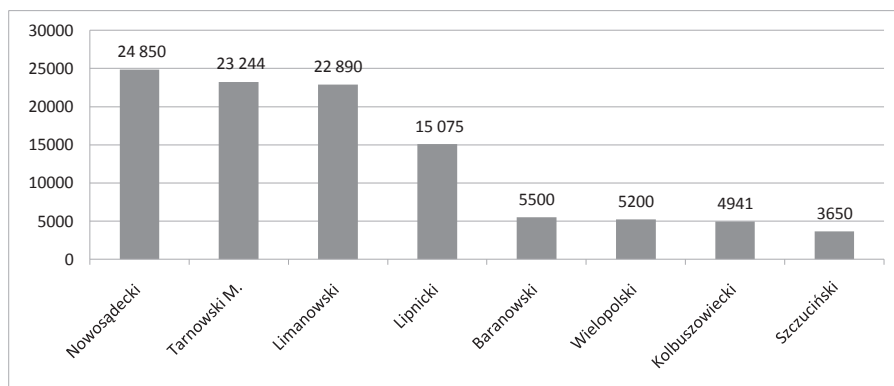
<sup>28</sup> ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car0 1940, Do rachunku F.Z. 91/40.

<sup>29</sup> ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car0 1940, Do rachunku F.Z. 92/40.

<sup>30</sup> DT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car0 1940 Do rachunku F.Z. 109/40; Do rachunku F.Z. 110/40; Do rachunku F.Z. 122/40; Do rachunku F.Z. 144/40.

come in 1944.<sup>31</sup> Assuming the number of priests in parishes to be approximately 500 means an average of PLN 650 a year from each clergymen. The height of the donations was not equal in all dioceses. There were some deaneries where the clergymen donated tens of thousands, while in others only a few thousand was collected (Figure 1).

**Figure 1. Contributions from priests in selected deaneries to aid Caritas of the Tarnów diocese in 1944**



Source: ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car0 1944, 'Sprawozdanie finansowe Związku Caritas Diecezji Tarnowskiej za rok 1944. Zestawienie ofiar złożonych przez księży wg dekanatów'.

These statistics show the predominance of the deaneries which included larger cities or, as territorially bigger, they included more medium-sized localities. And this fact affected a greater number of parishes and clergymen. This is perfectly visible in the example of the leading deaneries. The leader in terms of contributions was the Nowosądecki deanery (nearly PLN 25,000), just ahead of the Tarnów city deanery (over PLN 23,000) and the Limanowski deanery, with almost PLN 23,000. On the other hand, there were some circles of priests where the contributions barely reached PLN 5,000. In the Szczuciński and Kolbuszowiecki deaneries, the clergy's contributions were PLN 3650 and PLN 4941, respectively; in the Wielkopolski deanery the figure was PLN 5,200 and in the Baranowski deanery PLN 5,500. Priests from the next 12 deaneries transferred contributions ranging from PLN 10,000 to PLN 15,000.<sup>32</sup>

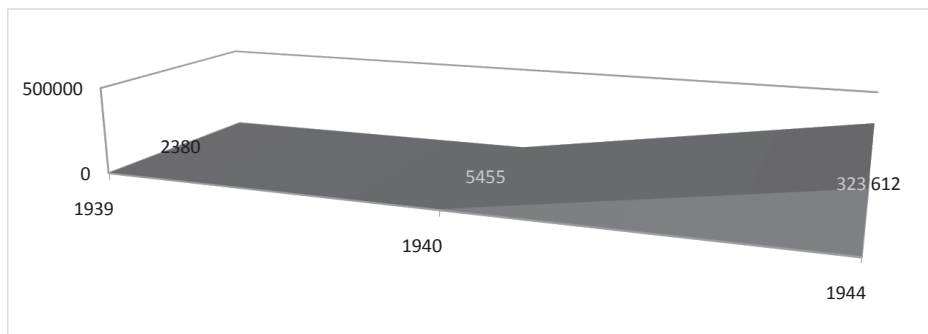
It can be assumed that priests donated the PLN 331,447 to Caritas in Tarnów from their personal income. A vast majority of the funds were offered in 1944 (Figure 2). It was an impressive sum, especially in comparison to other groups of priests in the GG. In fact, an organised collection took place only in the Sandomierz deanery. In autumn 1939, several priests contributed about PLN 45 for

<sup>31</sup> ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car0 1944, Sprawozdanie finansowe Związku Caritas Diecezji Tarnowskiej za rok 1944. Zestawienie ofiar złożonych przez księży wg dekanatów.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

Caritas there, and early in the winter of 1944 three clergymen donated PLN 550 in aid of the Association.<sup>33</sup>

**Figure 2. Contributions of priests to Caritas of the Tarnów diocese, 1939–1944**



Source: ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car0 1941, 'Do rachunku F.Z. J, sierpień 1939 r.'; file ref. no. Car0 1940, 'Do rachunku F.Z. 91/40; Do rachunku F.Z. 92/40; Do rachunku F.Z. 109/40; Do rachunku F.Z. 110/40; Do rachunku F.Z. 122/40; Do rachunku F.Z. 144/40'; file ref. no. Car0 1944, 'Sprawozdanie finansowe Związku Caritas Diecezji Tarnowskiej za rok 1944. Zestawienie ofiar złożonych przez księży wg dekanatów'.

### **Priests' contributions from their private income to parish branches**

Parish branches, where the basic charity work of the association was carried out, obtained funding for their work from a variety of sources, as with the headquarters. Those sources included, for example, subsidies of the Episcopal curia, the local administration, district committees of the RGO and social contributions. Charitable contributions included donations from the clergymen's personal income. On the scale of the Tarnów diocese, there was no organised action of clergymen's generosity in aid of the branches.<sup>34</sup> Only individual cases of generosity can be referred to. Sources point to three parishes where more or less systematic financial support of the local branches of Caritas was noted. In the Szczepanowska parish, there were singular contributions, while in the Bocheńska (1944) and Chorzelowska (1939–1940) parishes, regular contributions from the local priests can be observed. Fr. Antoni Stańczyk contributed PLN 150 and bedding (worth PLN 50) to the account of the parish branch in Chorzelów. His attitude is commendable, as he was the only person to regularly support the parish branch of Caritas. During the same period, for example, the local landed gentry provided only singular donations: Countess Zofia Tarnowska from Chorzelów (PLN 12) and Count Szczepan Tarnowski from the manor in Malina (PLN 12).<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Archives of the Diocese in Sandomierz (further referred to as ADS), Caritas of the Sandomierz diocese 1934–1944 (further: Caritas Sandomierz), Caritas, Księga Kasowa 1934–1944; cf. Gapys, *Działalność charytatywna*, p. 141.

<sup>34</sup> This phenomenon was not observed, either, in other dioceses in the area of GG; Gapys, *Działalność charytatywna*, pp. 142–143.

<sup>35</sup> ADT, Caritas, CarLC, Wykaz ofiar "Caritas" parafii Chorzelów od 1 września 1939 do dnia 31 grudnia 1940 r.



In the Tarnów diocese the most systematic action of the clergy's generosity was observed in the Bocheńska parish. Between April and December 1944 the local priests contributed PLN 15,857, which constituted 6.5% of the total income.<sup>36</sup> Although the amount transferred by these priests was not the highest, it is easy to see that a considerable part of Caritas' income was obtained from the offerings coordinated by priests, i.e. donation boxes, collections and occasional donations. In total, more than PLN 120,000 was obtained from those sources, demonstrating that priests carried out campaigns of active Christian charity among the faithful, as reflected in the specific sums contributed by the parishioners.

In the parish of Szczepanów, on the other hand, support from priests was observed at the beginning of the occupation in 1939. The Caritas branch there obtained PLN 70 from the parish office, with its total income amounting to PLN 579. It deserves mention that most of the contributions were due to the parishioners' generosity: the St Anthony offering box yielded PLN 375, and the collections in front of the church brought in PLN 51. The headquarters of Caritas in Tarnów provided PLN 50 in the form of subsidies. Only PLN 3 was obtained from membership fees.<sup>37</sup>

#### **Parish contributions to the diocesan Caritas Association (headquarters)**

As shown above, the priests' generosity towards Caritas in Tarnów became significant at the end of the war. Throughout the occupation period, it was supplemented with cash contributions from parish communities (mostly Sunday collections) and contributions in kind. The generosity developed remarkably starting in 1942, mainly due to the encouragement of the Tarnów bishop<sup>38</sup> and the efforts of the headquarters in Tarnów.<sup>39</sup> A significant role in this situation was played by the local priest, and the scale of the support usually depended on him. It was also the parish priest who would transfer the donations to Caritas in the name of the parish.

<sup>36</sup> ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. LB, Zestawienie dochodów Oddziału Caritas w Bochni od 1 IV 1944 – 1 IV 1945; Caritas, Sprawozdanie z działalności Oddziału Caritas przy kościele parafialnym w Bochni za miesiąc listopada 1944. Sprawozdanie kasowe.

<sup>37</sup> ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. CarLP, Sprawozdanie z działalności Caritasu w Szczepanowicach za okres 1 IX 1939 – 31 XII 1940 r.

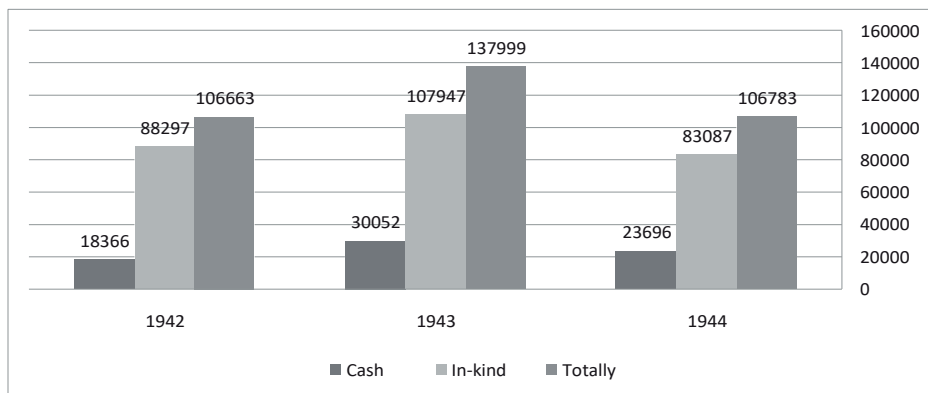
<sup>38</sup> ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. CarO 1944, Pismo kurii tarnowskiej w sprawie świadczeń parafii na rzecz Kościoła, Tarnów 1944 r. Bishop Edward Komar developed the action of generosity by spreading the Appeal of Archbishop Sapieha throughout the diocese, cf. ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car O 1939, Do Wielebnego Duchowieństwa Archidiecezji Krakowskiej błogosławieństwo i pozdrowienie w Panu, Kraków, 7 X 1939 r.

<sup>39</sup> Each time the headquarters extend thanks in a letter expressing gratitude to the donators, i.e. the parish priest and the faithful. Besides the necessary politeness (gratitude to parish priests), the spiritual effects of sharing with those in need were indicated. The priests were sent wishes of God's care and blessing and the donators were reminded that the alms meant for the poor implore many God's graces. The Christian "Caritas" was referred to as the source of solidarity with the needy, ADT, file ref. no. CarA-CarŻ; file ref. no. CarO 1942; file ref. no. CarO 1943; file ref. no. CarO 1944.

Thus, it should be indirectly treated as a common contribution of the faithful and the clergy, which church law called *oblaciones fidelium*, as mentioned above.<sup>40</sup>

Regular and relatively detailed statistics for the years 1942–1944 are available.<sup>41</sup> These are general specifications, generosity according to the deaneries, or even data for particular parishes. Because of the form of this paper, general deanery data are presented. The available statistics lead to the conclusion that a considerable percentage of parishes in the area of the Tarnów diocese transferred financial donations or in-kind contributions to the Caritas headquarters. From 1942 to 1944, i.e. in three successive fiscal years, a total of PLN 351,445 was transferred to the Diocesan Association of Caritas in Tarnów: PLN 72,114 in cash and PLN 279,331 worth of in-kind contributions (Figure 3).

**Figure 3. Parish generosity to the Caritas Association of the Tarnów diocese, 1942–1944**



Source: ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car0 1942, 'Rachunek działalności "Caritas" Diecezji Tarnowskiej za rok 1942'; file ref. no. Car0 1942, 'Rachunek działalności "Caritas" Diecezji Tarnowskiej za rok 1943'; file ref. no. Car0 1944, 'Sprawozdanie finansowe Związku "Caritas" Diecezji Tarnowskiej za rok 1944. Dochody'.

As shown in the graph in Figure 3, the amount of contributions varied considerably over the three years. The largest amount was transferred in 1943, when generosity was the greatest. The lower amount in 1942 was largely a result of the fact that the charity work was only starting to develop then, whereas the lower contributions in 1944 were an effect of the increasingly difficult economic situation

<sup>40</sup> ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. CarO 1944, Pismo kurii tarnowskiej w sprawie świadczeń parafii na rzecz Kościoła, 1944 r.; Gapys, *Działalność charytatywna*, pp. 11–12.

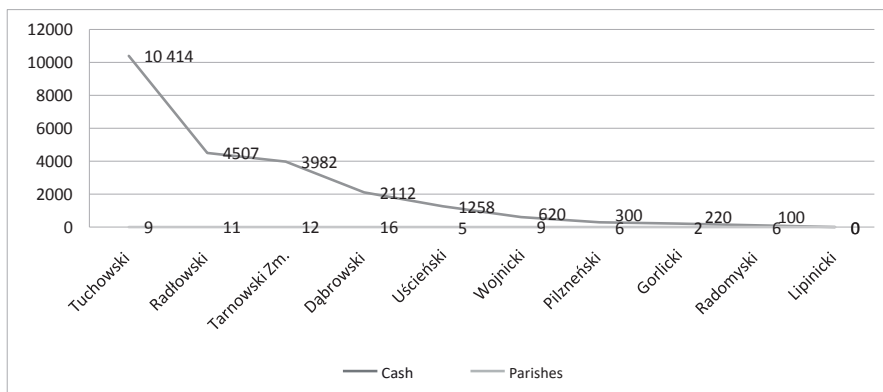
<sup>41</sup> It is worth emphasising that apart from the Tarnów diocese an organised action in aid of the Caritas headquarters was carried out only in the area of the Cracow diocese. In the years 1942–1943, 16 parishes (mainly from Cracow or near Cracow) contributed the sum of 83,746 to the local headquarters; ANK, Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy w Kraków – miasto 1940–1944 (further: Pol.KO Kraków-miasto), file ref. no. 52, Składki kościelne Oddziałów "Caritas" 1942/1943 (XII 42; I, II, III 1943), k. 747.

of the population, which in turn was a consequence of the growing exploitation of the Polish rural areas.<sup>42</sup> This is very emphatically testified to by the drastic decrease (by 77%) of in-kind contributions from the donations – from a value of nearly PLN 108,000 to slightly more than PLN 83,000 (Figure 3).

Data on the level of deaneries for two fiscal years (1943 and 1944) are also available. In 1943 funds and in-kind contributions<sup>43</sup> were supplied in the area of nine deaneries (31%) in 29 parishes (10.2%), while in 1944 15 deaneries (52%) but only 19 parishes (6.7%) took part, more than half of which (11) were situated in one deanery, the Tarnów non-urban deanery.<sup>44</sup>

When analysing the 1943 statistics more thoroughly (Figure 4), one can observe more activity in the deaneries, namely the Dąbrowski, Radłowski and Tuchowski deaneries. One should consider both the amount of donations and the number of parishes. The Tuchowski deanery was a visible leader, where nearly PLN 10,500

**Figure 4. Parishes' financial contributions to the Caritas association by deaneries of the Tarnów diocese in 1943**



Source: ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car0 1942, ‘Rachunek działalności Związku Caritas Diecezji Tarnowskiej za rok 1943. Ofiary parafii wg dekanatów’.

<sup>42</sup> Rural population predominated in the Tarnów diocese and so in-kind contributions prevailed. A radical decrease of contributions in kind was observed in 1944 and it was largely due to the quota burden since 1943. AAN, Delegatura Rządu na Kraj (the Government Delegation for the Country) 1940–1944 (further on referred to as: Delegation), file ref. no. 202/III.13, k. 12–13; AK, file ref. no. 203/X-67, k. 9, Central Military Archives Warszawa Rembertów (further: CAW), VI Oddział Sztabu, file ref. no. 1777/90/482, k. 32; file ref. no. 1777/90/478, k. 18; file ref. no. 1777/90/476, k. 43; *Okupacja i ruch oporu w Dzienniku Hansa Franka 1939–1945*, ed. Cz. Madajczyk, vol. 1: 1939–1945, Warszawa 1972, p. 540.

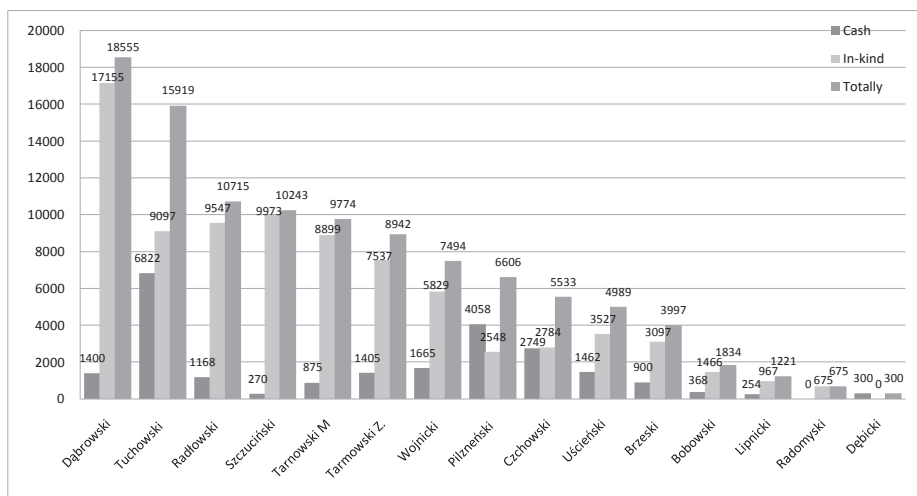
<sup>43</sup> The quantity of in-kind contributions in kilograms is given for 1943 and this is why these data are not found in the graph. For 1944, on the other hand, the PLN value of the donated food is included in the statistics.

<sup>44</sup> ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car0 1942, Rachunek działalności “Caritas” Diecezji Tarnowskiej za rok 1943; file ref. non. Car0 1944, Sprawozdanie finansowe Związku Caritas Diecezji Tarnowskiej za rok 1944.

was offered (nine parishes) to Caritas. Less than a half of this sum – nearly PLN 4,500 – was transferred from the Radłowski deanery (11 parishes), while from the Tarnów non-urban deanery (12 parishes) approx. PLN 400 was donated and the contributions from the Dąbrowski deanery (16 parishes) were five times lower – slightly above PLN 2,000. The sums in the other five were lower, ranging from PLN 100 in the Radomyski deanery (six parishes) to PLN 620 in the Wojnicki deanery (nine parishes).

Referring to a detailed specification of donations for 1944 (cash and in-kind contributions), it can be noted that the same deaneries, namely the Dąbrowski, Tuchowski and Radłowski deaneries, were again at the top of the list of contributors (Figure 5). The Dąbrowski deanery contributed nearly PLN 15,000, while the Radłowski deanery transferred nearly PLN 10,000.

**Figure 5. Parishes' financial contributions to the Caritas association by deaneries of the Tarnów diocese in 1944**



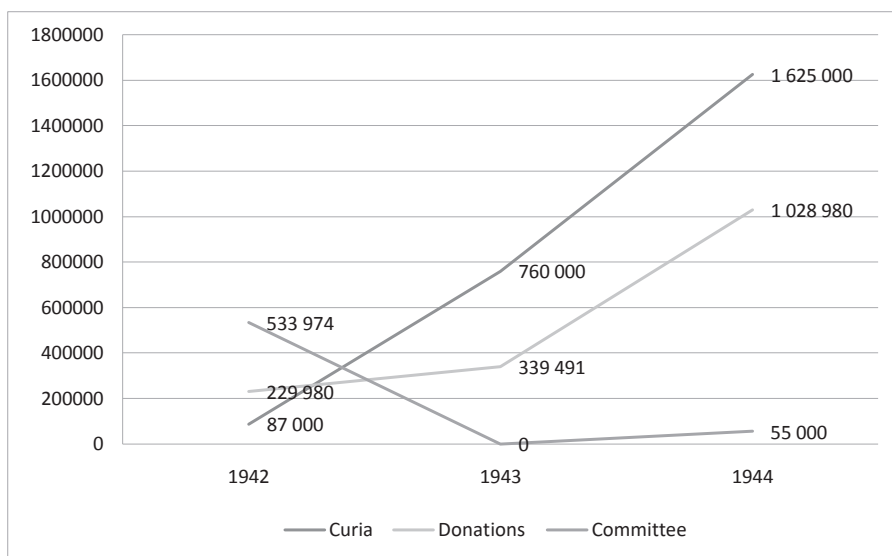
Source: ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car0 1944, 'Sprawozdanie finansowe Związku Caritas Diecezji Tarnowskiej za rok 1944. Zestawienie ofiar złożonych przez parafie – dekanatami'.

The Tuchowski deanery clearly was the leader as far as cash contributions were concerned, with PLN 6,822 (in-kind contributions: PLN 9,097), while the Dąbrowski deanery topped the list in terms of in-kind contributions (PLN 17,155; only PLN 1,409 in cash). With the exception of the Szczuciński and Tarnowski (both urban and non-urban) deaneries, the donations in the others did not reach half of the sums contributed by the top ones, and in six deaneries the amounts did not exceed PLN 5,000 (approx. 25% of the highest amount), while in two deaneries at the bottom of the list the contributions ranged from PLN 300 (Dębicki deanery) to PLN 675 (Radomyski deanery). When summarising the data from two years, greater generosity can be observed in the larger and more populated deaneries

situated in the central part of the diocese. The majority of the deaneries where the phenomenon of generosity was ever studied lay in the central and western belts.

A separate issue was the support given to the Diocesan Caritas Association in Tarnów by the Tarnów curia.<sup>45</sup> From 1942 to 1944 it transferred PLN 2,472,000. Comparing the contributions of the curia with those from the welfare committee in Tarnów and donations from the public, with the exception of 1942 the amount of the curial contributions was 40% to 60% higher than the latter and even 29 times higher than the former. The increase in the subsidies in 1943 was especially impressive as the amount grew almost ninefold, and in the following year more than doubled again (Figure 6).

**Figure 6. Subsidies of the Tarnów curia given to Caritas of the Tarnów diocese, 1942–1944**

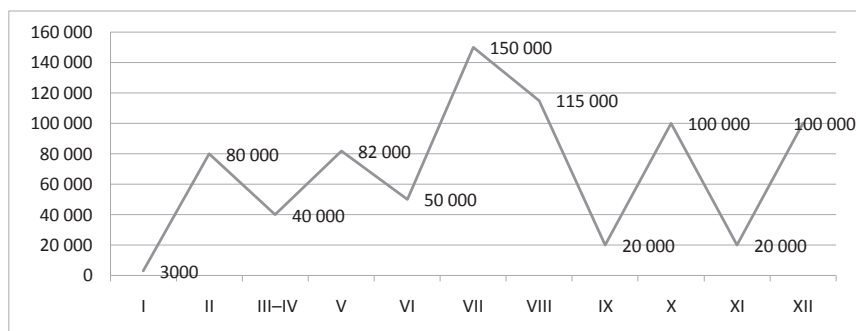


Source: ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car0 1942, ‘Zestawienie bilansowe działalności Caritas za dzień 31 grudnia 1942 r. dochody budżetowe’, file ref. no. Car0 1942, ‘Rachunek działalności Związku “Caritas” Diecezji Tarnowskiej za rok 1943 r.’; file ref. no. Car0 1944, ‘Sprawozdanie finansowe Związku Caritas’ Diecezji Tarnowskiej za rok 1944’.

<sup>45</sup> Apart from the Tarnów diocese donations from the curia or the ordinary bishop on the scale of GG were observed only in the Kielce diocese. In 1942 bishop Czesław Kaczmarek supplied PLN 40,000 worth of in-kind contributions in curb market price (PLN 4,000 according to the official rate); AAN, RGO 1939–1945, file ref. no. 321, k. 14; file ref. no. 482, k. 2, 5, 46–50, 130–131, 157, 161, 196–198; file ref. no. 483, k. 16; file ref. no. 524, k. 99–100; file ref. no. 758, k. 1, 22; file ref. no. 1933, k. 56; Archiwum Diecezji Kieleckiej (further: ADK) Akta Kurialne Ogólne (dalej: AKO), file ref. no. OE-3/1, k. 83; *ibid.* file ref. no. OE-2/4, Notatnik charytatywny ks. Stanisława Borowieckiego, k. 1–40; file ref. no. OE-2/2, k. 90.

The amount of the subsidies within the calendar year is interestingly distributed. The year 1943 can serve as an example (Figure 7). The highest contributions were observed in the summer months, namely July and August (150,000 and 115,000); they were quite high in October and December (100,000 each), lower in September and November (20,000 each), with the absolute minimum in January (PLN 3,000).

**Figure 7. Subsidies of the Tarnów curia given to Caritas of the Tarnów diocese in 1943**



Source: ADT, Car0 1942, 'Rachunek działalności Związku "Caritas" Diecezji Tarnowskiej za 1943 r.'

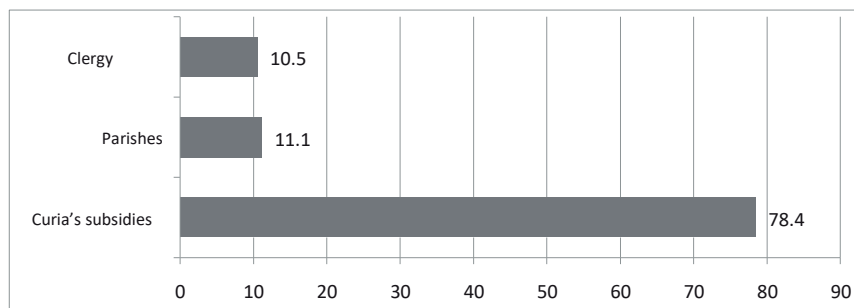
The total offerings, donations and subsidies transferred by priests, parish communities and the Tarnów curia was PLN 3,154,92, which comprised as much as 58.9% of the total income of Caritas between 1942 and 1944 (5,356,239). That was a very high amount,<sup>46</sup> for example, in comparison with the offerings of the local landed gentry, who contributed approx. PLN 16,500 at that time (0.3%). The breakdown of the clergy and parish communities' donations clearly indicates that more than three quarters of the means transferred to the association came from the curia (78.4%), parish donations (11.1%) and priests' personal contributions (10.5%) (Figure 8).

The large proportion coming from the Tarnów curia was the result of the curia's activity (after the death of Bishop Edward Komar, the diocese was managed by the vicar capitular, Fr. Stanisław Bulanda, prelate), which ran an effective financial policy directed at social aid despite the occupation and lack of sovereignty. It was clearly discussed in an explanatory letter *directotium* from 1944:

Collections such as Peter's Pence and for the Catholic missions in the Holy Land must be continued for significant reasons, namely these are the requirements of the Apostolic See and the inner life of the Holy Church, as well as the religious and educational respects. The duty to send contributions for the filial churches, for the general diocesan needs and theological seminaries (the first Sunday of the month) is enforced by the very life of the diocese in

<sup>46</sup> On the scale of GG the Tarnów diocese was a decisive leader. Only the church environments in the Cracow archdiocese transferred to Caritas relatively high amounts in 16 parishes in and out of Cracow – PLN 83,746; Gapys, *Działalność charytatywna*, p. 144.

**Figure 8. Donations from the clergy to the diocesan Caritas Association in Tarnów, 1942–1944**



Source: ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car0 1942, 'Rachunek działalności "Caritas" Diecezji Tarnowskiej za rok 1943'; file ref. no. Car0 1944, 'Sprawozdanie finansowe Związku "Caritas" Diecezji Tarnowskiej za rok 1944. Dochody'; file ref. no. Car0 1942, 'Zestawienie bilansowe działalności Caritas za dzień 31 grudnia 1942 r. dochody budżetowe'; file ref. no. Car0 1942, 'Rachunek działalności Związku "Caritas" Diecezji Tarnowskiej za rok 1943 r.'; file ref. no. Car0 1944, 'Sprawozdanie finansowe Związku "Caritas" Diecezji Tarnowskiej za rok 1944'.

the present conditions. If the state does not help with its subsidies for the seminary, the Chapter, the Professors of the Theological Seminary and the administration of the diocese, like it used to be in the times before the war, then the faithful had to contribute to satisfying those important needs of the diocese (...). The collection for Caritas (the third Sunday of the month) was caused and enforced by those extraordinary times and the needs brought about by the war events which we are looking at. Care of the poor, the abandoned and those who were affected by misery belongs to the essence of the life of the Church and the vocation of priests. The extraordinary times impose extraordinary duties which – however hard they might seem – must be done if we want to have untroubled conscience and the feeling that we have fulfilled the obligation that we accepted and Christ's calling.<sup>47</sup>

### **Generosity of priests and church donations for the parish branches of Caritas**

Referring to the large-scale generosity (however differentiated in time and territorially varied) of the clergy and parish circles in aid of the Caritas headquarters, support for the parish branches was not universal. We can instead speak of isolated parishes in the area of the Tarnów diocese.<sup>48</sup> Systematic and sometimes long-term support of the local parish branches can only be found for some of them, such as the parish in Piwniczna. Throughout the occupation the local parish priest organised church collections or placed money boxes (St Anthony offering

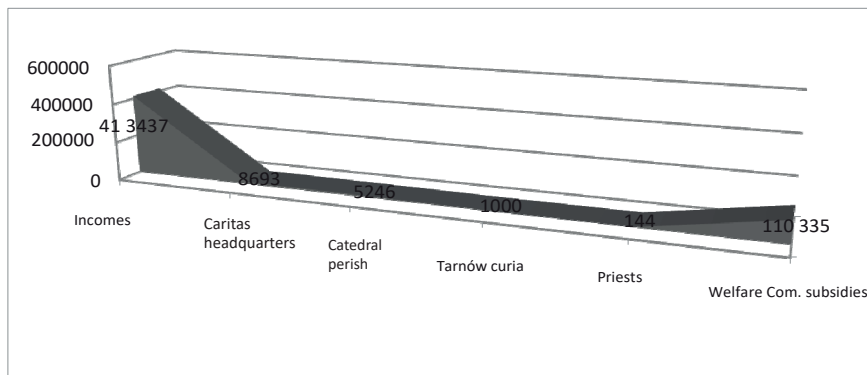
<sup>47</sup> ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car0 1944, Pismo wyjaśniające do Directorium z 1944 r. do księży diecezji tarnowskiej, Tarnów 1944.

<sup>48</sup> No organized action in this field or no action whatsoever can be observed in the examined diocese and in the area of GG; cf. Gapys, *Działalność charytatywna*, pp. 141–142.

box) in the aid of Caritas. The church collections from 1939 to 1944 amounted to PLN 13,951; with a total income of PLN 19,592, this comprised as much as 71% of the total. In 1943 the church contributions constituted even 74% of all incomes. The highest amount was transferred to the branch in 1944 (PLN 8,811), while the lowest came in 1939 (PLN 85). Apart from church offerings, Caritas obtained funding from membership fees, which were the second highest source of income (26–29 members). The branch occasionally also received subsidies from the curia or from the local RGO delegation; however, those amounts did not have any decisive influence on the budget. It should be noted that the charity activity of the Caritas branch was based on the generosity of the parish, which means on the financial independence of the welfare unit, which was the aim of each branch.<sup>49</sup>

Regular and relatively high donations from the Church were also recorded in the cathedral parish in Tarnów. This is well exemplified by the income of the local Caritas branch between 1 September 1939 and 15 February 1943. In that period transfers for social purposes from the cathedral parish amounted to PLN 5,246, Caritas headquarters PLN 8,693, the curia PLN 1,000 and priests PLN 144, while the subsidy from the local welfare committee reached a sum of over PLN 110,000 (Figure 9).

**Figure 9. Church offerings of the Tarnów curia, Caritas headquarters, the cathedral parish and priests to the parish branch in the cathedral church in Tarnów, 1939–1943**



Source: ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car LT1, 'Sprawozdanie kasowe oddziału "Caritas" parafii katedralnej w Tarnowie za czas od I IX 1940 – 28 II 1941 r.; ADT', Caritas, file ref. no. CarLT1, 'Sprawozdanie w cyfrach z działalności Caritas przy Katedrze za czas 1 IX 1939 – 31 VIII 1940 r.'; file ref. no. LT3, 'Zestawienie wpływów i wydatków Oddziału Caritas Parafii Katedralnej – Skontrum, 15 II 1943 r.'

<sup>49</sup> ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. CarLP, Sprawozdanie z działalności Caritasu w Piwnicznej za okres 1 IX 1939–31 XII 1940 r.; file ref. no. CarLP, Sprawozdanie z działalności Caritasu w Piwnicznej za 1941 r.; file ref. no. CarLP, Sprawozdanie z działalności Caritasu w Piwnicznej za 1942 r.; file ref. no. CarLP, Sprawozdanie z działalności Caritasu w Piwnicznej za 1943 r.; file ref. no. CarLP, Sprawozdanie z działalności Caritasu w Piwnicznej za 1944 r.



In total, PLN 15,083 was donated for charity by the cathedral branch of Caritas in Tarnów, which constituted 3.6% of all income in the period 1939–1943. This is a small percentage if only to compare it with the branch in Piwniczna described above (over 70%), or the church offerings submitted for the Caritas headquarters, which comprised more than 58% of all income of the Association. Organised charity drives were organised in a few parishes in the early years of the occupation. Generally, the church donations were the basic source of income for the Caritas branches. In the parish of Porąbka Uszewska, the faithful contributed PLN 801 to Caritas, which was 68.3% of all income.<sup>50</sup> In 1939 the priests in the parish of Szczepanów contributed PLN 70, collections in front of the church and the St Anthony offering box yielded PLN 426, while the Caritas headquarters transferred PLN 50. Therefore, the church offerings amounted to PLN 496, which constituted 85.6% of the income.<sup>51</sup> The parish branch in Trzciana obtained only PLN 78 from church collections (St Anthony offering box) and the offerings of the First Holy Communion children. However, with the meagre income those contributions made up 44.8% of the budget.<sup>52</sup> The parish of Gwoździce, on the other hand, continued the tradition of many years and organised the Fifth Charity Week in autumn 1940, which resulted in the following donations: the so-called altar gift (from the First Holy Communion children) of PLN 1,445 and the church collection of PLN 1,105. The source does not provide any information on other sources of financing for Caritas.<sup>53</sup>

Information on the contributions by the Missionary Priests from the Holy Family parish in Tarnów is also available. In 1941 the missionaries transferred PLN 680 for the Caritas branch, which constituted 15% of the income of this charity. The basic funds for its activity came from the welfare committee: in 1941 the subsidy amounted to PLN 3,000 (67.2%).<sup>54</sup>

One can read about an unusual form of support (though also practiced by other charity organisations during the war),<sup>55</sup> namely direct aid, in a charity report from the parish in Biegonice. The local priest wrote about his charitable activities in the following way:

As for the parish office, it tries not to stay far behind others in its pious work. The parish is in constant contact with the whole parish and it knows about

<sup>50</sup> ADT, Caritas, ref. file no. CarLP, Sprawozdanie z działalności Caritasu w Porąbce Uszewskiej za okres 1 IX 1939 – 31 XII 1940 r.

<sup>51</sup> ADT, Caritas, ref. file no. CarLP, Sprawozdanie z działalności Caritasu w Szczepanowicach za okres 1 IX 1939 – 31 XII 1940

<sup>52</sup> DT, Caritas, ref. file no. CarLT, Sprawozdanie z działalności Caritas za rok 1940 na terenie parafii Trzciana.

<sup>53</sup> ADT, Caritas, ref. file no. CarLG – CarI – CarLJ, Sprawozdanie z V Tygodnia Miłosierdzia z parafii Gwoździce 12.11.1940 r.

<sup>54</sup> ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. CarLT, Sprawozdanie kasowe Caritas parafii Św. Rodziny w Tarnowie od 1.II-31.III.1941 r.

<sup>55</sup> The phenomenon of direct help functioned, for example in the activity of the Delegations of the Main Welfare Council, see on the forms of welfare in RGO; cf. Kroll, *Rada Główna Opiekuńcza*; pp. 163–179.

everything, which is after all possible considering its small size. Several families find permanent support in the vicarage, the latter willingly helps those in need with horses, fuel, medical help and so on. In the first year of the war the vicarage, having taken the leased land from the richer ones, assigned a piece of ploughland to several of the poorest parishioners, in the total quantity of 10 hectares, without considering any payment.<sup>56</sup>

Finally, it is worth looking at solidarity within the diocesan structures of Caritas. The means obtained by the Association headquarters from priests, the faithful, social offerings, subsidies from the curia, local authorities and the RGO were re-distributed back to particular branches, mainly to those in greater need.<sup>57</sup> In 1942 the Association transferred subsidies to 51 branches in the amount of PLN 27,000 and in-kind contributions to three parishes worth PLN 1,069 (Czchów, Filipowice and Tarnów-Katedra) – totalling PLN 28,769. Usually, the amount was PLN 300–500 per parish, but some Caritas branches (Czchów, Janowice, Kolbuszowa, Krynica and the parish of Missionary Priests in Tarnów) received subsidies of PLN 1,000 each, while the cathedral parish was given PLN 7,000.<sup>58</sup> In 1943 the Association adopted another principle, assigning a higher total amount for subsidies to a smaller number of parishes. That year 23 parishes received financial support (in total, PLN 42,997) and six parishes received in-kind contributions (PLN 4,601). Cash subsidies usually amounted to PLN 1,000. Sums several times higher were sometimes received by parish branches which carried out a regular charity work or which needed support due to the local conditions (unemployment, high percentage of unemployed and smallholders, low generosity of the local community). The branch of the cathedral parish in Tarnów received PLN 11,801, Krynica PLN 4,000 and Nowy Sącz PLN 3,000 from the headquarters for their various activities.<sup>59</sup>

The analysis of the generosity of the church groups (curia, priests and parishes/believers) indicates that the beginning of the occupation destabilised the generosity towards Caritas. This was visible in all circles of all benefactors. Among the clergymen, this was primarily reflected in fewer donors (dropping from nearly 500 priests to 88) and less regular contributions. Not until 1944 did the group of contributors again reach approx. 480 priests. Priests transferred a total of over PLN 330,000 between 1939 and 1944. The clergymen's support of the Caritas branches, on the other hand, acquired the character of isolated parishes. In some of them the priests' contributions combined with the offerings of the faithful constituted over two thirds, or even three quarters of the total income. Likewise, the peak of generosity in parishes was observed in the last years of the occupation, namely 1943 and 1944. In 1943 donations were transferred in 31% of deaneries,

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<sup>56</sup> ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. CarLN, Sprawozdanie z akcji charytatywnej w parafii Biegonice, Biegonice 31.05.1944 r. Substantial direct aid in parishes, even with no Caritas branch, functioned fairly well in the Kielce and Sandomierz dioceses; cf. Gapys, *Działalność charytatywna*, pp. 88–90.

<sup>57</sup> This phenomenon was not observed outside the Tarnów diocese.

<sup>58</sup> ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car0 1942, Sprawozdanie Związki Caritas Diecezji Tarnowskiej za rok 1942. Wyszczególnienie oddziałów, które otrzymały subwencje z Centrali w Tarnowie.

<sup>59</sup> ADT, Caritas, file ref. no. Car0 1942, Rachunek działalności Związku Caritas Diecezji Tarnowskiej za rok 1943. Świadczenia bezpośrednie na akcję charytatywną w parafiach.

while in 1944 52% did so; likewise, donations were transferred in 29 (10.2%) and 19 parishes (6.7%), respectively. Through their priests, the faithful contributed PLN 351,445 to Caritas in Tarnów. The generosity of the faithful in the aid of the Caritas branches, inspired by priests, did not amount to a mass movement. It was widespread only in a few parishes, and sometimes those offerings formed the basis of the branch's budget. As a result of the financial policy run by Bishop Komar during the war and the occupation, the Tarnów curia was the largest contributor to the Association (PLN 2,472,000). This made up nearly 60% of all income of the Tarnów Caritas Association during the occupation, and over 78% of all offerings for the associations made by the Church.

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## **OFIARNOŚĆ DUCHOWIEŃSTWA I SKŁADKI KOŚCIELNE (PARAFIALNE) NA RZECZ ZWIĄZKU CARITAS DIECEZJI TARNOWSKIEJ W LATACH 1939–1945**

### **Streszczenie**

Po początkowej destabilizacji akcji ofiarności Kościoła w diecezji tarnowskiej (subwencje kurii, osobiste datki księży i ofiary wiernych z parafii) na rzecz Caritas (głównie centrali) od 1942 r. obserwuje się wyraźny wzrost datków na tarnowską Caritas. Najszerze rozmiary przybrała akcja ofiar parafialnych (gotówka, naturalia) na centralę Caritas. W latach 1942–1944 na cele społeczne gotówkę i naturalia przekazywało ok. 30 parafii (ok. 30%), które znajdowały się na terenie 15 dekanatów (52%). Ogółem przekazano 351 445 zł, głównie z parafii w środkowym i zachodnim pasie diecezji tarnowskiej. Ofiarność duchownych z osobistych dochodów (iura stolae) kulminację osiągnęła w 1944 r., kiedy to ponad 480 księży (wobec 88 w 1940 r.) przekazało Caritasowi ponad 320 tys. zł. Wsparcie finansowe i rzeczowe, jak i datki wiernych na rzecz oddziałów parafialnych Caritas nie przybrały charakteru powszechnego, obserwowano raczej odosobnione przypadki na terenie diecezji tarnowskiej. Lokalnie jednak środki te były podstawą budżetu oddziałów, stanowiąc niekiedy nawet  $\frac{3}{4}$  jego dochodów. Subwencje kurii tarnowskiej, dzięki polityce finansowej bp Komara, stanowiły najpoważniejszą pozycję w budżecie Caritas. Do 1944 r. kuria przekazała 2 472 000 zł. Było to prawie 60% ogółu przychodów Związku, ponad 78% zaś wszystkich ofiar ze strony Kościoła na stowarzyszenie.

Słowa kluczowe: II wojna światowa; Kościół katolicki; diecezja tarnowska; Caritas





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**FRAGMENT OF THE BOOK COLLECTION  
OF VILNIUS DOMINICANS IN THE KLEMENSÓW COLLECTION  
OF THE ZAMOJSKI LIBRARY NAMED AFTER  
STANISŁAW KOSTKA ZAMOYSKI**

**Abstract**

Old prints, part of the Vilnius Dominican collection, currently held in the Zamojski Library named after Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski, originate from the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries and are the product of numerous foreign and domestic publishing houses. The collection of 92 bibliographic items includes works relating to various areas of human knowledge at the time but is directed at the needs of the congregation. The books were intended to serve the members of the convent in their pastoral and educational work. The provenance marks and notes show the previous owners of individual copies and the methods of collecting them, as well as the traces of use by actual readers. They are an important contribution to the reconstruction of this scattered book collection.

Keywords: book; old print; library; Dominicans; Vilnius; Zamojski Library

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Understanding the history of the book culture in the Republic of Both Nations (the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth) requires the study of historical book collections. Research in this area, whether based on documents (inventories, registers and wills) or on preserved copies of different library resources, shows the importance of the scholarly benefits it brings to different fields. Therefore, it is worth continuing and expanding the research, especially because many of these collections remain undiscovered, such as convent book collections of many congregations, whose network of houses densely covered the area of the former

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Republic of Poland. In this context Dominican libraries also deserve examination. The state of research to date is such that no monographic studies of the book collections have been written and the analysis of particular convents' libraries is far from complete, although considerable progress has been made in the last decade.<sup>1</sup> Many historical convent book collections call for further study because of either recently obtained material or new research methods, techniques and tools. The book collection of the Vilnius Dominicans, a part of which is kept in Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski Library, is one which deserves more attention. It has been studied, but the work so far has been limited to cataloguing rather than in-depth bibliographic analysis taking into account the production, spread and use of books.<sup>2</sup> A number of findings also need supplementing and verifying through the use of new, frequently international, sources of information.<sup>3</sup> Books, people and institutions, constitute a historical fact and this is why they require study in the context of many political, social, religious and cultural phenomena. Therefore, research on historical book collections, even on a small scale, should draw attention to the origins and development of the institutions which created, maintained and developed them, as well as the people influencing and using them.<sup>4</sup>

The Dominican convent, founded by St Dominic de Guzmán, was called into being by Pope Honorius III by virtue of the papal bull *Religiosam vitam*, announced on 22 December 1216, and a breve from 21 January 1217.<sup>5</sup> The rapid development of the convent coincided with the establishment of organisational construction set up at two successive general chapters in Bologna in 1220 and 1221, at which the convent was divided into eight provinces and uniform convent laws were established.

The fundamental organisational solutions adopted during the life of the founder ensured a uniform and lasting character to the Dominican community for centuries. The system of the convent cleverly combined elements of the monastic tradition with the requirements of the times and the special nature of the convent, which consisted in accepting the main mission of teaching the Christian truths so as to convert Christians and non-believers to the way of conscious life in Christian faith.

The mendicant character of the order made its members settle down in large cities, since only numerous and wealthy groups of people could secure sufficient livelihood for the populous convents in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, which relied exclusively on alms. Each convent needed 12 monks to be able to undertake defined pastoral

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. [pw.kasaty.pl](http://pw.kasaty.pl) (accessed: 10.09.2019); M. Miławicki, *Inwentarze i spisy klasztorów dominikańskich skasowanych w guberniach zachodnich Cesarstwa Rosyjskiego w XIX w. Stan źródeł i miejsca ich przechowywania*, "Haereditas Monasteriorum", 1 (2012) pp. 141–172; T. Stolarczyk, *Analecta Dominicana. Szkice z dziejów Zakonu Braci Kaznodziejów w Polsce Środkowej (XIII-XVIII wiek)*, Wieluń 2016 (also including the literature on the subject).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. I.M. Kozłowska, *Starodruki z biblioteki O.O. Dominikanów z Wilna w Bibliotece im. H. Łopacińskiego w Lublinie*, Lublin 1999 [M.A. thesis, UMCS Archives].

<sup>3</sup> Worldcat, <https://www.worldcat.org> (accessed: 3.09.2019).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. K. Migoń, *Bibliologia-nauka o kulturze książki*, in: *Encyklopedia książki*, eds. A. Żbikowska-Migoń, M. Skalska-Złat, vol. 1: *Eseje A-J*, Wrocław 2017, pp. 23–32.

<sup>5</sup> J. Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 4, eds. R. Łukaszyk, L. Bieńkowski, F. Gryglewicz, Lublin 1985, col. 69.



tasks. Another novelty was the strong, centralised power of the superior general and the provinces managed by the provincial superior. All authorities of the order were chosen by the relevant chapters. In addition, each friar took a vow of obedience towards the superior general.<sup>6</sup> The pope's support of the order – which was closely related to the programme of reforming the Church outlined by the 4<sup>th</sup> Lateran Council – the social demand for its activity, the precision of legislative arrangements, the highly intellectual approach and the open attitude towards society's needs ensured the popularity and development of the Dominican order. At the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the order had about 600 convents with more than 10,000 monks.<sup>7</sup>

The Order of Preachers was brought to Poland on the initiative of the bishop of Cracow, Iwon Odrowąż.<sup>8</sup> In 1223 the first monastic community was established in Cracow, and in the following years communities in Sandomierz, Wrocław, Gdańsk and Kamień Pomorski were set up. In 1228 a Polish province of Dominicans was created during the general chapter, also comprising Bohemia and Moravia. In the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century all Polish dioceses, with the exception of the Lubuska diocese, were included within the network of Dominican convents. When a separate Czech province was established in 1301, the Polish one was left with 32 male monasteries and 3 female ones in the Polish areas of Silesia, Pomerania and Prussia. In the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, new foundations within the Polish province appeared only sporadically, and they were mainly located in the east of the Republic of Poland. In 1612 a Ruthenian province was separated out of 12 eastern communities with its centre in Lviv, and in 1647 the general chapter in Valencia transformed the Vilnius congregation into the Vilnius province, whose centre was in Vilnius.<sup>9</sup>

The beginnings of the Dominican presence in Vilnius were not to last. The monks likely appeared there during the reign of Gediminas, and after a short stay they left the city.<sup>10</sup> Their mission was also short-lived during the times of Władysław Jagiełło. They settled for good in the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1501. The founding act was issued on 8 May by Alexander Jagiellon and witnessed by the bishop of Vilnius, Wojciech Tabor,<sup>11</sup> the Vilnius voivode, Mikołaj Radziwiłłowicz,<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> J.A. Spież, *Dominikanie w Polsce*, in: *Chrześcijańska odpowiedź na pytanie człowieka. W 750-lecie służby polskich dominikanów Bogu i ludziom*, Warszawa 1974, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> J. Kłoczowski, *Wspólnoty chrześcijańskie. Grupy życia wspólnego w chrześcijaństwie zakonnym od starożytności do XV wieku*, Kraków 1964, p. 316.

<sup>8</sup> C. Deptuła, *Iwon Odrowąż, biskup, zm. 20 lub 21 VIII 1229*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 7, ed. S. Wielgus, Lublin 1977, col. 579–580.

<sup>9</sup> Spież, *Dominikanie w Polsce*, pp. 11–13.

<sup>10</sup> The basic source of information on the Dominicans' stay and activity in Vilnius, see: Lietuvos Valstybės Istorijos Archyvas (LVIA), file ref. no. F.1135-8-10. Archives of a historian Władysław Zahorski; also cf. Kozłowska, *Starodruki z biblioteki*, pp. 40–48; S. Brzozeczki, *Litewska prowincja dominikanów*, in: *Dominikanie: Gdańsk–Polska–Europa: materiały z konferencji międzynarodowej*, eds. D.A. Dekański, A. Gołębik, M. Grubka, Gdańsk 2003, p. 140.

<sup>11</sup> P. Nitecki, *Biskupi Kościoła w Polsce w latach 965–1999. Słownik biograficzny*, Warszawa 2000, p. 443.

<sup>12</sup> *Akta unji Polski z Litwą, 1385–1791*, wyd. S. Kutrzeba, W. Semkowicz, Kraków 1932, p. 127.

and the Vilnius castellan, Aleksander Jurewicz Holszański.<sup>13</sup> The king's decision was confirmed on 23 June 1501 with a papal bull by Pope Alexander VI.<sup>14</sup> The monks received the Holy Spirit Church, which dated back to the reign of Władysław Jagiełło,<sup>15</sup> a provostry, tenement houses, a grange, stable areas, an inn and Lake Raszeytes. Those properties and the king's protection secured adequate conditions for the life and activity of the Dominicans, which increased their numbers and, in turn, made the Vilnius convent one of the largest provinces.<sup>16</sup> It shared the history of the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania for over 400 years, enjoying the respect and kindness of its inhabitants, as reflected in numerous grants, donations and legacies from the rulers and the wealthy Lithuanian people.

History was not kind to the convent and the Holy Spirit Church. They were struck by several fires and wars, forcing the friars to leave the city and move to other convents of the Polish province.<sup>17</sup> The rebuilding work was supported by Ludwik Pociąg, the Grand Guardian of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,<sup>18</sup> and Brygida Sołłohubowa of the Radziwiłł family, for example.<sup>19</sup> Thanks to their efforts, today's church was erected circa 1770, together with the convent buildings.

The convent ceased to exist as a consequence of an order by the tsarist authorities in 1884, which removed the monks from the monastery and transformed the church into a parish church, conveying the management to the diocesan clergy. The friars were moved to other monasteries and the Vilnius convent became the property of the city.<sup>20</sup>

The provisions of the constitutions of the Order of the Preachers placed an obligation on each Dominican monk to use every spare moment to learn more about God. From the very beginning strong tendencies and aspirations appeared to bind the community with the university thinking, especially theological think-

<sup>13</sup> S.M. Kuczyński, *Holszański Aleksander Jurewicz, coat-of-arms Hippocentaurus (d. 1511), Lithuanian prince, Vilnius castellan*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 9, ed. K. Lepszy, Wrocław 1960, pp. 586–587.

<sup>14</sup> *Podręczna encyklopedia kościelna*, vols. 9–10, ed. Z. Chelmiński, Warszawa 1906, p. 90.

<sup>15</sup> J. Garniewicz, *Świątynie wileńskie od czasów najdawniejszych do obecnych*, Kędzierzyn-Koźle 1993, p. 89; B. Orszewska, *Klejnoty wileńskie*, Wilno 2002, p. 14.

<sup>16</sup> J. Kłoczowski, *Zakon dominikański i początki wyższego szkolnictwa na ziemiach polskich*, in: *Dominikanie: Gdańsk*, p. 70.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. B.B. Jachimowicz, *Relacja o (...) upadku miasta wileńskiego (...)*, [Wilno] 1748; idem, *Światło okropne (...) pożar (...) miasta wileńskiego (...)*, [Wilno] 1748; This fire was also wrdescribed by Fr. Wojciech Bagiński, cf. *Rękopism X. Bagińskiego, Dominikanina Prowincji Litewskiej (1747-1784)*, published by E. Tyszkiewicz, Wilno 1854, pp. 8–9; E. Tyszkiewicz, *O klasztorach zgromadzeń istniejących obecnie w diecezji Wileńskiej: Dominikanie*, "Tekka Wileńska", 3 (1859) pp. 255 ff.; J.I. Kraszewski, *Wilno od początków jego do roku 1750*, vol. 2, Wilno 1842, p. 41; J.M.A. Giżycki, *Wiadomości o dominikanach prowincji litewskiej*, part 1, Kraków 1917, p. 253.

<sup>18</sup> J. Kłoczowski, *Zakon dominikański i początki wyższego szkolnictwa na ziemiach polskich*, in: *Dominikanie: Gdańsk*, p. 70.

<sup>19</sup> P.P. Romaniuk, *Sołłohub Antoni Józef, coat-of-arms Prawdzic, d. 1759, general of the Lithuanian artillery*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 40, ed. H. Markiewicz, Warszawa 2000, pp. 306–308.

<sup>20</sup> LVIA, file ref. no. F.1135-8-10. Archiwum historyka Władysława Zahorskiego, p. 97.

ing. Each Dominican convent was also a school run by an educated teacher who had completed at least four years' specialised theological studies. The duty of education applied to all friars in a given monastery. The lessons took place every day after a conventual Mass and consisted in scholastic classes similar to those at university, namely readings and debates. The establishment of new monasteries without specialised teacher/theologians was forbidden.<sup>21</sup>

These educational activities led to the Dominicans becoming a kind of international school organisation with a complete system of schools of different levels and various scopes of activity, and a uniform programme approved by the general authorities. Each cloister had to have a theological school for all the monks there. The school was run by an educated teacher. It secured basic education for all members of the convent while being open to the needs of the secular clergy. Atrium studies were set up for young monastic professors, providing the fundamental knowledge of scholastic culture, while theological studies were established for monastic priests. Each province had to have so-called solemn studies. They prepared teachers of theology (tutors) who performed especially important and responsible tasks following from the basic assumptions of the order. Solemn studies, which were the most developed within the community, gained the status of general studies and were open to the monks from all provinces. It is mostly there where the intellectual elite of the order was created.<sup>22</sup> They were usually based on universities and their theological faculties. At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, a rule was adopted according to which each province of the order was to have its own general studies. The largest ones, which functioned in Paris, Montpellier, Oxford, Bologna, Padua or Cologne, were meant to satisfy the needs of all provinces.<sup>23</sup>

The Dominican school system in Poland did not differ from the general model of the convent. According to the general assumptions, each cloister was paired with a school where a monk could deepen his theological knowledge. The convent accepted novices and had to establish an adequate school for them. Each convent had two-year programmes of study for grammar, which were to ensure a good knowledge of Latin, both spoken and written. The next stage included studies of logic and rhetoric, as well as philosophy based on Aristotle's treatises. These were necessary before starting theological studies, which were essential for the convent and its functions and which were consistent with the curriculum of the theological faculty of the university of Paris. In fact, all theological studies, regardless of their name, entailed the same, multi-year programme and – with obvious differences concerning the level – were higher theological schools.<sup>24</sup> General studies were higher schools which were authorised to grant the degree of tutor of theology and

<sup>21</sup> Kłoczowski, *Wspólnoty chrześcijańskie*, pp. 283, 329.

<sup>22</sup> J. Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie w środkowo-wschodniej Europie i ich kultura intelektualna oraz pastoralna w wiekach średnich*, in: *Dominikanie w Europie XII-XV wieku: aktywność duszpasterska i kultura intelektualna*, eds. J. Kłoczowski, J.A. Spież, Poznań 2002, pp. 158–159.

<sup>23</sup> J. Kłoczowski, *Młodsza Europa. Europa środkowo-wschodnia w kręgu cywilizacji chrześcijańskiej średniowiecza*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 350–351.

<sup>24</sup> Kłoczowski, *Zakon dominikański*, pp. 72–73, 77.

to conduct exams for bachelor's and master's degrees in theology for the monks, with the promotion of the superior general of the order or the general chapter.<sup>25</sup>

Vilnius Dominican monks started to conduct particular studies soon after the institution was established. The students included not only the local monastic youths, but also young people from a few neighbouring cloisters.<sup>26</sup> After the Lithuanian province was established, general studies were called into being with two faculties – philosophy and theology – which had the full academic rights belonging to such an institution.<sup>27</sup> The rich programme of education, including philosophy, geometry, mathematics, theology, Church history, the Holy Bible and modern languages (French and German) – and beginning in the 18<sup>th</sup> century also architecture<sup>28</sup> – resulted in the use of the lectures of the Vilnius Academy. Gifted students went to a number of western European countries for education<sup>29</sup> and they gained the knowledge and experience to be used to raise the quality and attractiveness of pastoral work among the faithful.

The education system organised in this way was certainly a fundamental aid in the preaching and pastoral work of the friars. However, for it to fulfil its role properly, a library was also indispensable. This was the tutor's workshop, and it included a collection of various teaching resources meant for all the monks. In accordance with the monastic legislation, each Dominican convent was to have a separate space to store the books intended to be used by all the friars living there.<sup>30</sup> In the Middle Ages it also was to have its own scriptorium, where the scribes rewrote the necessary texts. Dominican libraries were among the most abundant monastic book collections. The convents in Cracow or Wrocław were also in possession of the collections included within the largest in the country. Their superiors were expected not only to take care of and support the studies, but also to secure all aids and conditions necessary for the brothers to study. In this respect, it was important for the library to be equipped with the necessary books and allocated the proper means to complete the collection of books. How they fulfilled their duties was additionally under the control of the provincial superior during his canonical visits.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Spież, *Dominikanie w Polsce*, pp. 18–19.

<sup>26</sup> R. Świętochowski, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów*, in: *Dzieje teologii katolickiej w Polsce*, ed. M. Rechowicz, vol. 2: *Od Odrodzenia do Oświecenia*, Lublin 1975, pp. 253–254; Kozłowska, *Starodruki z biblioteki*, pp. 51–53.

<sup>27</sup> General studies functioned in the years 1644–1864, cf. Świętochowski, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne*, p. 214.

<sup>28</sup> Świętochowski, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne*, p. 214; M. Morełowski, *Znaczenie baroku wileńskiego XVIII stulecia*, Wilno 1940, p. 29.

<sup>29</sup> Świętochowski, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne*, p. 219.

<sup>30</sup> *Constitutiones, declarationes et ordinationes capitulorum generalium Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum ab anno 1220 usque ad 1650 emanatae*, Prima pars tables, ed. V. Fontana, Romae 1862, p. 42.

<sup>31</sup> *Księga konstytucji i zarządzeń Zakonu Braci Kaznodziejów: statut polskiej prowincji Zakonu Braci Kaznodziejów*, compiled by P. Krzysztofia, transl. J. Janczak, M. Wylęgała, Warszawa 1996, pp. 35–36.

The librarian played a significant role in these tasks, which is why educated and respected monks were appointed to this post.<sup>32</sup>

The beginnings of the library of the Holy Spirit Church in Vilnius likely date back to its foundation in 1501. Although no sources confirming this fact are known, due to the fact that the monastic rules did not allow a new establishment without a tutor, it can be concluded that the Dominican monks already had a book collection at that time, especially because in the Vilnius convent there was a monk performing this role.<sup>33</sup>

It is difficult to establish the location of the library in the convent building. Because of the habits in not only different Dominican convents, but also in other congregations, books could be stored and made accessible in one of the rooms above the refectory, in the dormitory or over the scriptorium (if there was one). Care was taken to place the library at a distance from damp spaces or the threat of fire. It was also located in the buildings outside the convent. No effort was spared to fulfil the conditions outlined in the Dominican library regulations based on the habits of the Canons Regular of the Congregation of St Victor in Paris from 1113 to 1135, later developed by the superior general of the order, Humbert de Romanis in *De vita regularni* from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>34</sup>

The information concerning the location of the library in the Vilnius convent comes from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The collection was then situated on the second floor, in a spacious room with large windows and a frescoed ceiling. The rooms of the monks and the novitiates, the novitiates' library, the prior's rooms, the refectory and the apothecary were also on the same level.<sup>35</sup>

The 13<sup>th</sup> chapter of Humbert de Romanis' work, *De officio librarii*, includes some records referring to the work of the *libraries* and the library, as well as the forms and rules of using the convent book collection.<sup>36</sup> The librarian's duty was then to ensure the proper conditions in which to store the books (protection from rain, dampness and mould, inflow of fresh air and properly marked cupboards). He was also to watch over the key to the library rooms and to lend the books for a defined time. In addition, he would make successive lists of books (the up-to-date list to be passed on to his successor) and establish the rules of collecting books and removing out-of-date or worn-out ones. Multiple copies and books which were rarely read were to be put up for sale and the proceeds were to be used to buy new ones which were more useful for educational and pastoral purposes. Every year or two an inventory was to be made, after which the books that needed cleaning and

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<sup>32</sup> I. Szostek, *Biblioteka dominikanów lwowskich w świetle katalogu z roku 1776*, in: *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce 1222–1972*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Warszawa 1975, pp. 441.

<sup>33</sup> J. Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie polscy na Śląsku w XIII-XIV wieku*, Lublin 1956, p. 215; P. Kiełlar, *Organizacja szkolnictwa dominikańskiego w XIV wieku*, "Studia Philosophiae Christianae", 5 (1969) p. 308.

<sup>34</sup> K. Zawadzka, *Biblioteka klasztoru dominikanów we Wrocławiu (1226–1810)*, in: *Studia nad historią*, p. 298.

<sup>35</sup> LVIA, file ref. no. F.1135-8-10, Archiwum historyka Władysława Zahorskiego, p. 97; Kozłowska, *Starodruki z biblioteki*, p. 54.

<sup>36</sup> Szostek, *Biblioteka dominikanów*, pp. 412–413.

maintenance were selected. Emphasis was placed on the library being equipped with pulpits and opened at established times. Books were to be borrowed on-site, otherwise only with the consent of the master teacher of the students. No private notes were to be made on the books' pages; the books were not to be damaged or handled roughly. The library equipment was to include the ink, pens, quills, rulers, scissors to trim the feathers, chalk, etc. Parchment could be obtained with the permission of the supervisor, but only to take down notes from lectures, debates or readings.

The earliest known document with information on the resources of the Vilnius library of Dominican monks is the inventory from the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which includes a list of 506 published items, probably belonging to the reference section.<sup>37</sup> It follows from the research to date that – as in many libraries of this order – the Vilnius book collection was rich in the literature necessary for the scientific, didactic and pastoral purposes of the monks. Victor Wittig listed 5,317 volumes as belonging to the library in 1655.<sup>38</sup> The majority of them were destroyed during a fire in 1748 and by the French army in 1812.<sup>39</sup> Władysław Zahorski observed that the collection included over 5,000 works,<sup>40</sup> while Józef Ignacy Kraszewski placed the number at more than 6,000.<sup>41</sup> However, none of the authors specified which period their information came from. Another researcher, Franciszek Radziszewski, first wrote about more than 6,000 volumes,<sup>42</sup> then later established the number of volumes at 5,300.<sup>43</sup>

After the Vilnius convent of Dominicans was liquidated, its book collection was dispersed. Most of the books were included within the local seminary and public libraries,<sup>44</sup> but some found their way into monastic and private collections. A relatively small part fell into the hands of the Vilnius bibliographer and bibliophile Władysław Trębicki.<sup>45</sup> He signed all these books with his name and surname,

<sup>37</sup> Archiwum OO. Dominikanów w Krakowie (ADKr), file ref. no. I.c.III 76/252, *Teka wileńska*; M. Juda, *Kultura intelektualna i duchowa dominikanów wileńskich w świetle inwentarza biblioteki z I połowy XVII wieku*, "Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne", 114 (2020) pp. 123–143.

<sup>38</sup> W. Wittig, *Ex-librisy bibliotek polskich XVII i XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1903, p. 18.

<sup>39</sup> LVIA, file ref. no. F.1135-8-10. Archiwum historyka Władysława Zahorskiego, p. 97; F. Radziszewski, *Wiadomość historyczno-statystyczna o znamienitszych bibliotekach i archiwach publicznych i prywatnych tak niegdyś byłych jako i obecnie istniejących w krajach dawną Polską składających, a mianowicie: w Królestwie Polskiem, Galicyi W.Ks. Poznańskiem i Zachodnich guberniach Państwa Rossyjskiego porządkiem abecedłowym miejsc ułożona*, Kraków 1875, p. 112.

<sup>40</sup> LVIA, file ref. no. F.1135-8-10, Archiwum historyka Władysława Zahorskiego, p. 97; *Podręczna encyklopedia*, p. 90.

<sup>41</sup> J.I. Kraszewski, *Wilno od początków jego do roku 1750*, vol. 4, Wilno 1842, p. 82.

<sup>42</sup> Radziszewski, *Wiadomość historyczno-statystyczna*, p. 112.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112; Miławicki, *Inwentarze i spisy*, p. 147.

<sup>44</sup> Wittig, *Ex-librisy bibliotek*, p. 18; E. Chwalewik, *Zbiory polskie: archiwa, biblioteki, gabinety, galerje, muzea i inne zbiory pamiątek przeszłości w ojczyźnie i na obczyźnie*, vol. 2, Warszawa–Kraków 1927, p. 483.

<sup>45</sup> M. Łuszczyńska, M. Szwarz, *Władysław Trębicki zapomniany bibliofil i bibliograf XIX wieku*, "Bibliotekarz Lubelski", (1959) no. 4, pp. 17–25; M. Łuszczyńska, *Trębicki Władysław (1806–1861), land owner, officer of the army of the Polish Kingdom, historian of literature, bibliophile*,

either in full or abbreviated. He marked many copies with a small asterisk at the top of the cover sheet, completed missing face sheets and placed remarks concerning the bibliographical uniqueness of the edition. They were precise and correct, which certainly points to his excellent bibliographical competence. He obtained his skills in this respect by working with the Vilnius publisher and bookseller of Józef and Adam Zawadzki, as well as with Adam Jocher, Rev. Michał Bobrowski and Józef Ignacy Kraszewski.

In 1861 Władysław Trębicki's book collection was bought by the Zamoyski Family Entail Library, which already had books from the Vilnius Dominican library in its collection. The volumes from Trębicki's collection were placed in Klemensów. In 1965 they found their way to the Hieronim Łopaciński Municipal Public Library in Lublin.<sup>46</sup> In May 2008 it was taken over by Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski Library.<sup>47</sup>

The collection in Klemensów includes 92 bibliographic items. Not all of them, however, are in good physical condition. There are 23 missing initial pages, and 10 volumes do not have the final pages. This is why problems appear in establishing all bibliographical data. Out of 92 publishing houses, 63 contain the place and year of publication, four prints have only the place of publication and two only the year; 18 possess neither. There are five prints whose place of publication is unidentified, and 10 with no publication year. A work by a Roman poet from the Augustus period, Pūblius Ovidius Nāsō, *Metamorphoseon*, published after 13 January 1534, should be considered the oldest.<sup>48</sup> Twenty-three prints were published in the publishing houses within the former Republic of Poland, while the other 64 came from foreign publishers. Most items (11) were published by the Vilnius Jesuit printing house, six by Cracow publishing houses, two each by ones from Kalisz and Połotsk and one each from Warsaw and Sandomierz. Out of 64 foreign publishing houses, the majority (33) were in 14 German cities, for example, Frankfurt am Mein, Cologne, Leipzig, Nuremberg and Dillingen. The second most numerous group includes books by Italian publishing houses (9), most of which (4) were published in Venice. Six prints each came from France and Austria, four from Holland, two each from Switzerland and Spain and one each from Belgium and Russia. There are eight 16<sup>th</sup>-century editions, 30 17<sup>th</sup>-century ones and 44 from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. A decisive majority of items (69) represent the

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*bibliographer*, in: *Słownik pracowników książki polskiej*, ed. I. Treichel, Warszawa 1972, p. 909; Kozłowska, *Starodruki z biblioteki*, p. 143.

<sup>46</sup> C. Nieścior, *Księgozbiór klemensowski w Bibliotece im. H. Łopacińskiego*, "Bibliotekarz Lubelski", (1959) nos. 1–2, pp. 6–8.

<sup>47</sup> The book collection of Klemensów is available in a digital version in: Książnica Zamojska im. Stanisława Kostki Zamoyskiego w Zamościu, [www.biblioteka.zamosc.pl/](http://www.biblioteka.zamosc.pl/); <http://cyfrowa.biblioteka.zamosc.pl/dlibra/collectiondescription?dirids=4> (accessed: March 2019-January 2020).

<sup>48</sup> Naso Publius Ovidius, *In P. Ovidii Metamorphosin Henrici Glareani Annotationes haud uulgares...*, Basileae, [Henricus] Petrus, 1534; Publiusz Owidiusz Nazo, (43 p.n.e. – 17 lub 18 n.e.), cf. M. Cytowska, H. Szelest, *Literatura rzymska. Okres augustowski*, Warszawa 1990, pp. 412–568.

edition from a definite year (in 3 case were have to do with double copies), while one is represented by 4, 3 and 2 editions.<sup>49</sup>

The book collection gathered in the library of the Vilnius convent served the youths studying in Vilnius as well as the monks. Thus, it had to fulfil the essential and fundamental goals that the library had been called into being for. The first was help in pastoral work, particularly preaching. The second was enabling and facilitating the education of the monastic youth. The third was intellectual work (the information can be read in nine volumes in the library of the novitiate).<sup>50</sup> An additional task, resulting from the monastic rule which obliged the friars to read, was to select the readings with the readers' interests in mind. These goals of collecting books seem to be confirmed by the part of the collection under analysis and its make-up.

A considerable part of the library resources under study are philosophical works. Attention is drawn by the commentaries and studies on Aristotle's works.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Kozłowska, *Starodruki z biblioteki*, pp. 152, 158–159.

<sup>50</sup> Ambrosius Calepinus, *Passerati, sive lingvarum novem. Romanae, graecae, ebraicae, gallicae, italicae, germanicae, hispanicae, anglicae, belgicae dictionarium*, Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina redidiva Abrahami Cammelini, [ca. 1655]; A. Calepinus (1435–1510), Italian humanist, cf. S. Urbańczyk, *Słowniki, ich rodzaje i użyteczność*, [Wrocław] 1964, p. 12; Antoine Goudin, *Philosophia iuxta inconclusa tutissimague divi Thomas dogmata...*, Venetiis, Typis Dominici Lovisa, 1729. Antoine Goudin lived in the years 1639–1695, cf. *Goudin, Antoine*, Encyclopediam.com, <https://www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/goudin-antoine> (accessed: 23.01.2020); Nicolas Louis de Lacaille, *Lectiones elementares algebrae et geometriae...*, Vilnae, Typis S.R.M. et Reip[ublicae] Academ[iae] Soc. Jesu, 1733; Nicolas L. de Lacaille, francuski astronom (1713–1762), cf. J.S. Glass, *Nicolas – Louis de La Caille, Astronomes and Geodesist*, Oxford 2013; Giovanni Domenico Musanti, *Fax chronologica ad omnigenam historiam...*, Sandomiriae, [no printing house, Coll. Soc. Jesu] 1724; Jakub Nakcyanowicz, *Praelectiones mathematicae ex Wolfianis elementis adornatae*, Vilnae, Typis S.R.M. Academicis, 1761; *Nakcyanowicz (Nakcyanowicz) Jakub*, in: *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564–1995*, compiled by L. Grzebień SJ przy współpracy zespołu jezuitów, Kraków 2004, p. 450; Diego de Zuniga Ortiz, *Cursus philosophicus angelico-tomisticus*, vol. 2. [Kempton], Typis Ducalis Monasterii Campidonensis, Per Rudolphum Dreher, 1667; Diego O. de Zúñiga (1636–1680), Spanish historian, cf. *Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga*, Real Academia de la Historia, [dbe.rah.es/biografias/7529/diego-ortiz-de-zuniga](http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/7529/diego-ortiz-de-zuniga) (accessed: 26.01.2020); Jan Stefan Piasecki, *Mówca polski albo supplement do tomu pierwszego mów sejmowych...*, vol. 2, Kalisz, Druk. Coll. Soc. Jesu, 1676; Antoni Adam Skorupski, *Commentariurum philosophiae, logice scilicet metaphisicae phisicae...*, Vilnae, Typis S.R.M. Academicis, 1755; Adrian Vlacq, *Tabulae sinuum tangentium et secantium... Editio nova et emmendata a Johannae Jacobo Hentio*, Francofurti et Lipsiae, Impensis Johanni Friedrici Fleischneri, 1757; Johann J. Hentsch, (1723–1764), German philosopher and mathematician, professor of mathematics at the University of Helmstedt, cf. *The Bloomsbury Dictionary of Eighteenth-Century German Philosophers*, eds. H.F. Klemme, M. Kuehn, London 2016, pp. 319–320; Adrian Vlacq (1600–1667), Dutch Publisher, author of mathematic tables, he published logarithmic tables, cf. E.M. Bruins, *On the history of logarithms: Bürgi, Napier, Briggs, de Decker, Vlacq, Huygens, "Janus"*, 67 (1980) pp. 241–260.

<sup>51</sup> H. Podbielski, *Arystoteles – życie i twórczość*, in: *Literatura Grecji starożytnej*, ed. A. Podbielski, vol. 2: *Proza historyczna, krasomówstwo, filozofia i nauka, literatura chrześcijańska*, Lublin 2005, pp. 661–726.



They include not only the monumental Cologne edition of his works<sup>52</sup> or the commentaries on his *Physics* by Masius Didacus, a Dominican and professor of philosophy and theology at the University of Valencia,<sup>53</sup> but also the work by Karol Jezierski published in Vilnius.<sup>54</sup> A Dominican library cannot lack the works by St Thomas of Aquinas and commentaries on them.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, there are the Leiden editions from 1663 of the first volume of Part 3 of his *Summa Theologica*,<sup>56</sup> a Milan edition of his philosophical treatises<sup>57</sup> and the works by authors descending from the preaching order devoted to the philosophical views of Aquinas.<sup>58</sup> This set includes two copies of the work by the Dominican philosopher and scholar Antoine Goudin<sup>59</sup> as well as the work by the French Dominican theologian and professor of theology at the University of Padua, Pere Nicolau Arnu.<sup>60</sup>

A philosophical work by the French philosopher and theologian, Laurent Duhan, also deserves to be mentioned,<sup>61</sup> as do two works by the Jesuit, professor of the University of Graz and author of physics textbooks, Leopold Gottlieb Biwald.<sup>62</sup> The works on logic by the Portuguese philosopher and theologian, Luís António

<sup>52</sup> Aristoteles, *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu in quatuor libros De Coelo, Meteorologicos et Parva Naturalia Aristotelis...*, Coloniae, Impensis Lazari Zetneri, 1596.

<sup>53</sup> Didacus Masius, *Commentariorum In Vniuersam Aristotelis Philosophiam ... Aristotelis, Co-lonie Agrippinae*, Apud Conradi Butgenii Viduam, 1628. M. Didacus (1553–1608), cf. Masius, *Didactus*, CERL Thesaurus, <https://data.cerl.org/thesaurus/cnp00991500> (accessed: 23.01.2020).

<sup>54</sup> Karol Jezierski, *Aristoteles sub auspiciis ... Josephi De Ekliis Hylzen...*, Vilnae, Typographia Academiae Societatis Jesu [1749].

<sup>55</sup> S. Brzozecki, M.R. Górnjak, *Tomasz z Akwinu* (ur. 1224/25–1274), doctor of the Church, philosopher, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 19, ed. E. Gigilewicz, Lublin 2013, col. 848–852.

<sup>56</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *Summa totius theologiae S. Thomae Aquinatis...*, Lugduni, Sumptibus Viduae Petri Bailly et Petri Bailly, 1663.

<sup>57</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *Totus doctrinae philosophicae compendiosa tractatio...*, Mediolani [1693], Ex typographia Caroli Josephi Quinti.

<sup>58</sup> Ortiz, *Cursus philosophicus...*; Raymund Ortiz, *Ariadna thomistica Theseum ... seu Cursus philosophicus ...*, [no place of printing, after 1673].

<sup>59</sup> Goudin, *Philosophia iuxta inconclusa...*

<sup>60</sup> Nicolau Arnu, *Clipeus philosophiae Thomisticae...*, Biteriis, Henricus Martel, 1672. Pere N. Arnu lived in the years 1629–1692, cf. *Pere Nicolau Arnu*, Gran enciclopèdia catalana, <https://www.en.ciclopedia.cat/ec-gec-0005305.xml> (accessed: 24.01.2020).

<sup>61</sup> Laurent Duhan, *Philosophus in utramque partem...*, [no place of printing], Juxta Exemplar Parisiis, 1726; idem., Norimbergae, Impensa Joannis Georgii Lochneri, 1753 (2 copies), idem., Venetiis, Apud Laurentium Basilium, 1768; J. Schmutz, *Duhan Laurent (ok. 1656–1726)*, in: *Dictionary of Seventeenth-Century French Philosophers*, vol. 1, ed. L. Foisneau, London–New York 2008, pp. 390–392.

<sup>62</sup> Leopold Gottlieb Biwald, *Physica generalia Quam auditorum philosophiae accomodata...*, Graecii [Graz?], Sumptibus Josephi Mauritii Lechner, 1768; Biwald, *Physica generalis quam auditorum philosophiae...*, Graecii [Graz?], Sumptibus Josephi Mauritii Lechner, typis haeredum Widmanstadii, 1767; C. von Wurzbach, *Biwald Leopold Gottlieb (1731–1805)*, in: *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, part 1, ed. L.C. Zamarski, Wien 1856, p. 415.

Verney,<sup>63</sup> and the Jesuit mathematician and naturalist Karl Scherffer<sup>64</sup> were likely born out of the didactic requirements.

Texts on the art of saying homilies played a significant role in the education and activity of the members of the preaching order. The part of the book collection in question includes a work by the Franciscan monk Franciszek Rychłowski, who is known as the author of numerous preaching and panegyric works and as a member of the general chapters in Rome and Spain.<sup>65</sup> It also includes *Dzieło zbawienia ludzkiego* [The work of human salvation] by Antoni Stefanowicz.<sup>66</sup>

A considerable part of the source material is made up of historical works, predominantly by ancient historiographers. There are two copies of a work discussing the deeds of Alexander the Great by Quintus Curtius Rufus, a writer, historian, Roman senator and consul from the times of Tiberius, Caligula and Trajan.<sup>67</sup> There is also a work by Roman historian and biographer Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus,<sup>68</sup> as well as one devoted to the history of Rome by Marcus Velleius Paterculus, which was forgotten in ancient times but rediscovered in 1515.<sup>69</sup> Also, the collection houses the biographies of outstanding leaders and statesmen written by Cornelius Nepos<sup>70</sup> and Pliny the Elder, the author of numerous historical, grammatical and rhetorical works.<sup>71</sup> There is also a book about the history of Germany by Leonard Pappus von Tratzberg<sup>72</sup> and a frequently published work by the German Lutheran

<sup>63</sup> Aloysius Antonius Verneius, *De Re logica libri sex...*, Vilnae, Ex Typographeo S. R. M. et Reipublicae PP. Scholarum Piarum, 1766. Aloysius A. Vernejus lived in the years 1713–1792, cf. *Luis António Verney*, Escritores Lusófonos, escritoreslusofonos.net/2018/11/23/luis-antonio-verney (accessed: 24.01.2020).

<sup>64</sup> Karl Scherffer, *Institutiones logice et metaphysicae...*, Vindobonae, Typis Joannis Thomae Trattner, 1763. K. Scherffer lived in the years 1716–1783, cf. Jesuitscience.net, <https://jesuitscience.net/> (accessed: 24.01.2020).

<sup>65</sup> Franciszek Rychłowski, *Kazania Dwoiakię na Niedziele Calego Rokv...*, Cracow, Dziedzice Printing House of Krzysztof Schedl, after 1672; G.A. Wiśniowiecki, *Rychłowski Franciszek (1611–1673)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 33, ed. H. Markiewicz, Wrocław 1991/1992, pp. 386–387.

<sup>66</sup> Antoni Stefanowicz, *Dzieło zbawienia ludzkiego*, Cracow, Wojciecha Gorecki Printing House, 1678.

<sup>67</sup> Quintus Curtius Rufus, ... *De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni...*, Amstelodami, Juxta exemplar Elsevirorum, 1690; idem, Patavii, [no printing house], 1755; J.R. Hamilton, *The date of Quintus Curtius Rufus*, "Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte", 37 (1988) pp. 445–456; Cytowska, Szelest, *Literatura rzymska. Okres cesarski*, pp. 223–236.

<sup>68</sup> Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, ... *Caesares: Obscuriorum locorum brevis...*, Coloniae, Ioannes Gymnicus excudebant, 1539; Cytowska, Szelest, *Literatura rzymska. Okres cesarski*, pp. 425–432.

<sup>69</sup> Caius Valleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae libri duo...*, Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Elseviriana, 1639; S. Stabryła, *Historia literatury starożytnej Grecji i Rzymu*, Wrocław 2002, pp. 432–433.

<sup>70</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *De vita excellentium imperatorum...*, [No place or year of printing], after 1663; L. Winniczuk, *Wstęp*, in: *Kornelisz Nepos, Żywoty wybitnych mężów*, Warszawa 1974, pp. 5–30.

<sup>71</sup> Caius Plinius Caecilius Secundus, *Epistolarum libri decem...*, Petropoli, Typis Academiae Imperialis Scientiarum, 1724; Cytowska, Szelest, *Literatura rzymska. Okres cesarski*, pp. 355–359.

<sup>72</sup> Leonardus Pappus, *Epitome rerum germanicarum ab anno 1617–1643 gestarum*, [no place of printing], 1643; F.X. von Wegele, *Pappus Leonard (1607–1677)*, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 25, Leipzig 1887, pp. 164–165.

theologian and professor at the University of Wittenberg, Wolfgang Franz (Franzius), which was addressed to the students of theology and to preachers.<sup>73</sup> Two works on law also deserve mention, namely one by the Dutch lawyer and professor of the University of Löwen, André Delvaux,<sup>74</sup> and one by Teodor Zawacki.<sup>75</sup>

Another outstanding group is books on mathematics, science and medicine. These include authors such as Johann Christian Wolf,<sup>76</sup> Nicolas Louis de La Caille<sup>77</sup> or Johann Jacob Hentsch and Adriaan Vlacq,<sup>78</sup> as well as the Polish Jesuit and head of the Vilnius astronomic observatory, Jakub Nakcyanowicz.<sup>79</sup>

A large portion consists of school textbooks, which seems to confirm the intensive didactic work of Vilnius Dominican monks and numerous disciples around them. This includes works and exercises from the field of rhetoric,<sup>80</sup> Latin grammar<sup>81</sup> and dictionaries.<sup>82</sup>

Much is said about the owners and fate of the books analysed in the study by signs (*ex libris*, *super ex libris* and seals) as well as provenance marks.<sup>83</sup> Fifty volumes are provided with the library *ex libris*. The marks are placed on the inside of the front covers and are in the form of labels measuring 48×38 mm. Capitalised words 'BIBLIOTHECAE || CONVENTUS || GENERALIS || VILNENSIS SANCTI || SPIRITUS ORDINIS || PRAEDICATORUM ||' are embossed in a double rectangular linear border. Other signs indicating that a book belonged to a definite owner are seals. A seal with the initials F.D.S. [Frater Dominicus

<sup>73</sup> Wolfgang Franzius, *Animalium historia sacra...*, Amstelodami, Apud Joannem Janssonium, 1643; F.W. Bautz, *Franz Wolfgang*, in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 2, Hamm 1990, p. 112.

<sup>74</sup> André Delvaux (1569–1636), cf. *Delvaux, André*, CERL Thesaurus, <https://data.cerl.org/thesaurus/cnp01353402> (accessed: 24.01.2020).

<sup>75</sup> André Delvaux, *Paratitla, sive, Summaria et methodica explicatio Decretalium D. Georgii papae IX...*, Lovanii, Apud C. Coenesteyium, 1640; Teodor Zawacki, *Memoriale processus iudicarii et flosculorum legume...*, Cracoviae, Apud haeredes Iacobi Sybeneycher, 1623.

<sup>76</sup> Johann Christian Wolf, *Cosmologia generalia metodo scientifica pertractata...*, Francofurtii et Lipsiae, prostate in Officina Libraria Rengeriana, 1737; Johann Ch. Wolf, German philologist, Hebraist, polymath (1683–1739), cf. E. Jacobs, *Wolf Johann Christian*, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 43, Leipzig 1898, p. 761.

<sup>77</sup> Lacaille, *Lectiones elementares...*

<sup>78</sup> Vlacq, *Tabulae sinuum tangentium et secantium...*

<sup>79</sup> Nakcyanowicz, *Praelectiones mathematicae...*

<sup>80</sup> E.g. Hermann Goldhagen, *Rhetorica explicata et applicata ad eloquentiam civilem et ecclesiasticam...*, Mannheimii, ex Typographejo Electorali Aulico, apud Nicolaum Pieron, 1753; Hermann Goldhagen (1718–1794), German Catholic theologian, cf. A.Ph. Brück, *Goldhagen Herman*, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 6, Berlin 1964, p. 605.

<sup>81</sup> E.g. Emmanuel Alvarez, *De institutione grammatica libri tres*, Calissi, [Typ. Coll. Soc. Jesu], 1760; Emmanuel Alvarez (1526–1582), Portuguese Jesuit, autor of a handbook on Latin grammar, cf. *Encyklopedia wiedzy*, p. 8.

<sup>82</sup> E.g. Calepinus, *Passerati, sive lingvarum novem...*

<sup>83</sup> On provenance studies, see, e.g., M. Sipayło, *O metodzie badań proveniencyjnych starych druków*, in: *Z badań nad polskimi księgozbiarami historycznymi*, Warszawa 1975, pp. 9–29; M. Strutyńska, *Struktura proveniencyjna zbioru starych druków Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Toruniu. Przewodnik po zespólach. Problemy badawcze i metodologiczne*, Toruń 1999.

Siwicki] can be seen on the reverse of the title page of four books.<sup>84</sup> This type of sign and leatherbound covers with ornamental backs indicate the bibliophile interests of this monk from Grodno and Choroszcz. It should be observed that the provenance mark on Karl Scherffer's book indicates that its former owner was the Dominican monk Laurenty Bartkiewicz. Thus, the old prints from the Klemensów library supplement the knowledge about this valuable, though disperse, book collection.<sup>85</sup> The binding of one copy was signed with a heraldic *super ex libris* of the Zamoyski family, which seems to indicate that in 1815 it belonged to the library of the Zamoyski family.<sup>86</sup>

A hand-written note frequently appears stating from whom the library obtained a given book. The donors included members of the convent who donated the books they owned once they put on the monastic habit. Such information can be found on the pages of 28 volumes. They are mostly individual items, but also gifts of more than one copy. Apart from the Dominican Siwicki, the library's donors included Damian Jurkiewicz,<sup>87</sup> who was twice the prior of the local convent (1736–1738 and 1741–1744) and who presented four volumes to the convent library. Three copies were presented by Rafael Januszkiewicz<sup>88</sup> and two each by Kazimierz Strawiński<sup>89</sup> and Bronisław Nargiełłowicz. The convent library was enriched with one book

<sup>84</sup> Ambrosius Calepinus, *Dictionarium novem linguam*, Lugduni Batavorum, Ex Typographia reddiva Abrahami Commelini, [no year of publishing 17th c.]; Nicolas Louis de Lacaille, *Lectiones elementares mathematicae seu elementa algebrae et geometriae*, Viennae, Pragae et Tergesti, Typis Joannis Thomae Trattner, [1762]; Carlo Scherfer, *Institutiones logicae et metaphysicae duabus partibus coprehensae conscriptae*, Vindobonae, Typis Joannis Thomae Trattner, 1763; *Litterae annuae Societatis Anno 1607 ad Patres et Fratres Soc[ietatis] Jesu*, [no place or year of publishing]; Kozłowska, *Starodruki z biblioteki*, pp. 140, 142.

<sup>85</sup> I. Pietrkiewicz, *Rękopiśmienna spuścizna Faustyna Ciecierskiego jako źródło do dziejów kultury intelektualnej dominikanów prowincji litewskiej początku XIX wieku*, "Annales Universitatis Pedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia ad Bibliothecarum Scientiam", (2013) p. 118; I. Pietrkiewicz, *Zbiory dominikanów grodzieńskich i ich opiekunowie*, in: *Arma Nostrae Militiae. Kultura książki i pisma Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego na ziemiach polskich*, eds. I. Pietrkiewicz, M. Miławicki, Warszawa 2019, pp. 89–112; I. Pietrkiewicz, *Kultura książki w zakonach męskich Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XV–XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2019, pp. 194–196.

<sup>86</sup> Erasmus Desiderius Roterodamus, *Apophthegmatum ex optimis utriusque lingva scriptoribus collectorum libri octo*, Coloniae, Mart[inus] Gymnicus, 1547; J. Swastek, *Erazm z Rotterdamu (1466–1536), niderlandzki filolog, filozof, pedagog*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 4, eds. R. Łuka szyk, L. Bieńkowski, F. Gryglewicz, Lublin 1984, col. 1062–1063.

<sup>87</sup> *Rękopism X. Bagińskiego*, p. 97. In the years 1729–1732 he was the prior in the Dominican church in Wołyniec, cf. *Pińsk, Kościół św. Dominika*, [https://radzima.org/pl/miejsce\\_comm/6144.html](https://radzima.org/pl/miejsce_comm/6144.html) (accessed: 23.01.2020).

<sup>88</sup> He probably descended from the Lithuanian family of Januszkiewiczze, coat-of-arms Lubicz, cf. J. Ciechanowicz, *Rody rycerskie Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, vol. 3: *E-K*, Rzeszów 2001, pp. 199–202.

<sup>89</sup> He probably descended from the Lithuanian family of Strawińscy, coat-of-arms Sulima, Poraj, Szeliga, Hippocentaurus, Przyjaciół, cf. Ciechanowicz, *Rody rycerskie*, vol. 4: *L-R*, pp. 146–175.

each from Laurenty Bartkiewicz, Ferdynand Józef Grycewic,<sup>90</sup> Józef Bonawentura Korzeniowski,<sup>91</sup> Hiacynt Kozakowski,<sup>92</sup> the Dominican preacher from Petersburg, Klemens Mayłowicz,<sup>93</sup> Bronisław Bargiełłowicz, Jan Romanowski,<sup>94</sup> Jan Słuszek,<sup>95</sup> Justyn Sokulski, Reginald Sołohuba,<sup>96</sup> Grzegorz Szymak<sup>97</sup> (d. 1775), the provincial superior of the Lithuanian province, protonotary apostolic and author of the friars' catalogue since the beginning of the Vilnius convent, Antoni Wołłowicz and Aleksy Zborowski.

The donors also included laypersons. Usually, one book was presented, but in two cases – namely Antoni Czechowicz and the Vilnius notary public Aleksander Koncewicz – there were two volumes. Singular volumes were presented to the convent library by Michał Brauer from Riga, Piotr Faustus Pendecki, Laurenty Rabczyński, Jakub Rudziński,<sup>98</sup> Antoni Stefanowicz,<sup>99</sup> Antoni Szwarz,<sup>100</sup> Bazyli Turowski and Antoni Andrzej Wiczorkowski. One book found its way to the library from a Jesuit college in Pułtusk that was liquidated in 1773.<sup>101</sup>

Provenance marks also provide information regarding other owners of books from the Dominican collection before they found their way to Władysław Trębicki. In nine such cases the following names appear: Antoni Wołłowicz,<sup>102</sup> Kazimierz Minkiewicz,<sup>103</sup> Antoni Walentynowicz, Jerzy and Franciszek Jamontowie, Antoni

<sup>90</sup> He probably descended from the Lithuanian family of Grycewic (Gricevičius), coat-of-arms Topór, cf. Ciechanowicz, *Rody rycerskie*, vol. 3, p. 99.

<sup>91</sup> In 1724 he was the prior in Pińsk, cf. *Pińsk, Kościół św. Dominika*.

<sup>92</sup> He probably descended from the Lithuanian family of Kozakowski, coat-of-arms Lilia, Kozieli, cf. Ciechanowicz, *Rody rycerskie*, vol. 3, p. 419.

<sup>93</sup> *Subscribers*, in: *Wielki tydzień dla duchownego pożytku chrześcijan wszelkiego stanu*, published by X. Jakuba Falkowskiego, Wilno 1829, p. XV.

<sup>94</sup> He probably descended from the Lithuanian family of Romanowski, coat-of-arms Bończa, Boża Wola, Prawdzic, Przyjaciół, cf. Ciechanowicz, *Rody rycerskie*, vol. 4, p. 419.

<sup>95</sup> He probably descended from one of the oldest and deserved families in Lithuania-Słuszków, coat-of-arms Ostoja, cf. Ciechanowicz, *Rody rycerskie*, vol. 5: S-Ż, p. 108.

<sup>96</sup> He probably descended from the Lithuanian family of Sołohub vel Sołohub, coat-of-arms Prawdzic, cf. Ciechanowicz, *Rody rycerskie*, vol. 5, pp. 121–122.

<sup>97</sup> *Rękopism X. Bagińskiego*, pp. 65–66.

<sup>98</sup> He probably descended from the Lithuanian family of Rudziński, coat-of-arms Prus, Prus III, Rawicz, Zaręba, cf. Ciechanowicz, *Rody rycerskie*, vol. 4, pp. 460–461.

<sup>99</sup> He probably descended from the Lithuanian family of Stefanowicz, coat-of-arms Pogonia, Syrokomla, cf. Ciechanowicz, *Rody rycerskie*, vol. 5, pp. 140–142.

<sup>100</sup> He probably descended from the Lithuanian family of Szwarz, coat-of-arms Nowina, cf. Ciechanowicz, *Rody rycerskie*, vol. 5, pp. 40, 219.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. J. Szczepański, *Kolegium jezuickie w Pułtusku (1556–1772)*, in: *Dzieje Gimnazjum i Liceum im. Piotra Skargi w Pułtusku*, Ciechanów, Pułtusk 1991, pp. 18–54; *Encyklopedia wiedzy*, pp. 553–554.

<sup>102</sup> It is probably about Antoni Wołłowicz, standard-bearer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, d. 1822, cf. *Urządnicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Spisy*, vol. 2: *Województwo trockie XIV-XVIII wiek*, ed. A. Rachuba, compiled by H. Lulewicz et al., Warszawa 2009, p. 544 no. 4068.

<sup>103</sup> It is probably about Kazimierz Minkiewicz, cup-bearer of Smolensk, living at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, cf. *Urządnicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Spisy*, vol. 1: *Województwo*

Kalinowski, Michał Staszewski, Józef Juskiewicz, Antoni Czechowicz and the Jesuit college in Lutsk.<sup>104</sup>

In the case of four books we learn from provenance data about the time when they were included in the convent library. Three works by Leopold Biwald and *Cosmologia generalis* by Johann Christian Wolf arrived there during the priorship of Ildefons Bylewski, who held this position twice (1762–1765 and 1771–1774).<sup>105</sup>

Old prints owned by the Vilnius Dominicans in the Klemensów collection have different bindings, which are in various states of preservation. There are 78 bibliographical items which are bound individually, and the other 14 are bound jointly. Two volumes do not have bindings, while four do not have one of the covers. The next three are bound in brown leather and ornamental buckles. Five bindings are monastic: the back and half of the wooden covers are bound with leather. Thirteen books have a parchment binding, eight have a paper binding and the bindings of three volumes were made in the 19<sup>th</sup> century from cardboard and half leather. The other 44 copies have cardboard/leather bindings (42 brown and two green ones). They were also decorated using the technique of blind embossing and gold embossing. The ornaments have plant motifs. In addition, 20 bound books have the title embossed on the back. The pages of four books are engraved in red and brown. The same kind of composition and ornamental motifs on the bindings allow the conclusion that they might be the work of one bookbinding workshop and could have been commissioned by the Dominican monks because they have the *ex libris* of their library.

The Zamość part of the Vilnius Dominican book collection includes the volumes that remained in circulation. Most of them bear signs of usage. Marginal and interlinear notes, mostly illegible (blotted or crossed out) are references to other authors or other parts of the book. They come from different periods and are the work of many hands, as shown by the different ink colours and individualised handwriting. Underlining appears most frequently, which indicates intensive reading and drawing attention to the excerpts worth remembering. However, it deserves mention that they are not overused, which probably resulted from monastic rules prohibiting private notes on book pages. The fact that the books are used is also shown in the marks left after turning the pages, which are blackened and bent, and in many cases torn. All have trimmed edges.

Many old prints were from the presses of famous and respected printing houses representing the printing culture of various countries in different periods. They show the ways that books travelled all over Europe and the availability of definite works for Polish users. They might have been brought to Poland by professional book traders or through individual import, since many book users and lovers, including the clergy, purchased the books that interested them abroad and brought them home. The volumes kept in the Zamoyski Library show that their individual import or the possible purchase was not accidental, as they are the works of

*wileńskie XIV-XVIII wiek*, ed. A. Rachuba, compiled by H. Lulewicz, A. Rachuba, P.P. Romaniuk, Warszawa 2004, p. 273, no. 1771.

<sup>104</sup> *Encyklopedia wiedzy*, p. 393.

<sup>105</sup> *Rękopism X. Bagińskiego*, p. 97.

well-known and esteemed authors, and they were studied and used in a variety of educational or pastoral activities. This might have resulted from the book-collecting policy of indicating when rarely used books or double copies were sold, and using the proceeds to purchase books which were needed. This gave the book collection, or at least the part from Klemensów, a coherent character. They also direct attention to the spiritual and intellectual culture of the Vilnius Dominicans, since the circulation of the written content was and is a living and functioning phenomenon. Dominican schooling and libraries used the formation programme which was significant from the point of view of monastic and pastoral life. They established a definite canon of authors, works and evaluations of them, which was formulated from the perspective of the community they formed and which affected the faithful as well – through the consciousness of the monks. The goal which guided those activities was to satisfy the current needs of the Dominican convent and to create new ones. Additionally, they provide valuable data about the book collections of the donors and their possible bibliophile interests, as well as the complicated history of the convent library. They are an important component in its reconstruction, which due to the dispersal of the collection, constitutes an important step in this direction.

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## FRAGMENT KSIĘGOZBIORU WILEŃSKICH DOMINIKANÓW W KOLEKCJI KLEMENSOWSKIEJ KSIĄŻNICY ZAMOJSKIEJ IM. STANISŁAWA KOSTKI ZAMOYSKIEGO

### Streszczenie

Stare druki, stanowiące fragment księgozbioru dominikanów wileńskich, obecnie przechowywane w Książnicy Zamojskiej im. Stanisława Kostki Zamojskiego, pochodzą z XVI, XVII i XVIII wieku i są wytworem licznych oficyn zagranicznych i krajowych. Licząca 92 pozycji bibliograficznych kolekcja zawiera dzieła odnoszące się do różnych ówczesnych dziedzin wiedzy ludzkiej, ale ukierunkowana jest na potrzeby zgromadzenia. Książki miały bowiem służyć członkom konwentu w ich pracy duszpasterskiej i kształceniowej. Znaki i noty proveniencyjne pokazują wcześniejszych właścicieli poszczególnych egzemplarzy i sposoby gromadzenia, a ślady użytkowania rzeczywistych czytelników. Są istotnym przyczynkiem do odtworzenia tego rozproszonego księgozbioru.

Słowa kluczowe: książka; stary druk; biblioteka; dominikanie; Wilno; Książnica Zamojska





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## DOCUMENT FROM 1446 FOR THE PARISH IN PSZCZEW

### Abstract

The publication contains an edition of a Medieval document concerning mass chantry for the parish church of Pszczew and its stipend. The document has so far been known solely on account of its copy. The original kept in the State Archives in Zielona Góra. It is a donation privilege that expands and solidifies the asset base of the Pszczew parish church and its parson. Decisions discussed in it could be linked with the former appointment of regional officiality in Pszczew. Furthermore, it carries precious information regarding the Pszczew Vogts (advocate mayor) and the town topography. The document was issued in Poznań on July 5, 1446. The bishop of Poznań, Andrzej of Bnin, instituted a morning Mass stipend in the honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church in Pszczew and confirmed and enlarged the benefit of the Pszczew's parish.

Keywords: Pszczew; diocese of Poznań; parish church

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Archival sources can still reveal some unknown documents that have never been printed. One such document is mentioned in the title. Among the resources of the State Archives in Zielona Góra, in the unit called 'Urban, post-manorial and guild collections' and including documents of various origin and chronology, it is marked with the file reference number 'Pszczew 57'. It concerns the institution of a Morning Mass stipend in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the enlargement of the benefit of the parish in Pszczew.<sup>1</sup> It has not yet been published

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<sup>1</sup> The State Archives in Zielona Góra possess a considerable amount of diplomatic material concerning the western part of the area of Wielkopolska; however, these are mainly modern sources. Therefore, this medieval finding is all the more significant.

in full and the original has not been cited in the literature, although historians were acquainted with its content thanks to a copy of it – an entry from 1788 in the Poznań consistory books entitled ‘An erection privilege of the parish church in Pszczew’.<sup>2</sup> This entry was referred to by Józef Nowacki in his work devoted to the history of the Poznań archdiocese<sup>3</sup> and by the publishers of *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa poznańskiego w średniowieczu* [A historical/geographical dictionary of the Poznań voivodeship in the Middle Ages], who gave a detailed summary of the copy.<sup>4</sup>

The document referring to the parish in Pszczew is not, as suggested by its name in the consistory books, an erection privilege of the church, since the parish church in Pszczew dates back to the Middle Ages, as indicated by a mention of Peter, son of Michał, a chaplain in Pszczew.<sup>5</sup> The parish church at that time, however, was not the 15<sup>th</sup>-century one, but another which might have been the church of St Adalbert in the suburbs, later a sucursal (auxiliary) church. After the location of Pszczew, which took place in 1288, a new parish church was built, later named after St Magdalene. The matter of the *patrocinium* of the Pszczew church is one question that comes to mind in connection with the study of its history. In 1437, Maciej – the son of Bogusław of Rokitno and a priest of the Cracow diocese – received a provision for the vicarage in the Holy Mary Church in Pszczyna.<sup>6</sup> However, in 1457, when the provost from Pszczew, Jan, gave permission for Police to be separated from the Pszczew parish, the local church was named after St Mary Magdalene.<sup>7</sup> It could be supposed that the change to the church’s *patrocinium* took place between 1437 and 1457 in connection with that of the church in Pszczew, which belonged to the archdeacon starting in 1457. Before that, it likely belonged to the bishop of Poznań. It is possible that the foundation of the Holy Mass chantry in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary somehow combined those *patrocinia* and was a special tribute to the earlier patron.

The document from 1446 published herein and issued by the bishop of Poznań, Andrzej of Bnin,<sup>8</sup> concerns the Saturday Holy Mass in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and provides the details of the benefit of the Pszczew parish. The original text does not provide the day when the Mass was to be celebrated, but at that time it was well known that Saturday is the day devoted to the cult of the Mother of God. However, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the day of the week for this service was written

<sup>2</sup> Archdiocesan Archives in Poznań (further referred to as AAP), Acta causarum consistorii Posnaniensis 239, pp. 147–152.

<sup>3</sup> J. Nowacki, *Archidiecezja poznańska w granicach historycznych i jej ustrój*, vol. 2, Poznań 1964, p. 469.

<sup>4</sup> *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa poznańskiego w średniowieczu* (further referred to as SHGW), part 3, fasc. 3, compiled by K. Górka-Gołaska, T. Jurek, G. Rutkowska, I. Skierska, ed. A. Gašiorowski, Poznań 1997, p. 620.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 621.

<sup>6</sup> *Bullarium Poloniae*, vol. 5, eds. I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, S. Kuraś, Lublin 1995, No. 626.

<sup>7</sup> SHGW, part 3, fasc. 3, p. 620.

<sup>8</sup> J. Nowacki, *Bniński Andrzej (+1479)*, *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 2, Kraków 1936, pp. 143–145.

in the margins of the diploma. The bishop confirmed the existing income of the parish, which is indicated by a phrase that refers to the amount taken according to the custom at the time, while simultaneously increasing its endowment. This is related to the fact that the Pszczew parish was enlarged, wherein all the villages of the bishop's property were joined, including those which were being established. According to the document from 1446, the benefit of the parish in Pszczew consisted of ferton (a unit of mass, approx. 49 grams) tithes from Kalsk, a bishop's lake called Jezierce, five measures of rye, five measures of oats due for tribute (*meszne*) from half of the voivodeship in Pszczew, then a tribute from each peasant amounting to metrils (101 kg) of rye and the same amount of oats annually (with the exception of Pszczew, where the tribute was paid according to the old custom). The provost also owned two areas of backwaters (*jazy*) – one in the vicinity of his house and the other near Brama Poznańska, plus a stream, meadows and gardens which were already in his possession.

It is likely that the document instituting a new Mass stipend and describing the endowment of the extended parish in detail was issued in connection with the establishment of a district (*foral*) officiality. Although the circumstances and the time of its establishment are not known, what is known is that the first Pszczew official confirmed in the sources was Jakub, who was named so in the documents from 1360 and 1362.<sup>9</sup> He was at the same time the Pszczew archdeacon certified in this position between 1360 and 1366,<sup>10</sup> as Pszczew was the seat of the minor archdeaconship appointed in the Poznań diocese in 1298.<sup>11</sup> Archdeacons had the right of patronage over the church in Pszczew, which is confirmed in 15<sup>th</sup>-century sources.<sup>12</sup> The establishment of the foral officiality in Pszczew, which was distant from the bishop's seat, was intended to facilitate access to the church yard for the inhabitants of the western frontier region.<sup>13</sup> The seats of officialities were situated in the centre of the landed property – this is the custom observed in the Gniezno archdiocese by the authors of a study on regional officialities in this archdiocese,<sup>14</sup> and a similar situation also occurred in other archdioceses.

Very little information is preserved concerning the individuals serving as the Pszczew official.<sup>15</sup> What is known is that in 1424 it was Hektor the Older of Koziemin (today Koźmin) from the Leszczyce family, who was also the tenentary of the

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<sup>9</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski* (dalej: KDW), vols. 2–3, published by I. Zakrzewski, Poznań 1878–1881; vol. 7, published by A. Gąsiorowski, R. Walczak, Warszawa-Poznań 1985; vol. 8, published by A. Gąsiorowski, T. Jasiński, Warszawa-Poznań 1989; vol. 3, Nos. 1435, 1465.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 1435, 1565; Nowacki, *Archidiecezja*, vol. 2, p. 296, where the years 1357–1366 are indicated.

<sup>11</sup> KDW, vol. 2, No. 770.

<sup>12</sup> Mentioned by SHGW, part 3, fasc. 3, p. 620.

<sup>13</sup> T. Jurek, *Biskupstwo poznańskie w wiekach średnich*, Poznań 2018, vol. 1, p. 390.

<sup>14</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, I. Skierska, *Oficjalaty okręgowe w późnośredniowiecznej archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej*, "Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne", (1995) fasc. 1–2, p. 99.

<sup>15</sup> Jurek, *Biskupstwo poznańskie*, vol. 1, p. 391.

Pszczew estate, canon of Poznań and provost of Głuszyno.<sup>16</sup> As Józef Nowacki claims, the officiality of Pszczew was connected with the local provostry of the parish church,<sup>17</sup> whereas the known officials of Pszczew – Jakub and Hektor of Koziemin – were not the provosts of Pszczew. However, Wawrzyniec – who appears in the document from 1446 and who was certified as the official of Pszczew between 1441 and 1448 – was provost, despite being called the *rector* of Pszczew in the document from 1446.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, it is possible that the position of the official had its provision in the form of income from the provostry, but the officiality and the provostry were two functions held by two different individuals and sometimes combined into one, as was the case with the above-mentioned Wawrzyniec.

The establishment of the officiality in Pszczew raised the importance of the parish and its provostry, and could have contributed to increased benefits. It is also likely, though difficult to confirm, that the local church was enlarged and rebuilt, lending it more dignity. In this situation the patronage of the church could have been changed (before 1457) and the *patrocinium* of the Blessed Virgin Mary replaced by St Mary Magdalene in the later period, while the institution of the Holy Mass stipend in the honour of the Mother of God might have been a way of honouring the patron of the church in Pszczew. The Pszczew parish was fairly large; apart from the town of Pszczew, at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century it included Stok, Zielomyśl, Kuligowo, Stołuń, Święchocin, Silna, Szarcz, Gorzycko Nowe and Łowyń.<sup>19</sup> In the book of *benefice* of the diocese of Poznań from 1510, the parish in Pszczew was only mentioned, with no additional information provided.<sup>20</sup>

The document from 1446 mentions the vogt of Pszczew – a nobleman named Piotr and heir from Charcice – from whom the bishop of Poznań bought half of the *advocatia* for the bishopric. The name of the locality from which this Piotr, the vogt of Pszczew and heir from Charcice, came was mistakenly written down as ‘Chauzicze’. The publishers of *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny...* [A historical/geographical dictionary...], who had the copy at their disposal, hesitantly described Piotr as the heir of Kęszyza, while the original uses the name ‘Charczicze’.<sup>21</sup> This does not cause any concern over identification: it is the village of Charcice in the parish of Chrzypsko Wielkie, not far from Pszczew. In the period 1388–1393 a certain Pietrasz lived there; however, it is doubtful that he was the vogt of Pszczew.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, the transumpt of the location document of Pszczew issued by the bishop of Poznań, Wojciech Jastrzębiec, describes the exchange of places affected by the bishop with the vogts of Pszczew, Jakusz – son of Błażej from Kikow – and

<sup>16</sup> KDW, vol. 8, no. 987; P. Dembiński, *Poznańska kapituła katedralna schyłku wieków średnich*, Poznań 2012, pp. 389–391.

<sup>17</sup> Nowacki, *Archidiecezja*, vol. 2, p. 245.

<sup>18</sup> SHGW, cz. 3, fasc. 3, p. 627.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 621.

<sup>20</sup> *Księga uposażenia diecezji poznańskiej z roku 1510*, ed. J. Nowacki, Poznań 1950, p. 176.

<sup>21</sup> SHGW, part 3, fasc. 3, pp. 619–620.

<sup>22</sup> SHGW, part 1, fasc. 2, eds. A. Gąsiorowski, S. Chmielewski, K. Górka-Gołaska, J. Luciński, Wrocław 1983, pp. 181–182.



Grzymek and Piotr – sons of Mikołaj Cholewa.<sup>23</sup> Piotr is likely the vogt by the same name mentioned in 1446, while the nameless wife of the vogt and owner of the lake mentioned in the document from 1446 should be recognised as Katarzyna, the widowed wife of Piotr, as the publishers of *Słownik...* did.<sup>24</sup> This is indicated by the case from 1443 to 1447 concerning the trial of the vogt's widowed wife Katarzyna against Marcin from Przetoczno, who criticised the letter of Katarzyna's dowry, which amounted to half of the vogtei in Pszczew.<sup>25</sup> This would be the part of the Pszczew voivodship which was left in Piotr's hands after he sold the other half to the bishop.

The seal attached to the document has not been preserved, but it was still there in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and it was described in the entry. Impressed in white (natural) wax, it showed the Holy Virgin Mary holding the Infant in her left arm, with the figure of St Peter on Her right side and St Paul on her left. On the reverse side, a smaller seal was impressed in red wax with letters around it, but it was not legible.

The document is the donation privilege, enlarging and confirming the material foundations of the parish church in Pszczew and its provost, and instituting an additional Mass stipend to give it more splendour and dignity.

#### DOCUMENT

Poznań, 5 July 1446

The bishop of Poznań Andrzej from Bnin institutes the Morning Mass stipend in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church of Pszczew and confirms and enlarges the benefit of the Pszczew parish.

**Original: State Archives in Zielona Góra, City, post-manorial and guild collections, reference number Pszczew 57**

**Copy: Archdiocesan Archives in Poznań, Acta causarum consistorii Posnaniensis 239, pp. 147–152. Title: Insertionis Erektionis Ecclesiae Parochialis Pscevensis**

Note: *The text of the document is published in accordance with the rules contained in Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski, vol. 6, eds. A. Gąsiorowski, H. Kowalewicz, Warsaw/Poznań 1982, pp. XIII–XVIII.*

*A parchment document measuring 410×293+70. The seal is not preserved, only a red and green rope remains.*

Note in the left margin of the document: ‘Anno Domini 1788 die tertia mensis octobris in iudici Consistorii Generalis Posnaniensis producit et mediante decerne[?] Actis Consistorii eiusdem inserit. C. T. de Iüngling .....(...) ex Acti Notarius.’

In the right margin: ‘sabbatinis.’

<sup>23</sup> KDW, vol. 7, no. 589.

<sup>24</sup> SHGW, part 3, fasc. 3, p. 619.

<sup>25</sup> *Wielkopolskie rotę sądowe XIV-XV wieku*, vol. 1, comp. H. Kowalewicz, W. Kuraskiewicz, Poznań–Wrocław 1959, no. 1609; SHGW, part 3, fasc. 3, p. 620.

Dorsal notes on the back, one mediaeval and three modern ones. The writing is faded, hardly legible; one of the notes – the one from 1593 – resembles an inventory of the provostry and its surroundings written by the new provost of Pszczew, Bartłomiej from Kleczew.

In nomine Domini amen. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Andreas<sup>26</sup> Dei gracia episcopus Poznaniensis significamus tenore presencium quibus expedit universis, tam presentibus quam futuris. Quia etsi bonorum mense nostre episcopalis ampliatione intendere debeamus et profectibus, multo tamen fervencius ex assumpte dignitatis nostre pastoralis officio ad augendum cultum divinum debitores sumus et obnoxii. Et quidem si in opido nostro Pczewo comoda instaurare nos delectat et profectus, delectat maiori affeccione augere cultum attollencia divinum, unde ut Omnipotenti Deo, qui nos quanquam immeritos ad tante dignitatis fastigium erexit, sueque intemerate Genitrici Virgini Marie in ecclesia parochiali eiusdem opidi nostri Pczewo debita atque digna laudum munia iugiter exsolvantur et devota obsequia. Ideo zelo devocionis nostre quo decet puriori maturam missam ad laudem et honorem Omnipotentis Dei et ipsius Genitricis Gloriose Virginis Marie per rectorem eiusdem ecclesie modernum et futuros aut suum vicarium voce solempni singulis diebus de anno in annum temporibus perpetuis instituimus decantandam, quam honorabilis Laurencius<sup>27</sup> rector dicte ecclesie modernus coram nobis personaliter constitutus ad decantandum se et suos successores libere submitit non compulsus. Ut autem idem Laurencius rector modernus et futuri, nostre liberalitatis donis suffulti, huius oneris iugum tanto attentius queat ferre et laborem, sibi ratione officii huiusmodi fertones nostros decimales in villa Kalsko<sup>28</sup> nuncupata et lacum nostrum Jezercze<sup>29</sup> appellatum situm altius et ultra alium lacum advocatisse Pczewensi similiter Jezercze<sup>30</sup> nominatum, cum omni piscatura et proprietate ratione pretacte decantande misse et oneris damus, donamus et largimur perpetuo tenore presencium mediante. Damus eciam eidem rectori torrentem alias *struga* de lacu Jezercze advocatisse inferiori usque ad lacum suum Jezercze predictum, ita tamen quod idem rector ex eodem lacu suo Jerzercze su[...]t fluere torrentem alias *strugam* sine restragnacionem (!) aliquali nec meatum suum quoquo modo impediat in preiudicium nostrum seu mense nostre episcopalis. Et preterea confitemur nos et succesores nostros episcopos Poznanienses, prefato rectori et ecclesie sue Pczewensi, ex medietate advocatie nostre Pczewensis, quam pro fortalicio nostro Pczewensi et pro mensa nostra episcopali apud nobilem

<sup>26</sup> *Andrzej z Bnina h. Łódzia – biskup poznański 1438–1479*. Cf. J. Krzyżaniakowa, *Bniński Andrzej*, in: *Wielkopolski słownik biograficzny*, eds. A. Gąsiorowski, J. Topolski, Warszawa 1981, pp. 60–61.

<sup>27</sup> *Wawrzyniec – pleban i oficjał w Pszczewie w latach 1441–1448*. SHGW, part 3, fasc. 3, p. 621.

<sup>28</sup> Kalsko – a village in the commune of Międzyrzecz, lubuskie voivodeship, formerly the property of the Cisters cloister in Bldzew.

<sup>29</sup> Jezersko lake – according to SHGW (part 3, fasc. 3, p. 620), there were two lakes of this name, here it is probably Proboszczowskie Lake.

<sup>30</sup> Glinno (Cegielne) lake.

Petrum<sup>31</sup> heredem in Charcizcze<sup>32</sup> tunc advocatum nostrum Pczewensem nostris paratis pecunis emimus, in quinque mensuris siliginis et totidem avene ratione missalium annis singulis debitos et obligatos. Que quidem missalia eidem rectori, qui fuerit pro tempore, ad festum sancti Martini Confessoris [11 XI] annis singulis temporibus eviternis iuxta cursum temporum paratis pecunis solvere volumus et debemus. Preterea omnes villas, quibuscumque vocentur vocabulis, in clavem nostra Pczewensi iam locatas et in futurum locandas, quotquot sunt et fuerint, ecclesie in Pczew predictae iure annectimus parochiali, decernentes ut ex nunc et perpetuo incole predictarum villarum sexus utriusque ad eandem ecclesiam in Pczew pro percipiendis ecclesiasticis sacramentis recurrant, rector quoque eiusdem ecclesie a quolibet kmethone predictarum villarum locatarum et locandarum dumtaxat duos choros siliginis et totidem avene ratione missalium annis singulis temporibus eviternis tollet et habebit excepto opido nostro Pczew, de quo missalia more diutius servato recipiet atque tollet. Habebit etiam idem rector duo obstacula alias *jazy* in suam et ecclesie sue proprietatem, unum retro curiam suam, aliud vero in torrentem de lacu Pczew<sup>33</sup> in lacum Myelno<sup>34</sup> fluente penes walwam dicti opidi nostri, que Poznaniensis appellatur. Damus etiam ipsi rectori torrentem inter lacus Jezercze cum omni piscatura et qualibet utilitate. Habebit etiam idem rector ortos et prata, que hactenus tenuit et possedit, et fruebitur ipsis libere eviterterne [sic!]. Harum quibus nostrum et capituli nostri sigilla sunt appensa testimonio literarum. Feria tertia infra octavas sanctorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum in capitulo generali Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadragésimo sexto. Presentibus ibidem venerabilibus et honorabilibus dominis.

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<sup>31</sup> Piotr from Charcice–vogt in Pszczew between 1407–before 1443 (SHGW, part 3, fasc. 3, p. 619).

<sup>32</sup> Charcice, a village in the commune of Chrzypsko Wielkie, wielkopolskie voivodeship.

<sup>33</sup> Lake Pszczewskie (other names Kochle, Miejskie).

<sup>34</sup> Lake Mielno, according to SHGW, part 3, issue 1, edited by A. Gąsiorowski, ed. K. Górską-Gólaszka, J. Luciński, G. Rutkowska, I. Skierska, Poznań 1993, pp. 115–116, was located south of Lake Pszczewskie, now disappeared.

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## DOKUMENT Z 1446 ROKU DLA PARAFII W PSZCZEWIE

### Streszczenie

Publikacja zawiera edycję średniowiecznego dokumentu dotyczącego fundacji mszy w kościele parafialnym w Pszczewie i jego uposażenia. Dokument znany był do tej pory jedynie z kopii. Jego oryginał znajduje się w Archiwum Państwowym w Zielonej Górze. Jest to przywilej donacyjny, który poszerza i umacnia podstawy majątkowe kościoła parafialnego w Pszczewie i tamtejszego plebana. Decyzje z niego wynikające mogły mieć związek z wcześniejszym powołaniem w Pszczewie oficjalatu okręgowego. Treść zawiera cenne informacje na temat zmian patrocinium świątyni i jej prawa patronatu. Przynosi także wartościowe wiadomości na temat pszczewskich wójtów i topografii miejscowości. Dokument został wystawiony w Poznaniu 5 lipca 1446 r. Biskup poznański Andrzej z Bnina ustanowił mszę poranną ku czci NMP w kościele parafialnym w Pszczewie i potwierdził oraz powiększył uposażenie parafii pszczewskiej.

Słowa kluczowe: Pszczew; biskupstwo poznańskie; kościół parafialny



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## THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CULT IN LVIV DURING THE PERIOD OF 1945–1991

### Abstract

The article presents selected aspects of the social and religious life of the Roman Catholic community of Lviv in the Soviet Union over the years 1945–1991. The Catholic Church in the Polish territories annexed by the USSR was subordinated to communist legislation, which fought religion and spread atheism. Ecclesiastical structures were dismantled, and the clergy and believers were repressed. Despite this, the Church as a community of believers continued and used various opportunities for continued activity. The article presents the attitudes of the Lviv clergy towards the Soviet authorities and their covert pastoral activity among the faithful. Particular attention was paid to the clergy who became symbols of the Lviv pastoral care after World War II. They were priests: Karol Jastrzębski, Stanisław Płoszyński, Zygmunt Hałuniewicz and Rafał Władysław Kiernicki, a Franciscan.

Keywords: Lviv; Lviv cathedral; Soviet Ukraine, priest Karol Jastrzębski, Rev. Stanisław Płoszyński; Rev. Zygmunt Hałuniewicz; Rafał Władysław Kiernicki

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### Introduction

The aim of this article is to characterise the social and religious life of the Roman Catholic community in Lviv in the Soviet Union between 1945 and 1991. Based on collected materials and witness accounts, it shows the Catholic Church's activity in the hard reality of the communist regime, using the Lviv cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary as an example. The church existed

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in the Soviet Union as a private institution which the state authorities sometimes (not always) allowed to employ clergymen as ‘workers’. Thus, while discussing the religious cult or the pastoral care at the Lviv cathedral, the activity of priests who served in this church between 1945 and 1991 should be examined. In that period the Lviv cathedral church was not only a place to practice the cult, but also a place to cherish Polish tradition and culture, which the authorities uprooted and doomed to oblivion, as with religion.

### 1. The Catholic Church in the communist Soviet system

As in the entire Soviet Union, the Church in the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic in the period 1945–1991 was subject to the regulations of the constitution from 10 July 1918 (Chapter 2, Art. 13), which stated that for the purpose of securing real freedom of conscience for the workers, the Church was to be separated from the state and the schools from the Church. That legislation enabled the state instances to effectively combat the Church. Each citizen had the right to anti-religious activity, which enjoyed the full support of the state. The Church was treated as a private association registered by parish committees, called *dvadtsats*.<sup>1</sup> They functioned as the only association under Soviet law allowed to manage the religious cult, but they did not have any legal personality to administer Church property. Everything which was connected with the cult and the Church was regulated in unilateral agreements established by the state and executed in accordance with its will.<sup>2</sup>

The atheist state of the Soviet Union made it difficult for so-called cult servants to perform their service. Each activity of a priest or the faithful was practically under the control of the authorities. The cult and pastoral care were limited, or sometimes even made impossible, by a shortage of priests that resulted from the nationalisation of Church property, the closure of churches and the persecution of priests and the faithful. Nevertheless, the authorities were unable to stop the citizens’ religiosity. On the contrary, the more severe the persecutions were, the more ardent the faithful were in leading a religious life.

The prohibition of religion lessons and worship for people under the age of 18, along with the liquidation of religious sites, left children and youths without

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. Szymański, *Dwadcatki – organy wykonawcze organizacji religijnych w sowieckim systemie represji (Obwód Winnicki na Podolu, 1944–1964)*, “Roczniki Teologiczne”, 50 (2003) fasc. 4, pp. 175–180; W. Osadczy, *Kościół katolickiego na Ukrainie dole i niedole. Doświadczenie, dzień dzisiejszy, problemy i perspektywy*, in: *Kościół katolicki na Wschodzie w warunkach totalitaryzmu i posttotalitaryzmu*, eds. A. Gil, W. Bobryk, Siedlce–Lublin 2010, pp. 87–108.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter 2, article 13 of the Constitution of Bolshevik Russia passed after the October Revolution on 10 July 1918 states the following: “For the purpose of securing to the workers real freedom of conscience, the church is to be separated from the state and the school from the church, and the right of religious and anti-religious propaganda is accorded to every citizen”. A. Bosiacki, *Utopia, władza, prawo. Doktryna i koncepcje prawne “bolszewickiej” Rosji 1917–1921*, Warszawa 1999; J. Wołczański, *Ksiądz Biskup Jana Olszański. Duszpasterz – Patriota – Człowiek*, in: *Pasterz i twierdza. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana księdzu biskupowi Janowi Olszańskiemu ordynariuszowi diecezji w Kamieńcu Podolskim*, ed. J. Wołczański, Kraków-Kamieniec Podolski 2001, p. 9.

access to the Church. Therefore, what was left in practice was catechism in the family. Sacral places were adapted for secular purposes and frequently damaged. For example, workshops, stables or warehouses were set up in them. In many cases they were changed into screening rooms or houses of culture or entertainment. This very fact had a negative impact on young people, since it led to the existence of sacral places disappearing from their consciousness and to them getting accustomed to new meeting places and typical events of a secular – or sometimes even directly anti-religious – nature, for example, when churches were transformed into museums of atheism. Places of worship were liquidated in the area of Soviet Ukraine with equal ardour as in other republics of the union.<sup>3</sup>

Because the Latin-rite archbishop of Lviv, Eugeniusz Baziak,<sup>4</sup> was forced by the NKVD to leave in 1946, there was no Catholic bishop in Soviet Ukraine. Before leaving, Archbishop Eugeniusz Baziak appointed the parish priest from Zolochiv, Rev. Jan Cieński, vicar general for the Lviv archdiocese. The Church there was under the jurisdiction of the Latin-rite Catholic bishop residing in Riga, from where graduates of the local theological seminary were despatched to perform pastoral work in the Soviet Union. The limitation of the Roman Catholic bishop's jurisdiction in western Ukraine was not the most serious problem experienced by the local parish of the Latin rite. The systematic and uncompromising liquidation of parishes and the repression of the clergy were more painful. Those processes occurred successively: when a priest was arrested and deported to a labour camp, the administrative authorities immediately closed the church, thus liquidating the parish.<sup>5</sup> In 1939 the Lviv deaconry included 17 parishes, four chaplaincies, eight

<sup>3</sup> R. Dzwonkowski, *Religia i Kościół katolicki w ZSRS 1917–1991. Kronika*, Lublin 2010, pp. 33–37.

<sup>4</sup> Eugeniusz Baziak (1890–1962) – Lviv metropolitan bishop, apostolic administrator and ordinary in Cracow. In 1908 he started theological studies at the Lviv University. After the ordination in 1912 he worked in the parish of Zhovkva, in 1917 he became the army chaplain, and since 1919 he worked as the prefect of the theological seminary in Lviv. In 1921, after obtaining a Ph.D. in theology, he took over the duties of vice-rector of the seminary and was a teacher of religion in the teachers' college. In 1931 he became the provost of the collegiate church in Stanyslaviv, and in the following year the protonotary apostolic. In 1933 he became the anointed bishop. As the Lviv suffragan, he held the office of the theological seminary rector, he was the diocesan assistant of the Catholic Action and the custodian of the Metropolitan Chapter. In 1944 he became the coadjutor bishop of archbishop Bolesław Twardowski, after whom he took over the management of the diocese and transferred the seat of the Lviv administration to Lubaczów. In 1951 he also became the coadjutor bishop of Cracow, and – in case of the death of the ordinary (cardinal A.S. Sapięha) bishop in Cracow, he was to become the apostolic administrator of the Cracow archdiocese with the power of the diocesan bishop. Indeed, after cardinal A.S. Sapięha's death, on 13 December 1956 he took over the function of the apostolic administrator of the Cracow archdiocese. Next pope John XXIII appointed E. Baziak the ordinary in Cracow. He died in Warsaw. M. Rechowicz, *Baziak Eugeniusz*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka* (further referred to as EK), vol. 2, eds. F. Gryglewicz, R. Łukaszczyk, Z. Sułowski, Lublin 1985, col. 127.

<sup>5</sup> Out of 400 parishes in the Lviv archdiocese in 1939, seven remained in the period of the Soviet regime: Lviv – cathedra, Lviv – St. Antony, Borszczów, Hałuszczyńce, Stryj, Szczercz, and Zolochiv. W. Urban, *Archidiecezja lwowska*, in: *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*

churches and monastic chapels and nine other churches. In total, there were 38 churches (32 – Будз).<sup>6</sup> In 1945, the Soviet authorities in Lviv left four Latin churches for the purposes of the cult, earlier called *urbs catholicissima*: the cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary,<sup>7</sup> the church of St Antony from Padua in Lychakiv, St Mary Magdalene Church and the church of St Mary of Snow.<sup>8</sup> After 1962, only two churches were left: the cathedral and the church of St Antony.

Considering religion, Lviv was more differentiated than other cities of East Małopolska (Lesser Poland region). According to the census from 1931, 63.5% of its population used the Polish language, 24% Yiddish and Hebrew and 11.3% Ukrainian or Ruthenian. A similar situation characterised religious stratification,

<sup>6</sup> B. Modzelewska, W. Osadczy, *Lwów. I Miasto*, in: EK, vol. 11, ed. E. Ziemann, Lublin 2006, col. 307; K. Будз, *Українська Греко-Католицька Церква у Галичині (1946–1968): стратегії виживання та опору у підпіллі*, Київ 2016, p. 125.

<sup>7</sup> The cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Lviv – established in 1412 by John XXIII within translocation of the metropolitan seat from Halych to Lviv. Consecrated in 1481. The image of Our Lady of Grace was worshipped there. It was in front of this very picture that king John Casimir made the so-called Lviv vows in 1656. In 1756 the picture was placed on the main altar, and on 11 May 1776 it was crowned with papal crowns by archbishop Waclaw Hieronim Sierakowski. On this occasion the Lviv cathedral was announced as the Shrine of Our Lady of Grace. After World War II the picture was brought to Poland, and in 1974 it was placed in the main altar of the Pro-cathedral in Lubaczów. In 1980 the picture was subjected to restoration and placed in the treasury of the Wawel cathedral. A copy of the image meant for the pro-cathedral in Lubaczów was crowned in Jasna Góra in 1983 by John Paul II, while the second copy – from the Lviv cathedral – was crowned by the pope in Lviv in 2001. M. Бучек, *Парафії, костели та каплиці. Львівська область*, vol. 1, Львів 2004, p. 149; J. Mandziuk, *Z dziejów archidiecezji lwowskiej*, “Saeculum Christianum”, 2 (1995) no. 2, pp. 40–41; I. Platowska-Sapetowa, *Cudowny Obraz N.P. Maryi Łaskawej z Archikatedry Lwowskiej w Prokatedrze w Lubaczowie*, Rzeszów 1991, pp. 7–18; J. Wołczański, *Bazylika Metropolitalna obrządku łacińskiego we Lwowie*, “Radość Wiary”, (2001) no. 1 (29), p. 10; S. Frucht, *Lwów, Lwów–Wrocław 2003*, p. 34.

<sup>8</sup> The church of St. Antony from Padua – built in 1630 for conventual Franciscan monks in the suburbs of Lychakiv, on St. Antony hill in Sucha Wola. Following the Josephinian reforms, the cloister was dissolved. In 1786 the parish from the nearby church of St. Peter and St. Paul was transferred to the church and since then it was managed by the Franciscan monks. After they were forced to expatriate, in 1946 only a Franciscan Father Rafał Kiernicki (1912–1995), provost of the Latin cathedral of Lviv, was left in the city. Thanks to him Franciscans from the parent Province of St. Antony and Blessed Jakub Strzemię from Cracow arrived in Lviv, where they perform pastoral service in the parish. B. Kaczorowski, *Zabytki starego Lwowa*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 82–86.

The church of St. Mary Magdalene and the Dominican monastery in Lviv – built in 1600. The friars were involved in pastoral care there until the dissolution following the Josephinian reforms. The church was left at the disposal of the Lviv metropolitan bishop and it performed the function of a parish church, with a provostry built nearby. The church served the faithful until 1945. It was re-opened in 1946. Pastoral care was performed there by Rev. Zygmunt Truszkowski (1876–1949), Fr. Marcin Karaś (1910–2003), Fr. Rafał Kiernicki OFM Conv (1912–1995), Rev. prelate Zygmunt Hałuniewicz (1889–1974), the latter of whom in 1962 received a ban on celebrating the Holy Masses. The church was left in the hands of the Lviv Polytechnic University. A student club and later a “House of chamber and organ music” were organized there. Since 2001 paid holy services are held in St. Mary Magdalene church.



where a small percentage of Armenian and other religions, especially evangelical ones, should be taken into consideration. Catholics of the Latin rite predominated in Lviv, although the city was also the seat of the Greek Catholic metropolitan archbishop, the Church which had the most members in the province. After World War II Greek Catholics were most numerous, whereas the Jewish communes disappeared almost completely after the mass murder of the Jewish population, who had comprised more than 20% of the inhabitants of Lviv before the war.

Outlining the religious situation of the city from the pre-war times, through the two occupations, until the post-war period creates the background for describing the pastoral care among the Roman Catholic population of Lviv, who largely identified themselves as Polish.

## **2. The Lviv cathedral as the last bastion of Polishness in Lviv**

The Latin cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary was the largest centre of religious and patriotic life in Lviv, where the Polish national identity was cherished. It was one of the two churches in the archdiocese which remained permanently open. The cathedral housed the most precious historic memorabilia, and the Latin rite united the bond of the Eastern Borderlands (Kresy) with the Republic of Poland.<sup>9</sup>

Important roles in the history of the Catholic Church in the Eastern Borderlands were played not only by the bishops of Lviv, namely St Józef Bilczewski (1900–1923), Bolesław Twardowski (1923–1944) and Eugeniusz Baziak (1944–1951), but also by the indomitable priests persecuted by the Soviet authorities, the latter making it difficult for them to pursue religious and educational activity or prohibiting it outright. Most priests became victims of repression by the NKVD and left the Soviet Union. Many clergymen were deported to labour camps.<sup>10</sup> There is a need, therefore, to remember those priests of the Lviv archdiocese who did not leave for Poland after 1945 and who remained in the land of their forefathers to serve the local believers.

### **a) Promoter of the Divine Mercy cult – Rev. Karol Jastrzębski**

After the war, the first provost (1946–1948) of the cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Lviv was the canon priest Karol Jastrzębski.<sup>11</sup> He was born in Ternopil in 1882, where he graduated from secondary school.

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<sup>9</sup> S.S. Nicieja, *Cmentarz Lyczakowski we Lwowie w latach 1786–1986*, Wrocław 1988.

<sup>10</sup> The numbers of the Roman Catholic clergy in the area of the Lviv diocese were dramatic. Out of 805 priests performing pastoral service in 1939, only 22 were left after World War II, and in 1984–6: Fr. Rafał Kiernicki OFM Conv. (1912–1995), Rev. Ludwik Kamilewski (1946–2019), Rev. Kazimierz Mączyński (1928–1996), Rev. Marcján Trofimiak (ur. 1947), bishop Jan Cieński (1905–1992), and Rev. Augustyn Mednis (1927–2007). J. Wołczański, *Między zagładą a przetrwaniem*, Kraków 2005, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. M. Muzyka, *Ks. Karol Jastrzębski 1882–1966. Katecheta, duszpasterz, promotor kultu Bożego Miłosierdzia w Archidiecezji Lwowskiej*, Lwów–Kraków 2017; Z. Sokolnicka-Izdebska, *Historia Kościoła we Lwowie od 1939 roku*. Part 1, “Cracovia Leopolis”, (1996) Yearbook 2, no. 2(6), p. 15.

In 1902 he joined the theological seminary in Lviv and finished philosophical and theological studies at Jan Casimir University. After his second year of studies, he was sent to the Theological Faculty of the University of Innsbruck for further studies. However, he did not obtain a doctoral degree because of a failing grade on the exam. In 1906 he was ordained as a priest. He worked as a vicar and a teacher of religion in Berezhany, Brody and Stanyslaviv. In September 1912 he started to work as a teacher of religion in a vocational girls' school named after Henryk Sienkiewicz and in a similar school for boys named after Mary Magdalene. He was also the chaplain for the Carmelite sisters in Czarnieckiego Street.<sup>12</sup>

After World War II he was one of the six Latin-rite priests working in the Lviv area. For two years he performed the duties of cathedral parish administrator. After Father Rafał Kiernicki took over the provostry in the cathedral, Rev. Jastrzębski devoted himself to pastoral work in the cathedral parish. As the provost of the parish from 1946 to 1948, he organised the religious life of the faithful, the church liturgy and ministry of the Holy Sacraments. He was also involved in the work of a canteen for the poor at the cathedral parish. After the communist authorities tightened up their religious policy in 1949 and prohibited children and adolescents from pursuing pastoral activity and priests from dispensing the Sacraments to them, Rev. Jastrzębski focussed on working with older believers, who he visited in their homes with the Sacramental services. His greatest merit was introducing and propagating the Divine Mercy service in the Lviv cathedral, which occurred even before it was officially established in the Catholic Church.<sup>13</sup> Rev. Jastrzębski introduced the practice of saying the novena in the cathedral church. Every Thursday after the Holy Mass of the Holy Sacrament, a prayer to Divine Mercy was read, after which a procession was held with the Holy Sacrament inside the church. This service is still practiced in the Lviv cathedral today.<sup>14</sup>

The sentiment for the Divine Mercy cult was born in Rev. Jastrzębski during his stay in Vilnius, where he had met Sister Faustina Kowalska before the war. In the communist times, this service enjoyed great popularity among the faithful, and the Thursday novenas gathered about 1,500 believers.<sup>15</sup> The priest became a promoter of the Divine Mercy cult in the Lviv church.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> J. Wołczański, *Katalog grobów duchowieństwa i siostr zakonnych obrządku łacińskiego i grekokatolickiego na Cmentarzu Janowskim we Lwowie*, "Nasza Przeszłość", 88 (1997) p. 266.

<sup>13</sup> Faustina Kowalska (1905–1938) – a Saint from the Congregation of the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy, a mystic, a propagator of the Divine Mercy cult. In 1925 she joined the congregation. Sister Faustina's revelations started on 22 February 1931 in Płock, and Jesus ordered her to commission His painting with the words "Jesus, I trust in You". The picture was painted in 1934 in Vilnius. The next order that Jesus gave was to establish the liturgical feast of Divine Mercy on the first Sunday after Easter. In 1935 Jesus conveyed the content of "The Chaplet of the divine Mercy" and in 1937 He told her to have the so-called Hour of Mercy established, i.e. the prayer at the hour of His dying – at 3 p.m. In 1993 Sister Faustina was beatified, and on 30 April 2000 canonized. E. Siepak, *Kowalska Faustyna*. 1. *Życie*, 2. *Objawienia prywatne*, in: EK, vol. 9, ed. A. Szostek, Lublin 2002, col. 1085.

<sup>14</sup> Sokolnicka-Izdebska, *Historia Kościoła we Lwowie*, part 1, p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> An account by Rev. Ludwik Kamilewski, Łuck 9 IX 2019 (author's own collection).

<sup>16</sup> An account by Janina Zamojska, Lwów 15 XII 2007 (author's own collection).

In July 1955 Rev. Jastrzębski was the only Latin-rite priest in Lviv.<sup>17</sup> Father Ignacy Chwirut<sup>18</sup> from St Antony church was on holiday in the Carpathians and Father Rafał Kiernicki was in hospital. On 26 August 1956 Father Karol Jastrzębski celebrated the golden anniversary of his priesthood. The preacher of the anniversary, a Jesuit monk from Szczerc, Father Ludwik Seweryn,<sup>19</sup> spoke of his outstanding merits, including his catechetical work and emphasised the fact that he had initiated the services to Divine Mercy. The preacher closed his speech with the words: ‘If not for Divine Mercy, we would not be here anymore’.<sup>20</sup>

An important feature of Rev. Jastrzębski was his openness to the needs of others. He continuously supported the poor and families with many children. His pastoral and catechetical work was characterised by conscientiousness and accuracy. He was widely respected and liked for his attitude, which was full of dignity, good manners and proper treatment of others, even if someone should show him hostility. His principle was that while meeting an official he already knew, he took off his hat first when greeting them. He was said to be a good priest since he took

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<sup>17</sup> Z. Sokolnicka-Izdebska, *Historia Kościoła we Lwowie od 1939 roku*. Part 2, “Cracovia Leopoldis”, (1996) Yearbook 2, no. 3(7), p. 14.

<sup>18</sup> Ignacy Chwirut (1887–1973) – a priest of the Lviv archdiocese, canon general of the Metropolitan Chapter in Lviv. He studied philosophy and theology in the years 1908–1912 at the theological seminary in Lviv, where he was ordained as a priest by archbishop Józef Bilczewski. As a newly ordained priest he started to work in the parish of Zaleszczyki. In 1913 he became the secretary of archbishop J. Bilczewski and held this function until the death of the latter in 1923. He performed the same function with archbishop Bolesław Twardowski in the years 1923–1929. He was the head of the publishing company “Biblioteka religijna” (Religious Library). On 4 January 1945 he was arrested by the NKVD on charges of publishing a magazine “Gazeta Kościelna” (Church gazette) with anti-Soviet articles and of expatriation propaganda. He was sentenced on 26 December 1946 to 5 years of labour camp and deprivation of civil rights. He left prison at the beginning of January 1950 and arrived in Lviv. It was only after he reported his presence in the building of St. Antony parish, in May 1953, when he received a permission to perform the cult and start the provost’s duties. According to the opinion by the Soviet authorities, “He did not show any activity nor did he say any sermons”. Due to the condition of his health, in June 1969 he transferred the provost’s duties onto Rev. Kazimierz Mączyński, who came to Lviv from the Riga diocese. He died after a long illness in 1973 and was buried in the Janowski Cemetery. P. Olechowski, *Między ołtarzem a gabinetem partyjnym. Kościół rzymskokatolicki w sowieckim Lwowie w latach 1953–1959 w świetle raportów pełnomocnika Rady ds. Kultów Religijnych w obwodzie lwowskim*, “Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość”, 16 (2017) no. 1 (29), pp. 182–186; *Sanktuarium Świętego Antoniego*, <https://antoni.lviv.ua/pl/ksieza-w-nieprzerwanej-sluzbie/> (accessed: 26.02.2021).

<sup>19</sup> Seweryn Ludwik (1906–1970) – a Jesuit. He joined the congregation in 1922. He studied philosophy in Cracow and Engenhoven in Belgium, theology in Lublin, where in 1934 he was ordained as a priest. Until the war he worked in Rev. Mieczysława Kuznowic Male Dormitory. During World War II he worked in Kolomyia. In 1945 he was imprisoned and deported to Siberia, and next to Kazakhstan. After being freed in 1955 he settled down in Shchyrets near Lviv, where he was the provost until his death. He helped in pastoral work in Lviv churches and in the churches near Lviv. He died in Lviv. He wrote a brochure *Prawda na ciężkie czasy* published by Jesuits in Cracow. *Seweryn Ludwik*, in: *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564–1995*, ed. L. Grzebień, Kraków 1996, p. 612.

<sup>20</sup> Sokolnicka-Izdebska, *Historia Kościoła we Lwowie*, part 2, p. 14.

care of people's piety and spread the service to Divine Mercy – during the times when people prayed fervently to God for mercy.<sup>21</sup> One of the memories shows Rev. Jastrzębski as a seemingly inconspicuous, but extremely sociable figure who performed liturgical chants well.

He is remembered as an intelligent priest who knew how to arouse trust and respect, among both the faithful and the officials of the local state authorities. His popularity in the city was so remarkable that one day when he was walking down the street, a tram driver stopped his tram and invited Rev. Jastrzębski aboard. The priest followed the rule that one should always stand by their beliefs in relation to all, even enemies of religion. One should express one's convictions calmly, arguing through comparisons to everyday life, or even jokes or anecdotes. As a priest he strived to win people over to faith, God and the Church.<sup>22</sup>

It should be emphasised that during his pastoral service in Lviv, Rev. Jastrzębski was never punished for his activity by the courts. This does not mean, however, that he was never called by the NKVD for interrogation or to the office of the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults in the Lviv district. When he went there, he was always accompanied by at least two other people, even elderly ladies. He believed that this made a certain impression on the local officials, which was at times even funny: 'he, an elderly man, and two elderly women beside him'. During those interrogations he was asked standard questions concerning the church, which he answered in an intelligent and joking manner. For example, when asked about his relations with the Apostolic See he answered, 'And what does the Apostolic See know of me, who is here? There are a lot of us, and I was not distinguished by anything whatsoever.' During those 'meetings' he consistently refused to answer extensively, and for this reason he was treated as an apolitical person and a religious fanatic who did not pose any threat to the communist authorities. He referred to the officials as 'Mr Minister', he bowed to the functionaries that he met, he did not get involved in unnecessary discussions – thereby avoiding intense polemics or quarrels – and he tried to conduct conversations in a relaxed atmosphere, sometimes even answering the more difficult questions with a sense

<sup>21</sup> An account by Janina Zamojska.

<sup>22</sup> Rev. K. Jastrzębski was acquainted with a well-known Ukrainian opera singer (soprano) Solomiya Krushelnytska (1873–1952), daughter of a Greek Catholic priest whom he had known earlier. Her debut was in the Lviv opera in 1892, she performed in the Warsaw Opera 1898–1902, the Paris Opera and in Buenos Aires. In 1910 she married marquis Cesario Riccioni. She performed on the Milan stage of La Scala, where she was the first to play the roles of Salome and Electra in the operas by R. Strauss. In 1920, being at the top of her fame, she left the opera stage for ever and devoted the rest of her life to chamber music. In August 1939 she settled down in Lviv for good and there she received the professor's title and conducted vocal classes in the Lviv Conservatory. Because of her indifference to religion, Rev. K. Jastrzębski tried to get her closer to Church and faith, but to no avail. He was worried that the daughter of a clergyman had an indifferent, and even disrespectful attitude towards religion. An account by J. Zamojska, Lviv 15 XII 2007 (author's own collection).

of humour. In this way the officials accepted the priest's flattering remarks, did not treat him too seriously and eventually, due to his age, lost interest in him.<sup>23</sup>

In the last years of his pastoral service in the cathedral, for health reasons Rev. Jastrzębski limited himself to celebrating only the Holy Mass and the service in the confessional.<sup>24</sup> After 1965 he did not take part in the parish life of the cathedral, and he celebrated the Holy Mass in his flat. He died on 7 January 1966 in Lviv. He was buried in his family tomb in Janowski Cemetery. The funeral ceremony was held on 11 January and was conducted by Rev. Zygmunt Hałuniewicz. In his sermon he emphasised Rev. Jastrzębski's merits in parish pastoral work and his faithfulness to the priestly vocation and to serving the faithful according to his personal motto: 'I serve God'.<sup>25</sup>

### **b) Propagator of the cult of Divine Mercy – Rev. Stanisław Płoszyński**

Rev. Karol Jastrzębski was aided in his pastoral service by Rev. Stanisław Płoszyński.<sup>26</sup> We can learn from the post-war memories of him that he was a priest with a deep passion. In his pastoral work and service he was very demanding, but showed a good heart. He conducted religious instruction for the children whom he prepared for the First Holy Communion, and he organised the solemn celebration when they received this Sacrament, and the confession beforehand. He was called the apostle of the youth because he conducted catechetical meetings in the open churches of Lviv: St Antony cathedral, St Mary Magdalene Church and the Church of Our Lady of Snow. His involvement in the Lviv cathedral was recognised by the plenipotentiary for religion as non-ecclesiastical, which led to the Sunday religious meetings with the youths being discontinued and the charity kitchen for the poor being closed, since the communist authorities decided that it served the cause of recruiting the faithful.<sup>27</sup>

Rev. Płoszyński's endeavours in the field of patriotic education cannot be overlooked. He put a lot of effort into making the children, youths and elderly people with Polish roots familiar with and cultivate the customs and traditions of the Polish nation. That is why he believed that the liturgy should use the Polish

<sup>23</sup> Wolczański, *Katalog grobów duchowieństwa i siostr zakonnych*, s. 266; An account by Janina Zamojska.

<sup>24</sup> An account by Janina Zamojska.

<sup>25</sup> Z. Sokolnicka-Izdebska, *Historia Kościoła we Lwowie od 1939 roku*, part 3, "Cracovia Leopoli", (1996) Yearbook 2, no. 4(8), p. 19.

<sup>26</sup> Stanisław Płoszyński (1914–1949) – a priest from the Lviv archdiocese. He received the holy orders in Lviv in 1939. During World War II he worked as a vicar in the parishes of Sniatyn and Holohory. In February 1944 he was arrested by the NKVD but in the same month he was freed and since 25 September 1944 he worked as the administrator of the parish in Powitno, also working in the parish of Byalogiria. In the years 1945–1949 he worked in the Lviv cathedral as a vicar. He mainly focused on working with the youth, cooperating in this respect with Rev. Jan Olszański, then a priest of the parish of Our Lady of Snow in Lviv. He died in Lviv and was buried in the Janowski Cemetery in the Jesuit tomb. *Płoszyński Stanisław*, in: R. Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa polskiego represjonowanego w ZSRS 1939–1988*, Lublin 2003, pp. 488–489.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

language only, which was also prohibited by the Soviet authorities. This mainly referred to saying the homilies, as the liturgy of the Holy Mass was in Latin.<sup>28</sup>

In the Soviet times the Latin cathedral was also visited by the faithful of the Greek Catholic Church who did not wish to convert to the Eastern Orthodox religion. Within his possibilities, Rev. Płoszyński performed pastoral care among the Ukrainians. Greek Catholics gathered in houses or in the cathedral as signing groups to pray in the Ukrainian language. However, Rev. Płoszyński was decisively opposed to that practice since the use of a language other than Polish in the cathedral created the danger of the church being closed. This is why during a sermon he announced a prohibition on praying in Ukrainian. It needs to be pointed out that in the post-war years the atmosphere among Poles was anti-Ukrainian. This was caused by the living memory of the murders committed in Volhynia and Podolia, which influenced the mutual relations between Poles and Ukrainians, even in terms of religion. Some of the Roman Catholics were understanding of the fact that Ukrainians used their church and appreciated the attitude of the priests there. With the passage of time, the atmosphere became more open.<sup>29</sup>

Rev. Płoszyński died on 25 March 1949. His funeral was a huge religious manifestation of the Catholic population of the city, which included more than ten thousand believers, including Greek Catholics. The funeral procession from the cathedral to Janowski Cemetery was so large that it stopped the city trams. That was one of the last manifestations of Poles in Lviv after World War II.<sup>30</sup>

### c) A Lviv biritualist – Rev. Zygmunt Hałuniewicz

Another notable figure of the Lviv church was Prelate Zygmunt Hałuniewicz. He was born on 27 June 1889 in Rohatyn, in the Stanyslaviv voivodeship (now the Ivano-Frankivst district). After passing his school exams, he joined the theological seminary in Lviv, simultaneously studying at John Casimir University. He was ordained as a priest on 30 June 1912 by Archbishop Józef Bilczewski.<sup>31</sup>

As a newly ordained priest, he was sent to the parish in Pieniaki, where he worked as a vicar and religion instructor. In 1916 he took on parallel duties in St Antony parish in Lviv and as a minute-taker in the Metropolitan Curia in Lviv.

<sup>28</sup> An account by Janina Zamojska.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> W. Osadczy, *Kościół wyznawców. Kapłani archidiecezji lwowskiej obrządku łacińskiego w latach 1945–1991*, in: *Prorocy Europy Środko-Wschodniej XX wieku*, ed. S.C. Napiórkowski OFMConv, Lublin 2009, p. 187; Wołczański, *Katalog grobów duchowieństwa i siostr zakonnych*, p. 258.

<sup>31</sup> Józef Bilczewski (1860–1923) – Lviv metropolitan bishop. He received education in Kęty, Wadowice and Cracow, where he was ordained as a priest in 1884. He worked as a vicar in Mogiła near Cracow. Then he worked in Vienna, Paris and Rome. He was professor of John Casimir University in Lviv, and in 1900 he became its rector. On 17 December 1900 he obtained a nomination to be the Lviv metropolitan bishop. He was anointed on 20 January 1901. As the bishop of the archdiocese he established a number of parishes, developed sacral architecture, pursued educational and charitable activity. He contributed a lot to the development of the Eucharist cult. In 2001 he was beatified, and on 23 October 2005 canonized. J. Machniak, *Abp Józef Bilczewski. Pasterz Kościoła Lwowskiego*, Kraków 2001.

In 1919 he was transferred to the Lviv cathedral, where he performed the duties of a vicar and curial notary. In 1921 he was appointed chancellor of the curia, a position he held until 1945. He cooperated with Archbishops Józef Bilczewski, Bolesław Twardowski and Eugeniusz Baziak. In the curia he held the functions of referendary, synodal judge and pro-synodal examiner. He received the dignity of a general canon of the Metropolitan Chapter of Lviv.<sup>32</sup>

After the Soviet Union annexed the eastern voivodeships of the Republic of Poland in September 1939, Rev. Hałuniewicz was subjected to repression by the communist authorities. On 26 November 1945 he was arrested on charges of cooperating with the Gestapo and engaging in anti-Soviet activity. He was also accused of establishing an anti-Soviet nationalistic organisation called ‘Miecz i Krzyż’ [Sword and Cross]<sup>33</sup> and keeping anti-Soviet literature. On 19 June 1946 he was sentenced to 10 years in a labour camp, five years of deprivation of civil rights and forfeiture of property. Despite the efforts of the Soviet authorities, the charges against Rev. Hałuniewicz for which he was arrested did not have any probative value,<sup>34</sup> even according to the NKGB.<sup>35</sup> The authorities confiscated his books<sup>36</sup> and burnt the Polish emblem. His flat was taken over by an MGB agent. In 1946 Rev. Hałuniewicz was deported to a labour camp in Donbas, where he worked in a quarry, and then to a labour camp in Medvezhyegorsk for ‘medical treatment’, which meant being freed from physical work. Rev. Hałuniewicz was then sent to a labour camp in Szczerbakow-7 and in 1948 to a labour camp in Miliushino. He was freed on 29 April 1955, and by 2 May had returned to Lviv. It was written in one of the memories from those times: ‘In the wave of misfortunes a very happy

<sup>32</sup> *Hałuniewicz Zygmunt*, in: Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa polskiego*, p. 253; T. Madała, *Polscy księża katoliccy w więzieniach i łagrach sowieckich od 1918 roku. Materiały do słownika biograficznego*, Lublin 1996, p. 61; J. Wołczański, *Kapłani męczennicy. Świadkowie wiary kościoła lwowskiego ksiądz kanclerz Zygmunt Hałuniewicz (1889–1974)*, “Radość Wiary”, (1999) nos. 3–4 (23–24), p. 17.

<sup>33</sup> In January 1945 Romuald Jałbrzykowski, archbishop of Vilnius, and Adolf Szelażek, bishop of Lutsk were arrested. Archbishop E. Baziak was at that time the only Polish bishop with his jurisdiction in the area of the USSR, and he could be imprisoned by the NKVD any moment. This is exemplified by the case of Lviv canon Rev. Z. Hałuniewicz, who was arrested in November 1945 and accused of establishing, with archbishop E. Baziak, an anti-Soviet nationalistic organization “Miecz and Krzyż” on the order of the Polish government in exile. The organization was a secret formation, one of a few hundred of other in Poland, which was of anti-Soviet character. J. Baziak, *Wygnaniec, tulacz a może Ikar*, Bydgoszcz 2019, p. 25; J. Wołoszyn, *Podstawy antysystemowe młodzieży w wybranych państwach socjalistycznych Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w latach 1945-1956 – zarys problematyki*, “Rocznik Instytutu Europy Środkowo Wschodniej”, 18 (2020) fasc. 4, p. 209.

<sup>34</sup> *Hałuniewicz Zygmunt*, Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa polskiego*, p. 253; *Wołczański, Kapłani męczennicy. Świadkowie wiary kościoła lwowskiego*, p. 17.

<sup>35</sup> The People’s Commissariat for State Security (1941–1946, parallel with the NKVD); in 1946 the NKVD and the NKGB were joined and renamed as MGB - Ministerstvo gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti SSSR (Ministry for State Security of the USSR).

<sup>36</sup> The minutes included seven items of rather enigmatic titles, without any place or year of confiscated editions.

event was the return of Prelate Zygmunt Hałuniewicz from the camp.<sup>37</sup> On 15 July 1955 he was registered in St Mary Magdalene parish, where he worked until 22 October 1962, when the church was closed by the authorities.<sup>38</sup>

Rev. Hałuniewicz took on pastoral work in St Mary Magdalene parish after the death of Rev. Zygmunt Truszkowski (†6 November 1949).<sup>39</sup> Speaking the Word of God, he was always very well prepared and his sermons were refined;<sup>40</sup> he was also concerned about the people's needs and shortages. He worked in the Lviv cathedral, where he helped Rev. Jastrzębski, who had health problems. Although he himself was not in very good health, he generously performed his service among the sick and the dying when Fr. Rafał Kiernicki was not allowed by the Soviet authorities to fulfil his pastoral functions in the Lviv cathedral. During this 'suspension', Rev. Hałuniewicz took over the provost's duties in the cathedral.

In his pastoral work as the provost of St Mary Magdalene church, and later in the Lviv cathedral, Rev. Hałuniewicz joined other priests from the local churches in secret sacramental and pra-liturgical service (blessing the Easter food, the Easter palms, holy pictures and rosaries) and allowed Greek Catholic priests to hear the confessions of their believers in the cathedral basilica.<sup>41</sup> His time in labour camps had an effect on his health. He had problems with his kidneys and heart and was diabetic.<sup>42</sup> He died on 30 March 1974 of pneumonia. The funeral took place on 2 April. The funeral mass was celebrated by Rev. Jan Cieński<sup>43</sup> from Zolochiv,

<sup>37</sup> Sokolnicka-Izdebska, *Historia Kościoła we Lwowie*, part 2, p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> *Hałuniewicz Zygmunt*, in: Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa polskiego*, p. 253; Małała, *Polscy księża katolicy w więzieniach i łagrach*, p. 61; Sokolnicka-Izdebska, *Historia Kościoła we Lwowie*, part 2, p. 13.

<sup>39</sup> Zygmunt Truszkowski (1876–1949) – a Vincent de Paul congregation missionary. He joined the congregation after medical studies. He received the holy orders in 1901 in Cracow. He worked in the Lviv archdiocese, and then in the area of Cracow. In 1919 he joined the diocesan clergy and undertook work in military pastoral care. During World War II he was the dean of army chaplains in Lviv 1943–1944. In the middle of 1945 he was arrested by the NKVD and in a group trial of the clergy in Lviv on 25 February 1946 he was sentenced to 10 years of labour camps. After he proved his personal acquaintance with Lenin, who had borrowed money from him, he was immediately set free. Then he was registered as the provost of St. Mary Magdalene church, where he performed pastoral care for three years. He died in Lviv and was buried in the Lychakiv Cemetery. *Truszkowski Zygmunt*, in: Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa polskiego represjonowanego w ZSRS 1939–1988*, Lublin 203, pp. 601–602.

<sup>40</sup> Sokolnicka-Izdebska, *Historia Kościoła*, part 2, p. 14.

<sup>41</sup> Будз, *Українська Греко-Католицька Церква*, p. 126; Sokolnicka-Izdebska, *Historia Kościoła we Lwowie*, part 3, p. 22; Wołczański, *Kapłani męczennicy. Świadkowie wiary kościoła lwowskiego*, p. 19.

<sup>42</sup> Z. Sokolnicka-Izdebska, *Historia Kościoła we Lwowie od 1939 roku*, part 4, "Cracovia Leopoldis" (1997) Yearbook 3, no. 1(9), p. 13.

<sup>43</sup> Jan Cieński (1905–1992) – provost in Zolochiv, bishop *in pectore*. In 1928 he graduated from the Agricultural University in Dublin and signed up for law studies at John Casimir University in Lviv, which he interrupted in 1933 and entered the local theological seminary. He was ordained as a priest on 26 June 1938 in Lviv. As a newly ordained priest he became the vicar in Zolochiv and performed the functions of the parish administrator and provost since 26 November 1938 till his death. During World War II he gave a hiding to the Jews and the Polish inhabitants of Zolochiv thus



bishop *in pectore*. Catholics of two rites participated in the funeral of their priest. After the obsequies, Greek Catholics sang the panikhida.<sup>44</sup> Rev. Hałuniewicz was buried in Janowski Cemetery in the Jesuit tomb, next to Rev. Ignacy Chwierut and Fr. Ludwik Seweryn, witnesses of the most difficult times for the Church and the clergymen of Lviv. After the death of Rev. Hałuniewicz, only one priest was left in the Lviv cathedral: Fr. Rafał Kiernicki.<sup>45</sup>

While he was alive, Rev. Hałuniewicz made endeavours to be vindicated in court. On 4 April 1955 a KGB official decided that the charges from Articles 54–11 against the priest had been groundless. However, he was not fully vindicated until 28 June 1993, 19 years after his death.

#### **d) Martyr of the confessional – Father Rafał Władysław Kiernicki**

Władysław Kiernicki was born on 3 May 1912 in Kułaczkowce, near Kolomyia. In 1930 he joined the conventual Franciscans, adopting the name of Rafał. He spent his novitiate in Łagiewniki, near Łódź. On 4 October 1934 he took his perpetual vows,<sup>46</sup> and he was ordained as a priest in 1939. As a newly ordained priest he undertook the duties of a confessor of nuns, and starting in 1940 he was also the curator of the Lviv circle of ‘Juventus Christiana’.<sup>47</sup> Additionally, he lectured at secret secondary school lessons. During World War II, under the pseudonym of ‘Dziunio’ he belonged to the military conspiracy. He was the head of V/K Inspec-

saving them from mass slaughter; he was the chaplain of the local inspectorate of the Home Army. After the war he remained in his home in Zolochiv and performed the pastoral service despite the chicanery he experienced. Thanks to the efforts of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, Rev. J. Cieński became a secret bishop (*in pectore*) in 1962. It was not until 30 September 1967 that he was consecrated in secret in Gniezno by the Primate of the Millennium. Bishop J. Cieński secretly ordained a few Greek Catholic priests and probably two Roman Catholic ones. He died in Zolochiv on 26 December 1992 and was buried on the parish cemetery.

<sup>44</sup> Panikhida – a liturgical service for the dead in the eastern Churches. It consists of psalms, Ectenias (prayer of the faithful), hymns and prayers modeled on the scheme of matins with a kontakion for the departed, and Memory Eternal. During the celebration of panikhida burning candles are placed on a small table and at the end of the service candles are also lit by the faithful and *koliva* is blessed by the priest. It is wheat with honey, which is next consumed. H. Paprocki, *Panikhida*, in: EK, vol. 14, ed. E. Gigilewicz, Lublin 2010, col. 1214.

<sup>45</sup> Sokolnicka-Izdebska, *Historia Kościoła we Lwowie*, part 4, p. 13.

<sup>46</sup> M.B. Kuczyńska, “Nazywano Ojca Szaleńcem Bożym”. *Bp. Władysław Rafał Kiernicki OFMConv. Duszpasterz i zesłaniec (1912–1995)*, “Zesłaniec”, 64 (2015) p. 26.

<sup>47</sup> *Juventus Christiana* – an association of the Catholic academic youth. It was established in Warsaw in 1921. Its assumptions were deeper knowledge of the truths of faith and practicing them in personal and social life through meetings in co-educational groups under the supervision of a priest and since 1926 also under the supervision of a lay person. The basis of its members’ self-education was the Holy Scripture commented by all participants of the meetings. The association’s organ was a periodical “*Juventus Christiana*”. In 1939 it was the most numerous academic Catholic organization. After the outbreak of World War II it renewed its activity in December 1939. After arrests in 1940 the association was dissolved. Since then the link between its members was the appointed the Ideological Council, which renewed the activity of conspiracy circles. The organization ceased to exist by virtue of a state decree from 25 August 1949. S. Gajewski, *Juventus Christiana, Juventus*, in: EK, vol. 7, eds. J. Duchniewski et al., Lublin 1997, col. 564–565.

torate of the city of Lviv ZWZ (Union for Armed Struggle) of the Home Army, and from March 1944 he headed the Department of Conspiracy Communications V/L Lviv. On 31 July he was arrested in Lviv and was sent to a camp in Kharkiv,<sup>48</sup> where he remained from September 1944 to March 1945. There he took an active part in issuing a handwritten conspiracy paper called *Semper Fidelis*.<sup>49</sup>

In March 1945 he was directed to a camp in Diaghilev-Ryazan; in June 1947 he was transferred to a prison camp in Ryazan, and then to a camp in Cherepovets (Vologda district). Since the beginning of 1948 he was interned in a prison camp in Gryazovets. In those camps he pursued conspiracy pastoral activity among the prisoners of various nationalities. The authorities in some labour camps sometimes gave the priest permission for pastoral service. Then he dispensed sacraments and organised courses on religious knowledge.<sup>50</sup>

At the beginning of April 1948 Fr. Kiernicki was freed from the prison camp and returned to Lviv. There he undertook pastoral work in the cathedral, and the following year he was registered as its provost.<sup>51</sup> He was a man of great energy, pastoral enthusiasm and engagement. He often said about himself that he suffered from 'the illness of activism'. It sometimes happened that in the course of a single day he celebrated five funerals, heard the confession of 200 penitents or celebrated a few Holy Masses.<sup>52</sup>

The schedule of Fr. Kiernicki's typical day can be gleaned from the testimonies concerning his service:

Before 6 a.m. he was already in the confessional; at 7.30 the Holy Mass with a short homily; after the Holy Mass office matters in the cathedral vestry; after arranging the matters, the confessional again with the Holy Communion dispensed every half an hour until 12 o'clock<sup>53</sup>; then visiting the sick (not infrequently did he cover hundreds of kilometres, e.g. Lutsk, Rivne or Stanyslaviv); funerals, organisational meetings with his closest associates and altar boys; at 5 p.m. he sat down in the confessional and was there until the evening service at 7 p.m.<sup>54</sup>

Very often he fell asleep in the armchair in the vestry, so tired was he.... In all of this nobody was able to explain how such an ill man as he was had so much strength to perform his service. He had undergone three kidney operations,

<sup>48</sup> Kuczyńska, "Nazywano Ojca Szaleńcem Bożym", s. 30.

<sup>49</sup> Kiernicki Władysław, in: R. Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa polskiego represjonowanego w ZSRR 1939–1988*, Lublin 2003, s. 318.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Osadczy, *Kościół wyznawców*, s. 191.

<sup>52</sup> M. Skowrya, *Jubileusz sześćdziesięciolecia śmierci arcybiskupa metropolity Bolesława Twardowskiego i dziewiąta rocznica śmierci bpa Rafała Kiernickiego*, "Radość Wiary", (2004) no. 7 (43), s. 7.

<sup>53</sup> Sometimes as many as 1,000 sacramental breads were dispensed. Cf. J. Krętosz, *Katedra obrządku łacińskiego we Lwowie i jej proboszcz o. Rafał Kiernicki OFMConv w latach 1948–1991*, Katowice 2003, p. 74.

<sup>54</sup> An account by Ludwik Kamilewski.

three volvulus surgeries and three varicose vein surgeries in addition to having a heart condition.<sup>55</sup>

In 1958 Fr. Kiernicki was deprived by the Soviet authorities of the right to perform pastoral activities. At that time he officially worked as a caretaker in Strytskyi Park and as a night watchman in the sanatorium in Holosko. In his free time he performed secret pastoral – mainly sacramental – work, thus exposing himself to frequent legal consequences. It was not until seven years later, in 1965, when he returned to pastoral work<sup>56</sup> as a so-called ‘servant of the cult’.

In 1961 he wrote in a letter to the provincial superior:

I am still working in the nights. I feel useful and needed by people. This gives me satisfaction. My health is all right. I sometimes miss the peace, but to have it one would have to be born in another epoch. I live from day to day, without knowing what tomorrow brings. I never complain. On the contrary, I consider these conditions the romanticism of my life.<sup>57</sup>

Father Rafał was regarded as a prisoner of the confessional,<sup>58</sup> to the service of which he devoted himself fully.<sup>59</sup> Thanks to this, the faithful again had the possibility to live in God’s grace, and through his advice and recommendations they received proper spiritual balance.<sup>60</sup> The monk was a tireless minister of the Sacrament of the Anointing of the Sick. Not paying attention to distance, he regularly visited the sick and the elderly before the first Friday of the month, according to an address list of Lviv and its vicinities.<sup>61</sup> He was the only priest in Lviv to visit patients in hospital.<sup>62</sup>

An outstanding characteristic of Fr. Kiernicki’s pastoral service was the pastoral care of children and adolescents.<sup>63</sup> He took special care to prepare them well for confession and First Holy Communion. He organised groups of female instructors of religion,<sup>64</sup> whose task was to teach prayer, the catechism and God’s

<sup>55</sup> J.M. Paluch, *Ojciec Rafał*, “Cracovia Leopoldis”, 7 (2001) no. 3 (27), p. 12.

<sup>56</sup> Kuczyńska, “*Nazywano Ojca Szaleńcem Bożym*”, p. 33.

<sup>57</sup> Skowyrza, *Jubileusz sześćdziesięciolecia śmierci arcybiskupa metropolity Bolesława Twardowskiego*, p. 7.

<sup>58</sup> Osadczy, *Kościół wyznawców*, p. 197.

<sup>59</sup> An account by Ludwik Kamilewski.

<sup>60</sup> Krętosz, *Katedra obrządku łacińskiego we Lwowie*, p. 73.

<sup>61</sup> An account by Ludwik Kamilewski.

<sup>62</sup> Madała, *Polscy księża katolicy w więzieniach i łagrach sowieckich*, p. 80.

<sup>63</sup> Since the Soviet law prohibited catechization of children and the youth up to 18 years of age.

<sup>64</sup> The best known and distinguished in this work were sisters Irena and Jadwiga Zappe. Zappe Irena (1919–2013) – b. in Zaleszczyki. In 1938 she began studies at John Casimir University in Lviv which she finished in 1941. In September 1939 she took part in the defense of Lviv as a scout medical orderly. Since 1942 she was involved in conspiracy activity in the Home Army. Since 1952, together with her sister Jadwiga, she organised the teaching of religion, the Polish language and history in their flat in addition to helping the poorest, e.g. through providing them with food and clothes. In 1976 the Zappe sisters were accused of conducting illegal catechesis and anti-state activity. The investigation did not indicate any “organised activity financed from abroad”. Irena Zappe died on 4 July 2013 in Lviv. IPN, *Irena (1919–2013) i Jadwiga Zappe*, <https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/aktualnosci/konkursy-i-nagrody/nagroda-kustosz-pamieci/2008/24256,Irena-19192013-i-Jadwiga-Zappe>.

commandments to children where they lived, so that they could later go to confession and receive the Eucharist in full awareness.<sup>65</sup> In 1974 he received help from Rev. Ludwik Kamilewski,<sup>66</sup> who performed his service in the Lviv cathedral till January 1991. On 6 January 1991 Fr. Rafał was appointed the titular bishop and the suffragan of the archbishop of Lviv, Marian Jaworski. In his memoirs from 1991 he wrote, ‘I took up work in the cathedral in 1948. So I finish my 43<sup>rd</sup> year of work. When I arrived in the cathedral, one of the two priests said “Put on your cassock and go to the confessional!” And so it began.’<sup>67</sup>

In recognition of the merits that Fr. Kiernicki had in church and in pastoral work, he was rewarded with the Partisan Cross, the Gold Cross of Merits with Swords, the Gold Medal Guardian of Places of National Memory, the Decoration of Honour Meritorious for Polish Culture and the Włodzimierz Pietrzak Special Award.<sup>68</sup> During his pilgrimage to Poland, Pope John Paul II said in Lubaczów on 3 June 1991 in reference to Father Rafał’s service: ‘For so many years and decades, through so much suffering and humiliation, [he was] a faithful servant of this treasure, this sign of the Church identity, which is the ages-old Latin cathedral of Lviv’.<sup>69</sup> Father Kiernicki died on 23 November 1995. He was buried in the crypt of the Lviv cathedral, to which he had devoted 46 years of his life and work.<sup>70</sup>

A sign of a certain breakthrough in the Soviet Union was the fact that on 24 May 1984 Pope John Paul II appointed Rev. Marian Jaworski, a true-born Lviv inhabitant – at that time the rector of the Pontifical Theological Academy in Cracow – apostolic administrator in Lubaczów, the bishopric of the ‘Lviv Archdiocese in Lubaczów’. In August 1987, on the order of Archbishop Jaworski, his secretary Rev. Marian Buczek went on a ‘private’ visit to Lviv. He was warmly greeted by the provost of the cathedral, Fr. Kiernicki and Vicar Rev. Ludwik Kamilewski. Rev. Buczek celebrated the Holy Mass in St Joseph chapel, with the

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html (accessed: 4.07.2019); K. Szymański, *Duchem zawsze młoda*, “Kurier Galicyjski”, (2016) no. 7 (251), p. 25.

<sup>65</sup> An account by Rev. L. Kamilewski.

<sup>66</sup> Ludwik Kamilewski (1946–2019) – born in Kazakhstan in a Polish family deported in 1943 who returned to Połonny. After finishing school and military service he joined the theological seminary in Riga, Latvia, where 26 May 1974 he received the holy orders. He was a vicar in the Lviv cathedral. He helped the Catholics to get back the churches in the Lviv and Volhynia districts in the 1990’s, for example in Manevychi, Olyka, Tsuman, Berestechko, Lubieszów and Zhytomyr (St. Wenceslaus church, where for 17 years he was the provost, and St. Sophia cathedral). In March 1991 he became the first provost after the war of the cathedral parish named after the Holy Trinity and Sts. Spostles Peter and Paul in Lutsk. In the years 1991- 2000 he was the Lutsk Dean and the Dean of the Zhytomyr deaconry. He died in Lutsk and was buried on 24 January 2019 in his family town of Połonne. L. Kamilewski, *Odrodzenie Kościoła rzymskokatolickiego w obecnym dekanacie luckim (1989–1997)*, in: *Polacy i Kościół rzymskokatolicki na Wołyniu w latach 1918–1997*, ed. L. Popek, Lublin 1999, pp. 109–112.

<sup>67</sup> Osadczy, *Kościół wyznawców*, p. 196.

<sup>68</sup> *Kiernicki Władysław*, in: Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa*, p. 319.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> Vitold-Yosif Kovaliv, *Odrodzenie struktur Archidiecezji Lwowskiej pod koniec XX wieku*, “Wołanie z Wołynia”, 18 (2012) no. 5 (108) – B, wrzesień-październik 2012, p. 25.

door of the cathedral closed. He was able to celebrate the Mass at the main altar of the cathedral together with Rev. Kamilewski only once. The Lviv priests said the name of Bishop Marian from Lubaczów in the canon of the Holy Mass, as they were aware of the fact that he was their superior.<sup>71</sup>

Regardless of the difficulties experienced by the Church in the communist period, the pastoral work was continued in Lviv. In order to support Fr. Kiernicki, who was already at an advanced age, priests from Poland or ordained in Riga came on private invitation in the 1970s.

After WW II ended, the hardest years began for the faithful, including Lviv and the Latin cathedral. The latter, as the mother of churches in the diocese, was threatened with closure, and the clergymen experienced chicanery and terror from the new Soviet authorities. Among the clergymen struggling to keep this church working, the provost, Fr. Kiernicki, played a special role, becoming a legend of the Lviv pastoral work. On 4 May 2012 his beatification process began in the Lviv Latin cathedral.

### Conclusions

When the consecration of the first post-war bishops took place on 2 March 1991, many asked themselves if it was really happening. The newly consecrated bishops included Rev. Markijan Trofimiak and Fr. Rafał Kiernicki. During one of the funeral liturgies Fr. Rafał asked, ‘Will there still be anybody to bury me?’ This memory becomes characteristic on the historic day for the Catholic Church, the city of Lviv and the local Catholics: when Fr. Kiernicki, surrounded by a large group of clergymen in the crowded cathedral, was anointed bishop.

When the Soviet authorities took over Lviv in 1944, the Catholic Church was destined for annihilation. This did not happen, however. The revival of the Church, its vitality, the persistence of the faithful and the heroism of the priests who stayed and served the Church faithfully – not infrequently paying for it with punishment, harassment, imprisonment and deportation – are a phenomenon for many. All these factors certainly contributed to the extraordinary history of the Church in the Lviv area.

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## KULT RZYMSKOKATOLICKI WE LWOWIE W LATACH 1945–1991

### Streszczenie

W artykule przedstawiono wybrane aspekty życia społeczno-religijnego rzymskokatolickiej społeczności Lwowa w Związku Sowieckim w latach 1945–1991. Kościół katolicki na ziemiach polskich przyłączonych do ZSRS został podporządkowany prawodawstwu komunistycznemu, które walczyło z religią i szerzyło ateizm. Struktury kościelne zostały zlikwidowane, a duchowieństwo i wierni poddani represjom. Pomimo tego Kościół jako wspólnota wierzących trwał oraz wykorzystywał różne możliwości do dalszej działalności. W artykule ukazano postawy lwowskiego duchowieństwa wobec władz sowieckich oraz ich niejawną aktywność duszpasterską wśród wiernych. Szczególną uwagę skupiono na duchownych, którzy stali się symbolami lwowskiego duszpasterstwa po II wojnie światowej. Byli to księża: Karol Jastrzębski, Stanisław Płoszyński, Zygmunt Hałuniewicz i Rafał Władysław Kiernicki, farnicyszanin.

Słowa kluczowe: Lwów; katedra lwowska; Ukraina sowiecka; ksiądz Karol Jastrzębski; ksiądz Stanisław Płoszyński; ksiądz Zygmunt Hałuniewicz; Rafał Władysław Kiernicki





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## DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULT OF ST JOSEPH IN POLAND AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PARISH CHURCH OF ST JOSEPH SPOUSE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY IN BIELINY

### Abstract

On 30 October 1637, Bishop Jakub Zadzik (1582–1642), at the request of Krzysztof Jóźwik, the owner of glassworks in Kokanin and its vicinity, erected and endowed the parish of St Joseph the Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Bieliny, a town lying in the property of the bishops of Kraków. The Kraków chapter approved the privileges granted by the bishop to the church and peasants. The patronage over the temple was taken over by Jakub Zadzik. Its construction began that same year. K. Jóźwik, as the founder, took part in eve-rything, worked on erecting walls and took care of the church's furnishings. He bought a monstrance, solicited the installation of an organ, and allocated funds for the organist's upkeep. The construction of the temple took less than six years and on 14 June 1643, the bishop of Kraków, Tomasz Oborski, consecrated it. The article attempts to answer the question of who decided that the temple in a small town near Kielce, constructed in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, was dedicated to St Joseph Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In Poland at that time, only a few monastic churches located in large cities: Kraków, Lublin and Poznań had such patrons. Was it the decision of the Bishop of Kraków? Was the choice

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of the patron influenced by the initiator and the builder of the new parish and church, K. Józwik?

Keywords: Bieliny; the Bishop of Kraków, Jakub Zadzik; foundation of the parish church in Bieliny; diocese of Kielce; St Joseph the Spouse; cult

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On 30 October 1637 – at the request of the inhabitants of Bieliny, with Krzysztof Józwik, the owner of the glassworks in Kokanin and its vicinity, at the head – the bishop of Cracow Jakub Zadzik (1582–1642) founded and endowed the parish of St Joseph the Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the town, which lay in the territory of the bishops. Information about it can be found in the parish chronicle, on a commemorative plaque inside the church and in the files of successive visitations.<sup>1</sup> On this basis it is possible to trace the construction of the church and the changes to its appearance. Unfortunately, there is no information there as to why a parish church in a small settlement near Kielce erected from the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was dedicated to St Joseph the Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Was it the decision of the bishop of Cracow? Did Krzysztof Józwik, who initiated the foundation of the new parish and built the church, have any influence on the choice of patron?

It is very likely that the church in Bieliny is the first parish church dedicated to St Joseph the Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary which did not belong to any religious order in Poland. This article is an attempt to summarise the research on the development of the St Joseph cult in Poland and to present the story of the parish in Bieliny becoming the place of this saint's cult.

### **Beginnings of the cult of St Joseph**

St Joseph, David's descendant, virgin husband of Mary, protector and educator of Jesus, a silent, modest and hard-working man who remained in the shadow of God's Mother and Her Son, was not one of the saints whose cult reached back to the beginnings of Christianity. Stanisław Józef Kłossowski wrote in the 18<sup>th</sup> century that

before the grace of the Gospel was announced, the great Patriarch Saint Joseph was taken to eternity although his glory was not announced to the whole world at once. The fame of God's Mother, Saint Joseph's bride, was spread around the world together with the Holy Catholic faith by the Apostles, then the fame of Christ's martyrs was spread by the Apostles' followers to strengthen the faith and discourage the unfaithful, while the fame of St Joseph ... was left by God to later centuries.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> R. Skrzyński, *Parafia Bieliny. Zarys dziejów*, Kielce 2007, pp. 23–24.

<sup>2</sup> S.J. Kłossowski, *Cuda y Łaski za przyczyną y wzywaniem Mniemanego Oycy Jezusowego Jozefa Świętego przy Obrazie Tegoż Świętego Patryarchy W Kollegiacie Kaliskiej, uciekającym się do opieki Jego, od Wszechmocnego Boga miłościwie uczynione z procesu dwóch komissyi i zaprzysiężeń w konsystorzu Kaliskim (...) zebrane a dla większego wychwalenia Boga w świętym, dla Duchownej pociechy jednym, dla zachęcenia drugim, dla naśladowania i czytania wszystkim za dozwoleńm Duchownej Zwierzchności, Kalisz 1780, p. 2, 2v.*

Interest in St Joseph<sup>3</sup> appeared in the 4<sup>th</sup> century among the Greek fathers of the Church, e.g. St Ephrem and St John Chrysostom, who wrote about the virginal conception of Jesus, the engagement and marriage of Joseph and Mary and about Joseph's presence at Mary's side. When the house of the Holy Family and St Joseph's grave were found in Nazareth, his 'fame' grew.<sup>4</sup> In that period, in the East St Joseph was mentioned in the liturgy on the last Sunday of Advent, at Christmas, in the Feast of Epiphany and on Sunday following Christmas, whereas in the West he was worshipped in a separate liturgical feast.<sup>5</sup> The cult increased when the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, which was established in Palestine and which worshipped God's Mother, Her parents Saints Anne and Joachim and St Joseph, husband of the Blessed Virgin Mary<sup>6</sup> with special piety, moved to Europe (ca. 1238); then the worship of St Joseph began to spread more solemnly.<sup>7</sup> Daniel Papebrock argued in *Acta Sanctorum* that it was the Carmelites who contributed most to the development of the cult of St Joseph in the West: 'Who else could have contributed to the worship of St Joseph in the West if not those who already worshipped him in Palestine?'<sup>8</sup> While writing about the cult of the saint in the order, the Carmelite Benignus Józef Wanat quoted the words of Arnold Bostius, also a Carmelite, who in 1479 called St Joseph

a virgin and untouched man, a representative of eternal God, provider and most caring economist and presumed husband of Mary, the most faithful guardian and witness of Her virginity; on the example of his bride – the most earnest to save the souls and perfect in each virtue.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The beginning of the cult was discussed by: K. Białczak, *Kult liturgiczny św. Józefa w Polsce w świetle ksiąg liturgicznych*, in: *Studia z dziejów liturgii w Polsce*, vol. 2, eds. M. Rechowicz, W. Schenk, Lublin 1976, pp. 35–37; F.L. Filas, *Święty Józef człowiek Jezusowi najbliższy*, Kraków 1979, p. 265. A bibliography of Works about St. Joseph was also written, cf. T. Fitych, *Polskie publikacje o św. Józefie w 30-letnim okresie posoborowych (1966–1996)*, "Ateneum Kapłańskie", 91 (1999) vol. 132, fasc. 1 (539), pp. 81–104.

<sup>4</sup> T. Fitych, *Trójca stworzona. Nauka o św. Józefie na Śląsku*, Lublin 1990, pp. 26–27.

<sup>5</sup> The oldest traces of such a feast can be found in martyrologies from the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century and in sacramentaria from the 10<sup>th</sup> century. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century a big number of calendars, martyrologies and liturgican books was available which considered this feast and provided characteristic titles of St. Joseph: "S. Joseph Sponsi Virginis Mariae", "S. Joseph Confessoris", "S. Joseph Nutritoris Domini". R. Gauthier, *Joseph (saint): Liturgie et documents pontificaux*, in: *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, eds. M. Viller, F. Cavallera, J. de Guibert, vol. 8, Paris 1974, col. 1316–1317; Fitych, *Trójca stworzona*, pp. 35–36.

<sup>6</sup> B.J. Wanat OCD, *Kult św. Józefa Oblubieńca Najświętszej Maryi Panny u Karmelitów Bosych w Poznaniu*, Poznań 2014, pp. 22.

<sup>7</sup> Kłossowski, *Cyda u łaski*, p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> D. Papebrock, *De s. Josepho Sponso Deiparae Virginis*, in: *Acta Sanctorum – Martii*, vol. 3, Parisii et Romae 1865, p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> B.J. Wanat OCD, *Kult świętego Józefa Oblubieńca NMP u Karmelitów Bosych w Krakowie*, Kraków 1981, p. 14.

However, not only the Carmelites contributed to the development of the cult of St Joseph. It was also celebrated in the orders of the Servants, Franciscans, Cistercians, Bernardines, Benedictines, Dominicans and canons regular.<sup>10</sup>

In the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries the increased interest in St Joseph was connected with the cult of relics. Attempts were made at the time to find artefacts related to him. In Perugia an onyx ring which was believed to have been given to Mary by Joseph was worshipped; in Jeanville his belt was worshipped, and in the Camaldolese monastery in Florence it was his grace. A fragment of his coat and his grave<sup>11</sup> were regarded as relics and the Nazarene house of the Holy Family was worshipped in Loreto.<sup>12</sup>

After the Council of Trident, the greatest propagator of the cult giving it new impetus was St Theresa of Avila (†1582), who at the age of 26 was healed through the intercession of St Joseph. She considered the saint to be the patron of her soul. Trusting his help and care, she carried out a reform of the Carmelite order. She presented St Joseph to other nuns as being effective at winning God's protection in any need:

This is extraordinary how great gifts God gave me through the intercession of this blessed Saint, from what dangers He saved me, both of the body and the soul. It seems that the Lord gave other saints the grace of supporting us in one need and this glorious Saint – and I experienced this – supports us in all, and the Lord wishes to make us understand that like he was subjected to him as the father on earth (when he was the guardian of the Lord) and St Joseph could give orders to Him, the same is in heaven where the Lord does what he asks Him for.<sup>13</sup>

On 24 August 1552 St Theresa devoted her first monastery, in Avila, to St Joseph; she later did the same with the others.<sup>14</sup> Each of the monastic houses she established had to have pictures of St Mary and St Joseph. The Carmelite sisters still remain faithful to St Theresa's instructions. Her example was followed by reformed (Discalced) Carmelites. In 1581 they announced that St Joseph was the patron of the reform, and in 1590 the patron of the order.<sup>15</sup> The regulations of the Apostolic See also contributed to the spread of the cult of St Joseph: in 1479 Pope Sixtus IV established 19 March as the date of his feast, and in 1621 Gregory XV

<sup>10</sup> In 1324 the Servants ordered the general charter to celebrate this feast on 19 March in all their churches. By virtue of the decision of the general chapter in 1399 Franciscans extended this feast onto the whole order. A hundred years later (1498) the general chapter of Carmelites approved of the feast which they had celebrated for years. The Cistercians did the same in 1613. Fitych, *Trójca stworzona*, p. 31; Wanat OCD, *Kult świętego Józefa*, p. 19.

<sup>11</sup> Filas, *Święty Józef*, p. 263.

<sup>12</sup> Fitych, *Trójca stworzona*, p. 41.

<sup>13</sup> Św. Teresa od Jezusa, *Księga mojego życia*, quoted after *Studia Eliasza. Medytacje świętych Karmelu*, Poznań 2021, pp. 149–150; Św. Teresa od Jezusa, *Dziela*, vol. I, Kraków 1962, pp. 104–106.

<sup>14</sup> Medina del Campo (1567), Malaga (1568), Toledo (1569), Salamanka (1570), Segowia (1574), Vegas (1575), Sewilla (1575), Palencia (1580), Granada (1582), Burgos (1582). Cf. Wanat, *Kult świętego Józefa*, p. 21; Fitych, *Trójca stworzona*, p. 37.

<sup>15</sup> J. Misiurek, *Kult św. Józefa i jego wartości duchowe*, "Kaliskie Studia Teologiczne", 1 (2002) pp. 369–381; Filas, *Święty Józef*, pp. 265, 274.

raised it to the rank of feast in the entire universal Church.<sup>16</sup> From a locally – and in a sense privately – celebrated feast in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in a short time ‘the fame of Saint Joseph spread so widely and so far as of hardly any Saints.’<sup>17</sup>

A reflection of the popularity of St Joseph, and at the same time a way to spread his cult, were the fraternities of the saint. In Europe such a confraternity was set up in Avignon (ca. 1371) and at the Carmelite church in Cologne (1485). In Rome such a confraternity has existed since 1539.<sup>18</sup> Inspired by the piety of St Theresa, Archduke Albert (1599–1621) and the archduchess of the Spanish Netherlands, Isabella (1621–1633) – together with Discalced Carmelites – contributed to the establishment of as many as 15 fraternities of St Joseph. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century the members included both the clergy – archbishops, bishops and prelates – and the laypeople, ‘the noblest people’,<sup>19</sup> from all social strata.

### **The development of the cult of St Joseph in the Republic of Poland in the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries**

In Poland, as in the whole universal Church, the liturgical cult of St Joseph was closely associated with the cult of the Holy Family and God’s Mother. It appeared in the Polish areas along with liturgical books brought by missionaries. At the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the benedictional, which likely comes from Regensburg and which contains the text of the blessing for the feast of St Joseph Provider of the Lord, was used in Wawel Cathedral at the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>20</sup> However, as in the rest of Europe, for a long time the saint was worshipped mainly by the clergy. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century the cult of the ‘Lord’s Provider’ began to appear among the people. Hosts of people started to learn about the history of Infant Jesus and His Mother – and through them about St Joseph – from

<sup>16</sup> Wanat OCD, *Kult św. Józefa Oblubieńca*, pp. 20–21.

<sup>17</sup> Kłossowski, *Cyda u łaski*, p. 15. Cf. Białczak, *Kult liturgiczny*; W. Schenk, *Der liturgische Kult des M. Joseph in Polen vom Mittelalter bis zum 17 Jh.*, “Estudios Josefínos”, 31 (1977) pp. 623–631; T. Sinka, *Kult Świętego Józefa w Polsce*, “Studia Paradyskie”, 2 (1987) pp. 311–335; J. Plota, *Kult św. Józefa w kolegiacie kaliskiej*, in: *Kolegiata Kaliska na przestrzeni wieków 1303–2003. Materiały z konferencji naukowej odbytej w Sanktuarium Świętego Józefa w Kaliszu z okazji jubileuszu 700-lecia Parafii Kolegiackiej w Kaliszu, 6 listopada 2003*, eds. G. Kucharski, J. Plota, Kalisz 2003, pp. 69–80.

<sup>18</sup> Fitych, *Trójca stworzona*, p. 39.

<sup>19</sup> Kłossowski, *Cuda y łaski*, p. 16.

<sup>20</sup> A liturgical calendar of the Premonstratensians from Wrocław comes from the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It marks the feast of St Joseph. Liturgical books from the 14<sup>th</sup> century include a note under the date of 19 March “Joseph nutritor Domini”. It was not until the 15<sup>th</sup> century that we find complete forms on “the Lord’s provider” in missals and the prayers of canon hours in breviaries. The most popular titles were “Oblubieniec Najświętszej Maryi Panny” [The spouse of the blessed Virgin Mary], “Stróż Dziewictwa Maryi” [The guardian of Mary’s virginity], and “Głowa Najświętszej Rodziny” [The head of the Holy Family]. *Duchowość św. Józefa z Nazaretu*, ed. K.M. Chmielewski, Lublin 2003, pp. 239–253; J.N. Fijałek, *Księgi liturgiczne oraz święta i święci katedry wawelskiej z początku XII wieku*, “Nova Polonia Sacra”, 1 (1928) p. 350; F. Bracha, *Kraków w blaskach kultu świętego Józefa*, “Meteor”, 47 (1975) p. 34; F. Bracha, *Św. Józef szczególnym patronem miasta Krakowa*, “Ate-neum Kapłańskie”, 90 (1978) pp. 76–77; Fitych, *Trójca stworzona*, pp. 35–36.

the *Holy Scriptures* translated by Jakub Wujek of Wągrowiec (†1597) and from the lives of saints, sermons and prayer books. It was not until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, however, when an explosion of the cult of the Holy Family's guardian took place.<sup>21</sup> *Żywoty Świętych Starego i Nowego Zakonu* [The lives of the saints from the Old and New Testaments] by Fr. Piotr Skarga (†1612), a Jesuit, contained *Żywot św. Józefa Oblubieńca Matki Bożej z Pisma świętego wyłożone* [The life of St Joseph, husband of God's Mother, explained from the Holy Scripture]. Father Skarga emphasised the exceptional dignity of St Joseph, which exceeded the position of all other saints.<sup>22</sup> He wrote that 'the Saint also has a lot of importance with God and can ask Jesus for anything. Here, on Earth, Jesus was "obedient" to him and loved him – would it change now in Heaven?'<sup>23</sup> Sermons also played a large role in teaching the faithful more about St Joseph. At that time the sermons about the Husband of Holy Mary said by Jakub from Paradyż (†1464), Jakub Wujek and Adam Opatowczyk (†1647), rector of the Cracow Academy, were very popular. Wujek stressed the thought about Joseph being called to protect Mary. Opatowczyk spoke about the saint as a true virgin husband of Mary and the true, though not biological, father of Christ.<sup>24</sup> The Spanish and Italian Carmelites who came to Poland in 1605 also spread the cult of St Joseph.<sup>25</sup>

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, apart from the aforementioned celebration on 19 March of the Husband of Holy Mary, the liturgical memorial included other feasts dedicated to him, namely St Joseph's Protection (the third Sunday after Easter), the Marriage of St Joseph and Holy Mary (23 January), Mary and Joseph's Expectation of Jesus' Birth (the last Sunday of Advent), the Escape to Egypt (Shrovetide Sunday, before Ash Wednesday), the Finding of Jesus in the Church (the first Sunday after Easter) and the Death of St Joseph (the third Sunday after the Assumption of Holy Mary, after St Bartholomew). Those feasts commemorated the most significant mysteries from St Joseph's life.<sup>26</sup>

At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, prayer books were published which contained various prayers to St Joseph meant to be said in private. There were also some that

<sup>21</sup> W. Smereka, *Bibliotyka polska (wiek XVI-XVIII)*, in: *Dzieje teologii katolickiej w Polsce*, vol. 2. *Od odrodzenia do oświecenia*, part 1: *Teologia humanistyczna*, ed. M. Rechowicz, Lublin 1975, pp. 139–243.

<sup>22</sup> Starnawski, *Nurt katolicki w literaturze polskiej*, in: *Księga tysiąclecia katolicyzmu w Polsce*, vol. 2, eds. A. Wojtkowski, C. Zgorzelski, Lublin 1969, pp. 139–243; B. Natoński, *Dzieje kultu świętego Józefa w zakonie jezuitów w Polsce 1564–1979*, in: Filas, *Święty Józef*, pp. 377–382.

<sup>23</sup> P. Skarga SJ, *Żywot św. Józefa Oblubieńca Matki Bożej z Pisma świętego wyłożone*, in: *Żywoty świętych Pańskich na wszystkie dni roku podług najwiarogodniejszych źródeł wyjętych z dzieł ojców i doktorów Kościoła św. / oprac. podług księdza Piotra Skargi, ojca Prokopa, kapucyna, ojca Bitschnaua, benedyktyna i innych wybitnych autorów; z uwzględnieniem świętych pańskich, błogosławionych i świętobliwych, których wydała ziemia polska aż do najnowszych czasów*, Mikołów–Warszawa 1910, p. 288.

<sup>24</sup> Fitych, *Trójca stworzona*, pp. 38–40.

<sup>25</sup> Wanat OCD, *Kult świętego Józefa*, pp. 112–115.

<sup>26</sup> Białczak, *Kult liturgiczny*, pp. 73–76; C. Gil, *Z dziejów kultu świętego Józefa*, p. 233; Wanat OCD, *Kult świętego Józefa*, pp. 25–24, 32; Sinka, *Nabożeństwo ku czci świętego Józefa w Polsce*, p. 215.

were wholly devoted to the Husband of Holy Mary.<sup>27</sup> They included litanies that helped the faithful express their worship and love to St Joseph as a special patron and protector and which showed him as an infallible advocate with God in every need and as a model for life, e.g. *Litania do św. Józefa z Pisma świętego* [Litany to St Joseph from the Bible], *Litania do św. Józefa z Ojców Kościoła* [Litany to St Joseph from the Fathers of the Church] and *Litania do św. Józefa* [Litany to St Joseph].<sup>28</sup> As early as the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, *Godzinki o św. Józefie* [Little office of St Joseph] was well known.<sup>29</sup> In the 17<sup>th</sup> century the first devotional songs in honour of St Joseph appeared in Polish, teaching those who sang them about the provider of Jesus.<sup>30</sup> Religious poetry was also popular, especially that which was connected with Christmas, where St Joseph frequently appeared. For example, Jan Żabczyk (†1629), author of *Symfonie anielskie abo Kolęda* [Angelic symphonies, or A carol], presented him as a cheerful old man, sometimes quite strict, standing guard at the entrance to the shed during the visit of the Three Kings.<sup>31</sup> Stanisław Grochowski (†1612) wrote in *Wirydarz abo Kwiatki rymów duchownych* [A cloister garden, or Flowers of spiritual verses] that Joseph, as a guardian of Mary's purity, took care of her and Jesus, prepared the crib, listened to their requests and did as they asked. In Kasper Twardowski's (†1641) carols, Joseph is described as an elderly man, 'old Józwa', who knelt and praised Jesus lying in the hay together with the animals, cherishing the gifts from the Three Kings and lamenting upon Jesus.<sup>32</sup>

The faithful felt closer to St Joseph, who was a poor carpenter and at the same time the guardian of Jesus and Mary, and who was known from carols and homilies in connection with 'seeking effective protection'<sup>33</sup> in various needs. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the people of the Republic of Poland suffered greatly from destruction, robberies, epidemics, fires, crop failures and seizures of property related with the

<sup>27</sup> (Arnoldus a Jesu Maria [Kasper Melczerowicz]), *Jezus, Maryja, Józef. Septenna sacra to iest na siedem szrod o siedmiu radościach y boleściach nabożeństwo do mniemanego Oycza Słowa Przedwiecznego Syna Bożego Chrystusa Jezusa*, Kraków 1687.

<sup>28</sup> R. Gauthier, *Litania o świętym Józefie w XVII wieku*, "Ateneum Kapłańskie", 38 (1986) pp. 310–315; T. Sinka, *Litania do świętego Józefa, historia i propozycje*, "Studia Józefologiczne", 1 (1989) pp. 83–87. The Holy Office established in a decree from 1601 that only the litanies approved by the Church were allowed for use. Therefore, it can be supposed that different kinds of litanies to St Joseph were commonly said.

<sup>29</sup> Their oldest version *Officium Iozepha S. Patryarchy y Oblubieńca Nayswiętszey Panny* was printed in Cracow in 1624 and in the following years successive editions were published. Wanat OCD, *Kult świętego Józefa*, p. 124; Sinka, *Nabożeństwa ku czci świętego Józefa w Polsce*, p. 218; C. Gil, *Z dziejów kultu świętego Józefa w prowincji polskiej karmelitów bosych*, in: *Józef z Nazaretu*, vol. 2, eds. O. Stokłosa, Kraków 1979, p. 258; Sinka, *Kult św. Józefa*, p. 333.

<sup>30</sup> T. Sinka, *Najstarsze polskie pieśni nabożne ku czci świętego Józefa*, "Gorzowskie Wiadomości Kościelne", 19 (1976) pp. 330–338.

<sup>31</sup> J. Żabczyk, *Symfonie anielskie*, wyd. A. Karpiński, Warszawa 1998, pp. 10, 12–13, 32–34.

<sup>32</sup> A. Czechowicz, M. Hanusiewicz-Lavallee, *Kasper Twardowski, "Piosneczki Emanuelowe" (1619)*, in: *"Umysł stateczny i w cnotach gruntowny..."*. *Prace edytorskie dedykowane pamięci Profesora Adama Karpińskiego*, eds. R. Grześkowiak, R. Krzywy, Warszawa 2012, pp. 75–89.

<sup>33</sup> (Arnoldus a Jesu Maria [Kasper Melczerowicz]), *Jezus, Maryja, Józef. Septenna sacra*, pp. 64, 108.

wars with Sweden, Russia and Turkey and with rebellions. This is why they sought help and support from intermediaries and protectors.<sup>34</sup> Hope for St Joseph's help and an end to all these misfortunes quickly penetrated the society and contributed to the number of worshippers. This phenomenon was described a century later by the curate of the collegiate church in Kalisz, Stanisław Józef Kłossowski:

It is known that what makes You happy and what pleases You the most is when somebody asks You for something in need. This is why in the desire to honour your Holy Provider who asks You to show people Your favour divided between all Your Holy servants, you let your Presumed Father be the protector and defender of all needs of all the world. Keeping, as an example for us, the right to respect parents, You accept all His requests, doing everything (which is in agreement with the salvation of the one who asks) that anybody asks You through Him. The whole world knows and hears all of this and Your Holy servants who rule with you and they see the greatest rewards for this saint from You in Heaven and they see You do everything for Him, giving the grace for penance to the biggest sinners, accepting and saving them.<sup>35</sup>

### St Joseph's churches

One manifestation of the cult of St Joseph's development was the first churches dedicated to him.<sup>36</sup> It is difficult to establish when they appeared in Poland, but it was certainly not in the Middle Ages.<sup>37</sup> What is known is that in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century St Joseph the Husband of Holy Mary was the patron of the hospital chapel in Wrocław.<sup>38</sup>

It was not until the modern period that we can find churches dedicated to St Joseph. In the beginning, mendicant orders (male and female) – namely the Carmelites, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, whose churches were devoted to this saint – contributed to the spread of his patronage.<sup>39</sup> In accordance with the recommendations of St Theresa, on 2 July 1609 the Carmelite Maciej of St Francis

<sup>34</sup> Z. Wójcik, *Międzynarodowe położenie Rzeczypospolitej*, in: *Polska XVII wieku*, ed. J. Tazbir, Warszawa 1969, pp. 14–28; B. Baranowski, *Życie codzienne małego miasteczka w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1974; J. Bystron, *Etnografia Polski*, Poznań 1947, p. 139.

<sup>35</sup> Kłossowski, *Cuda y Łaski*, p. 3.

<sup>36</sup> The Carmelites believe that it was St Theresa who was the first to devote a church to St Joseph. However, it is assumed that the first church in honour of this saint was erected in Nazareth by empress Helen. The oldest church devoted to him in Europe was in Bologna (1129). Św. Teresa od Jezusa, *Dziela*, vol. 1, Kraków 1987, pp. 145–147; Filas, *Święty Józef*, p. 265, 274; Wanat OCD, *Kult świętego Józefa*, pp. 112–115; Fitych, *Trójca stworzona*, p. 31.

<sup>37</sup> So far no such cases have been known. Examples of churches in Godowo near Rybnik, Pożarzysko near Strzegom, Krosnowice near Kłodzko and in Kwietniki near Bolkowo in Kargów Kielecki (Gil, *Z dziejów kultu*, pp. 235–248) given in the literature (Fitych, *Trójca stworzona*, p. 56; H. Neuling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte und ihre Kirchlichen Stiftungen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelateres*, Breslau 1902) are not based in Medieval sources.

<sup>38</sup> W. Rozynkowski, *Św. Józef jako patron parafii i kościołów parafialnych w Polsce*, "Kaliskie Studia Teologiczne", 2 (2003) pp. 83 ff.; Fitych, *Trójca stworzona*, p. 56.

<sup>39</sup> Białczak, *Kult liturgiczny*, pp. 43–81; F. Bracha, *Kult św. Józefa w Polsce*, in: Filas, *Święty Józef człowiek Jezusowi najbliższy*, pp. 334–356; Wanat OCD, *Kult Świętego Józefa*, pp. 26–27;



(Dydak Hurtados de Mendoza) blessed a chapel for the internal use of the monks in the first cloister of the Immaculate Conception of Holy Mary. The chapel was dedicated to her.<sup>40</sup> It is assumed, however, that the first church bearing the name of St Joseph was the church of the Discalced Carmelites in Poznań. Its blessing and dedication took place on 21 June 1621. Earlier, in 1618, Carmelites had erected there a wooden church, also dedicated to St Joseph.<sup>41</sup> The second church of St Joseph was located in Cracow. The Carmelites applied to the general of the order, Fr. Jan Jesu Maria, for permission to build it in 1611, because the old site near the Vistula and Prądnik rivers was frequently damaged by the spring floods of those rivers. The consecration and dedication of the new church were performed on 26 October 1636 by Bishop Zadzik.<sup>42</sup> In 1622 the Carmelite sisters, who had been staying in Lublin for four years, obtained permission from Bishop Marcin Szyszkowski to erect a cloister and a church. They moved into the cloister on 10 July 1622, though the cornerstone of the church of St Joseph was not laid until 9 May 1636. Work on erecting the church lasted until 1640, and it was not consecrated until 28 August 1644.<sup>43</sup> In 1623 the Carmelites obtained permission from the bishop of Kamianets, Adam Nowodworski, to establish a monastic house in Kamianets-Podilskyi. Work on the new foundation proceeded fairly quickly and by 1638 a new cloister and a church of Madonna of the Victory and St Joseph had been built.<sup>44</sup> In the 1630s efforts were made for the foundation and construction of two Carmelite cloisters. On 19 September 1637 the Carmelite sisters obtained permission from the bishop of Vilnius, Abraham Woyna, and Pope Urban VIII (†1644) to erect a cloister and a church of St Joseph in Vilnius, but the construction did not start until 1655.<sup>45</sup> At the beginning of 1639, on the distinct request of his wife Celylia Renata, Vladislaus IV allowed the Carmelites to settle down in Warsaw, and he confirmed the new foundation with a privilege granted in Vilnius on 1 May. The monks were ceremonially introduced to the Church on 24 November, and on 28 February 1643 they took the decision to build a new church dedicated to the Assumption of Holy Mary and St Joseph.<sup>46</sup>

Waldemar Rozykowski writes that by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the following cloister churches were dedicated to St Joseph: Bernardines (Mińsk, Wołożyn and Wschowa<sup>47</sup>), Dominicans (Klimontów, Posin and Raków), conventual Franciscans

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*Fitych, Trójca stworzona*, pp. 40–94; W. Rozykowski, *Św. Józef patron kościołów klasztornych w Polsce ok. 1772 roku*, "Kaliskie Studia Teologiczne", 3 (2004) pp. 131–137.

<sup>40</sup> Wanat OCD, *Kult Świętego Józefa*, p. 26; Gil, *Z dziejów kultu św. Józefa*, pp. 229–266.

<sup>41</sup> B.J. Wanat OCD, *Zakon Karmelitów Bosych w Polsce. Klasztory karmelitów i karmelitanek bosych 1605–1975*, Kraków 1979, p. 204.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 190–191.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 627–630.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 373–374.

<sup>45</sup> Due to a delay in construction work caused by continuous wars, the church was not consecrated until 1692 by bishop Konstanty Kazimierz Brostowski. *Ibid.*, p. 637.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 403–407.

<sup>47</sup> After the reformation the monks returned to the city in 1629 and settled down next to the saved chapel of St Ann. They started building a new church and a new cloister about 1638. Financial

(Bar), reformed Franciscans (Kalisz, Miedniewice, Pułtusk and Sandomierz), Jesuits (Mściśław, Wałcz and Witebsk), Discalced Carmelites (Cracow, Poznań and Warsaw), Calced Carmelites (Drohobycz), Discalced Carmelite sisters, (Cracow, Lublin, Warsaw and Vilnius), Calced Carmelite sisters (Dubno), Bernardine sisters (Cracow) and Visitation sisters (Warsaw).<sup>48</sup>

### **Foundation of the church of St Joseph Husband of Holy Mary in Bieliny**

All researchers agree that initially it was mostly monastic churches dedicated to St Joseph that appeared in Poland. It is difficult to determine the establishment of the first parish church not connected with any order and devoted to the Husband of Holy Mary. However, the early date of the foundation of a parish by this name in Bieliny is surprising and begs certain questions: Is this the first parish church devoted to St Joseph on Polish territory? How did this patron appear in a small town near Kielce? Was this connected with the figure of its founder, Krzysztof Józwick,<sup>49</sup> owner of the local glassworks?

It has not been established where Józwick came from or when he arrived. Sources say that in 1625 the bishop of Cracow, Marcin Szyszkowski, granted a privilege to him for the establishment of a glassworks near Kakonin in Klucz Kielecki, on the southern slopes of the Łysogóry mountains, and that in 1637, on the request of the village inhabitants headed by Józwick, Bishop Zadzik founded the parish in Bieliny. The baptism files of the Bieliny parish mention him as the founder of

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support for the new foundation was given to the Bernardine monks by Mikołaj Tarnowiecki, a courtier of the Opaliński family, who supported the Carmelite foundations in Cracow and Poznań. About 1644 the building of the church was finished and initially the intention was to devote it to St Ann. The first altar in the presbytery of the church built in 1639 was financed by members of St Ann fraternity. Finally, however, the church was devoted to St Joseph. *Klasztory Bernardyńskie w Polsce, w jej granicach historycznych*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1985.

<sup>48</sup> The list in: Rozynkowski, *Św. Józef patron kościołów klasztornych*, pp. 132–133. Here the author also included the churches of Calced Carmelites in Gdańsk, Dominicans in Klimontów and Jesuits in Wałcz. The church in Gdańsk was originally devoted to the Holy Virgin Mary, St Elijah and St Elisha, and the devotion to St Joseph began to appear in a later period, when the church became a parish church. Cf. S. Litak, *Kościół łaciński w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku. Struktury administracyjne*, Lublin 1996, indexes. The erection act of the collegiate church of St Joseph in Klimontów, which was temporarily taken care of by the Dominicans, was obtained by Jerzy Ossoliński not earlier than in December 1640 and the construction began in 1643. E. Niebelski, *Klimontów miasto prywatne Ossolińskich*, Klimontów 1993. The first mentions about St Joseph church in Wałcz come from 1672. Cf. L. Bąk, *Ziemia walecka w dobie reformacji i kontrreformacji*, Piła 1999.

<sup>49</sup> A. Wyrobisz, *Szkló w Polsce od XIV do XVII wieku*, Wrocław 1968, p. 33; R. Skrzyaniarz, *Bieliny w dobrach biskupów krakowskich*, "Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne", 73 (2000) pp. 399–406. Archives of the Metropolitan Curia in Cracow. AV 27, Visitatio interna et externa ecclesiarum praepositorum, parochialium, hospitalium et aliorum beneficiorum in decanatus Bodzentinensi ac Kunoviensi consistentium per me Venceslaum Hieronymum de Boguslawice Sierakowski, pro tunc episcopum Cestrensem, (...) praevis litteris innotescensibus via cursoria per R.D. Decanos directis anno 1738 die 29 Julii inchoata et successive anno 1739 die 14 mensis Junii terminata et peracta, col. 55; Archiwum Parafii Bieliny, no file no., *Kronika parafialna z 1823 r.*

the church. His name is also surprising in this context: The memorial plaque in the church presbytery names ‘St Józwa’ as the patron of the church.<sup>50</sup> This form of Joseph was used by the people and in Christmas songs and religious songs. A question worth posing is whether this form was the basis for the local population to dub him ‘Jóźwik’ [little Józwa], or perhaps ‘seeking the help of St Józwa’, and whether this was the name which went down in history as the founder’s surname.<sup>51</sup> It might have been that the glassworks owner became enchanted with the figure of the saint: a simple, quiet and humble worker whom God entrusted with great things – the care over His Son and His Son’s Mother – and he honoured and respected him. Perhaps, while doing business, he travelled a lot and heard about the guild fraternities already functioning in Rome under the name of St Joseph, and desired to make this saint the patron of the church where people employed in the glassworks would pray?

Or was the decision to give the church the patronage of St Joseph taken by Bishop Zadzik? The chronicle of the cloister of the Bernardine sisters in Cracow includes a legend quoted by Fr. Romuald Gustaw. He writes that in 1627 Jakub Zadzik, then the bishop of Chełmno, received a benevolent picture of this saint from Pope Urban VIII, who propagated the cult of St Joseph. The picture shows St Joseph leading young Jesus by the hand, the latter carrying a basket with carpentry tools. When the pope presented the gift, he ordered the bishop to have a church built ‘under the name of St Joseph’.<sup>52</sup> At that time there were only a few churches with this patronage. Bishop Zadzik, who was busy administering the Chełmińska diocese, working in the royal chancellery, travelling for unending peace negotiations with Sweden and Moscow and settling the continuous internal conflicts, delayed keeping his promise to the pope. The situation did not change until 1635, when he gave up the function of great chancellor and public office to start dealing with the matters of the Church as the bishop of Cracow.<sup>53</sup> As mentioned before, in 1636 he consecrated the Carmelite Church of St Michael and the Church of St Joseph in Cracow. However, he did not found them. It seems that not earlier than in 1937 was the request of the glassworks owner to issue a foundation document for the church lying within the bishop’s property an opportunity to keep the promise. Nevertheless, the issue of the picture gives rise to doubt. Why did the bishop, who co-founded the church, not hand over the pope’s gift? Is it connected with the construction of the church of the Bernardine sisters in Cracow?

<sup>50</sup> “Który pleban od Węgrów, Kozaków zabity / Zostawił po sobie wszystkim głos znamienity / Że jak męczennik prawy wziął w niebie korone / Z Józwe[m] Św. niech też nas ciągnie w tamtą stronę” [Which provost killed by Hungarians, Cossacks/Left such an eminent voice after himself/ That like a rightful martyr, He took a crown in heaven/May he also draw us in that direction together with St. Joseph] – transcription of the words on the plaque can be found in the authors’ collection.

<sup>51</sup> The Reviewer, to whom we are greatly indebted, drew our attention to this coincidence. The problem, however, requires to be studied in detail. When writing the present article, we could not deal with it due to the difficulties connected with access to the sources and the literature.

<sup>52</sup> R. Gustaw, *Klasztor i kościół św. Józefa ss. Bernardynek w Krakowie 1646–1946*, Kraków 1947, p. 161.

<sup>53</sup> J. Dorobisz, *Jakub Zadzik (1582–1642)*, Opole 2000.

Zadzik's sister, Katarzyna, whose monastic name was Teresa and who had stayed with the Bernardine sisters in the cloister of St Agnes in Cracow for years, was chosen in 1633 as the superior of the cloister for four years, and was re-elected after a four-year break. Perhaps this idea was strengthened when the Bernardine monks, who wanted to have a safe shelter in the city for times of flooding (both cloisters stood on the river), set up another small cloister in the centre of the city. For the same reasons, Sister Teresa had a desire to build a new cloister for the Bernardine sisters. Bishop Zadzik would not hear of a new foundation.<sup>54</sup> However, he could not decisively refuse his sister this. Father Gustaw quotes Sister Zadzikówna, writing that the bishop 'started to incline to it a little'.<sup>55</sup> He might have then given her the picture of St Joseph and asked her to take it to the new foundation. However, till his death his sister did not manage to persuade him to take decisive steps to realise the new foundation. Apart from the chronicle of the cloister, no sources confirm that the picture was presented to her. Zadzik's testament only spoke of two images of God's Mother which found their way to Zadzikówna. The bishop did not leave any bequest for the benefit of the new cloister, but his sister managed to obtain the means from the executors of the testament, probably from the legacy intended for church and charity purposes.<sup>56</sup>

The matter of the consecration of the Carmelite church, the request for the erection of a parish in Bieliny and Sister Teresa's insistence on the foundation of a new cloister of the Bernardine sisters coincided with each other. Perhaps the bishop, having recalled the pope's gift, first intended to take advantage of Józwick's request and the promise given to the pope. Later, his sister's insistence complicated those plans and in consequence the pope's gift found its way to the Bernardine nuns in Cracow, where it remains today. The bishop, however, desired to keep the promise that he had given to the owner of the glassworks on the bishop's property. On 28 May 1638 the Cracow chapter approved of the privileges granted by the bishops to the peasants and the church dedicated to St Joseph the Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Bieliny. The right of patronage was taken by Zadzik while Józwick saw to it that the undertaking should be carried out. That same year the construction of the church began.

Sources state that Krzysztof Józwick worked on erecting the walls and equipping the newly erected church with the proper and worthy furnishings. The inventory of the church made in 1638, which was just after the parish was founded, show that he bought the monstrance and probably a few other precious silver paraments for the church. He also made efforts to have an organ installed, and when the instrument did appear in the church he allocated funds for maintaining an organist. The construction of the church took less than six years, and on 14 June 1643 the bishop of Cracow, Tomasz Oborski, consecrated it.<sup>57</sup> The oldest inventory of the church in Bieliny does not provide any information regarding its permanent furnishings.

<sup>54</sup> H. Świąch, *Przełożone klasztoru bernardynek pw. Św. Agnieszki w Krakowie*, "Nasza Przyszłość", 123 (2015) pp. 116–117.

<sup>55</sup> Gustaw, *Klasztor i kościół świętego Józefa*, pp. 42–43, 161.

<sup>56</sup> Dorobisz, *Jakub Zadzik*, p. 260, 264.

<sup>57</sup> Skrzyaniarz, *Parafia Bieliny*, pp. 23–24.

Nothing is known about the pictures or the altars which were or were supposed to be there. On the other hand, we learn that there were votive plaques 'for the large altar'. There 'were 5 of them: 2 small ones and 3 embedded in the altar'.<sup>58</sup> It seems almost certain that Józwick also took care of decorating the church. Tradition and folk tales say that when the church was under construction, a painting of God's Mother by an unknown local master was installed there. It showed the Virgin Mary with Infant Jesus on a meadow among flowers against the background of the Świętokrzyskie Mountains. It cannot be stated with absolute certainty whether this painting was placed in the main altar or the side altar or what happened to it, but a copy of it can now be found in the central area of the church choir and is sometimes called the picture of the Virgin Mary of Bieliny.<sup>59</sup> A painting of the Flemish school from the second 10-days' period of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, that is, from the time when Jakub Józwick took care of the church, can still be found in the church. It was painted on two boards and shows the Holy Family standing inside a monumental church with a group of Jewish priests gathered around an altar in the distance. The upper part presents God the Father emerging from clouds and surrounded by angels, with a dove symbolising the Holy Spirit underneath.<sup>60</sup> The paintings might have been in Bieliny since the very beginnings of the church. In the following year four altars mentioned in the sources appeared in the church: the main altar dedicated to Saints Joseph and Matthias and consecrated on 1 June 1664, and three side altars, dedicated to St Joseph, Our Lady and St Valentine. They were consecrated on 15 September 1670 by Mikołaj Oborski, the Cracow suffragan.<sup>61</sup>

The cult of St Joseph in the parish of Bieliny was vivid. The fraternity of St Joseph was established in the new church quite early on.<sup>62</sup> Pope Innocent XI permitted its establishment in the apostolic breve from 11 March 1679, while the foundation of this fraternity in the parish of Bieliny was performed on 10 April of the same year by Oborski.<sup>63</sup> It seems, therefore, that the church in Bieliny founded by Bishop Zadzik and Krzysztof Józwick was dedicated to St Joseph the Spouse of the Virgin Mary thanks to the two founders. Following the request of the inhabitants with Józwick at the head, Bishop Zadzik agreed to found a parish and have a new

<sup>58</sup> The Ossolineum Library in Wrocław, file no. 215/II, Acta consistorii Kielcensis coram Venerabili Matthiae Obłamkovic Vicepraep[osi]to et Officiali Kielcensi agitate (...) Anno Dni MD- CXXXV, Inventarium Apparamentorum Ecclesiae Par[ochia]lis Bielin[ensis] z 1638, col. 157–159; Skrzyniarz, *Parafia Bieliny*, p. 33.

<sup>59</sup> This is according to folk tales and legends concerning the church in Bieliny, in the author's collection.

<sup>60</sup> Skrzyniarz, *Parafia Bieliny*, pp. 101–102.

<sup>61</sup> J. Kracik, *Konsekracje kościołów i ołtarzy w diecezji krakowskiej w XVII-XVIII wieku*, "Nasza Przyszłość", 61 (1984) p. 126. According to the visitation from the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, dedications of the altars underwent changes, cf. AV 27, [1739 r.], col. 55; *ibid.*, AV 37 [1747 r.], col. 67.

<sup>62</sup> The first Fraternity of St. Joseph's Protection was founded in Cracow in 1660 at the church of the Bernardine sisters and it survived until 1794. B. Kumor, *Kościelne stowarzyszenia świeckich na ziemiach polskich w okresie przedrozbiorowym. Księga tysiąclecia katolicyzmu w Polsce*, vol. 1, Lublin 1969, pp. 503–541; Gustaw, *Klasztor i kościół św. Józefa*, p. 95.

<sup>63</sup> AKMK, AV 37, col. 58.

church built on the bishop's property. When the inhabitants of Bieliny asked the bishop for a new parish, did they know which saint they wished to have as the patron of the church? Was it the bishop who wanted to do it in his property when he saw how fast the cult of St Joseph was developing and that Pope Urban VIII was a strong supporter of it? Or it might have been that both the bishop and Józwick wanted to dedicate the new church to the care of St Joseph? More research should be done concerning the owner of the local glassworks, namely who he was, where he came from, when he arrived in the area of the Świętokrzyskie Mountains and how he set up the glassworks. It seems certain that he was a great worshipper of St Joseph and tried to establish the church he had founded as the centre of this cult. St Joseph – patron of families, good death and of all those who worked in the local glassworks – and above all the ‘advocate in any need’ – was a perfect patron for the church in Bieliny. Remembering the promise given to the pope, Bishop Zadzik could not refuse to support the initiative of a local manufacturer.

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## ROZWÓJ KULTU ŚW. JÓZEFA W POLSCE A SIEDEMNASTOWIECZNA FUNDACJA KOŚCIOŁA PARAFIALNEGO PW. ŚW. JÓZEFA OBLUBIEŃCA NAJŚWIĘTSZEJ MARYI PANNY W BIELINACH

### Streszczenie

Dnia 30 października 1637 r. biskup Jakub Zadzik (1582–1642), na prośbę Krzysztofa Józwicka, właściciela hut szkła w Kokaninie i okolicach, erygował i uposażył parafię pw. św. Józefa Oblubieńca Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Bieliniach, miejscowości leżącej w dobrach biskupów krakowskich. Kapituła krakowska zatwierdziła przywileje nadane przez biskupa dla kościoła i włościan. Prawo patronatu nad świątynią objął Jakub Zadzik. Jeszcze tego samego roku rozpoczęła się jej budowa. K. Józwick, jako fundator, czuwał nad wszystkim, pracował przy wznoszeniu murów i troszczył się o wyposażenie kościoła. Zakupił monstrancję, zabiegał o zainstalowanie organów i przeznaczył środki na utrzymanie organisty. Budowa świątyni trwała niespełna sześć lat i już 14 czerwca 1643 r. biskup krakowski Tomasz Oborski dokonał jej konsekracji. W artykule podjęto próbę odpowiedzi na pytanie, kto zdecydował, że świątyni w małej podkieleckiej miejscowości w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku nadano wezwanie św. Józefa Oblubieńca Najświętszej Maryi Panny. W Polsce w tym czasie takie wezwanie miało tylko kilka kościołów zakonnych usytuowanych w dużych miastach: Krakowie, Lublinie, Poznaniu. Czy taką decyzję podjął biskup krakowski? Czy na wybór patrona miał wpływ pomysłodawca nowej parafii oraz budowniczy kościoła, K. Józwick?

Słowa kluczowe: Bieliny; biskup krakowski Jakub Zadzik; fundacja kościoła parafialnego w Bieliniach; diecezja kielecka; św. Józef Oblubieniec; kult

